DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN GHANA: IMPLICATIONS FOR TEACHING AND LEARNING IN ASHANTI SCHOOLS

By

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DECLARATION OF ORIGINALITY

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ABSTRACT

This study sought to assess the implications of democratic citizenship education (DCE) and its influence on teaching and learning in basic education in Ghana. The study argued that a deliberative DCE would hopefully empower all Ghanaian citizens to participate freely and equally in different activities in which they can engage themselves, express their ideas by way of argument, and justify their reasons for their various stances. This study used the interpretive theory as research methodology (paradigm) and three other distinct methods of inquiry, namely deconstructive, conceptual and narrative analysis. Philosophy of education was the main approach used in the study, which enabled me to reach my goal, which was to establish how educational policies offer opportunities for the cultivation of DCE to help citizens solve societal problems. The ideas of philosophers of deliberative DCE, such as Callan, Gutmann, Benhabib, Young, Nussbaum, Appiah, Wiredu and Gyekye on DCE tenets were discussed in relation to their distinctiveness in Africa and how they converge with Western ideas on DCE.

The main research question addressed in the study was: Do the educational policies in the Ashanti region of Ghana offer opportunities to cultivate DCE in the Ghanaian society? This main question was supported by the following sub-questions: What is DCE within the liberal framework? To what extent is Ghana's educational policy documents informed by DCE? What are the implications of educating for DCE for teaching and learning in Ashanti schools?

I found that liberal DCE in Ghanaian basic education is inadequate as it gives distorted views of participation, deliberation and belonging, and shows limitedness in its conceptualisation of DCE because of its nationalistic approach that narrows education to national development and neglects humanistic overtones. Indeed, it is through this engagement that citizens come to understand each other, recognise their misunderstandings and misconceptions, and become abreast of things with which they were hitherto not familiar.

In light of the above findings, I argue that DCE-in-becoming could potentially enable learners and teachers to think autonomously and respect others with whom learners co-belong. More so, DCE-in-becoming could build a strong society through civil engagement that would create a social structure for interaction and democratic advocacy, transparency and openness in dealing with tension emanating from political, ethnic, social, religious and economic life. Furthermore, a reconceptualised view of DCE-in-becoming will create an environment of collective identity, reasonableness, inclusivity and reciprocity to help educators deal with the challenges,

possibilities and opportunities entailed in having different bodies in schools and classrooms for debates and discussions that would involve all learners. Finally, education-in-becoming has the potential to open the space for contributing and recognising the foundation for re-imagining DCE in Ghana. Ghana is in the process of achieving such education of DCE-in-becoming as a result of recent efforts by government. This can however only be achieved successfully if we can provide opportunities for learners to become familiar with the associated DCE tenets to deal with problems in JHS teaching and learning in the Ghanaian educational system.

Key words: basic education, Ghana, democratic citizenship education in becoming, civil engagement, potentiality, deconstruction, inclusivity, philosophy of education, deliberative democracy.

OPSOMMING

Hierdie navorsing het ten doel gehad om die implikasies van demokratiese burgerskapsopvoeding (DBO) en die uitwerking daarvan op onderrig en leer in basiese onderwys in Ghana te ondersoek. Die navorsing het aangevoer dat deliberatiewe demokratiese burgerskapsopvoeding alle Ghanese burgers sal bemagtig om vry en op regverdige wyse aan verskillende aktiwiteite waarby hulle betrokke kan raak, deel te neem, hulle opvattings by wyse van gedagtewisseling uit te druk, en die redes vir hulle onderskeie standpunte te verantwoord. Tydens hierdie navorsing is 'n interpretatiewe onderwysteorie as navorsingsmetodologie (paradigma) gebruik asook drie ander ondersoekmetodes, naamlik dekonstruktiewe, konseptuele en narratiewe analise. Onderwysfilosofie is as hoofbenadering gebruik tydens die navorsing. Dit het my in staat gestel het om my doel te bereik, naamlik om te bepaal hoe onderwysbeleide geleenthede bied vir die ontwikkeling van DBO om burgers te help om probleme in die samelewing op te los. Die menings van filosowe betrokke by deliberatiewe DBO, soos Callan, Gutmann, Benhabib, Young, Nussbaum, Appiah, Wiredu en Gyekye, oor DBO-beginsels is bespreek met inagneming van die eiesoortigheid daarvan in Afrika en hoe hulle saamval met Westerse opvattings oor DBO.

Die hoofnavorsingsvraag wat deur die navorsing beantwoord is, was: Bied die onderwysbeleide in Ashanti-streek van Ghana geleenthede vir die ontwikkeling van DBO in die Ghanese samelewing? Hierdie hoofvraag is ondersteun deur die volgende subvrae: Wat is DBO binne die liberale raamwerk? Tot watter mate word Ghana se onderwysbeleidsdokumente deur DBO geïnspireer? Watter implikasies hou onderwys met die oog op DBO in vir onderrig en leer in skole in Ashanti?

Ek het bevind dat liberale DBO in Ghanese basiese onderwys onvoldoende is aangesien dit verwronge sienings van deelname, deliberasie en behoort-aan bied, en beperktheid toon wat betref die konseptualisering van DBO as gevolg van die nasionalistiese benadering wat opvoeding beperk tot nasionale ontwikkeling en humanistiese gesindhede afskeep. Dit is inderdaad deur hierdie betrokkenheid dat burgers begrip vir mekaar ontwikkel, hulle misverstande en wanopvattings erken, en op die hoogte kom van dinge waarmee hulle tot op daardie stadium nie bekend was nie.

In die lig van bostaande bevindings beveel ek aan dat DBO-in-wording leerders en onderwysers moontlik daartoe in staat kan stel om op outonome wyse te dink en ander, met wie die leerders

mede-behoort, te respekteer. Daarbenewens kan DBO-in-wording 'n sterk samelewing bou deur burgerlike betrokkenheid wat 'n maatskaplike struktuur vir interaksie en demokratiese voorspraak, deursigtigheid en openheid kan skep wanneer spanning, wat uit die politieke, etniese, maatskaplike, religieuse en ekonomiese lewe voortspruit, die hoof gebied moet word. Verder skep 'n herkonseptualiseerde siening van DBO-in-wording 'n omgewing van kollektiewe identiteit, redelikheid, inklusiwiteit en wisselwerking om opvoeders te help om aan die uitdagings, moontlikhede en geleenthede betrokke by die verskillende liggame in skole en klaskamers vir debatte en besprekings wat alle leerders sal betrek, aandag te gee. Laastens, onderwys-in-wording het die potensiaal om die ruimte te skep vir bydraes tot en erkenning van die grondslag vir die herbedink van DBO in Ghana. Ghana is besig om sodanige onderwys vir DBO-in-wording te verkry danksy onlangse pogings deur die regering. Dit kan egter slegs bereik word indien ons geleenthede kan skep vir leerders om bekend te raak met die verwante DBO-beginsels om hulle te help om probleme in onderrig en leer in junior hoërskole soos dit in die Ghanese onderwysstelsel manifesteer te oorkom.

DEDICATION

To my dear wife, Mrs. Esther Osei-Owusu and wonderful children Michael and Lois for their love, care and support.

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ADP:	Accelerated Development Plan
AFRC:	Armed Force Revolution Council
BECE:	Basic Education Certificate Examination
CFS:	Child Friendly Schools
CPP:	Convention Peoples' Party
CSV:	Community Service Volunteers
CSSPS:	Computerised School Selection and Placement System
CYPU:	Children and Young People's Unit
DCE:	Democratic Citizenship Education
DFES:	Department for Education and Skills
EFA:	Education for all
ESPRR:	Education Sector Policy Review Report
ESP:	Education Strategic Plan
FCUBE:	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GCE 'O' Level:	General Certificate of Education Ordinary Level
GCE 'A' Level:	General Certificate of Education Advance Level
GER:	Gross Enrollment Ratio
GES:	Ghana Education Service
GNP:	Gross National Product
GoG:	Government of Ghana
GPRS:	Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy
GSGDA:	Ghana Share Growth and Development Agenda
GSPD:	Ghana Society for Physically Disabled
HIPC:	Highly Indebted Poor Country
HDR:	Human Development Report
ICT:	Information and Communication Technology
JHS:	Junior High School
LCM:	Learner Centered Model
LEA:	Local Education Authorities
MDBS:	Multi-Donor Budget Support
MDGs:	Millennium Development Goals
MOE:	Ministry of Education
NALAP:	National Accelerated Literacy Programme
NCB:	National Children's Bureau
NCCA:	National Council for Curriculum and Assessment
NCCE:	National Commission for Civic Education
NDC:	National Democratic Congress

NGO:	Non-Governmental Organization
NIB:	National Inspectorate Board
NLC:	National Liberation Council
NPP:	New Patriotic Party
PNC:	Peoples National Convention
PNDC:	Peoples National Defense Council
PTA:	Parents and Teacher Association
PP:	Progress Party
RE:	Religious Education
SEA:	School Education Assessment
SHS:	Senior High School
SSSCE:	Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination
SMC:	Supreme Military Council
SMC:	School Management Committee
SPAM:	School Performance Appraisal Meetings
SPHE:	Social, Personal and Health Education
SPG:	Society for the Propagation of the Gospel
STME:	Science, Technology and Mathematics Education
SWAP:	Sector Wide Approach
TVET:	Technology and Vocational Education
UDL:	Universal Design for Learning
UN:	United Nations
UNCRC:	United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child
UNDP:	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO:	United Nations Educational Scientific Cultural Organization
UNICEF:	United Nations Children's Fund.
WAEC:	West Africa Examination Certificate
YPM:	Young Pioneer Movement

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION

1.1 BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY

According to Hooks (2003), education has an important role to play as an overriding task of promoting equity and democratic citizenship participation. The only form of society that facilitates the continued evolution of human species is a democratic form of society, and furthermore, the development of such a society is to a large degree dependent on the democratisation of schools and schooling (Dewey, 1903). Throughout the world, countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Egypt, Botswana, Nigeria and South Africa have embarked on various reforms and polices in education to promote democracy after the collapse of authoritarian and colonial rules. Democratic citizenship requires double democratisation of education within micro and macro society (Davies, Harber & Schweisfurthy, 2002).

Education is universally acknowledged as benefitting individuals and promoting national development. When children receive good quality education, they are likely to be active participants in the economic and social development process and this is likely to translate into sustained poverty reduction (UNICEF, 2000). The continent of Africa has witnessed significant and dramatic political strides in the 1950s (Fafunwa, 1968). Between 1956 and 1962, 26 countries – including Ghana – had gained their sovereignty and most of the remaining states were at varying stages of self-governance (Fafunwa, 1968). Ghana attained her independence at the tail end of the Cold War in 1957 (Graham, 1976). Since then, democracy has become a frequently used word in the national and international discourse. This has brought about many successive democratic changes over the past 63 years. Despite these democratic successes, Ghana has experienced some setbacks as a result of 21 years of various military interventions (i.e. 1966-1969; 1972-1979 and 1981-1992) (see Antwi, 1995).

In Ghana, the history of education can be traced back to the pre-colonial period, which was commonly known as the period of African Traditional Education (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1978:20), which existed before the arrival of Western education. The primary aim of this education was to develop the total faculties of one's personality in order to become a useful and functional member of the society (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1978). This type of education

begins the day the child is born and ends around the age of fifteen years when the child is seen to have passed through puberty, becomes an adolescent by perfecting his or her craft, accumulating experience, assuming a more responsible position, and becoming a complete adult upon marriage (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). During the missionary period (1752-1950), the early missionary groups – notably the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel (SPG), the Basel mission, the Bremen mission, the Roman Catholic mission, and the Wesleyan Missionary Society – were all invited by the businessmen in their home countries (known as 'merchants') who were already in the colony engaged in business activities and had brought forth children with Ghanaian women (the black slave women) (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1978).

The major objective of these missionary groups was to introduce education to these "black" and white" children and indigenous people in order to convert them to Christian religion (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975:25). Here, the missionaries set up schools to teach reading, writing and arithmetic, and later included technical and vocational education with the objective of equipping the individual to solve his or her environmental problems and provide basic necessities of life (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1978:21).

The colonial period was significantly marked by the introduction of ordinances from 1852, which the colonial government introduced a poll tax levy to support education expansion, introduction of female education and the training of teachers (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1978). The 1882 ordinance made provision for the establishment of two types of primary schools, the establishment of industrial schools and the introduction of grants-in-aid to support the schools (Graham, 1976). The 1887 ordinance also made provision for local and central school boards, admission of all learners irrespective of religion or race. No children were to receive religious instruction if their parents had not approved (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1978). The 1908 ordinance placed special emphasis on technical and vocational education. This was later followed by Gordon Guggisberg's (1919-1927) period of governorship where he introduced the sixteen principles of education (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975).

In spite of the missionaries' contributions and support from the colonial government, many children of school-going age were still at home and had not received any formal education at the end of the colonial period (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). For example, in the early 1930s, the ratio of girls to boys in elementary schools was 1 to 3 rising to 1 to 4 by the 1940s (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). The Gold Coast's curriculum implemented in basic

schools was modelled on that of British schools (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). The 1950 general parliamentary election in Ghana marked great political strides in the history of the country's political, social, economic and educational sectors (Antwi, 1995). The Convention Peoples' Party (CPP) under the leadership of Dr Kwame Nkrumah won the highest seats in parliament, and Dr Nkrumah became the leader of government business (Antwi, 1995).

Since 1951, the country has made significant progress in its educational system as a result of the new democratic system or regime (Antwi, 1995). The introduction of the 1951 Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) under the CPP government, which aimed to make basic education free and compulsory for all children of school-going age resulted in considerable enrolment in primary school (Create, 2008). Another major reform was introduced in 1961 with the Education Act (87 of 1961), which extended free compulsory basic education through a six-year primary and an additional four-year middle school programme (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). While the policy helped to expand access to basic education, it did not yield the desired sustained growth in enrolment and completion rate (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). One significant result of the above Act was section 22, which tried to give expression to the concept of "freedom of religious belief and individual rights" (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975:35).

As a result, the Act tried to ensure that children of school-going age were not denied access to a particular school because of their religious background or the churches they attend (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). Furthermore, the Act mandated that every child who has attained school-going age, as determined by the Minister, should attend a course of instruction as laid down by the Minister in a school recognised for this purpose by the Minister (Ghana Education Service [GES], 2004). Recommendations by the 1967 Kwapong Education Review Committee led to the introduction of a continuation of the school programme at middle-school level (now Junior High School) to equip individual learners who could not continue to secondary schools with the needed skills to enter the job market (Ministry of Information [MoI], 1967).

The 1974 education reform suffered a setback (as a result of military intervention), which led to a decrease in enrolment (Akyeampong, Djangmah, Oduro, Siedu & Hunt, 2007). However, the 1986 education reform (Akyeampong et al., 2007) led to an increase in public education expenditure; however, the increase in enrolment could not produce the desired results (Akyeampong et al., 2007)

Although the educational situation in Ghana has improved in quality and quantity over the years, the trend in gross enrolment since 1987 has been fairly flat until the year 2000 (Acheampong, 2007). For example, the gross enrolment ratio (GER) increased from 57% in 1999-2000 to 86.5% in 2003-2004 (Acheampong, 2007). In spite of this, the country had not achieved total coverage of all children of school-going age. In order to address the challenges from the various reforms in Ghana, successive governments have implemented various interventions to improve access and quality of education delivery. One such policy was the 1995 Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) policy, which was enacted in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana (Government of Ghana [GoG], 1992b). Article 38(2) of the Constitution states:

The Government shall, within two years of parliament first meet after coming into force of this constitution draw up a programme for the implementation within the following ten years, for the provision of free, compulsory and universal basic education (GoG, 1992b:34).

In addition, Article 25(1a) states, "persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities with a view to achieving the full realisation of the right" (GoG, 1992a:27).

The FCUBE policy of 1995, which was meant to improve access, quality and management efficiency in schools also had its shortcomings (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2003). The most important of these shortcomings was related to the component of cost sharing where the government was responsible to provide the infrastructure for schools with parents being asked to provide meals, stationery and levies. These responsibilities from parents limited the poor ones from enrolling their children in schools (UNICEF, 2007).

In the recent past (1995-2007), successive governments have reviewed their commitment in achieving accessible high-quality education through policies such as the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS 1&2), the FCUBE policy and the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) policy. In relation to the application to the HIPC facility in 2001 (see MoE, 2010), government formulated a comprehensive development policy framework in support of poverty reduction and growth known as the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS 1) policy, which was to realign the distorted macroeconomic environment and improve the conditions for implementation of sectored policies designed to promote sustainable economic growth (MoE, 2008). This strategy focused on the human development component with targeted measures

designed to improve access by the Ghanaian population to basic needs and essential services. These targeted programmes were basic education, safe water, improved health and environmental sanitation (see MoE, 2008). The Education Sector Policy Review Report (ESPRR) was compiled in August 2002 (see MoE, 2003) as an education sector policy document aimed at meeting the challenges faced by government in the provision of teaching, learning material and infrastructure development. The ESPRR identified eight policy goals. To these, a ninth and tenth goal were added to emphasise national and international concerns about prevention and management of HIV/AIDS and promotion of female education. Education for all (EFA), which is an education policy document enacted by the United National Education, Scientific cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2000 also has six internationally acknowledged education goals aimed to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015 (UNESCO, 2000). Two of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) directly related to Education for All (EFA) are:

- **Goal 2: achieve universal primary education and ensure that all boys and girls complete a full course of basic schooling.**
- **Goal 3: promote gender equity and empower women: eliminate gender disparity in basic and secondary education preferably by 2015 and in all levels of education not later than 2015 (UNDP, 2010).**

The Education Strategic Plan (ESP) was introduced in 2003 and focused on the period between 2003 and 2015 (MoE, 2009a). The ESP was based on the poverty reduction strategy and operated within the framework of a sector-wide approach (SWAP) for education, which in Ghana is partly situated within the multi-donor budget support (MDBS) framework. The ESP is based on four main areas: equitable access to education, quality of education, educational management and Technology and Vocational Education (TVET). The ESP also envisioned the achievement of a high-quality inclusive education system by 2015 (GES, 2003; Hooker, 2008; Kuyini, 2010). Although most of the ESP targets mentioned above were achieved, the issue of a high-quality inclusive education system by 2015 was not achieved within the time frame (Opoku, Agbenyega, Mprah, Mckenzie & Badu, 2017).

In 2004, the Government of Ghana (GoG) (2004) issued a White Paper on Education Reform. The White Paper covered the whole education sector, which was to be implemented from 2007 with its major target identified for 2015 and 2020 (MoE, 2007a). The major key issues of this

White Paper concerning basic education were to build upon the ESP commitments and to ensure that all children of school-going age were provided with good-quality free basic education, equitable access to education and educational management. Basic education had to include two years of kindergarten as well as the existing six years of primary and three years of Junior High School (JHS). The entire basic cycle would be free and compulsory and would receive the highest priority of all sectors. Basic education would be fully funded by the GoG with an expected target of 100% completion rates for boys and girls at all basic schools by 2015 (MoE, 2010). This objective could not be achieved within the time frame, however from the 2017 academic year up-to-date basic education is fully funded by GoG (Osei-Owusu, Ampofo & Ampomah, 2020).

The more recent amongst these polices is the implementation of GPRS II. This policy was implemented over the period 2006-2009 following the positive results achieved by GPRS I (Ministry of Education Science & Sports [MoESS], 2005). The policy focused especially on developing Ghana to the status of a middle-income country by 2015 (MoE, 2009b). GPRS II emphasised the creation of a competent workforce for the development of the country whereby education plays an important role (Ministry of Education Science & Sports [MoESS], 2005). With this objective, the GPRS II not only met MDG 2 but also strengthened the quality of basic education, and improved quality and efficiency in the delivery of education services (MoE, 2010). For education, one of the main strategies to be adopted was to bridge the gender gap in access to education, i.e. creating girl-friendly schools by ensuring the provision of adequate toilet facilities and on-site water sources (MoE, 2010). The GPRS II policy document put in place some interventions that had an effect on basic education in Ghana, namely school feeding programmes, capitation grants,[1] free transportation to school for primary school children, bicycles to teachers, health insurance, free uniforms, eradication of schools under trees, free exercise books and textbooks (MoE, 2010; Osei-Owusu et al., 2020).

A critical assessment of the various acts, interventions and reforms in our educational system in Ghana before, during and after colonial period attests to changes in the curriculum of the system. Yet, in most cases, the main stakeholders of the educational sectors – parents, learners, teachers and opinion leaders – are rarely consulted on the implications of these reforms and curriculum changes towards teaching and learning. To Waghid (2010a:22), “democratic

[1]A capitation grant is a simple model of educational financing whereby financial resources are allocated to basic schools in Ghana based on the number of learners enrolled (GES, 2005).

citizenship education involves educating people about their civil, political and social rights". Such a process would educate people about the rights to protection of life, liberty and property, the right to freedom of conscience and certain associational rights, such as those of contract and marriage – all civil rights. Pryor, Ampiah, Kutor and Boadu (2005:68) point that out those children expressing the views (civil, political and social) and negotiating these views with adults have been very problematic to the children. Yet, Ghana is among the first African countries that quickly ratified the United Nations Convention on the Right of the Child (UNCRC) (African Union, 2010). Article 12 of the UNCRC states, "whenever adults make a decision which will affect you in any way, you have the right to give your opinion, and adults have to take it seriously" (Davies et al., 2002:22). Rudduck, Chaplain and Wallace (1996:9) argue that what learners say about teaching and schooling is not only worth listening to but also provides an important foundation to think about ways of improving schools and other educational reforms. This is a unique responsibility to which the school is expected to adhere (Rudduck et al., 1996).

A careful observation has revealed that in recent times many studies have been undertaken into democratic citizenship education in the developed world with an average number in South African but a relatively few in Ghana (MoE, 2005). As Giroux (1995:6) notes, citizenship and democracy need to be problematised and reconstructed for each generation. Public schools therefore have to assist in the unending work of preparing citizens for self-governance in an evolving social environment. Through public schools, learners can be taught the values and skills necessary to administer, protect and prepare for a free democratic society.

1.2 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

> Citizenship and democracy need to be problematized and reconstructed for each generation; public schools must assist in the unending work of preparing citizens for self-governance in an evolving social environment. Through the public schools, learners can be taught the values and skills necessary to administer, protect and prepare for a free democratic society (Giroux, 1995:6).

Most of the countries in West Africa – of which Ghana is one – now enjoy democratic governance (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). Ghana was the first sub-Saharan Africa (SSA) country to gain independence from Britain in 1957 (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). The two main goals of the independence movement in the 1950s were freedom and justice (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). Despite

the great success of democratic elections in Ghana, a recent assessment of democratic governance depicts that democratic political culture is underdeveloped, and formal democratic institutions and processes give inadequate voice to the poor and marginalised groups (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). The assumption underlying the current study evolved around whether basic education at JHSs in the Ashanti region of Ghana attends to the cultivation of democratic citizenship education and its relationship with teaching and learning. Democratic citizenship education in our basic schools is of such importance that it cannot be left to chance.

According to Peterson (2009:55), citizens in a democratic society have a fundamental responsibility to engage in public life. Teachers and learners have an obligation to promote equality, justice, respect for others and democratic participation (Peterson, 2009). These ideals should be integral to the cultures of educational institutions and be embedded within and beyond the curriculum in schools. Peterson (2009) suggests that if citizenship education is either to be removed, or is to lose its statutory force, a generation of young people will be deprived of an opportunity to formally learn, investigate and actively participate in the political and social communities within which they live. This aspect of schooling is too important to be left to chance. More so, scholars such as Angell (1991:241), Butts (1988:25), Clarken (1992), Mullins (1990), Callan (1994:121) and Berman (1990:75), emphasise the attributes of a good citizen in a constitutional democracy and the role of the school in this regard. These are discussed in the paragraphs that follow.

Firstly, there should be an understanding of and a commitment to democratic values. According to Butts (1988:32), these values are justice, freedom, equality, diversity, authority, privacy, human participation, human rights, patriotism, tolerance, civic responsibility, self-restraint and self-respect.

Secondly, there needs to be respect for the common good. Clarken (1992) describes research showing the effectiveness of citizenship education in clear reasoning, critical thinking, empathy, reflection and decision-making.

Thirdly, in terms of knowledge and understanding of political concepts, issues, structures and systems, Mullins (1990) recommends that learners should develop citizenship skills as well as knowledge and understanding of political concepts, issues, structures and systems through active learning approaches in reading, writing, observing, use of statistics, decision-making and problem solving.

Fourthly, a good citizen in a constitutional democracy involves higher-level thinking skills and patriotic feelings. Callan (1994:120) contends that competent citizens require skills in higher-level thinking processes, such as critical reasoning, perspective taking, divergent thinking, constructing hypotheses and evaluating evidence.

Fifthly, in terms of inculcation of social skills, Berman (1990:75) defines social responsibility as a personal investment in the well-being of others. Berman further identifies the knowledge and skills necessary for practicing social responsibility and suggests ways in which the knowledge and skills can be imported into schools and classrooms.

Lastly, in terms of attitude of participation and democratic processes, Angell (1991:245) argues that effective and good citizens believe in the efficiency of civic participation, they are interested in participating, and they have a feeling of obligation to participate and review research on the relationship between classroom climate variables and learners' civic dispositions and skills. From the above discussion, it is clear that democratic citizenship education in public schools is important for the survival of a constitutional democracy in a country such as Ghana.

Benhabib (2002:19) confirms the need for democratic citizenship education, where she distinguishes three interrelated aspects. Educating people to be democratic citizens –

- has to take into account people's linguistic, cultural, ethnic and religious commonalities;
    - **involves making them aware of the right of political participation, the right to hold certain offices, the right to perform certain tasks and the right to deliberate and decide upon certain questions; and**
    - **involves educating people about their civil, political and social rights.**

Benhabib (2002), narrating the importance of democratic citizenship education, claims one can support the view that democratic citizenship education helps create space in and out of school environments where one can have the opportunity to learn the cultural differences, values, ethos and shared communities of one another.

It is the opinion of the researcher that, in order to achieve the above objectives or aims in the implementation of democratic citizenship education in schools, deliberate efforts need to be designed to arrive at a coherent approach to school improvement, which is a dependent variable

in the democratic school environment (Ekholm, 2004). The difficulty in arriving at a coherent approach to school improvement has resulted in failures of many educational reforms in countries – of which Ghana is one. Just after the first general democratic election in 1950 and after independence in 1957, Ghana has been shown to be a good example of democratic governance among West Africa countries. However, a critical look at the education policies of Ghana indicates that little has been done to promote democratic practices in the formal basic educational system.

The 1951 Accelerated Development Plan of Education (ADP) (MoE, 1951), which was introduced by Dr Kwame Nkrumah, as the leader of government in the first parliament of Ghana, had elements of democratic citizenship education which were taught indirectly, through a subject called History especially at the middle school (now Junior High School). It is important to note that the name of this subject was later changed to Cultural Studies in the 1986 educational reform (MoE, 1987), and to Social Studies in the 2007 New Educational Reform (MoE, 2007c). Learners learned about:

- **the history of Ghana towards independence;**
- **the governance systems, rights and responsibilities of a citizen;**
- **national songs, anthems and flags;**
- **the names of our great leaders who led the independence struggle;**
- **issues such as –**
  - respect and obedience to the aged;
  - value systems;
  - various arms of government;
  - the religion groups in the country;
  - the national holidays;
  - the map of Ghana;
  - the electoral system; and
  - other historical facts and places in the country.

This pattern has been the same in all the curricula and reforms we had gone through to the recent one in 2007. According to Butts (1988:35), an effective democratic citizenship education programme should not only provide learners with the necessary knowledge but also with opportunities for the individual's worth, fairness, co-operation, persistence, moral responsibility, empathy and honesty. Learners at the basic level of the Ghanaian educational

system have minimal knowledge acquisition in democratic citizenship education (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010).

Young (2006a:95) suggests that inclusive democracy enables participation and a voice of all those affected by problems and their proposed solutions. Inclusive democracy further describes the image of inclusion as that of a heterogeneous public engaged in transforming institutions to make them more effective in solving shared problems justly.

One major critical issue is that the main stakeholders in our educational system, namely the learners and teachers, are mostly not consulted on what might improve the school to ensure effective teaching and learning. Rudduck et al. (1996:5) argue that what learners say about teaching, learning and schooling is not only worth listening to but provides an important foundation for thinking about ways of improving schools and other education reforms. Currently, in many Ghanaian rural schools, most learners are not allowed to elect their school prefects and other leaders (Abreh, 2017).

However, in the urban schools, learners have the opportunity to elect school prefects and other leaders. The leaders are appointed by the staff only to perform activities, such as conducting morning and closing assemblies for the school, supervision of the cleaning of the school compound and making sure that the classroom is quiet in the absence of a teacher, especially in the rural district schools. They do not have the power to influence decision-making in the school management. Meetings are open to staff members only and the head-teacher to deal with issues such as appointments, drawing up of school programmes, dismissal of learners and the day-to-day running of the school (Abreh, 2017). However, in some cases, the learners are given the opportunity to vote. It is very difficult to identify any formalised system in dealing with conflict resolution at JHS level. Rules and regulations concerning the day-to-day running of the school are designed by the teachers for all learners to obey. Conflicts are resolved at the teachers' own discretion. Learners are only to oblige without redress, and there is no mediation, no consensus process or informal dialogue. Callan (2004:72) describes this situation as "reasonableness". To her, reasonableness is essential for equal respect among persons and it is negated if powerful religious and non-religious groups seek to make maximum use of its power. Channels of communication are rarely accessible to the learners.

In the mission schools, irrespective of their religious backgrounds, learners have to perform certain practices of the religious beliefs of these mission schools (Abreh, 2017). In some cases,

they are denied admission indirectly because of their religious background, which each applicant is supposed to indicate on the admission form. Even in the public schools, learners are prevented from practising their own religions, and they are forced to attend general religious activities organised by the school, forced to observe some religious holidays, and forced to sing some religious songs (Abreh, 2017).

Moreover, learners are denied the opportunity to choose their own senior high school (SHS) at the completion of Junior High School (JHS). There is a computerised system that allocates JHS candidates to Senior High Schools, an initiative by the Ministry of Education, Science and Sports called Computerised School Selection and Placement System (CSSPS) (MoESS, 2005; Nettey, 2019). The JHS status does not offer learner leaders the opportunity to become members of the school management committee or the disciplinary committee (Abreh, 2017).

From my personal experience, there are no organised activities in the JHS programme to promote effective teacher-to-learner relationship. In terms of the curriculum, all basic schools in Ghana follow sets of mandatory curricula for the various subjects prepared by a constitutionally mandated body, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NaCCA) of Ministry of Education. There are no voluntary courses for interested learners to offer in order to prepare them for national examinations. Every national examination is planned and directed by the school. Only private candidates (learners who could not pass their examinations during their completion time) have the opportunity to register and re-write the examinations. It is clear that some of the methods of teaching at this level – such as lecture and expository – do not have any democratic citizenship education value. However, one of the tenets of democratic citizenship education is that it is often specially emancipated with learners' voices being equal to those of teachers.

Yet, Article 12 of the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (see UNICEF, 1999) of which Ghana is a signatory, states, "[w]henever adults decide which will affect you in any way, you have the right to give your opinion and adults have to take it seriously" (Davies et al., 2002:22). This type of social inequity poses a possible threat to democracy in Ghana. According to Dayton (1995:140), democracy and the rule of law are not historical necessities, but a victory of the human sense that needs to be reinforced and renewed constantly in the minds of all individuals.

Since the commencement of the Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana in 1992, various successive governments have initiated the following acts and conventions in relation to our educational system with the objective of instilling democratic values and protection to learners who are regarded as the future leaders of the country, an implication for the survival of the country's democracy:

- **the National Gender and Children Policy (2004) (see Ofei-Aboagye, 2004);**
- **the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy I and II (2003 and 2006) (see Mensah, Domfeh, Ahenkan & Bawole, 2013);**
- **Ghana Share Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) (2010) (see National Development Planning Commission [NDPC], 2010);**
- **Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) programme of 1995 (see Akyeampong, 2009);**
- **Child Rights in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (see Hammarberg, 1990);**
- **Inclusive Education policy (1988) (see Ametepee & Anastasiou, 2015);**
- **Children's Act, No. 50 of 1998 (see Laird, 2002);**
- **Persons with Disability Act No. 715 of 2006 (see Asante & Sasu, 2015);**
- **Domestic Violence Act, No. 732 of 2007 (see Osei-Tutu & Ampadu, 2017);**
- **establishment of the Ministry of Women's and Children Affairs (2001) (see Mama, 2005); and**
- **establishment of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (2012) (see Oddsdottir, 2014).**

Regardless of all these noble initiatives taken by successive governments, one can still testify to some leakages in our educational system in relation to democratic citizenship education. This was confirmed by Anamuah-Mensah (2006), the then vice-chancellor of the University of Education, Winneba on 4 March 2006, in a speech delivered at a three-day workshop on civic

education for some selected second-cycle institutions.[2] He stated that, at the time, the educational system did not respond to the country's needs as "it turns out civic roles and responsibilities" (Anamuah-Mensah, 2006:10). In an attempt to solve this leakage and to address the concerns from stakeholders, and based on the publication of Anamuah-Mensah's committee report, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) introduced citizenship education in 2002 as a subject to be taught at upper primary level in Ghana's educational system. The aim was to produce competent, reflective, concerned and participatory citizens who will contribute to the development of communities and the country in the spirit of patriotism and democracy (Ministry of Education, Science and Sports [MoESS], 2007) at Junior High Schools, to be known as Social Studies (MoESS, 2007). As Banks (1990:211) points out, it is only Social Studies that has an explicit focus on citizenship education. Although the policies demonstrate the commitment of the government of Ghana to equity for all children, researching from insider perspectives, one would argue that the Ghanaian educational system is essentially arbitrary and dualist in nature with good education policies on one side and poor implementation on the other side (Avoke & Avoke, 2004; Kuyini, 2010; Yarboi, 2008).

Yet, in most of the policy documents involving the Ghanaian basic educational system, democratic citizenship education was not directly mentioned. This therefore calls for an urgent awareness for democratic citizenship education. In the opinion of Young (2006a:93), within the context of education, democratic inclusive education is established for the purpose of creating a learning environment in which each learner is valued and recognised as part of the classroom community and in which multiple perspectives are included in the community building and decision-making efforts of the classroom. After a careful study of the Ghanaian educational system documents, I am convinced that the basic school curriculum (Junior High School) lacks the concept of democratic citizenship education. The most worrying aspect deals with the absence of clear guidelines for how learners at Junior High Schools are involved in decision-making relating to the management of the school day-to-day activities.

I also became convinced that something needs to be done in order to sensitise the schools to involve learners who are key stakeholders in the management of their schools. This was the motivation behind the current research.

[2] The latest Education Act of Ghana (No. 778 of 2008) defines second-cycle institution to comprise four years of senior high school education, vocational, business and agricultural education or apprenticeship training of not less than one year (GoG, 2008).

1.3 RESEARCH AIM

The purpose of the current study was to examine how education policies in the Ashanti region of Ghana attend to the cultivation of democratic citizenship education (DCE) and its relationship to teaching and learning.

I examined literature on democratic citizenship education in relation to the following democratic education liberal and deliberative theorists: Callan (1995; 2016), Benhabib (1996; 2002; 2006), Young (1990; 1996; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2006a-c; 2011), Nussbaum (2000), Gutmann (1996; 1999; 2003), Appiah (1994), Wiredu (1995; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2008) and Gyekye (2004; 2013). This helped me present an effort to fill the gap in research by applying the theory and practice of democratic citizenship education.

1.4 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

The study had the following specific research objectives:

- **to determine the extent to which democratic citizenship education features prominently in education policy documents in Ghana;**
- **to establish the connections between democratic citizenship education and a liberal framework;**
- **to determine the extent to which Ghana's education policy documents have been informed by DCE;**
- **to evaluate the relevance and cultivation of DCE to teaching and learning in Ashanti schools; and**
- **to contribute to the debate on meaningful DCE in Ashanti schools in Ghana.**

1.5 RESEARCH QUESTIONS

The following research questions were derived from the research objectives to guide the research to achieve its intended goal. These questions were sub-divided into primary and secondary research questions.

1.6 PRIMARY QUESTION

This is the main research question, which directed the entire study.

> Do the educational policies in the Ashanti region of Ghana offer opportunities to cultivate democratic citizenship education in the Ghanaian society?

1.7 SECONDARY QUESTIONS

These involved statements of intended questions the research sought to address in relation to the primary question.

- **What is DCE within the liberal framework?**
- **To what extent are Ghana's education policy documents informed by DCE?**

- **What are the implications of educating for DCE to teaching and learning in Ashanti schools?**

1.8 OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

This section involves a brief summary of the entire thesis, which is divided into seven chapters.

Chapter one dealt with the background of the study, which explored the importance of education and its relation to DCE. A brief history of the Ghanaian education system was described tracing the pre-colonial, missionary, colonial and post-colonial eras. In describing the post-colonial educational reforms in Ghana, an attempt was made to identify the policy documents and acts involved in these eras to examine how education in Ghana, specifically in the Ashanti region attends to the cultivation of DCE. The rationale for the study was that the Ghanaian educational system still lacks the concept of DCE, although democratic subjects, such as Social Studies, Citizenship Education, Religious and Moral Education have been introduced. There are no clear guidelines about how learners at JHSs are involved in decision-making relating to the management of the school's day-to-day activities. The research aims, objectives and questions were also outlined.

Chapter 2 reports on the research design, paradigms, methods, conceptual analysis, deconstructive analysis and data collection procedures as well as the data analysis plan.

Chapter 3: This is the first of three chapters on the literature and theoretical reviews. Most documents consulted were from 1950s to 2015. However, considerable effort was made to explore the literature in connection with the current study in Ghana, African and the Western world as a whole. This chapter reviews literature that was consulted regarding the modern definitions of democracy, types of democracy, models of democracy, democracy and national development, deliberative democracy and education and education for democracy. An overview of democratic spheres of change in Ghana is presented to discuss the link between democratic discourse and education. The literature review centred on the definition of DCE, DCE policies, DCE as a national and political issue, globalisation and world views on DCE, DCE as a mode of political and national socialisation and the relationship between education and democracy.

Chapter 4 provides a comparative analysis of the spheres of change in the emergence of democratic dispensation in the country and the effect of DCE on the educational reforms. In this regard, six educational reforms, acts and polices during the period 1951-2007 are discussed, namely:

- **1951 Accelerated Development Plan (MoE, 1951);**
- **1961 Education Act (MoE, 1961);**
- **1967 Kwapong education reform (MoI, 1967);**
- **1987 Junior secondary school reform (MoE, 1987);**
- **1995 Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (Akyeampong, 2009); and**
- **2007 New education reform and its relation to the possibility of DCE in Ghana (Kuyini, 2013).**

DCE can be described as an educational activity designed to help young people in society to play an active role in democratic activities of the country through responsible performance of rights and duties (Waghid, 2010). It was therefore necessary to study the education policies and reforms from the post-colonial period to the recent times (1951 to 2007), other documents, such as the constitution of Ghana, the basic school curriculum and all the acts that have elements of DCE.

Chapter 5 discusses the various theoretical underpinnings related to DCE. This was important in order to review the existing democratic education theories that have influenced the Ghanaian educational system in relation to teaching and learning. A discussion of the views of important theorists, namely Callan (1995; 2006), Benhabib (1996; 2002; 2006), Young (1990; 1996; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2006a-c; 2011), Nussbaum (2000) and Gutmann (1996; 1999; 2003) on DCE were analysed to see how their views could help solve the research questions for the study. More so, three renowned African theorists of DCE, namely Appiah (1994), Wiredu (1995; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2008) and Gyekye (2004; 2013) were also explored in order to give a fair balance in terms of the ideas of Western theorists mentioned above. This is necessary because of the unique differences in social, cultural, religious, ethnic and economic beliefs among Africans and Westerners.

Following my discourse analysis of the Western and African views on DCE tenets and their reconciliation in Chapter 4 and the early part of Chapter 5, a discussion was centred on the

reconceptualization or distinctiveness of DCE in Africa and its tenets as an extension of the views of the renowned African philosophers, Appiah (1994), Gyekye (2004; 2013), Waghid (2005; 2008; 2009; 2010; 2014), Wiredu (1995; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2008), Dzobo (1992), Mbiti (1969; 1970) and Menkiti (1984; 2004. Particular emphasis was placed on their articulations of the following characteristics of DCE in Africa, namely civil engagement, communitarianism, cosmopolitanism or globalisation, inclusiveness, participation and *ubuntu*. This enabled me to deconstruct the parameters through which DCE tenets in Africa are premised in order to help identify and address problems associated with junior high education (basic education) teaching and learning in the Ghana education policy document. This was necessary because of the unique differences in social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds that affect Africa, especially Ghanaians, and other global concerns on DCE.

Chapter 6 reports on an analysis and verification of whether the Ghanaian education policy documents and teaching and learning (pedagogy) of JHSs in the Ashanti region of Ghana have achieved the requirements of the theories of DCE sufficiently and whether the education policies have helped citizens to solve their problems. This helped in answering the main research question for the study:

> Do the educational policies in the Ashanti schools of Ghana offer opportunities to cultivate DCE in the Ghanaian society?

This chapter also presents and discusses the uniqueness and lack of participation, deliberation and belonging of DCE in Ghana's basic education system.

Chapter 7 presents a synopsis of the research process and the research findings on DCE in Ghanaian junior high schools and its implications for teaching and learning. Areas of study where gaps exist as identified during the research are discussed, and suggestions and recommendations for further studies are made.

1.9 SUMMARY

This was the introductory chapter of the thesis. It contained the historical background to the study, statement of the problem, the research questions, the aims of the study and a detailed chapter outline. In the next chapter, I present the philosophical frameworks, research paradigm and the methods and methodologies of the study.

CHAPTER TWO

RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

2.1 INTRODUCTION

All investigative studies are based on some underlying philosophical underpinnings as to how theory and practice are related through research aims and questions (Cohen, Manion & Morrison, 2007). In order to conduct and evaluate any research study, it is therefore necessary to know what these assumptions are. According to Creswell (2009:55), when planning a study, researchers need to think about the philosophical positioning (paradigm) that they bring to their research, the strategy of inquiry relating to this paradigm, and the specific methods of research that translate the approach into practice. This section refers to the research design. I used philosophy of education as research approach in order to gain a better understanding of educational research. This study made use of interpretive theory (Waghid, 2013) as a research methodology (paradigm). Other three distinct methods of inquiry namely deconstructive, conceptual and narrative analyses were used. Also included in this chapter are the procedures for data collection.

2.2 CONCEPT OF PHILOSOPHY

The word 'philosophy' comes from a Greek work *philosophia*, which literally means "love of wisdom" (Schofield, 1972:3). The term *philosophia* can be subdivided into *philos* meaning 'love' and *sophia* meaning 'wisdom'. Put together, they connote 'love for or of wisdom'. Schofield (1972:3) describes philosophy as "the process of asking questions". It must be mentioned that such "questions" are purposive and have to aim at unravelling the mysteries of life. Such questions help us to explore issues. The human mind is eager and curious to find out the why, what and how of things and it is undoubtedly through such questions that we get into knowledge, which is not stagnant but dynamic. In other words, philosophy is a search for an understanding of the values, beliefs and reality by mainly speculative rather than observational means (Yost, 1968).

Philosophy as a way of life is characterised by four cardinal principles: self-awareness, penetration, comprehensiveness and flexibility as reported by Knight (1980, cited in Oti-Agyen, 2007:6). Self-awareness is the process of critically examining one's self in order to become well acquainted with one's whole personality, including interests, attitudes, biases, prejudices,

capabilities, perceptions, weaknesses, limitations, aptitudes, likes, dislikes, strengths and others, according to Knight (1980, cited in Oti-Agyen, 2007). Self-awareness also involves an objective and impartial understanding and appreciation of one's mental, physical and social dispositions and taking the necessary steps to overcome our limitations and solve our problems without running away from them, according to Knight (1980, cited in Oti-Agyen, 2007). Penetration is furthermore the process of giving thoughtful, serious meditative attention to minute issues of life. Such an action does not hastily ignore issues and jump into sweeping generalisations; instead, it is critical, analytical, systematic and methodological, according to Knight (1980, cited in Oti-Agyen, 2007). Comprehensiveness calls for reasonableness, open-mindedness, objectivity, fairness and systematic and continuous examinations of the pros and cons of our judgments, decisions, values, norms and principles of life with the view of measuring their relevance and usefulness, according to Knight (1980, cited in Oti-Agyen, 2007). Comprehensiveness is the tendency of collecting as much relevant data as possible from a wide spectrum of sources Knight (1980, cited in Oti-Agyen, 2007).

Closely allied to the principle of comprehensiveness is flexibility. Flexibility here refers to the special ability to accommodate divergent views, analyse such views and accept what is practicable and useful at a particular point in time, according to Knight (1980, cited in Oti-Agyen, 2007). It goes with fertility and elasticity of mind and rejects parochialism, rigidity or a 'psychological set', which includes a willingness to restructure ideas in the face of sufficient evidence (Knight, 1980, cited in Oti-Agyen, 2007:7).

In fact, philosophy, without critical and profound thinking, is like a ship without radar (Ndofirepi, 2011). It is on the strength of this profound thinking process that one can arrive at tentative yet credible and authentic answers (Ndofirepi, 2011). Gyekye (1996:20) defines philosophy as a rational, critical and systematic inquiry into the fundamental ideas underlying human activities.

According to Gingell (2008:63), the word 'education' may be derived from one of two Latin words: *educere*, which means 'to lead-out' or 'to train' and *educare*, which means 'to train' or 'to nourish'. In his book *Democracy and Education* (1916), John Dewey, the American educationist, says that education should concern itself with the reorganisation, reconstruction and transformation of experience. To this end, Dewey was of the opinion that education should expose the individual to a varied (Dewey, 1916) knowledge, and should equip him or her with the necessary skills and attitudes in order to play an active role in society.

2.3 CONCEPT OF PHILOSOPHY OF EDUCATION

According to Hirst and Peters (1998:30), a philosopher of education therefore will have to examine the ethics of education in order to deal with the valuations and into theory of knowledge in order to get a clear picture of the distinction between concepts such as 'knowledge', 'beliefs' and 'understanding'. As Bruce and Gerber (1995:450) write, "by knowing the educators before us have encountered the same difficult we will not feel so burdened or isolated". More so, Dewey, in his classic work *Democracy and education* (1916), describes education as the means of "social continuity of life" (Dewey, 1916:20).

To Dewey (1916:30) "the primary ineluctable facts of the birth and death of each one of the constituent members in a social group" make education a necessity despite this biological inevitability of the life of a group. The considerable societal importance of education is underscored by the fact that when a society is faced with a crisis, such crisis is attributed to a sign of educational breakdown where educators and educational systems are blamed. It is therefore not surprising that such an important social domain as education has attracted the attention of philosophers. Philosophy of education plays an important role in providing education and theory of knowledge for education to work upon (Oti-Agyen, 2009). In sum, I may be tempted to stay that philosophy of education is essentially a method of approaching educational experience rather than a body of conclusions. In fact, to me, this is a specific method that makes education through a philosophical method to arrive at philosophical conclusions and results of education.

By knowing where we are coming from (in terms of DCE in Ghanaian context), we can contextualise our work, so that it is well grounded in a consistent, philosophical approach by current theory and evidence (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). "This empowers the educator to move forward with a sense of direction" (Bruce, Findlay, Read & Scarborough, 1995). I trust that the current philosophical study will help widen the understanding of our policymakers and educators in their decision-making in terms of DCE in the Ghanaian school system.

2.4 RESEARCH PARADIGM AND METHODOLOGY

Most researchers base their investigative study on certain philosophical perspectives. Such study may be based on a single method and paradigm or more paradigms and methods depending on the kind of work they are doing. According to McMillian and Schumacher

(2001:55), research is defined as a systematic process of collecting and logically analysing information for some purpose (Ghauri, Grønhaug & Strange, 2020). In the current study, I used interpretive theory as research paradigm, conceptual analysis and deconstructive analysis as research methods. For Waghid (2002:42), research methodology has become the practice of educational research, because an understanding of the research methodology involves thinking about and producing knowledge constructs (Booysen, 2015; Johnson & Christensen, 2019). The current study was Ghanaian context-based, which involved how the educational system in the Ashanti region of Ghana attends to the cultivation of DCE, which has implications for teaching and learning in schools.

It was therefore necessary to study the education policy documents and acts between 1951 and 2007 (from the transitional period to the immediate post-colonial and contemporary era) in order to examine and understand the concept of DCE and its relationship with Ghanaian education policy documents.

2.4.1 Research paradigm

Ranson (1996:263) believes that for any effective analysis of policy there must be a strong focus on the state. He continues, "[w]hile policies like texts cannot be controlled at the level of discourse, they can unlike texts be regulated at the operational level of practice." Although age-weighted learner formulas may have allowed much interpretation at the level of discourse, in practice their implementation is tightly regulated at the level of local discretion (Ranson, 1996; Kumar, 2019). In order to understand the reasons for a particular phenomenon, qualitative researchers believe it is crucial to explore the perspectives that participants have as an aspect of their lives. Capturing these perspectives accurately allows the qualitative researcher to generate a theory about what is being studied (Ranson, 1996; Kumar, 2019). The particular qualitative approach deemed appropriate for this study was underpinned by Ranson's approach to policy studies, namely that based on interpretivism.

Interpretivism studies assume that people act for a variety of reasons (Schwandt, 1994; Johnson & Christensen, 2019). These reasons are based on the meanings people have of certain others, events and things. Proponents of the interpretivist viewpoints share the goal of understanding the complex world of life experience from the point of view of those who live it (Schwandt, 1994; Johnson & Christensen, 2019). The value of adopting an interpretivist approach in this research is that this approach can uncover people's understandings of phenomena. This reflects

a tradition in social science that fundamentally depends on observations taken in people's natural settings and interacting with them in their own language and on their terms (Kirk, Miller & Miller, 1986; Mohajan, 2018).

More so, interpretivist procedures and practices give structure and meaning to everyday life because the interpretivist believes that knowledge is always local, situated in a local culture and embedded in organisational sites (Denzin & Lincoln, 1994; Johnson & Christensen, 2019).

According to Waghid (2002:46-47), interpretive theory insists on two central issues, namely self-understanding of the individual as the basis for all social interpretation, and human consciousness remains transparent. This means that human explanation and interpretations, as they appear, do not conceal any deeper understanding of events (Waghid, 2002; Johnson & Christensen, 2019). Therefore, interpretive theory is about analysis that involves more than observation. In other words, actions should not only be observed, but also have to be explained (Keedy, 1992; Johnson & Christensen, 2019). Moreover, Easterby-Smith, Thorpe and Jackson (2008:65) identify eight notions on interpretivism, which are also known as phenomenology paradigm, namely:

- **the world is perceived to be socially constructed and subjective;**
- **the observer is considered a part of the object of observation;**
- **human interest drives science;**
- **there is a focus on meanings aiming to understand the meaning of events;**
- **the totality of each individual case is explored;**
- **several methods are used in order to differentiate aspects of phenomena;**
- **ideas are developed by induction from data; and**
- **small samples are analysed in greater depth or over an ever longer period.**

Underpinning interpretivism are Blumer's (1969:2) three central propositions of symbolic interactionism:

- **Human beings act toward things on the basis of the meanings that the things have for them.**

- **This attribution of meaning to objects through symbols is a continuous process. The symbols are gestures, signs, language and anything else that may convey meanings.**
- **The meanings (of gestures, signs, language and anything) are handled in and modified through an interpretative process used by the person when dealing with the things she or he encounters (Low, 2019).**

The following four things have helped me to shape the initial thinking regarding the nature of the guiding questions to be asked in this study:

- **What is DCE within the liberal framework?**
- **To what extent is Ghana's education policy documents informed by DCE?**
- **What are the implications of educating for DCE to teaching and learning in Ashanti schools?**
- **What is meaningful DCE in the Ghanaian education policy context?**

It was recognised that, as the study unfolded, other questions were suggesting themselves. This is why the above were outlined as guiding questions rather than specific questions. It was necessary to note that interpretivism used in this study which involved the study of education policy documents, Acts and interventions were the main sources to investigate the nature of the Ghanaian educational system in its cultivation of DCE. These policy documents, acts and interventions needed to be understood, conceptualised and interpreted within the Ghanaian context in order to uncover the meaning of and the relationship between Ghanaian education policy documents and their unique role in promoting DCE, thus citizens who are capable of solving the problems in society.

2.4.2 Conceptual analysis

Conceptual analysis involves examining and analysing concepts, terms, variables, constructs, definitions, assertions, hypotheses and theories for clarity, coherence and logical relations in identifying assumptions and implications (Hirst & Peters, 1998; Ravitch & Carl, 2019). Conceptual analysis is not merely a matter of language or language use; it is also a matter of

the content of our linguistic expressions, which is what we claim to be thinking and talking about (Bennett & Hacker, 2003; Lycan, 2018). In this study, concepts such as 'democracy', 'citizenship', 'education' as well as Ghanaian education policy documents from 1951 to 2007 were analysed to see how these concepts and policy documents attend to the cultivation of DCE in Ghana and their relationship with teaching and learning in school. Concept analysis served to expose (typically unconscious) practical inconsistency (Bassham, Irwin, Nardone & Wallace, 2008; Ross, 2020), such as when someone rejects logic by means of a valid deductive argument (Tripllet, 1988; Lycan, 2018) or behaves as in allegiance with an anti-realist perspective (Lambie, 1991; Levitt, 2001; Ross, 2020).

In establishing the level of DCE in our JHS education policy documents and curriculum structure (for research objectives 1 and 2), I evaluated all existing education policy components from 1951 to 2007 in terms of the eight theoretical propositions of Callan (1995; 2006a), Benhabib (1996; 2002; 2006), Young (1990; 1996; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2006b; 2011), Nussbaum (2000), Gutmann (1995; 1999; 2003), Appiah (1994), Wiredu (1995; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2008) and Gyekye (2004; 2013). I took into account the various known DCE tenets, such as legitimacy, collective identity, equality, inclusiveness, reasonableness, participation, trust, binding, reciprocity, cosmopolitanism, civil-engagement, understanding, respect, co-operation, conflict resolution and self-esteem. Analysis of the various concepts identified above in their relationships with DCE helped me have a better understanding of these words in order to provide some clarity to observe any similarities and differences where possible.

To address objective 3 of the study, I explored the historical context that had shaped and guided all the education policies in Ghana from 1951 to 2007 by way of conceptual analysis in order to measure the extent of DCE in the Ghanaian educational system.

In addressing objective 4 of this study, I analysed the implications of the cultivation of DCE tenets for teaching and learning in schools. This involved searching for meanings that give a clear picture of DCE and its body of knowledge through reading about what other researchers, philosophers and policymakers had written about DCE worldwide, Africa and specifically, in Ghanaian education policy documents.

2.4.3 Deconstructive analysis

Deconstruction by its very nature defies institutionalization in an authoritative definition. The concept was first outlined by Derrida (1988) when he explored the interplay between language and the construction of meaning. Derrida attempted to provide a basic explanation of what deconstruction is commonly understood to mean. Three key features emerged from Derrida's work as making deconstruction possible (Derrida, 1997). These are, first, the inherent desire to have a centre, or focal point, to structure understanding, second, the reduction of meaning to set definitions that are committed to writing (nothing beyond the text); and, finally, how the reduction of meaning to writing captures opposition within that concept itself. These three features found the possibility of deconstruction as an on-going process of questioning the accepted basis of meaning. Deconstruction is therefore a means of interrogating the relationship between concepts.

Derrida (1997) takes as his starting point the assertion that modern Western philosophy is characterized by and constructed around an inherent desire to place meaning at the centre of presence. Put simply, what this means is that philosophy is driven by a desire for the certainty associated with the existence of an absolute truth, or an objective meaning that makes sense of our place in the world. Derrida terms this desire 'logocentrism'. Derrida highlights how logocentrism assumes the existence of set and stable meanings that exist to be discovered. For Derrida, it is this logocentrism, and the idea of the exteriority of meaning, that opens up the possibility of deconstruction (Derrida, 1988).

The idea of deconstruction is therefore concerned with countering the idea of a transcendental origin or natural referent. It refutes the notion that it is possible to transgress the institution in order to discover something beyond the existence of an independent origin. For Derrida, the origin does not exist independently of its institution, but exists only 'through its functioning within a classification and therefore within a system of differences. In his own words, Derrida

(1988) terms this phenomenon ‘différance’, and it is this idea that forms the basis of deconstruction. Différance refers to the fact that meaning cannot be regarded as fixed or static, but is constantly evolving. It arises from the constant process of negotiation between competing concepts. Rather than pursuing the truth of a natural origin, what deconstruction requires is the interrogation of these competing interpretations that combine to produce meaning.

Derrida (1997) explains that the first task of deconstruction is to overturn the hierarchy. This is necessary to highlight the ‘conflictual and subordinating structure of opposition’. It emphasizes the dominance of one particular way of thinking over others, and disproves the idea of fixed meaning, overturning, and therefore exposing, the existence of the binary and destabilizing previously fixed categories to understand. Derrida emphasizes how to remain in this phase is to remain within the oppositional structure, allowing the hierarchy to re-establish itself. According to Derrida (1997), if deconstruction is limited to the simple inversion of binaries, then inquiry remains trapped ‘within the closed field of these oppositions’. What this means is that instead of making any real change to structural conditions, what is happening is simply swapping the positions of dominant and subordinate, allowing the same conditions to persist. In order to move beyond this dynamic, and to break open the structure itself, a second stage is necessary. This second stage is where the indeterminate element of deconstruction becomes visible. Rather than resting with the inversion of the binaries, and by extension accepting a different manifestation of fixed meaning, the second phase requires us to step outside the oppositions, to remain in search of new meanings, not by repeating ideas but by analyzing how ideas are framed, how arguments are made. Derrida (1988) describes this as searching for the ‘tensions, the contradictions, the heterogeneity within the corpus’. It is only through this element of endless analysis, criticism and deconstruction that one can prevent existing structures of dominance from reasserting themselves.

In this study, deconstruction is concerned not with the discovery of 'truth' or of distilling correct conclusions, but rather with the process of questioning itself. It is a process characterized by uncertainty and indeterminacy. For this reason, Derrida (1997) explains, deconstruction is not a 'method', and it cannot be transformed into one. One cannot 'apply' deconstruction to test a hypothesis or to support an argument. Rather it is an ongoing process of interrogation concerned with the structure of meaning itself. Derrida (1997) is clear, however, that although deconstruction is not primarily concerned with advocacy or activism, it does not reject the need for law and institutions, but rather seeks to work within those structures to reveal new possibilities. It consists of dismantling not institutions themselves, but rather 'structures within institutions that have become too rigid, or are dogmatic or which work as an obstacle to future research'. To Derrida, deconstruction is therefore an affirmative force that opens up possibilities that have been suppressed by virtue of the dominance of one particular way of conceptualizing justice. In this study, I used deconstruction analysis to identify the gap and inadequacy between one concept and another. For instance, concepts such as democracy, citizenship and education and the results were transcribed and analysed to exposed any gap or inadequacy among these concepts. This confirmed Willig's (2008:52) explanation of this idea by asserting that deconstructive analysis is concerned with the analysis of texts and/or utterances within specific socio-cultural contexts and indicates a method of data analysis that can tell the researcher about the discursive construction of a phenomenon.

Deconstruction searches for meanings that are not there yet (Biesta & Egéa-Kuehne, 2001:8). This study examines the meanings of the concepts beyond their current meanings and, in doing so; it applies Biesta and Egéa-Kuehne's interpretation of Derrida's views on deconstruction as a method. Deconstruction as a method has a strong emphasis on differentiations as a possibility for meaning and interpretation. According to Biesta and Egéa-Kuehne (2001:4), Derrida's work on deconstruction is crucial to rethinking educational issues through the unravelling of inadequacies, contradictions and ambiguities in our education policies and practices. Biesta and

Egéa-Kuehne's understanding of Derrida's work reveals the inadequacies in the current conceptualisation of education as far as democratic citizenship is concerned. Therefore, deconstruction serves as a guide in rethinking why there are persistent and recurrent ethnic disparities and social inequalities despite sound educational policies and the presence of several institutions of higher learning in Ghana. The notion of otherness within the theory of deconstruction assists in re-examining how the conceptualisation of democratic citizenship in Ghana is related to the challenge of social inequalities. As a method that encourages reflexivity, deconstruction is used in demonstrating that what was hitherto understood as self-evident realities – for example what democracy means – are in fact quite ambiguous, as they may mean different things to different people, as the research conducted by Luescher-Mamashela et al. (2011) reveals. In other words, deconstruction enables me to gain a new perspective of conceptual formulations in order to address inherent discursive loopholes and ambiguities.

This study is located within an understanding of democratic citizenship education informed by deliberative thought. In research, democratic citizenship education has been viewed largely as an idea, based on the notion that it is possible to know what good citizenship is, and thus the task of citizenship education is that of producing good citizenship (Biesta, 2011:141). In this study, the question asked is whether and to what degree do educational policies and acts in the Ashanti region of Ghana offer opportunities to cultivate democratic citizenship education. At this level, the study explores deliberative approaches of democracy in investigating the concept of democratic citizenship education to advance a democratic citizenship education that grows from a Ghanaian identity.

2.5 METHODS OF DATA COLLECTION

In considering the research aims, objectives and research questions, I used documentary and textual analysis as data collection strategies.

2.5.1 Documentary and textual analysis

Appropriate documentations provided data for this study. Crump (1993:33) believes that analysing documents is useful because it allows an identification of the spaces, gaps, accidents and missed opportunities in policymaking, and therefore to make some comment on the role of the state in this context. This strategy should thus avoid rhetoric of solutions as well as avoiding a deterministic pessimism (see Crump, 1993; Merriam & Grenier, 2019).

In this study, primary data in the form of documents was collected from the UNESCO Institute for Statistics (UIS) and the Ashanti regional directorate of the Ghana Education Service (GES) in terms of all policy documents on Ghana's educational reforms from the post-colonial times to the present namely;

- **1951 Accelerated Development Plan (see MoE, 1951);**
- **Education Act 87 of 1961 (see MoE, 1961);**
- **1967 Kwapong's Education reform (see MoI, 1967);**
- **1987 Junior Secondary School reform (see MoE, 1987);**
- **1995 Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (see Akyeampong, 2009); and**
- **New Education reform 2007 (see MoE, 2007a).**

Other documents were the Constitution of Ghana, and all acts that have elements of DCE such as:

- **the National Gender and Children Policy (2004) (see Ofei-Aboagye, 2004);**
- **the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy I and II (2003 and 2006) (see Mensah et al., 2013);**
- **the Ghana Share Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) (2010) (see National Development Planning Commission [NDPC], 2010);**
- **Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) (1995) (see Akyeampong, 2009);**
- **Rights of the child in the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (see Hammarberg, 1990);**

- **Inclusive education policy (1988) (see Ametepee & Anastasiou, 2015);**
- **Children's Act, No. 560 of 1998 (see Laird, 2002);**
- **Persons with Disability Act, No. 715 of 2006 (see Asante & Sasu, 2015);**
- **Domestic Violence Act, No. 732 of 2007 (see Osei-Tutu & Ampadu, 2017);**
- **National labour Law No. 651 of 2003 (see Hodges & Baah, 2006);**
- **establishment of the Ministry of Women's and Children Affairs (2001) (see Mama, 2005);**
- **establishment of the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection (2012) (see Oddsdottir, 2014); and**
- **early childhood care and development policy (see Morrison, 2000) from the various ministries of government and other related non-governmental organisations (NGOs).**

Other secondary data from published articles, unpublished papers, journal articles and reports from international development organisations, such as UNICEF and USAID in relation to DCE was also collected. Information about the historical and political context in which DCE existed formally and informally in our basic school system in Ghana at the time of this research, more especially in Ashanti region, was collected. All these documents and texts were examined closely by me in order to establish meanings by describing the content, structure and functions of the messages contained in the texts and documents in arriving at or justifying whether the Ashanti school curriculum in Ghana attends to the cultivation of DCE.

2.6 SUMMARY

This chapter involved the presentation of the research methodology for the study. Philosophy of education and interpretive theory comprised the research design and methodology used for the study. I used deconstruction and conceptual analysis in examining the notion of DCE within the liberal framework in deliberative democracy. In the next chapter, I review literature on Ghana's education policy documents from 1950 to 2007 and report on modern definitions of democracy, models, deliberative democracy, DCE policies in Ghana, Africa and world views.

CHAPTER THREE

LITERATURE REVIEW: DEMOCRACY

3.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter reports on the literature review regarding modern definitions of democracy, types of democracy, models of democracy, democracy and national development, deliberative democracy and education, education for democracy, the relationship between DCE and teaching and learning. An overview of democratic spheres of change in Ghana is presented to consider the link between democratic discourse and education.

3.2 DEFINING DEMOCRACY

There are many theories and models that explain the concept of democracy, which can be integrated to have a meta-concept that could provide a holistic understanding of the term 'democracy' and the models associated with it (Bühlmann, Wolfgang & Bernhard, 2008). On an in-depth analysis of these theories and concepts, it was found that most of the theories differ entirely from each other and have different explanations for the concept 'democracy'. There are also theories and concepts that help to understand the gaps between democracy as found today and what democracy should be. According to Laza (2007:1), there is no definite method of measuring democracy, and the definition of democracy has always been under debate and is easily contested. The word 'democracy' means rule of the commoners (Schmidt, 2006). It is defined as a government by the people and formed by the majority of the people. There are four important elements in democracy, namely choosing a political system through fair means of election, full participation of the people of the nation by choosing their representatives, an environment or rule that ensures all citizens are equal, and preserving the basic human rights of the people (Sodaro, 2004:31).

A democratic rule in a nation is in full opposition of a monarchy where an individual is considered the ruler and where he or she holds all the power in the land. It is also different from oligarchy where only a group of individuals are powerful and hold the authority to rule. According to the United States (US) president, Abraham Lincoln, democracy can be seen as a form of government, which is *of* the people, *for* the people and also *by* the people (Sodaro, 2004:164). The Greek word 'democracy' can be described as *demos,* which means 'people' and *kratos,* which means 'to rule'.

According to several scholars and academics (such as Laza, 2007; Schmidt, 2006; Sodaro, 2004), democracy is defined as the opinion that the people of the nation have the right to rule. Accordingly, the law of the land is decided by the people or by the representative they have elected (Schmidt, 2006). The governing body and the people are elected by the people (citizens) and are responsible for governing according to the needs and wants of the people (see Schmidt, 2006) see. The governing body and the people (the representatives they have elected) are accountable for their actions and the people have the freedom and rights to express their views and opinions (Schmidt, 2006).

There are three important characteristics of a democratic government (Sodaro, 2004:207-220), namely legal equality, rule of law and political freedom. In a democratic environment, all citizens are considered equal before the law and have the right to access the process of legislation. The constitution of the country protects the rights and liberties of the citizens. According to Sodaro (2004:50), there are four important pillars of democracy: sovereignty, values of democracy, rights and liberties of citizens, and economic democracy. The basic characteristics of a democratic nation are further:

- **the freedom to express views and opinions;**
- **an assurance of the basic human rights to every citizen;**
- **the right to vote;**
- **the right to education;**
- **the right of the citizens to decide on their own religion; and**
- **most importantly, the separation of powers (Bühlmann et al., 2008:15).**

The government of the nation has the executive power or authority, the legislative power resides with the parliament, and the courts of law are in charge of the judiciary power (Bühlmann et al., 2008).

According to Dahl (1989:18), an ideal democratic system has five features:

- **citizens have equal and adequate opportunities to set the agenda and express policy preferences;**
- **citizens have voting equality at the decision-making;**

- **citizens have equal and adequate opportunities to develop an enlightened understanding of policy options;**
- **the democratic system controls its own political agenda; and**
- **the democratic system is inclusive of democratic governance.**

Somit and Peterson (2005:64) argue:

[F]or democracy to take root, especially in a newly liberated nation, a major proportion of the population and its political leadership must be willing to abide by three basic rules: to utilize discussion, persuasion, and voting as a means of resolving political issues; to compromise and settle for "half a loaf" and to accept defeat peacefully, if not graciously, without resorting to arms.

According to Bühlmann et al. (2008:20), there are three important determinants of democracy, namely freedom, equality and control. These are the three fundamental principles or cores of democracy, which can never be ignored in a democratic environment. It is necessary for every government to ensure an equal and free environment in order to qualify as a democratic country. Control can be defined as the authority, which the government has over its people and also the rights of the citizens to contribute to their government (Harding, Phillips & Fogarty, 1986). A balance between the two controls needs to be maintained in order to have a successful democratic environment (Harding et al., 1986:87). In an environment where the government is answerable to its people for their actions and the citizens have the right to question their government, actual freedom can be experienced (Harding et al., 1986:87). The government has the duty to respect the rights and liberties of the minorities of the country as well as those of women (Harding et al., 1986:87). Minorities must have an equal say in the working of the government. There should be freedom of expression, freedom of belief and freedom of association (Harding et al., 1986:87). Thus, the most important question, which comes out of this discussion, is that of what is more important, equality or freedom. According to scholars of North America (such as Abramowitz, 2016; Ackerly, 2018; Bartels, 2008), freedom needs to be focused on the context of democracy whereas scholars of Western Europe (such as Capoccia & Ziblatt, 2010; Houle, 2009; Kitanova, 2019) emphasise the criteria of equality.

3.3 SPREADING OF DEMOCRACY

There are many countries in the world that identify themselves as democratic nations. It is mainly during the twentieth century that the majority of countries have adopted this philosophy, and there has been a rise in the different democratic forms of government. The empirical proof of the rising trend of democracy can be given by the freedom in the world ratings (Houle, 2009). In 1972, there were very few countries that were considered to be free and democratic (Levitsky & Ziblatt, 2018).

However, over the years, the number of countries adapting to free environment and democratic philosophies has increased. In 1992, a survey was conducted by Freedom House, which showed that, at the time, around 24% of the world population lived in a free environment and were following democratic principles (Freedom House, 2008a). Another survey, conducted by Freedom House in 2007 (Freedom House, 2008b), found that by then, around 46% of the population lived in a free environment. Thus, during the 1980s up to and after the 2000s, democratic principles were followed increasingly by many countries. Prior to that, there were countries that were under the anocracy rule and autocracy rules (Fukuyama, 1989; Frantz, 2012). An anocratic rule comprises a mixture of both an autocratic as well as a democratic form of government. There is a lack of political stability and much ineffectiveness in such rules (Fukuyama, 1989:3; Frantz, 2012). An autocratic rule is one where the leader has all the powers and he or she exercises it on his or her people (Fukuyama, 1989; Frantz, 2012). There is use of fear and control to have full authority over the people. The advancement of democracy started when the non-democratic communists of Central and Easter Europe collapsed (Lijphart, 2018). Thus, after 1990, the foundation was laid for a democratic form of government in major countries (Lijphart, 2018). In a liberal form of democracy, the democracy exists under the principles of liberalism where the focus is on the rights and freedom of the citizens. According to Fukuyama in his book, *The end of history* (1989), in the world today it has become easy to accept the concept of liberal democracy. According to him, there are no more substitutes to the liberal form of government and rule (Fukuyama, 1989:19). According to Huntington (1997:40), there have been major incidents and times when there has been a huge surge in the democracy. These are called “long waves of democracy” (Huntington, 1997:40). In the nineteenth century, the first wave of democratic surge hit the world (Huntington, 1997). At this time, a new law was enacted in the United States allowing male citizens to cast their vote. This wave reached a huge peak by the early 1920s. During the period 1918-1939, the war broke out, causing a

downfall of European democracies that were in the initial stages of development. It was after World War II that the second historic wave of democratic surge hit the world (Huntington, 1997). This lasted until the early 1970s. There was the rise of a third wave of democracy in the mid-1970s, which led to the turning of countries in Latin America into democratic nations (McFaul, 2002). The extension of democratisation was observed in Europe as well.

According to the McFaul (2002:220), there has been another wave of democracy, which has hit the post-communist countries (McFaul, 2002). The extension of democracy throughout the world in the twenty-first century had some consequences. Democracy can be described as a government that is not authoritarian where the governance focuses on giving equal rights to all citizens. This extension of democracy also calls for the need to differentiate diverse qualities and forms of democracy that could exist. It allows government to work towards the development of a democracy (Giddens, 2013). During the Cold War (1947-1991), there was considerable competition between the authoritarian communist government and the rising Western democracies (Lewkowicz, 2018; Sempa, 2017). The terminologies given to distinguish the two forms of government were ‘democratic’ and ‘non-democratic’ (Lewkowicz, 2018; Sempa, 2017). There was however also a form of government, which was semi-democratic and semi-authoritarian (Lewkowicz, 2018; Sempa, 2017). An effort was made to learn from democracy, to innovate democracy and to develop plans for its development (Sodaro, 2004:33).

There was also a need to understand the difference between three forms of democracy, namely high-quality, medium-quality and low-quality democracy. The need had come to understand the factors, which distinguished a high-quality democracy. Furthermore, with the rising trend of democracy, it was important to know what would be the new trends in democracy and to develop future concepts of democracy. Cullell (2004:15) made the assumption that there will always remain a gap between an ideal democratic environment and a democracy as observed throughout the world. In another of his books, *The end of history and the last man*, Fukuyama (1992:25) discusses the concept of inequality. When there is an expectation of building a higher-quality democracy, new concepts of democracy will come to the fore. Efforts will be made for further advancement and development of democracy. Fukuyama does not mention the quality concept involved in democracy; however, he speaks about the existing inequalities and equalities and also talks about the moral qualities. It is believed that there will be a situation where there will be a need for innovation in democracy in order to face the challenges faced in its extension and development. There will be times of considerable transformation in the

concept of democracy. The concept of freedom is often associated with liberal democracy (Fukuyama, 1992).

However, there is a weakness in the Western style of democracy (Saward, 2000). The concept of equality is its biggest weakness (Saward, 2000). Equality can be defined as equal opportunities irrespective of gender, sustainability of economy, responsibility with respect to the environment and socio-economic sustainability (Aissat, 2007). The extension of democracy is viewed in the context of developing equality in certain countries or nations. In other words, it is time to view democracy as a global initiative (Aissat, 2007). There is a need for democratic globalisation, which will transform the quality of the existence of people around the world (Hooghe & Marks, 2001). There will be innovations in terms of technology, which will bring about a transformation in society, and thus there will be change in the concept of democracy (Carayannis & Campbell, 2006).

3.4 MODELS OF DEMOCRACY

Democracy and its form of functioning can itself be divided into two major types or forms. One form is representative or liberal democracy where citizens choose their representatives to govern the state, and decisions are thus made by the representative of the people. Arato (2009:35) describes indirect or participatory democracy in which all citizens participate in the governance of the country, and thus get directly involved in the decision-making. Both these styles of democracy are typical examples of the complex democratic system that we see functioning in different parts of the world today (Arato, 2009). The central idea is to govern people by their direct or indirect involvement (Forbrig & Demes, 2008). These are forms of popular contemporary and classic forms of democracy, which itself do not define any particular kind of governance models to handle the political affairs of a state (Forbrig & Demes, 2008). They are more like the baseline structure, which can be used to understand the various forms of democracy, depending upon the difference in the core values and structure of the variant with regard to them. According to Forbrig and Demes (2008:25), the type of conceptual democracy used in a nation aids in devising the pattern of education that is being provided in the state. The state also often needs to assess the kind of education that is required to run and manage classic and contemporary education.

The prominent education system in a classic democracy inspires a sense of citizenship and responsibility among citizens towards their state and fellow citizens (Forbrig & Demes, 2008).

This way citizens can participate much more productively in the functioning of the state and their democratic system by adding values to the existing system. After the Industrial Revolution and towards the beginning of the twentieth century, it was found that the sheer complexity and size of the state do not allow it to follow the classic democratic system (Burnell, 2008). According to Burnell (2008:420), the classic democracy appears to be very idealistic; consequently, a more realistic form of democracy was invented in the form of a contemporary democratic system (Burnell (2008) in strong nations, such as the United States of America and the United Kingdom (Burnell (2008). Contemporary democracy is currently one of the most prominent democratic systems in several developed and developing nations (Croissant & Kuehn, 2009). Some of the prominent systems in contemporary democracy today are a free press, elections for choosing leaders, an independent and powerful judiciary and a rival party system (Croissant & Kuehn, 2009). In this kind of contemporary democracy, the education system usually prepares citizens for three major roles, namely producers, consumers and workers (Croissant & Kuehn, 2009).

In a contemporary democracy, the education system is based on the market-based economy for its survival and growth, and the education system often divides the populace (Checkel, 2007). This division is based on the education system promoting the majority workforce but also the minority leadership leading the democracy (Checkel, 2007). This education system inspires apathy of the masses and political ignorance, which is counterproductive in terms of the stability of society. This may also be a possible explanation for the political ignorance and authoritarian education system in schools promoting obedience without logic and inspiring unhealthy competition among learners (Harber, 2009). Although the contemporary democratic system is most prominent among developed nations (such as the United Kingdom, Canada and the United States of America) across the world, the education systems of these nations do not seem to be efficient in creating citizens capable of actually developing the democratic framework of the nation (Harber, 2009). In fact, most of the political parties in these nations are more interested in and focused on promoting their own party ideologies and brands than on the true essence of democracy (Elkink, 2011). The result is indecisive elections with apathetic voters and with no party gaining a clear majority.

According to MacBeath (2004:703), although democracy is a representation of governance by the choice of citizens, the mistrust factor among citizens erodes the very core of democracy. For instance, in Ghana, the democratic system is a common one with adults choosing their

government by way of free and fair elections. There is however neither any representation of children nor any participation by them. How can children then develop the democratic skills necessary for them to be responsible democratic citizens of the future? However, democracy is a pluralistic notion of governance but that does not mean that it should be copied from the developed nations of the West, as they themselves are not the best examples (MacBeath, 2004). There is consequently a need for further investigation and research to develop a more effective and productive form of governance with the democratic fibre at its core.

3.5 DEMOCRACY AND DEVELOPMENT

In the 1990 Human Development Report (HDR), the UNDP (1990:24) defines human development as a process, which is responsible for enlarging the choices of the people. These choices can be infinite in number and can also change with the changing times. With respect to the levels of development, there are however three basic choices, which are usually made by the people, namely acquiring knowledge, leading a healthy and long life, and accessing those resources, which are required to have a decent standard of living. In the absence of these decent choices, many of the opportunities cannot be accessed, but this does not end the race of development (UNDP, 1990). In addition to these choices, there are other choices that are valued by many people. These choices range from political freedom to social freedom and economic opportunities, which help in becoming creative and productive, and enjoying guaranteed human rights and personal self-respect (UNDP 2009). Most of the ideology of the six Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) in this concept is included in this definition (UNDP, 2010). However, it has been found that there are two sides of human development. One side is the formation of human health, which includes knowledge and skills and improved human health, and the other is how people can make use of the skills and capabilities they have acquired for their productive purpose, leisure and active participation in social, cultural and political affairs (UNDP, 2010). In this race of human development, income is one aspect about which people are concerned when they make their choices, but this does not constitute the sum total of their lives. Therefore, much more can be included in development along with the expansion of wealth and income (UNDP, 2009). Focusing only on the growth of the gross national product (GNP) or some other factors that are related to the overall economic expansion is not sufficient for economic development. The influence democracy and political freedom have on the capabilities and lives of the citizens should also be taken into account (Sen, 1999).

The Nobel Prize winner and economist, Amartya Sen, has been successful in influencing the ideas of the UNDP. His views have been included by the UNDP in the 2010 HDR, such as views on the indicators of 'empowerment', such as press freedom, democracy, human rights violation, political freedom, corruption victims, democratic decentralisation, political engagement and imprisonment of journalists (UNDP, 2010). This explains clearly that, for political development, the UNDP has an explicit model, which states that all countries have a common goal of sustainability, consolidation of democracy and attainment as the main factors for human development. Sen (1999:370) argues that as, in democratic conditions, citizens are able to express fundamental freedoms, and democracy itself acts as an important ingredient of human development. The term 'lack of freedom' includes those conditions, which are directly related to receiving treatment for curable diseases, handling malnutrition or satisfying hunger, enjoying clean water and sanitary facilities or being properly sheltered or clothed.

According to Sen, democracy can be referred to as development because of two reasons. First, there is the reason for evaluation: whether there is enhancement in the freedom that is given to the people. The second reason relates to effectiveness: the free agency of the people determines the amount of development that is achieved by the people in other aspects (Sen, 1999). Another form of development in a country is the achievement of human rights and a democratic government (Sen, 1999). Development in this area is important in order for further development to occur in other areas of social provision, economic growth and poverty reduction. This point was argued upon by the United Nations and was accepted and presented in their annual UNDP Human Development Reports, which declared democracy as the means and goal for the development process (UNDP, 2010). For example, in the 2003 reports of the MDGs and Target, it was mentioned that one policy cluster, which could help various countries to reduce the poverty level in their country is the "promotion of human rights and a democratic government in order to remove the discrimination, promote the wellbeing of the people and to secure social justice" (UNDP, 2003:4). The development should also be for another purpose, which comprises the improvement of the lives of the people by helping them to do things that they can do, such as being knowledgeable and leading a healthy and well-nourished life and being an active citizen (UNDP, 1990). Development is also about removing the obstacles in a person's life, such as an inability to access resources, illiteracy, a lack of political and civil freedom and bad health (UNDP, 1990). According to Sen (1999), it is all about how to increase the capabilities of a person in addition to removing the barriers to his or her capabilities. Sen (1999:371) also says:

> [A]s quinine acts as the automatic remedy for malaria, democracy cannot act as the automatic remedy for all the ailments. However, in a democratic society, people must fully make use of the opportunities because the basic feature of freedom depends upon how much they do so. When civil and political rights are availed by the people, government attention can also be drawn to the major disaster such as the famines and consequently appropriate action can be taken.

Sen (1999) further states that, if leaders want to seek the support of their people during elections, they need to have the courage to face the criticism and listen to what their people have to say.

3.6 DELIBERATIVE DEMOCRACY AND EDUCATION

Deliberative democracy can act as a response to the issues surrounding conceptions of democracy and contemporary democracy (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). It can explain how society responds to an increasing amount of pluralism, and what more citizens can do to become actively involved in governing the country. It can also help discover the ways by which a legitimate democracy can be built where the views belong to the larger community and not just the few elite (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). Most of the supporters of deliberative democracy believe that public reasoning could help answer the above statements. Such supporters place deliberative democracy at the heart of democratic practice (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). The ideals of deliberative democracy comprise that citizens should always make sure that they justify their decisions in the context of public reasoning (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). They should work to seek mutually justifiable answers for all laws, which they wish to impose upon each other (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). This can help to ensure that deliberative democracy can prove to be a much superior tool than a voting-centred democracy (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). A voting-centred democracy believes that democracy involves the exercise of fixed preferences and interests gained through a fair process of aggregation (Chambers, 2003). On the other hand, a deliberative democracy believes that a communicative process of will-formation should precede the voting stage (Chambers, 2003). A deliberative democracy emphasises a legitimate political order, which governs all those living under the law (Chambers, 2003). Thus, it is not just the majority whose decision is represented, but there is an underlying process where defensible reasons and explanations are given (Held, 2006). Voting is the core part of a democracy and would still be required as deliberation could also lead to stand-offs between two major parties (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004).

Deliberative democracy also emphasises the idea of educational empowerment of citizens. Democracy can thrive well within a society that is educated and informed (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004:35), because in most cases, the ability to give justifications for one's decision come through learning and are not inborn in the individual. This becomes truer if one has to make sure that the reasons to be given in deliberation must be publicly acceptable and should not represent self-interest (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). Additionally, education also imparts the quality to listen carefully to others' views and to engage respectfully with them. According to Weithman (2005:320), deliberative democracy would require the application of a deliberative character, attitudes, skills and values, all of which can be cultivated effectively in a classroom setting. Over the period (i.e. 2008-2018), a considerable body of literature has emerged on the importance of education towards the development of deliberative democracy (Bächtiger, Dryzek, Mansbridge & Warren, 2018).

One of the leading theorists on deliberative democracy, Amy Gutmann, is also a leading theorist for education (Samuelsson & Bøyum, 2015). As stated by Gutmann and Thompson (2004:40), democratic education teaches the rules for deliberation. They explain that schools are the miniature form of the larger society and thus constitute the best arena for learners to acquire education for exercising deliberative democracy (Weithman, 2005). However, there are conflicting conceptions on democratic education, just like those of democracy (Gutmann & Thompson 2004). Different conceptions of democracy exist, which expose different opinions of how citizens should take part in decision-making. The same also applies to the views on the role of democratic education (Gutmann & Thompson 2004:43). Similarly, there are conflicts with regard to which kind of values and skills should be included within an educational framework for deliberative democracy. In their article, Meisert and Bottcher (2019) aimed to highlight the key ideas and assumptions within the education framework for deliberative democracy. They also explain the underlying differences and disagreements, which exist in the field of education for deliberative democracy.

3.7 EDUCATION FOR DEMOCRACY

Globally, there is an increasing trend towards democratisation of several governments (Diamond, 2015). This implies that, education gradually has to start playing a major role in creating a political culture (Pye & Verba, 2015). Democratic and political institutions can be supported only when citizens are educated in terms of their role in the democratic framework (Harber & Trafford, 1999). A number of studies exist (see, for instance, Baloyra, 2019; Della-

Porta, 2014), which compared the democratic set-up across nations and present a set of global guidelines, which new democracies could follow (Davies et al., 2002). Studies on democratic education within the SSA nations are relatively few, and the current study intended to fill this gap. Democratic education within a nation can be described in multiple ways. As stated by Mncube (2008:80), democratic education helps learners understand that they share the power to make most of the key decisions governing the economy. The same has been discussed by Mncube and Harber (2010:620), who believe that the larger role played by this education is towards removal of the perception of 'being governed' and an inclination towards 'self-governance'.

Meighan (2005:38) states that educational practice for democracy is often met with sustained and hostile opposition, especially in the context of SSA nations. However, a large number of evidence-based researches are available on the subject (see, for instance, Abbott, 2011; Mullen, 2010; Polat, 2011) which emphasise how the barriers can be removed in the long run by strengthening the framework for education (Mullen, 2010). Two relevant arguments have been described within democratic forms of schooling (Mncube & Harber, 2010). The first argument is with respect to how a more democratic society can be created by encouraging education. The second argument points towards how democratic governance again creates better-governed high-quality schools for further education.

It is clear that democratic governance continues to spread across nations and hence policymakers cannot ignore the role that educational institutions have to play in prompting democracy. As stated by Rudduck and Fielding (2006:225), learners can be prepared for their roles as future citizens by providing high-quality education on democracy. This is confirmed by Freyburg (2011:1015) who argues that, if citizens lack the necessary interest to participate in decision-making at community level, the established democracy cannot survive. Therefore, education is not just important for the present but also the future of democracy in the region. Rudduck and Fielding (2006:230) opine that education instils confidence and competency within learners by allowing them to learn through practice. For this reason, any democratic set-up should make sure that there are an increasing number of opportunities in which learners could participate. Jamal (2012:45) emphasises that a formal educational set-up helps to generate learned behaviour in learners and is important for nations who are convinced that they are democratic. The same argument has been strengthened by Alderson (2000:125) who believes,

"young children learn to talk only by being spoken to". Countries should encourage democratic education where learners are taught by way of practical involvement and experience.

Much evidence exists on how the behaviour of a learner is influenced by the training and practical exposure which he or she gets (Harber, 2002). Jamal (2012:45) also believes that young learners learn democracy just as they learn history, sports or reading. It is by experience, training and evaluation that learners tend to learn what democracy is (Young, 2008). Therefore, this study started with the assumption that within any democracy, the schooling system should be designed in such a way that it promotes democratic education. Learners should be involved in a practical way to acquire knowledge, attitude, skills and temperament to participate in society (Young, 2008). The aim of any school should be to turn young learners into active citizens who have both the competency as well as the willingness to participate in the democratic framework of the nation (Young, 2008). Simmons (2011:205) states that lessons on the political system alone cannot serve to influence the behaviour and attitude of children; hence, a micro political system should be provided to them to experience and gain practical exposure. The role of government policies within any nation should be to acknowledge this basic idea. The mission statement on education by any government should reflect this basic vision.

As stated by Schweisfurth (2002:30), the schooling system within any economy could play a powerful role to promote democratic citizenship in the economy. However, any curriculum should be designed to reflect this mission. Apart from emphasising the need for education, a key element for inclusion is the form of experiential learning in schools. This is also emphasised by Croissant and Kuehn (2009:195) who believe that democracy is not just about a set of abstract ideas, but the citizens within a democracy should also share strong feelings on how to share actions. It should make them understand the need to –

- **be fair;**
- **value relationships;**
- **use resources and power effectively;**
- **fight and negotiate together;**
- **value elections, campaigns; and**
- **work towards resolving conflicts in a democratic manner.**

All these skills, attitudes and values can be encouraged by effective learning and practical exposure (Croissant & Kuehn, 2009). Harber (2010:25) argues that learners need to learn to debate matters openly with mutual respect. They should learn the courtesies and skills of having proper time keeping in meetings and prioritising issues in terms of what is important and what not, and they should learn to be concerned about a larger acceptance of their decisions (Rudduck & Flutter, 2004). A considerable amount of empirical evidence exists on how such practices and skills can be promoted within a school learning framework. The learning outcomes from studies conducted across schools in Europe and America point towards the same evidence as to how these democratic skills, values and attitudes can be promoted within the school environment (Cox, Attewell & Newman, 2010).

Harber (1997:45) emphasises that most of the literature points towards the growing need to develop listening skills in learners and to encourage learners by giving them power and responsibility. He further emphasises that an effective school culture helps inculcate in learners the ideals of democracy and tolerance. This helps them express their views, share knowledge, and disseminate information, while at the same time it will help them to have due respect for the knowledge and opinion of others (Harber, 2010). Some of the studies provide examples in which a democratic school structure helps learners to improve over a range of outcomes (see for instance Harber, 2010) – both conventional, such as examination results, as well as non-conventional outcomes, such as teaching of non-violent behaviour (Harber & Trafford, 1999). A study by Harber and Trafford (1999:60), "comparing the process of democratisation in two schools of England and South Africa", found that both schools could improve significantly in terms of team-based activities and higher examination results. Similarly, in Wolverhampton Grammar School (England), the headmistress began with a process of democratisation over growing concerns regarding under-performance in examination (Harber & Trafford, 1999). The school could notice a significant improvement in terms of improved interpersonal relationships and collaborative learning, leading to superior outcomes in examinations (Harber & Trafford, 1999). In particular, there was an increased acceptance of rights and duties and a feeling of equity and mutual respect in the school. Similar evidence was obtained by applying democratic learning in Grosvenor Girls High School in Durban, South Africa (Harber & Trafford, 1999). In this school, learners were encouraged to be collaborative, apart from being moderately competitive. They were allowed to express their point of view, build good communication networks and treat each other as a family. A group of learners were elected to represent others and to make sure that guidelines were followed. These elected learners personally believed that

they could develop a great deal of patience, organisational skills, and the ability to accept conflicting opinions from others. They learnt the art of summarising, discussing and bringing together ideas to solve a particular problem in the class (Harber & Trafford, 1999).

This was confirmed in another study by Harber and Muthukrishna (2000:40) in three more schools in the Durban area of KwaZulu-Natal, South Africa. The findings showed how a democratic environment within schools could help towards improvement of learning outcomes for both teachers and learners. Almost all the schools reported better academic performance, cleanliness, a calm atmosphere and an organised approach among learners. Harber and Muthukrishna (2000:46) indicate how almost all schools were proud to embrace a democratic approach towards educating and managing learners. They believed that this new educational ideology was more acceptable than the old educational ideology. Indeed, the new educational ideology fostered non-violence and high tolerance amongst learners.

As stated by Davies and Kirkpatrick (2000:82), based on their studies conducted across schools in Denmark, Sweden, Germany and Holland, impact of effective democratisation of public schooling seems to have an impact at the universal level. They believed that when learners are allowed to have a voice and are taught to appreciate diverse opinions, it fosters a calm climate in the school. Learners are given dignity and they start being more productive and focused on their work. Davies and Kirkpatrick (2000:86) quote a comment from a school principal in Malmo, Sweden:

> The idea of school democracy within the Swedish education system is a great concept. We are happy with the immediate results which the implementation is showing. Parents and teachers have also been positive about the change.

Democratisation of schooling is also in accordance with respect for human rights (Davies & Kirkpatrick, 2000:81) and needs to be encouraged on a larger scale. Similar views are expressed by MacBeath (2004:22) who believes that learning about democracy cannot be imparted simply by building a theoretical framework. In a way, democracy can only be inculcated as experience-based learning in which young learners grasp it as an abstract notion. By including democratisation within public schools, learners experience the immediate as well as long-term relevance of living in a democracy.

According to Aspin (1995:56), initially both Social Studies and Citizenship Education were placed in the national curriculum for most schools in New Zealand. However, it is only through

practical exposure that learners learn how their society functions and how rules of governance are decided. Aspin (1995:58) also argues that simply focusing on theory is tantamount to indoctrination, as learners are not given any rights to question the beliefs. A democratic approach tries to educate by giving instructions based on democratic rules (Aspin, 1995). In order to make these young minds accept the principles of democracy, rather than simply accepting their leaders, it is important to help them grasp democracy through practical exposure (Aspin, 1995).

According to Freyburg (2011:1023), most Western nations currently assume themselves to have acquired complete democracy. However, it is important to understand that young learners should not be taught democracy in a pedantic manner. Modelling the classrooms around autocracy, where learners do not have the right to question or participate, does not serve to apply the ideas of democracy. The same concern was also raised by MacBeath (2008:388), who believes that in democratic nations, such as the United States, the approach for teaching democracy is largely abstract. Although most schools offer courses on social studies and citizenship, these are taught from a historical perspective, while a democratic approach is largely missing. Teaching for democracy should make the learners view their schools as democratic institutions in the first place (MacBeath, 2008). This is also emphasised by Young (2008) who believes that schools need to adopt a holistic approach towards education by involving parents, teachers and the community in collaborative projects. Apart from learning by sharing, the aim should be to encourage participation. Learners should be allowed to express their opinions, participate in their own development and resolve conflicts through mutual debates. As stated by Ekholm (2004:96), teachers should also make efforts. Teachers need to brainstorm democratic approaches to teaching rather than being authoritarian in managing the classroom. The focus should not just be to improve academic performance, but also to help learners develop an acceptance towards collaborative learning. By developing a democratic attitude, teachers could also contribute towards creating citizens having both competency as well as acceptance towards democratic ways for resolving their problems (Ekholm, 2004). By adopting democratisation in their curriculum, schools could help towards the development of autonomous citizens who have critical thinking abilities and are ready to accept and debate differences (McAdam & Tarrow, 2000). According to Nussbaum (2008:145), any attempt to live with and alongside others and in appropriate civic education, constitutes democratic citizenship education. Gutmann and Thompson (1996:55) opine that civic education in DCE teaches learners not only to respect human dignity but also to appreciate its role in sustaining

co-operation in terms of politics. This aspect of appreciation requires learners to understand the diverse ways of life of their fellow citizens.

3.8 MEANINGS AND APPROACHES TO CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

There is ongoing research and discussion on what citizenship education is and how it will be imparted in schools and colleges (Kerr, 2003; Kerr & Sardoc, 2002). The ideas of citizenship education comprise very debatable concepts, and the arguments are not going to die down any soon (Kerr, 2003; Kerr & Sardoc, 2002). There is no dearth of literature on this subject, which was reviewed for this study. The context however keeps on shifting due to local and international priorities (Kerr, 2003; Kerr & Sardoc, 2002; Print & Smith, 2002), Benhabib (2002:169) argues that democracy and citizenship can co-exist, because the former frames education as a process of active consent and participation, whereas the latter designates the sense of belonging people demonstrate when socialised into educative practice. To remove confusion regarding terms and definitions, the Qualification and Curriculum Authority (QCA) updates important words and their definitions annually to help teachers (QCA, 2003). It is critical that citizenship education is derived from a proper understanding of the concepts behind the term. Subsection 3.7.1 discusses a few of the debated topics related to the concept.

3.8.1 Local and global view of citizenship education

One debate as regards citizenship education is about the influence of the nationality, national identity and the external forces that affect these factors (Kerr & Sardoc, 2002; Osler & Starkey, 2000). Events in the past, such as the terrorist attacks in Bali and New York and the invasion of Afghanistan have made this discussion very prominent (Blake & Sinclair, 2003). These events have compelled experts to rethink the concept of citizenship education in the globalised world. According to Kennedy (2003:60), the events have made it a challenge to educate the youth on citizenship behaviour, as the context has changed drastically. In the light of these global events and the point made by Kennedy, there has been widespread debate and research on the extent to which citizenship education should be allowed to bring about modifications in the curriculum of schools and colleges. The experts in this field have proposed three methods to approach the situation at hand, as discussed in 3.7.1.1-3.7.1.3.

3.8.1.1 The objective approach

The proponents of the objective approach (such as Berger, 2006; Jaynes, 2003) discuss numerous cases and possibilities that can be considered. According to Bottery (2003:110), the question about what citizenship and its link to education comprise, is not yet a settled matter. This is true because Bottery (2003) believes that the notion is still not very definite (see also Cogan & Derricott, 2014; Mihăilă, Popescu & Nica, 2016) and there are external forces that affect the legitimacy and existence of the concept of citizenship education. This implies that citizenship itself is not defined, and any robust measure to educate on this topic, has to be one of the following three:

- **the state exerts its existence and designs the education system to impart a strong sense of nationalism in the citizens;**
- **the state educates the citizens in basic civics covering the tenets of local, national and international themes, which enable them to deal with the complex system; and**
- **completion in the field of education ends the monopoly of the state, and citizenship is treated like just another consumer product.**

In the same vein, Darling (2002:230) expresses the vagaries that can come into the education system when there is a clash of ideologies. For example, the agenda of the nationalist might be to instil love and devotion for the nation, while a liberal might want to impart values that are more global. These contradictory ideologies distract the citizen from the real essence of education, which is to accept differences and make social justice the cornerstone for the whole process.

3.8.1.2 New approaches to education

The proponents of "explicit citizenship education" believe that citizenship education must drive the necessary change in the school curriculum (Kennedy, 2003:65; Smith, 2008:15). Kennedy (2003:65) argues that citizenship education must be made an essential part of the education in schools and emphasises its importance of the period after the 9/11 terrorist attack. According to Kennedy, citizenship education should be based on the three main objectives, namely, to inculcate cohesiveness, tolerance in diversity, and critical thinking ability to be able to solve social problems. This would allow the learners to develop discerning capacity and to separate the good from the bad. Smith (2008:15) believes that citizenship education should be free from

the influence of both nationalistic as well as international bodies. The curriculum should be accommodative of multiple cultures and should try to answer basic ethical questions on topics of equality and fairness, openness, protection of the environment, population and genetic engineering and power distribution in society. The curriculum should therefore be based on human values, promotion of questioning and the development of interdisciplinary skills (Smith, 2008).

According to Smith (2008:40), schools must have an atmosphere of cross-cultural tolerance and activity-based education, and should instil courage, confidence and responsibility as the core values. They must also give weight-age to the learners' feedback on the delivery of the course.

Lister, Smith, Middleton and Cox (2003:240) as well as Osler and Starkey (2003:124) have a different take on the subject of citizenship education. However, they all believe that the youth of today owe their loyalties to multiple identities of local, national and global nature. These young people are living a truly multicultural and diverse experience. The authors suggest that the national curriculum be adjusted to be more global and less national. The ideas that should drive it must include world peace, democratic values and human values.

3.8.1.3 Holistic approach

The proponents of the holistic approach (McCowan, 2011; Oxler & Morris, 2013) emphasise "implicit citizenship", which roughly means a value-based citizenship respecting diversity and social differences (Oxler & Morris, 2013:315). Oxler and Morris suggest a combination of both implicit and explicit values to be considered while designing the curriculum. Bloomfield (2003:60), being an environmentalist, believes that citizenship education could play a significant role in the conservation of the environment and must be an essential part of Agenda 21[3] (Freeman, 1996). Freeman sets out the case for the development of a school ethos related to citizenship, which permeates the whole curriculum rather than through any explicitly taught citizenship curriculum. Hicks (2001:230), connects citizenship education to globalisation and believes that education must bring about global awareness and interdependence. He then states that learners must be given a forward-looking perspective so that they can become responsible voters, consumers and administrators of tomorrow.

[3] **Agenda 21** emphasizes local accountability and democratization, challenges perceptions of local governance and offers a long overdue opportunity, for local authorities in particular, to develop broad-based, effective, participatory structures (Freeman, 1996:70).

Citizenship education has also been linked to many other aspects, such as social service and healthcare, human values and caring for animals. According to Gearon (2003:20), the form of the citizenship education applied at the time of her research, had basic links to the social, healthcare and personal-based education of the earlier years. In his work, Best (2002) researched the topic further, and he states that personal, social and healthcare education have to be considered to develop the curriculum for the next generation of citizens. Halstead and Taylor (2000:190) explored the relationship between a value-based education system and the citizenship education system. They point out that, although there has been renewed focus on morality and social responsibility, not much work has been done to impart spiritual and cultural education to the learners (Agustin, 2019; Glovin, 2019). These, they believe, must be made integral to the curriculum for the next generation of learners (Agustin, 2019; Glovin, 2019).

3.8.1.4 Locations of citizenship education

Just as in the case of the debate on the curriculum for citizenship education, there is an ongoing debate on what the places or sites are where citizenship is defined or learning occurs (Gaudelli, 2016). In the national curriculum, citizenship learning is considered to occur in the classrooms of various schools and the environment (Gaudelli, 2016). These sites are not the only places where citizenship learning takes place. According to researchers such as Banks (2017), Broom (2016) and Gaudelli (2016), there are many places where the youth of today is getting educated or has the potential to get educated. This proves to be a challenge to curriculum designers, as they now have to establish links in these different areas (Banks, 2017).

Osler and Starkey (2003:130) as well as Broom (2016:25) had multiple conversations with the youth of Leicester to come to the conclusion that citizenship education is not something that can be achieved within the four walls of a classroom. School learning must be complemented with outdoor learning, which the schools must encourage. Learners must be able to relate to what they see outside and what they are taught in the school. This makes it necessary for tutors to be aware of the different sites of knowledge outside the school.

Morris, Sallybanks, Willis and Makkai (2003:15) have very similar views regarding sites of education. They surveyed about 1200 learners in Hertfordshire just before and after discussing citizenship education and found that, before 9/11, there was a definite link between learning in classrooms and outside. They found people engaged in social service and community work. They also found that learners take a keen interest in sports and extracurricular activities while

at school. They found learners active in various clubs and the administration of the school. Some were even engaged in service to the elderly.

Kerr (2003:35), in his research titled "Teaching citizenship", summarised the reports from the 28-nation International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA) Citizenship Education Study (see, Stolle & Hooghe, 2002) found that education of the citizens is not an easy task. It is very complex in nature and has multiple facets of which to take care. The developers of the curriculum must consider the dimensions, such as ability, knowledge and skills of the learners before designing the courses. It is also imperative that all areas where learning can occur can be availed and made use of to impart a truly global and multidimensional education to the citizens (Kerr, 2003).

3.8.2 Policies and approaches of citizenship education in relation to curriculum

An analysis of the literature revealed that very little time is given to literature by the schools that include citizenship education in their curriculum. The reason is that we all tend to behave as spectators. Ofsted (2003:4) notes, which means "an early stage initiative by major schools". All these are included in the citizenship curriculum along with emergent subjects in the location, content and approach of the curriculum (Ofsted, 2003). The details are provided in a comprehensive manner by Ofsted (2003:20) and the QCA (2003:15). According to the findings of Ofsted (2003:4) report, a total of 25 schools were visited for evaluation of citizenship provision as a mandate for national curriculum subjects. Similarly, the report of the QCA (2003:20) based on the monitoring of citizenship education, was compiled following a survey of 10% of teacher focus groups, secondary and primary schools, case studies on schools and consultations organised with the young generation in schools.

According to Ofsted (2003:3), during the end of first-year statutory citizenship, the progress of the curriculum programme was not recorded as per the plan. In over half of the 25 inspected schools, management stated that the introduction of citizenship was described in an unsatisfactory manner. Only one fifth of the introduced sample showed development in the citizenship curriculum. These schools were those which had introduced citizenship as a new subject in their curriculum. A report by Ofsted (2003:3) suggests the reasons behind the situations in school. The centre of citizenship curriculum is primarily focused on the lack of efforts by schools in reaching and defining a "shared understanding … of the citizenship curriculum" (Ofsted, 2003:4) as a base for the effective education of citizenship course. The

main concern of the report by Ofsted is whether the schools understand "the curriculum of citizenship and its contribution on learners' education" (Ofsted, 2003:7) and finally concludes, "most of the schools have not given due consideration to the purpose and nature of citizenship" (Ofsted, 2003:7).

There is ambiguity, confusion and uncertainty between the term 'citizenship' and 'citizenship education' by most of the schools (Ofsted, 2003). In relation to the report, Ofsted (2003:9) says, "[a] lot [of schools] gets confused in National Curriculum citizenship and 'cross curricular themes as well as dimensions approach". "During the 1990s, the most used term was 'citizenship', which helped in summarising their [i.e. the schools'] ethos and expectations" (Ofsted, 2003:9). Citizenship education is the main part of the curriculum and includes Personal, Social and Health Education (PSHE) programmes. According to Ofsted (2003:10), the curriculum approach is "unsatisfactory" and is viewed as a "light touch" in terms of citizenship. This description is given by the Crick committee. This has finally resulted in a "low key" (Crick, 1998) response to all the Citizenship Orders (Crick, 1998). After inspection of citizenship in schools, Ofsted (2010) recommends:

- **proper understanding and recognition of the aims of national curriculum of citizenship;**
- **establishing a clear definition of citizenship education that makes it different from other subjects and PSHE;**
- **a coherent progressive and broad curriculum be ensured; and**
- **establishment of high standards for citizenship in comparison with other subjects.**

Many researchers and commentators, such as Hahn (2016), Lee (2017) and Vincent (2019) have picked up the sensitivities between the relationship of citizenship and PSHE. For example, Calvert and Clemitshaw (2003:9) highlight a dangerous situation of locating citizenship education in a PSHE camp. This is due to citizenship being ghettoised by the location and low status of many schools (Davies & Evans, 2002; Tarozzi & Mallon, 2019; Walsh & Black, 2018). Many debates and discussions take place regarding the advantages of several curriculum approaches towards citizenship education (Sant, Davies, Pashby & Shultz, 2018). The main discussion in the literature revolves around the segregation of citizenship as a separate subject area in the curriculum or a cross-curricular approach (Ball, 2017; Waghid & Davids, 2017). According to Turnbull (2002:15), departmental segregation of citizenship will help in effective

education in all subject areas. This is a pre-requirement for effective implementation of the citizenship education in all schools (Battistoin, 2017).

Further, Wilkins (2003:70) states that timetabling citizenship education leads to other problems in the school which becomes difficult later on (see Capel, Leask & Younie, 2019). A similar report was presented by Batchelor (2003:5), which includes the results of research conducted by UNICEF involving 14 schools in (London) and concluded that support of cross-curricular citizenship education was required but some knowledge was still required for delivering citizenship curriculum in other subjects (Pontes, Henn & Griffiths, 2019). There is much evidence regarding the extent of all audits (provision of audits of various schools as per the QCA [2003] report). However, some evidence is available on the audited outcomes of curriculum planning for the citizenship education (Ormond, 2017). Ofsted (2010) however has shown that almost half the inspected schools have misinterpreted the audited results on religious education (RE) and other national curriculum subjects rather than citizenship (also see Stern, 2018).

According to Jerome (2001), the curriculum on citizenship education should be part of a continuum rather than being considered a mutually exclusive position. For him, it is not possible to fit one citizenship size; rather, the success depends on flexibility of the initiative. The success of citizenship education therefore lies in becoming a unified element of the curriculum and schools empowering the young generation (Battistoin, 2017).

3.8.2.1 Teacher training

Teacher training is required for helping teachers with the implementation of the new citizenship education curriculum (Banks, 2017). Much information is available on the extent of training and the persons being trained but the outcome of the training on the teachers as well as on whole-school plans is unknown for introducing citizenship education in the curriculum (Lowe & Allum, 2019). According to the reports by Ofsted (2003:25), “a lot of schools have given training to key staffs, but some training had little effect and the key staffs are ill-informed.” The QCA (2003) monitoring report and the findings of the survey involving 60 schools in London by community service volunteers (CSV) reflect the extent of training. According to CSV reports (see Siegner & Stapert, 2019; Vare, 2020) training opportunities are readily available for citizenship education coordinators and in some cases for teacher groups, however, evidence points to the fact that there were very few cases, that is less than 8% (CSV, 2003; Siegner &

Stapert, 2019) to all teachers. According to the QCA (2003), the training provided for citizenship was through the Location Education Agency (LEA) events or external courses (also see Siegner & Stapert, 2019).

There is much concern in Ghana about the adequacy of training being provided to teachers. This concern includes the understanding level of teachers for implementation of the core citizenship curriculum (Quartey, 2016). Gearon (2003:5) remarks that the core curriculum is defined as explicit "citizenship education" (Zhang & Fagan, 2016:120) as against "implicit citizenship" (Zhang & Fagan, 2016:120) (which includes PSHE). As reported by CSV (2003), almost one third of surveyed schools requested additional community involvement as well as political literacy strands of citizenship training. Thus, improved training was provided to the teachers to specialise in citizenship curriculum (see Siegner & Stapert, 2019). These teachers included those of PSHE. As suggested by Ofsted (2010), the training in some cases reinforced misconceptions on citizenship curriculum, such as what does it mean to be a human, which values, attributes and behaviours that epitomize humanity? Indeed, these and other questions provide a far more inclusive and positive approach to citizenship education as compare to the misconception on citizenship curriculum.

3.8.2.2 Assessment

Newton (2002:30) believes assessment of citizenship is required for many learners and teachers to understand their inherent qualities and to assess as well as value a particular subject. Many debates and arguments are required for accessing citizenship education unless it becomes an established subject in the English national curriculum (Schulz et al., 2018). This however remains a key component of citizenship education that needs to be implemented in an appropriate manner (Schulz et al., 2018).

Reporting and assessment of citizenship education are major concerns for many schools which need immediate action (Schulz et al., 2018). Thus, Ofsted (2003:17) concludes that "a weak part of citizenship is assessment and lot of schools are quite far in this". Evidence has shown that schools are progressing in tackling these issues (Banks, 2017; Torres, 2017). According to the QCA report (2002), some new General Certificate of Secondary Education (GCSE) short courses were included in citizenship studies. From several findings, QCA (2002:14) concluded, "learning and teaching quality at key stage 4 is more in case of better qualification". Further guidance is offered by the QCA in assisting schools and teachers in taking citizenship courses

forward (QCA, 2002; Cole, 2017). Further, CSV (2003:10) calls for citizenship awards, which cover the entire range of learners' ability in school. However, available evidence (Weinberg & Flinders, 2018) suggests that this awards targets only the gifted learners in school.

3.8.3 Challenges to citizenship education in the curriculum

As stated above, the main challenges in the adoption of citizenship curriculum lie with location, teacher training, content as well as assessment. Several other associated challenges and issues are addressed in literature, for example, the difficulty in the implementation of citizenship education in the contemporary pluralist society we inhabit (Turnbull, 2002). According to Turnbull, expecting religious, ethnic and gendered groups to help promote a common citizenship view, may deny citizens several cultural histories and identities. Similarly, as stated by Wilkins (2003:72), in his research work on interviews done with 12 teachers in London, the notion of 'good citizen' was a result of cultural and social conservatism and middle-class suburban ideals. Several other challenges (recommendations and the process of overcoming the challenges) are reported by the CSV (2003). The report reflects the survey done by Ofsted (2003). Though the associated challenges and issues have received the needed attention, they have still not been addressed holistically (see, Kafka-Markey, 2018). Weinberg and Flinders (2018) also surveyed 60 schools to mark the anniversary of the citizenship education subjects in all secondary schools. Findings related to:

- **participation of learners in the citizenship curriculum programme;**
- **urgent training for schools and teachers is required for supporting effective links to the community;**
- **availability of funding for supporting citizenship education; and**
- **resource availability for citizenship education.**

Ten challenges for citizenship education as given by Watchorn (2003:7) have been identified:

- **awareness of learners regarding their learning experience;**
- **explicit nature of citizenship;**
- **attempting definition;**
- **process as well as content to be closely aligned;**
- **citizenship education opportunities to be availed;**
- **citizenship education needs to happen;**

- **expert training to teachers for the citizenship education;**
- **clear relationship between PSHE and citizenship education;**
- **careful consideration of citizenship education in the role of senior management; and**
- **financial resourcing for citizenship education.**

3.8.4 Active citizenship as a policy approach to citizenship education

As an active citizen, we should encourage young people to participate and engage in the activities of the school and other wider communities beyond the school (Tyler & Trinkner, 2017). Emphasis is placed on defining citizenship and on deciding on its approach through the curriculum in the first year of the national curriculum for citizenship (Tallberg, Backstrand & Scholte, 2018). This approach is the narrow view of the citizenship education and it takes the first step embedding a new subject in schools in order to promote active citizenship (Peterson & Bentley, 2017). The narrow view of education of citizenship raises questions on the extent to which schools comprehend the meaning of active citizenship (Peterson & Bentley, 2017). It also raises questions about how far the new curriculum approach is being adopted within the school and the extent to which it will develop active citizenship (Peterson & Bentley, 2017). Active citizenship has also attracted the interest of commentators and researchers in order to promote schools as democratic institutions and increasing learner participation (Hart & Youniss, 2018). This has been achieved by promoting human and participation rights at local, national, international and European level (Hart & Youniss, 2018).

It is very important to set active citizenship in the context of broader movements in society and in education policies and practices. This is important to understand where the researchers and commentators come from when the scope of active citizenship is defined within the school and wider communities. It also helps to understand the interrelationship between curriculum approach and active citizenship.

3.8.4.1 Active citizenship in context

There are many converging trends in the society, which focus the attention on active citizenship, which can be defined as an active dimension opposing the knowledge component of citizenship education (Kerr & Sardoc, 2002; Potter, 2002; Tallberg et al., 2018). These converging trends relate to legal, political and social spheres (Tallberg et al., 2018). These trends are united by one concern with the educational sphere, and especially with the education of young people to

become active citizens. As per the initial literature review during the start of the study (Kerr, McCarthy & Smith, 2002), the most important driver in the political sphere is the lack of involvement and interest of young people in political and public life, which is termed "democratic deficit" (Kerr et al., 2002:185) in society (Jowell & Park, 1998; Putnam, 2000). This has renewed the interest in civic education and citizenship education in the world. However, according to the Crick Report (Crick, 1998:35), the driving force to introduce citizenship education is democratic deficit.

Active citizenship is promoting human rights at local, national, global and European level; thus, driving social and legal spheres (Janmaat & Keating, 2019). Much focus is placed on the rights of adults and participation rights for young people in society (Janmaat & Keating, 2019). Most of the attempts are high-profile moves, and they have a significant influence on educational practices and policies at various levels. The development of the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (1989) (see UNICEF, 1999) has promoted the rights of young people to participate in various social activities. Article 12 of this convention provides the right to "express an opinion and to have that opinion taken into account, in any matter or procedure affecting them" (UNICEF, 1999:25). The Human Rights Act (No. 329 of 2002) that came into effect in the United Kingdom in October 2002 provides a clear legal statement of people's fundamental freedoms. In Britain, the Children and Young People's Unit (CYPU) (Bradshaw, 2016; CYPU, 2001) is set within the Department for Education and Skills (DFES) in order to include young people and learners in policy development (Bradshaw, 2016). The unit also published a common framework to implement the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (CYPU, 2001). It also launched a programme in the United Kingdom (Bradshaw, 2016; CYPU, 2001) in order to collect the views of the young people about the democratic processes and things that can be done to enhance these democratic processes (Bradshaw, 2016; CYPU, 2001). This programme active citizenship (Bradshaw, 2016; CYPU, 2001) generated two reports published by CYPU in 2002 that included actions like voting to include the young people in political life (Bradshaw, 2016; CYPU, 2001). One report was specifically for the young people (CYPU, 2001) and the second report for wider audience (CYPU, 2001). Research is undertaken by the National Children's Bureau (NCB), funded by CYPU for building good practices for the involvement of young people, identifying barriers for effective participation and knowing the views of young people on participation (NCB, 2003). According to the Education Act 32 of 2002 (UK Parliament, 2002:30), "all the decisions and understanding are as per the age of the students" in school life.

According to Schwille (1999:5), active citizenship can be obtained by:

- **growth and development of democratic schools and school structures;**
- **promoting universal human rights;**
- **developing effective citizenship education programmes;**
- **securing rights of learners;**
- **creating strong partnerships between schools and their local communities;**
- **more active and participatory teaching and learning approaches; and**
- **promoting effective school councils**

Citizenship education makes a major contribution to the promotion of active citizenship. For example, the IEA (Schwille, 1999), which based on a survey of 90 000 learners (14-year-olds) undertaken in the 2002 in 28 countries (Kerr, 2003:40; Kerr et al., 2002), including England, found a strong link between the development of civic knowledge of young people and their civic participation. According to the study, "a positive relationship and correlation exists between participative democratic life and civic knowledge. The higher students are included in participation in civic and political activities as adults the more knowledgeable they become" (Kerr, 2003:40; Kerr et al., 2002). This study, which was conducted by IEA Citizenship Education (Schwille, 1999:20), also reflected "school efficacy", which is considered a belief that when learners work together with other learners and young people on real issues, they can improve civic knowledge in their school.

However, in spite of the best efforts made by researchers and contributors, the citizenship education issue remains unresolved (Banks, 2017). This review section considered the school and beyond to answer the question whether schools are involving learners in active citizenship activities both within as well as beyond the school. Some supplementary questions can contribute to the answer:

1. Which benefits would learners get by developing active citizenship opportunities?
2. Will the school guidelines help learners to deliver and develop such opportunities?

3. Which factors challenge learners to develop citizenship skills through active citizenship opportunities?

The above questions are examined in sections 3.8.4.2-3.8.4.5 below. Section 3.8.4.2 throws light on the questions related to active citizenship in the school, and 3.8.4.3 deals with the questions related to challenges for advocating active citizenship in schools.

3.8.4.2 Active citizenship in school context

Active citizenship advocates the idea of learner participation in different learning activities along with performing the different responsibilities of a citizen of the country (Huck, 2018). Throughout his or her school life, the learner may contribute through class councils, curriculum subjects, citizenship education and many social activities, including school durbars (assemblies or gatherings in schools) (MoE, 2010) and clubs and societies. In 2002, researchers – including Alexander (2002) – advocated this matured concept (meaning a situation where learners are exposed to many activities in the classroom teaching and learning), i.e. active citizenship where citizenship will be taught as well as practiced from school level only.

In the absence of constructive literature, two of the most closely related works in literature are the contributions of the QCA (2003) and Ofsted (2003). While the focus of Ofsted (2003) is very narrow towards learner participation through councils and external visits, the QCA (2003) propagates the idea of active participation of learners, even in some of the matters of running the school itself (QCA, 2003). Through guidance materials and external help, the QCA (2003) published considerable material in similar line in order to emphasise the importance of learner contributions to the wider community (Nathenson & Henderson, 2018).

According to the Department for Education and Skills (DfES) (2003:11), the benefits of engaging learners in the matters of the school can be enumerated as:

- **improved academic achievement;**
- **improvement in attendance and behaviour;**
- **understanding the origin of democratic and listening schools;**
- **formation of an environment which fosters inclusion and creativity; and**
- **improvement in the provisions of the curriculum.**

There are debates about raising the standards of school as well as those of the learners are still unresolved (Hannam, 2001; also see De Nobile, 2018). Hannam (2001:33) and De Nobile (2018:398) is of the opinion that there are many opportunities and much more avenues, which still need to be researched in order to embrace the challenges of citizenship education and to facilitate learner participation. Trafford (2003) claims that increased participation will indirectly result in an improvement of standards.

According to Davies (1998:15), formation of effective councils among learners could result in more active participation by the learners. Some researchers (see, for instance, Nathenson & Henderson, 2018; Pietsch & Tulowitzki, 2017) have even carried out extensive telephonic interviews in order to understand the importance of school councils and have found positive results with respect to wider community engagement. Inman and Burke (2002:10) also point out the important role of these councils in fostering an environment of democracy and inclusiveness in schools. In another research, Rudduck (2003:20) identifies that it is also important to empower learners with a voice of their own as this will not only help learners to develop their own identity but will also help them to witness the expert experiences to bring about changes in their own institutions.

Apart from the definite benefits, some minor benefits can be:

- **more participatory opportunities for less involved learners; and**
- **more opportunities for young people with learning disabilities to become aware of the external world and to identify their strengths**

However, the greater objective of linking learners with the curriculum and the external world in order to make them face their own challenges, will be achieved (Cashman, 2017). This will require full participation from other stakeholders along with collaborations from parents, members of staff and external members (Cashman, 2017).

3.8.4.3 Challenges for advocating active citizenship in schools

Literature has already identified several challenges (see Castro & Knowles, 2017; Pashby, 2018) (see 3.7.4-3.7.4), but the major ones are those of the existing school infrastructure, which is not in line with the active citizenship requirements (Pashby, 2018). According to Flecknoe (2002:425), for a school to advocate the programme, it must have a designated place for planning, governance and meeting. Alexander (2002:45) supports the view of existing gaps in

the requirements and the conditions at that time. Many research articles (see for instance Apple & Apple, 2018; Bryk, 2018; Gadour, 2019) also emphasise the importance of the democratisation of schools along with changes in the school infrastructure.

Ofsted's (2001) definition is very narrow when it comes to the process of defining active citizenship programmes (Flecknoe, 2002:430). This is mainly because the guidelines in active citizenship programmes do not give importance to the contextual, cultural and the structural challenges that might pose threats (Alghamdi, 2020). Parker (2003:12) points out that England – as a society influenced by power and status (also see Bason, 2018) – making an institution democratic is one of the biggest challenges facing school. For example, learners are never allowed to determine staff policies and the appointment of staff (McKenzie, 2002). According to many researchers (for instance Barbour & Wright, 2018; Dunlop, 2017), giving learners exclusive rights may also result in backfire in terms of authoritative decisions (Marks, 2001). Similarly, Turnbull (2002:45) argued that, at the time of his study, the school population of England comprised a diverse population from different communities, which made it difficult to challenge the very culture, ethnicity and the societal norms of the different classes. According to Dillabough and Arnot (2002:18), the gender-biased approach in the school would also be questioned and difficult to handle.

Hannam (2001:75) who was seen as the clearest advocate of citizenship education in the school approach, clarifies that there could be options available to the senior leadership on whether to prioritise the participatory approach or to follow the old approach (i.e. in the old approach, a senior leadership position was the reserve of school management team. Here leaders were appointed for the learners and not elected by the learners themselves.). Overall, however, the whole civic knowledge and political activities will only be possible with proper support from government along with changes in education policies and the outlook of the society (Collins, 2019).

3.8.4.4 Active citizenship in relation to the community

The literature is not vocal about the concept of active citizenship in the wider community, and only discusses the ways the schools could engage the local community through curriculum and extracurricular activities. The literature is silent about the different ways in which learners' experiences in their local community could be used by schools for making active citizenship experience more pronounced (Capel et al., 2019).

According to Potter (2002:25), some of the benefits that learners could from their engagement with the wider community as a part of the active citizenship programmes are:

- **schools will be able to generate social capital through collaborations which could be provided later;**
- **the local community will benefit from the service from the school and the learners;**
- **there is a possibility of developing a positive relationship between different generations;**
- **reflective practices will help the schools develop their own skills; and**
- **schools will be able to engage learners more actively.**

Referring to a culture of competition, Potter emphasises the importance of developing ways of recognition and organisations that propagate the concept of active citizenship. "As far as the additional benefits are concerned, learner participation in the external world will increase manifold" (DfES, 2003:19). This will help them to build strong local networks through trust and belief, which will act as the steppingstone for deeper community involvement in the future (Botsman, 2017; Prime, Zimmeck & Zurawan, 2002).

There are also some external benefits, which can be realised through active participation of the learners in the wider community. According to Eley (2003), the Institute of Volunteering Research undertook a study on active citizenship programmes in 27 schools which resulted in greater participation by learners who were academically less sound or who were disengaged from the school.

3.8.4.5 Challenges involved in active citizenship for the community

Although there are many tangible benefits from the practice of the active citizenship, challenges exist when it comes to educating learners (QCA, 2003). The challenges as enumerated by Potter (2002:32) are:

1. **Leadership challenges:** It is the ultimate responsibility of the senior leadership to make decisions about the programme. The leader has the right to block or allow certain programmes according to the aims of the school or institution (Almeida, 2019).

2. **Curriculum challenges:** In order for the programme to be successful, it should be aligned with the wider objectives and ethos of the school (Peterson & Bentley, 2017).
3. **Cultural challenges:** All the stakeholders, including the staff, learners, and employees, should be made aware of the benefits in order to avoid resistance (Albanesi, 2018).
4. **Contextual challenges:** While implementing the active citizenship programme the schools or the institutions must evaluate the conditions of their organisations prevailing at the time in order to avoid further complications (Tan, 2018).

According to CSV (2003:22), there are three major constraints that may hamper the implementation of an active citizenship programme, namely curriculum pressure, time constraints, and bureaucracy. To add to the list, QCA (2003) identifies the capability of learners and staff, which may affect the implementation programme in an adverse manner. According to Kerr and Sardoc (2002), the availability of public spaces or places with wider community involvement may pose to be another major constraint. According to Wilkins (2003:78), other minor factors which may affect the implementation of an active citizenship programme in schools and institutions are:

- **litigation challenges from community members, learners and parents;**
- **unavailability of public spaces, and schools selling their spaces to private organisations; and**
- **decline in the health due to limited public spaces or places of young people as a result of the difficulties in the implementation of active citizenship programme.**

3.9 DCE AND ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH TEACHING AND LEARNING

There has been a considerable increase in the need for democratisation, and government of Ghana has taken several steps in that direction (Grebe, 2017). Education for democracy means education is important in order to create a political culture, which will comprise values that will help with the development of democratic political institutions (Bryk, 2018; NA, 2016; Welch, 2016). There have been various studies on the need of a democratic education (Carlson, 2018; Zembylas, 2018) and comparative studies have been done (see Crick, 2017; De Groot, 2017) in order to understand the need of DCE (Harber & Trafford, 1999). There are several studies on

development in SSA countries towards democratic education, which will help in better understanding of the topic (see, for instance, Sorensen, 2018; Torres, 2017). There are various ways by which democratic education can be described (see Davies et al., 2002; Harber, 1997; Mncube & Harber, 2010). According to Meighan (2005:65), in a democratic education, learners are given power to make critical decisions. DCE believes in the concept of sharing of power and not just bestowing it on a minority group. Meighan (2005) also says that this kind of practice does not exist even in many democratic countries and are not extensively supported by government. Several research studies have been done to explain the benefits of incorporating such educational practices in the modern world (see, for instance, Eisner, 2017; Slavin, 2019). There are two important research works, which prove the benefits of having democratic forms of schooling, namely that of Bryk (2018) and O'Cadiz (2018). One of the most important benefits of DCE is the creation of a society that is democratic in nature. Secondly, DCE helps in creating and improving the standards of schools (Mncube & Harber, 2010).

There has been a considerable rise in the democratic form of government throughout the world (Katsambeksi, 2017) and it has become imperative for policymakers and educational researchers to come forward and work towards promoting democracy in the field of education and in various schools (Katsambeksi, 2017). The focus on democracy in education should be on grooming young people for developing into better citizens of tomorrow (Rudduck, 2006). According to Hart (1992:30), a nation can be considered democratic if the citizens of that country are involved in making the important decisions of the country. The citizens of the country must be competent and capable enough to be involved in the decision-making process of the country. It is important that governments of democratic countries should come up with initiatives that promote learners to become part of the aspiring democracy (Carlson, 2018; Zembylas, 2018).

According to Harber (1998:42), the values and behaviour of democracy are learned and acquired behaviours and can be taught to learners through formal education. It is important that learners be allowed to participate and become members of democratic societies and that they are involved in the democratic practices and experiences. In the case of babies, it is the talking of parents with their children, which help the children to acquire language. Similarly, education can convey the importance of democratic development only by letting youngsters become a part of it and experiencing it (Alderson, 2000). The type of training and learning has considerable effect on the behaviour of learners. Democratic development is an acquired

behaviour, and citizens learn about the traits of democracy just as they learn about history or sports (Harber, 1995). Thus, the above research studies and analyses provided a basis to assume that it is important to promote democracy and its applications in schools and learners should be presented with opportunities to learn the skills, knowledge and attitudes of democracy, which they can later incorporate in their societies. Learners' participation in the various micro-political systems during school and college life would help them in becoming active citizens who will be interested in the state and local political affairs of the country (Peterson & Bentley, 2017). The theoretical lessons on politics and system of governance will not be sufficient to create a drive among the learners to become active members of the lessons (Davies, 1994). The question to be analysed here is how many policies of government help in promoting theoretical lessons and incorporating it in the school system. There are cases where the mission statements of government on education aim at achieving the vision of the school, but the reality can be experienced at ground level where there is hardly any initiative and the teachers are focused towards achieving the targets set by government on examinations (Giusepponi & Tavoletti, 2018).

Democratic education can be developed most effectively by incorporating it at school level (Schweisfurth, 2002). Schools should provide facilities of experiencing the democracy practically apart from coming up with various curriculums on the topic (Giusepponi & Tavoletti, 2018; Schweisfurth, 2002). According to Alderson (2000:52), democracy cannot be described just as a set of ideas, as it also involves a strong feeling of working together and the sharing of actions, power and resources. Citizens are involved in labouring together, celebrating together, negotiating together, and also struggling together. There are various encounters of emotions and struggles, which help in creating a society where democracy prevails (Gill, 2017). It is essential to learn the importance of skilling and new roles in creating a democratic society. It is important for new learners to understand speaking out in public on matters of public importance and also having debates on topics, and the importance of time keeping in teaching and learning is something that needs to be learnt (Mncube & Harber, 2010).

Evidence proves the importance of effective learning on various democratic forms in continents like America, Europe and Africa (see in this regard Du Bois, 2017; Rodney, 2018; Sorensen, 2018). Various researchers discuss the importance of democratic schooling (Carlson, 2018; Zembylas, 2018) and reflect on the importance of having genuine people involved in matters of concern (Carlson, 2018; Zembylas, 2018). Researchers, such as Weinberg and Flinders

(2018) and Cross and Vandergrift (2018), also discuss the importance of listening to learners and understanding their problems. Giving them the opportunity and power to participate in democratic initiatives has helped to improve the effectiveness of schooling and therefore helped in the improvement of schools (Tan, 2018). Various concepts and values of democracy can be taught only by having an effective schooling culture (Harber, 1997; 2010), characterised by, for instance –

- **tolerance and mutual respect;**
- **the capability and knowledge to take part in discussions;**
- **expressing opinions and views;**
- **taking part in the process of learning and sharing of knowledge;**
- **developing an understanding of equality and equity; and**
- **allowing learners to make better-informed decisions.**

Research has also shown that a culture of democratic schools has often led to development and improvement of schools (Albanesi, 2018) and resulted in both conventional schools, which are examination-oriented and less conventional schools, which are non-violence oriented (Albanesi, 2018). Evidence of this can be seen in schools in England and Africa where the concept of democratisation has been taught to learners, which has helped the school perform well in terms of examinations and results and but has also helped in improving the climate of the school (Harber & Trafford, 1999). In the Wolverhampton School of Grammar, teachers started the process of democratisation to help learners perform better, and this has resulted in success of democratic governance in schools (Harber & Trafford, 1999).

Learners in this school developed an attitude of mutual respect and equity, and there has been an increase in the acceptance of rights. Learners have become more focused than before on accepting their duties and raising their voice and opinion in matters of concern. Similarly, in Grosvenor Girls High School in Durban, an environment was created where the learners were given the opportunity to raise their concern and express themselves (Harber, 2017). The learners learnt the art of patience, and skills such as organisational and interpersonal skills also improved. Learners started working together, considering the whole schools as a family, and were often involved in working together to bring new ideas to solve issues they faced (Harber & Trafford, 1999). Democratic environment in schools also leads to improvement of quality of learning.

Reports by Harber and Muthukrishna (2000:425) suggested improvements in the attitude of learners towards society and learning. The schools under study were found to be calmer and cleaner and were more formal in their behaviour. There were planning and coordination between the teachers and the learners, which provided an environment conducive to learning. The schools were also open to accepting new ideologies with respect to education, which focused on creating an environment that was less violent and based on democratic studies. Similarly, in schools in North Holland (see Bryk, 2018), Denmark (see Gay, 2018), Germany (see Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020) and Sweden (see Bowe, Ball & Gold, 2017) it was found that learners are more productive and dignified in democratic studies.

According to Aspin (1995:65), subjects such as Citizenship Education and Social Studies help learners in understanding their roles and responsibilities in society. Only giving theoretical knowledge on matters of democracy cannot be considered education but is rather seen as indoctrination (Gill, 2017), developing citizens unfit for society (Gill, 2017). According to Hart (1992:48), there are many democratic countries, which are involved in pedantic teaching of democracy to learners, which is not acceptable. In the United States, democracy and its concepts are explained in a historical manner (i.e. matters of historical relevance, such as the American Revolution of 1776). There should be more democratic manners involved in the teaching of social studies and citizenship manner (Ross, 2017). The aim of the schools should be to involve learners in freedom of expression and thus to encourage them to participate in issues facing the community. Teachers also need to be more democratic in their teaching in order to help the learners understand and implement the concept education (Ekholm, 2004). Schools should act as democratic environments where learners are developed with the ability to think rationally and to analyse the situations prevailing in the society critically (Bowe et al., 2017).

3.10 OVERVIEW OF DEMOCRATIC SPHERES OF CHANGE IN GHANA

Africa, as one of poorest continent in the world (see Cooper, 2019; Iliffe, 2017), has witnessed many political changes in the early 1950s (see Cooper, 2019; Iliffe, 2017). It was during this historical period that most of the countries in Africa began to fight for political independence from their colonial masters, notably the British, the Dutch, the Danes, the Portuguese and the French. The period comprising the 1950s and the 1960s saw most of the African nations gaining independence from their colonial masters. By 1960, 17 of the 53 African nations, including Ghana, had achieved sovereignty (Young, 2004). The political struggle to independence in Africa was a period that led to the emergence of great political leaders such as Kwame

Nkrumah, Julius Nyerere, Felix Houphouet-Boigny, Nelson Mandela, Mobuto Sese Seko, Haile Selasie and Kamuzu Bada, to mention a few. According to Young (2004), the decolonisation era and the achievement of independence by some Africa nations were defining historic moments and the culmination of an epic struggle.

Ghana attained her independence on 6 March 1957 (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). Since then, 'democracy' has become a frequently used word in the national discourse (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). Although there have been many democratic successes over the past 63 years, the country has also witnessed a 'dark' period of 21 years (1966-1969; 1972-1979; and 1981-1992) of various military interventions. Fukuyama, in his controversial book *The end of history and the last man* (1992, as cited in Waghid & Le Grange, 2010), argues that the current drive for and victory of the democratic ideal all over the world is the outcome of people's struggle or demand for recognition. It is important to consider an outline of the chronological political events that have occurred in Ghana before independence, during independence and after independence in order to discuss the democratic spheres of change in these eras.

Table 3.1: Political events that has occurred in Ghana between 1950 and 2012

Period	Event	Reference
Before independence, 1950	The first general parliamentary elections in Ghana. Conventions Peoples Party (CPP) won the majority seat in parliament with Kwame Nkrumah as the Leader of government business.	Davidson, 2019
During independence in 1957	Dr Kwame Nkrumah became the first prime minister in Ghana.	Davidson, 2019; Qualdoo, 2010
1960	Ghana became a republic.	Davidson, 2019; Mengesha, 2014
1966	First military intervention, which overthrew the democratic government in power, was the National Liberation Council.	Austin and Lackham, 2014; Arthur, 2016
1969	Ghana returned to democratic governance after a general election, which brought the Progress Party (PP) to power.	Austin and Lackham, 2014, Authur, 2016
1972	Second military intervention by the National Redemption Council, which overthrew the PP government.	Austin and Lackham, 2014, Arthur, 2016
1975	National Redemption Council was changed(metamorphosed) to Supreme Military Council (SMC 1).	Arthur, 2016
1978	The overthrow of the SMC (1) leader by another SMC (2) leader.	Arthur, 2016
1979	The overthrow of the SMC 2 by another military group called Armed Force Revolution Council (AFRC).	Arthur, 2016
1979	The third democratic elections, which brought the People's National Convention (PNC) into power.	Frimpong and Agyeman-Budu, 2018
1982	The overthrow of the PNC government by a military group called People's National Defense Council (PNDC).	Frimpong and Agyeman-Budu, 2018
1992	A new constitution was enacted.	Nkansah, 2015; Akuamoah, 2017
1992	The fourth democratic general elections brought the National Democratic Congress (NDC) to power.	Nkansah, 2015 Akuamoah, 2017;
1996	The fifth democratic general election brought the NDC party again to power.	Nkansah, 2015; Akuamoah, 2017
2000	The sixth democratic general election brought the New Patriotic Party (NPP) to power.	Nkansah, 2015; Akuamoah, 2017
2004	The seventh democratic general election retains the NPP in power.	Nkansah, 2015; Akuamoah, 2017
2008	The eighth democratic general election, which brought the NDC back to power.	Nkansah, 2015; Akuamoah, 2017
2010	The creation of a constitutional Review Commission to address problems in the 1992 constitution.	Nkansah, 2015 Akuamoah, 2017
2012	The ninth democratic general elections, which retained the NDC in power under a new president.	Nkansah, 2015 Akuamoah, 2017

Source: Adapted from Fox, Hoffman, Anyimadu and Keshishian (2011)

A critical analysis of the spheres of change in Ghana's historical democratic dispensation attests to the fact that the country has chalked up a number of successes in its democratic governance, although it is still beset with the painful experiences the country has suffered for the past 21 years in military rule. As confirmed by Berry (1995), Ghana's future after independence looked promising, and it seemed destined to be a leader in Africa. However, a few years after independence, Ghana's economy severely declined (1970-1979) and its reputation became damaged because of instability of government.

> Despite the great success of democratic elections in Ghana, recent assessment of democratic governance depicts that democratic political culture is underdeveloped and formal democratic institutions and processes give inadequate voice to the poor and marginalized group (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010:15).

> Dominating, autocratic control is the technique of ignorance and inability to lead in industry and business-and disastrous in the end. Just as democracy is a more civilised method of leadership in government, so it is, equally with other groups (Bradford & Lippitt, 1945:28).

In the twentieth century Ghana, among other African countries, has experienced many dramatic spheres of change in the democratic period; therefore, describing themselves as liberal democracies (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010:20). Evidence from these Africa states shows that democracy is far from being reached, resulting in increased poverty, high levels of corruption, human rights violations, voting apathy, electoral rigging, nepotism, civil wars, ethnic and religious wars, distrust among politicians and judicial corruptions (Ogundimu, 2017). The challenge in the twenty-first century era is that most democratic states in Africa are facing a high demand for social, economic and political arrangements from their citizens that go beyond the reach of the system (Sorensen, 2018).

The spheres of democratic changes in a country such as Ghana require changes in the value systems, norms, ethos, belief(s), culture, tradition, chieftaincy system and religious beliefs, and the process involved in this changing process may be slow and costly, which will require many resources, such as money, skills and energy and natural resources among the citizenry. To overcome these challenges, a new orientation in our value systems and norms needs to be adopted into the entire life of the citizens of the country and that can only be possible through DCE. For Waghid (2010:10), "democratic citizenship education involves educating people

about their civil, political and social rights". Such a process would educate people about the rights to protection of life, liberty and property, the right to freedom of conscience and certain associational rights, such as those of contract and marriage: all civil rights (Waghid, 2010).

3.11 SUMMARY

This chapter reviewed literature and explored the modern definitions of democracy, types of democracy, models of democracy, democracy and national development, deliberative democracy and education, education for democracy, the relationship between DCE and management, as well as teaching and learning at Ghanaian schools. An overview of democratic spheres of change in Ghana was provided to serve as a link between democratic discourse and education. Before the analysis of Ghanaian policy framework on education, it was imperative to understand democracy and its related concepts.

The next chapter involves an analysis of policy documents that have affected Ghana's educational system, and it explores Ghanaian education policy changes and their contribution to the promotion of DCE.

CHAPTER FOUR

DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND GHANA'S EDUCATIONAL POLICY DOCUMENTS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter covers the analysis of education policy documents that have affected the Ghanaian educational system. Analysis of these education policy documents helps to enlighten democratic citizens who will be capable to tackle and solve societal glitches (Gyekye, 2013). Therefore, the policy analysis helped me to understand the role of the government in promoting DCE in Ghana. More so, for individuals to be active democratic citizens involves engaging them in public discourse in order to find solutions to problems confronting them in society. In such discussions, citizens are expected to contribute likewise and at are liberty to share devoid of sense apprehension from officialdom (Gyekye, 2013).

In the long run, this will help citizens develop DCE values, such as inclusiveness, equality, respect, compassion, civil engagement, participation and access (see Assasie-Gyimah, 2018; Akumbi, 2019). Finally, this section reports on DCE in the Ghanaian educational system, showing how I attempted to answer the main research question: Do the educational policies in the Ashanti region of Ghana offer opportunities to cultivate DCE in Ghanaian society?

4.2 DEFINING THE CONCEPT OF POLICY AND EDUCATIONAL POLICY

> Citizenship is a status that mediates the relationship between an individual and a political community. It is characterized by a set of reciprocal rights, the extent and nature of which are defined through a complex set of social and political processes including: the struggle between opposing social forces, political compromise, and historical and economic circumstance (Faulks, 1998:4).

There is much complexity in trying to explore the connection between education policy and the broader citizenship agenda. Indeed, education appears to be different from other forms of social provision on account of the peculiar way in which it embodies not only key citizenship entitlement, but also has a dominion and its matchless capacity to address issues relating to how individuals define themselves as citizens (Apple, 2004:16). In other words, "education services are not only a material form of citizenship but also philosophically, they assist us to have better

understanding of ourselves as citizens" (Apple, 2004:16). To me, education policy therefore both moulds our sense of citizenship and is moulded by it.

It is very suitable to suggest a concise definition of the concepts ('education policy' and 'policy') being examined, but this is rarely imaginable and a debate on the concept 'policy' cannot be exempted (Apple, 2004). This is because the variety of theoretical issues encompassed by the term 'policy' is too comprehensive to be restricted to one concise definition. Indeed, it is imperative to have an appreciable comprehension of policy that echoes the extent and intricacy that the certainty of policy discourse involves (Blakemore, 2003). Uniquely, a policy can be conceived as a programme of action or a set of strategies that control how one should progress in a given established environment (Blakemore, 2003). Blakemore (2003:10), for instance, defines policies as "aims or goals, or statements of what ought to happen". This difference between objectives and "statements of what ought to happen" resonates a related otherness acknowledged by Harman (1984:13) concerning policies as declarations of aim and those that embody strategies of work. Hence, Harman (1984:13) argues policy is:

> [T]he implicit or explicit specification of courses of purposive action being followed, or to be followed in dealing with a recognized problem or matter of concern, and directed towards the accomplishment of some intended or desired set of goals. Policy can also be thought of as a position or stance developed in response to a problem or issue of conflict, and directed towards a particular objective.

For Harman (1984:18), it is therefore important to recognise that policy is systematic rather than random. It is objective-driven and multifaceted; it is the co-ordination of several ways of deed, and not one discrete activity.

However, in the arguments by both Blakemore (2003:10) and Harman (1984:13), the emphasis is on policy as a product or outcome. The constraint of seeing policy only as a product is that such constraint disengages it from policy as a process; thus, when one fails to see policy as *both* product *and* process (Taylor & Wren, 1997). "Likewise, this conceptualization of policy is separated from the milieu from which it is taken. Put differently, the conceptualisation of policy seeks to address issues such as the purpose of the policy and what it tries to achieve" (Taylor & Wren, 1997:840).

Bottery (2000:20), "[o]n the other hand, defines 'policy' in terms of global trends and tries to s explore the impact of those trends on the professional ideals of educators." In this regard, he is seen among his compatriots as the one who tried to develop an international perspective on education policy (see Culp, 2019). Granted that the importance of globalisation was recognised in the current study, the intention here is to provide a detailed analysis of specific trends that appeared to have a part to play in shaping education policy in a number of different international contexts. The intention was not to undertake a comprehensive international analysis. Rather, where relevant international examples were available, they were considered part of the analysis.

Put differently, education policy is termed as a "set of political decisions which have been taken by those who exercise power (policymakers, teachers, unions and community organizations) through a prescription of actions aimed at changing educational institutions or practices" (McLaughlin, 2000, as cited in Waghid, 2002:33). According to Waghid (2002:35), an explanation of education policy involves three main aspects:

- **policy is articulated by officialdom;**
- **policy is a set of admissible prearranged activities; and**
- **policy is an intelligible outline to be carried out in an education system intended to trigger change.**

In other words, education policy as articulated by the general public emanates from their intuitions that are bent on altering educational establishments or line of actions (Kogan, 1975). The idea of policy as the chasing of primarily political objectives is documented in Kogan's study of education policymaking in which he defines policies as the "operational statements of values – the authoritative allocation of values" (Kogan 1975:53). This favourably traces policy within a framework of broader essential questions denoted as:

- **What is education for?**
- **Who is education for?**
- **Who decides about education?**

Kogan (1975:50) efforts to place values at the axis of understanding policy led him to uncover four salient values that support and inform education policy, namely educational, social, economic and institutional values. He also highlights the distinction between **basic** and

secondary values with educational, social and economic values being considered influential or basic, and institutional values being considered consequential or secondary.

Kogan (1975:55) affirms further that an elementary value is one that firstly "requires no further defence than that it is held to be right by those who believe it".

Secondly, instrumental values are accepted by the extent to which they advance the development of basic values – "the basic values are self-justificatory 'oughts'. The secondary values are concepts that carry the argument into the zone of consequences and instruments and institutions" (Kogan, 1975:54).

In his study of the policymaking process in England and Wales, Kogan (1975:60; 2018:55) puts forth a comprehensively researched report of the development of education policy in an era regarded largely by cross-party agreement and a pledge to the expansion of educational provision (Simon, 1991). This occasioned an era of social and political accord in which an accommodation between capital and labour, the advent of Keynesian economic management and the development of a significant welfare sector granted the impetus for a social democratic settlement (Kogan, 2018:56). The emergence of broad political consensus effectively ensured a period of value consensus in which it was reasoned that the development of welfarism had foreshadowed a new era of citizenship founded on the developments of new social rights (Al Tamimi, 2019; Marshall, 1950). In view of this unanimity, research works on policy, such as Kogan's (1975:65) "regarded the standards supporting policy as essentially stress-free". Policies were seen in the light of goal achievements or resolving problem negotiation and concession via the policy process that results in a combination of opinions and standards. The procedure involved in policymaking was both mechanical and balanced (Kogan, 1975; 2018).

The effect of this scrutiny was fundamentally a direct opinion of policy development in which challenges were recognised, answers proffered and plans and mediations then effected (Kogan, 1975; 2018). Such a line of action of policymaking is situated within the pluralist tradition that understands the role of political institutions as the unification of opposing loads and anticipations of dissimilar interest groups (Kogan, 1975; 2018). Skirmish is not overlooked, but it is not seen as unavoidable, and it is undoubtedly perceived as controllable. The significance of this investigation is a progressive approach to policymaking as buttressed by Jennings (1977) and Dror (2017).

The assessment of policy and the policy process come with numerous advantages, namely its accent on the core mechanisms of policymaking administrations, chiefly at governmental level, which can afford significant attention on the core mechanisms of public administration and can also imitate the influence of key players in the policymaking process (Kogan, 1975; 2018). Nevertheless, in diverse ways, the assessment offers an insufficient prototype of what establishes policy, and how policy is both designed and practiced by those involved at all stages in the policy process (Kogan, 1975; 2018). Policy develops from political struggles and is confined within a political system whose resolve is to change "group conflict over public resources and values into authorized courses of action concerning their allocation" (Harman, 1984:16). Conflict is predictable, but occurs within closely defined limits (Wehr, 2019). Power is recognised, but it is seldom problematised (Wrong, 2017). Foundations of power are seldom deliberated and minute thoughtfulness is paid to the uneven sharing of power (Wrong, 2017). Likewise, the pluralist emphasises that formal policy processes tend to explore the genesis of policy, but has less to say about execution (Connolly, 2017).

From the above discussions, one may be quick to say that education policy helps to order and govern the conduct of people in an establishment, and monitors them to keep them in a particular way in order to achieve the educational objectives stated (Buchanan & Huczynski, 2019). It also guards the interest of the educational establishment, provides guideline to teachers, sets goals, and alters the elementary way of doing things in schools (Buchanan & Huczynski, 2019). The main issue in the current research was the analysis of policy content in the context of Ghanaian education policy documents to be able to explore and appreciate Ghanaian education policy changes and its influence on the advancement of DCE.

4.3 GHANAIAN EDUCATIONAL POLICY DOCUMENTS AND DCE

Within the Ghanaian educational system, the concept of DCE is not new and existed before the introduction of formal Western education. Young people were taken through a specialised initiation process resulting in the transmission of the values, norms and culture to the young in order to develop a "sense of belongingness" (Asimeng-Boahene, 2000:190) to society (Asimeng-Boahene, 2000; Kankam, 2016; Mafela & Mgadla, 2000; Quaynor, 2018). This citizenship education was described by scholars such as Asimeng-Boahene (2000:15), Kankam (2015: 2106), Mafela and Mgadla (2000:9) and Quaynor (2018:368) as multivalent in nature, which leads to the inculcation of good moral values in young members of the community cultivating –

- **honesty, honour and respect for the elderly;**
- **promotion of intellectual training through the study of local and oral history, poetry, reasoning, riddles, proverbs and storytelling;**
- **vocational training based on the apprenticeship system from the father or relative who had mastered such vocation in order to ensure economic survival; and**
- **physical development by undertaking recreational activities such as dancing, singing, wrestling and acrobatic displays.**

The major objective of this education was to help the young child learn to play, eat and share with siblings and friends in the community in order to develop a spirit of communalism.

However, the introduction of formal Western education in Ghana during the colonial era in the nineteenth and early part of the twentieth century destroyed and collapsed this African indigenous form of education. It should be noted that in all the ordinances, namely 1852, 1882, 1887, 1908, 1919-1927 (Antwi, 1995:29; Gyimah-Brempong, 2017:340) passed by the various colonial governments, there was no evidence of DCE. The major objective of these ordinances was to develop the cognitive mind of the Ghanaian who had to be able to read, write and serve as interpreters to represent the merchants in their businesses. During the immediate post-colonial period, the government-initiated policies concerning education, which all had some minimal evidence of DCE as explained in detail in this thesis, namely:

- **1951 Accelerated Development Plan (see MoE, 1951);**
- **Education Act 87 of 1961 (see MoE, 1961);**
- **1967 Kwapong's Education reform (see MoI, 1967);**
- **1987 Junior Secondary School reform (see MoE, 1987);**
- **1995 Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (see Akyeampong, 2009); and**
- **New Education reform 2007 (see MoE, 2007a).**

Therefore, Ali (2008:151) opines that citizenship education in the immediate post-colonial era in Africa – and for that matter, Ghana – is characterised by individuals' rights and political activities, such as voting.

In the recent past, during the colonial period education was seen to have nurtured a deep sense of social injustice the spearheaded the creation of social classes, thus the "elite society and the "working class" (Abreh, 2017:69). Nonetheless, there was an overall approval and acceptance among the educated people that adoption of formal education in Ghana will guarantee the acquisition of values, skills and attitudes among learners, and also position learners to become more literate to champion the course of a progressive society with the sole aim of bridging the gap between the elite and the working group (Abreh, 2017). In this regard, schools were tasked to train and prepare individuals to become useful citizens who can be labelled as a courteous, polite, cultured, morally upright and very civil (Anab, 2018). The aftermath is that these products of the can become agents of social change and national development (Anab, 2018). Indeed, it is an open secret that the higher one moves on the education ladder, he or she becomes less tribally inclined and more inter-tribal and nationally inclined (Agyeman, 1993).

In the next section, I proceed to present and discuss –

- **the internal self-government (transitional) period;**
- **the immediate post-colonial, political;**
- **economic depression (military intervention) period;**
- **the contemporary democratic (Fourth Republic) period; and**
- **an analysis of Ghanaian education policy documents in relation to DCE.**

4.3.1 Internal self-government (transitional) period (1951-1957)

The social link between educational development and political development is often ignored by our political leaders, but needs to be emphasised because this unique interconnecting bond propelled the Gold Coast (now Ghana) in achieving her full democratisation (Jennings, 1956). Jennings (1956:5) writes, "the development of self-government is not one of the objectives of education, but one of its inevitable consequences. We cannot educate the people of a colony without expecting them to ask for self-government". During the colonial era, the Cape Coast Castle School, for instance, produced great nationalists, such as –

- **King Joseph Aggrey of Cape Coast who led the Fanti Confederation;**

- **George Blankson of Anomabu who in 1861 became the first pure African member of the legislative council; and the founding members of the Aborigines Rights and Protection Society (ARPS) in 1897, who were the products of Cape Coast Castle School (Oti-Agyen, 2007).**
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- **4.3.1.1 Accelerated Development Plan of 1951**

The Convention People's Party (CPP), under the leadership of Dr Kwame Nkrumah, won the highest number of seats in parliament and he became the leader of government business to begin internal self-governing as a step towards the total independence of Ghana. Since then, the country has taken a significant step in its educational system as a result of the new democratic system (Assasie-Gyimah, 2018). The new government saw education as the "pivot" to the rapid socio-economic growth of the nation and a possible realisation of this vision was that education was more accessible to the citizens (Nkrumah, 1967). Nkrumah then initiated his first education policy, which was laid before parliament, namely the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) of 1951 (Graham, 1976). The main objective of this policy was to achieve universal free primary education for all children of school-going age in the country. This policy was adopted to replace the colonial government's ten-year education plan (1946-1956), which aimed to achieve universal primary education in about 20-25 years from 1946. Graham (1976:7-8) identified the main proposals of the ADP as follows;

- **a six-year basic primary course for all children of school-going age at public expense;**
- **Infant – Junior schools were to be known as 'primary schools' and Senior Primary Schools were to be known as 'middle schools' (now JHSs) and were to be regarded as part of the post-primary system;**
- **facilities for the training of teachers were to be increased by the addition of ten new colleges and the doubling in size of existing ones;**

- **additional day secondary schools were to be provided and certain non-assisted secondary schools were to be assisted;**
- **four secondary technical schools were provided, including the conversion of the Government Technical School at Takoradi;**
- **all teachers in training, except those holding a school certificate, were to take the certificate B course and entry to the certificate A course was to be made from among certificate B teachers who had already taught for a period;**
- **the middle schools in the northern territories were to be increased in number as quickly as possible and more potential teachers were to be provided. A new training college was to be opened at Pusiga (now Gbewa College of Education). Primary schools in the north of the country were to be increased in numbers as teachers became available;**
- **the salaries of teachers trained and untrained were to be reviewed. It was proposed that in future, all teachers in training would be treated as if on study leave and would draw the salaries, they would have received had they been teaching in a school; and**
- **considerable increases in scholarships to secondary, technical and trade schools were recommended.**

Although the implementation of this plan led to challenges such as falling standards in education, the over-stretched nature of the economy and the education sector expanding more than the economy, it still achieved many successes with minimal challenges, which helped in entrenching and developing our infant democracy. These included:

- **Increased access and participation to elementary school education (now basic education) for all Ghanaian citizens irrespective of religion, culture, colour, gender and race. One year after the implementation of the ADP, many public, middle and secondary schools in Ghana opened, and by 1957, middle-school enrolment had shot up to 115 831 and 9 860 learners in 38 secondary schools received government assistance (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). Unfortunately, this pragmatic vision by Nkrumah met a very serious challenge in the activities of the European missionaries who were directly involved in the former colonial government administration and management of education in Ghana (McWilliam &**

Kwamena-Poh, 1975). An indication of inclusion and participation of citizens was affected by the 1951 ADP policy (see MoE, 1951). Allowing missionaries to continue opening and running schools to contribute to the government effort of increasing access to education was however an element of mien inclusiveness in a democratic environment (Hamre, Morin & Ydesen, 2018). As confirmed by Young (2000:23), inclusiveness tolerates equal and extreme expression of views related to social glitches. One of the basic qualities of a democratic society is having access to education (see, Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020). Equal access to basic education is one of elementary responsibility that every government should offer in order to help equip the citizens with the necessary values to address the social issues confronting the nation, namely crime, violence, poverty, prostitution, women and child abuse and all Sexually Transmitted Diseases (STDs). According to Gutmann and Thompson (2004:35), "schools are the greatest dwellings to make free and identical citizens to be democratic". Schools serves as an avenue for individual to obtain democratic values which involves public and moral standards that are mandatory for individuals to come across social difficulties (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). To achieve this, schools should prepare citizens to deliberate. In such deliberation, citizens engage actively, freely and equally in different activities to reach a common good.

- **Another positive dimension of the ADP of 1951 was the internal self-government ability, which successfully Africanised the curriculum of the educational sector up to secondary-school level. African History, Geography and Religion were introduced into the secondary school curriculum and at elementary-school level to instil in citizens' African democratic values, such as respect, community involvement, participation, sharedness and accommodation of different views. Some Ghanaian languages such as Ga, Ewe, Akwapim and Asante Twi were also introduced at secondary level, where learners could offer in the General Certificate of Education (GCE) O level conducted by West African Examinations Council (WAEC). This was contrary to the former colonial government administration in education where citizens were introduced**

to reading, writing, arithmetic and Christian religious studies (MoE, 1951).

Despite the successes chalked up by the Nkrumah-led internal self-government administration in the educational sector, there were issues, which demonstrated that the 1951 ADP in the educational system lacked the concept of DCE (Kuyini, 2013). The educational system brought about by the Nkrumah-led internal self-government failed to encourage citizens to participate and deliberate on issues of national importance (Kuyini, 2013; Arnot, Casely-Hayford & Yeboah, 2018). Citizens consequently did not have a voice on issues confronting the nation. Every aspect of the nation was directed towards the colonial government ideology with endorsement of the Nkrumah-led CPP government. This did not help the Ghanaian citizens to be active democratic citizens (Kuyini, 2013; Arnot et al., 2018).

This policy did not give importance to negotiation in which citizens will contribute alike and involved vigorously in diverse deliberations. This is the kind of interactions Ghanaian citizens want in order to become lively and serious in a self-governing culture (Kuyini, 2013; Arnot et al., 2018). As a result of the inability of the policy to promote DCE values, it was unable to encourage and produce citizens who were ready and able to solve social problems confronting them without active involvement of their colonial masters (Kuyini, 2013).

4.3.2 Immediate post-colonial period (1961-1969)

There is a general acceptability among Ghanaians and African elites that education can be a vehicle to achieve political development and a stable egalitarian society (Arnot et al., 2018). In the same vein, education has resulted in a deep "social inequality" (Arnot et al., 2018:120) in Africa. One of the surest ways of achieving "social equality among Africans is to extend equal educational opportunities to all members of the society" (Arnot et al., 2018:122). One of the major objectives of educational reform in Africa as a whole is how to widen access to education and make it available to all citizens in society (Thompson, 1984). Here, I have tried to analyse two education policies (reforms) that took place within the period of 1961-1969.

4.3.2.1 Education Act, 87 of 1961

The Nkrumah-led CPP government, realising that education was important in national development, introduced another policy, the Education Act, 87 of 1961 (MoE, 1961). This was

passed to replace Governor Guggisberg's ordinances of 1925 and 1927, which had been in existence for close to thirty years even although Dr Kwame Nkrumah initiated and passed the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) education policy in 1951 (MoE, 1961). This Education Act (MoE, 1961) was passed by government on account of the following reasons:

- **the Accelerated Development Plan had served for ten years and there was a need to introduce innovations;**
- **Ghana had come out of the period of colonisation into an independent state and so there was a need to overhaul our education to meet the philosophy and aspirations of the government and the citizens;**
- **to ensure that all children of school-going age go to school;**
- **to make education more secular so that people are not denied education because of their religious affiliation and to give the government a greater say in the control and management of education in the country (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975; MoE, 2001).**

The Act identified four thematic principles, namely the powers of the Minister of Education, the role of Local Education Authorities (LEA), compulsory education, and the relationship between the schools and the churches.

In terms of access and participation to education, the Education Act, 87 of 1961 –

- **declares education to be compulsory;**
- **recognises freedom of religions; and**
- **ensures that all citizens be granted access to education regardless of their beliefs (MoE, 1961).**

In addition, the Education Act, 87 of 1961 was endorsed by Article 10 of the 1979 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana, which reads:

1. The Government shall endeavour to provide equal and adequate educational opportunities in all fields and at all levels for the people of Ghana.
2. The Government shall within two years after the coming into force of the constitution draw up a programme for implementation within the following ten years for free, compulsory and universal primary education.
3. The Government shall, subject to the availability of resources provide:

(a) free and equal access to secondary and other appropriate pre-university education;

(b) free and equal access to university or equivalent education;

(c) free adult literacy programmes;

(d) lifelong education; and

(e) free vocational training rehabilitation and resettlement of disabled person (MoE, 1961).

The Education Act, 87 of 1961 (MoE, 1961) however encountered many challenges, such as –

- **insufficient funds to carry through the new projects;**
- **a shortage of trained teachers;**
- **gross inequality between the southern and northern parts of Ghana;**
- **complaints by the churches about the powers vested in the Minister of Education;**
- **complaints about the poor quality of education; and**
- **a massive recruitment of untrained teachers with weak academic background (MoE, 1961).**

In assessing the policy from different perspectives, the 1961 Education Act was described as a policy (Adu-Gyamfi, Donkoh & Addo, 2016), which did not promote public participation and deliberation on different issues and concerns affecting the entire nation. According to Antwi (1995:56), the educational system was developed on the political ideology of the ruling CPP government under the leadership of Dr Kwame Nkrumah, who declared the country a one-party state immediately the nation gained the republican status. This declaration was likened to the socialist form of government.

As a demonstration of the lack of DCE, the management, finance and control of all schools – including mission schools – were invested in the hands of the Minister of Education on behalf of the government (Anlimachie, 2016). This demonstration by government did not help to develop free, autonomous and critical thinking citizens who would be able to express themselves on national discourse as a drive towards achieving democratic society (Young, 2006a). In other words, this act by the government exhibited a lack of DCE, participation and exclusion of others (missions) who could have contributed their quota when given the opportunity to do so in solving societal problems (Young, 2006a). This is in direct contradiction to Young's (2000:23) value of normative equality in democracy, a situation whereby those who

are affected by decision-making are giving equal opportunities to express themselves about the issues in public discussion.

However, despite these criticisms, the 1961 Education Act (MoE, 1961) achieved considerable success in demonstrating DCE. The vision of the leadership of the ruling CPP government had of education was to develop an educational system that would promote equality towards access and participation to education (Arnot et al., 2018). This was achieved by making basic education free and compulsory to all citizens irrespective of race, ethnic, religion, culture and language (Arnot et al., 2018). For example, parents who refused to send their children to school were arrested and asked to pay a fine of ten pounds (E.10). In schools, deliberate attempts were made to instil patriotism among the citizens. Three years after independence, Nkrumah established a Young Pioneer Movement (YPM) in schools with the ultimate goal "to defend the fledgling group from their youthful to their old age contrary to the foreign mind-set of their parentages and to give them partisan education" (Agyeman, 1988:8). Indeed, YPM ensured that at the beginning and end of the school day, children recited the following pledge:

> [T]o live by the ideals of Osagyefo Kwame Nkrumah, Founder of the state Ghana, initiator of the African personality; to safeguard by all means possible the independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity of the state of Ghana … to be in the first ranks of men fighting for the total liberation and unity of African from colonial oppression (Agyeman, 1988:8).

This step by the CPP government supports Young's (2000:25) deliberative democratic value of publicity, which entails inclusivity, equality and reasonableness. In this situation, citizens are given the opportunity to interact in decision-making process (Young, 2000).

Finally, the 1961 Education Act gave the obligation for increasing primary education to local education authorities. This resulted in a considerable increase in access at all stages of schooling just a few years after independence. Ghana had an education scheme that may well be labelled as one of the greatest esteemed in Africa at that time (World Bank, 2004).

4.3.2.2 1967 Kwapong's Education Reform

In 1966, the ruling CPP party of Dr Kwame Nkrumah was overthrown by a military junta led by Gen. AA Afrifa of the National Liberation Council (NLC) (MoI, 1967). Here, the swift

development of the establishment of education by Nkrumah was sternly criticised for having conceded value (MoI, 1967). The NLC government constituted an educational review committee under the chairmanship of Professor A Kwapong, a former vice-chancellor of the University of Ghana, Legon. The Committee made the following recommendations, which were accepted and implemented by the NLC government in 1967 (MoI, 1967):

- **the introduction of textbook fees for primary and middle school learners, an integrated eight (8)-year course for elementary education for selecting learners to secondary school through a Common Entrance Examination to be conducted by the West African Examinations Council (WAEC) and that learners who were unable to go to secondary school were to pursue a two-year continuation school course. The main objective of this continuation course was to equip learners with skills and the right attitudes that would help them to be employed in the various enterprises in the country or find gainful self-employment. Learners at the continuation school were to learn subjects such as farming, poultry-keeping, animal husbandry, fishing, woodwork and metalwork;**
- **the middle schools should continue to run the six-year primary and four-year middle school course;**
- **there should be considerable expansion in public secondary school system;**
- **there should be two levels at the secondary school education compressing lower secondary school leading to a five-year GCE O level followed by senior secondary school of two years GC E A level;**
- **teacher education should be improved upon – middle school leavers were to be trained for four years and two years for post-secondary school leavers; and**
- **all nine teacher training colleges offering specialist courses in English, Mathematics, Geography, History and General Science were to be transferred to the former Kwame Nkrumah Ideological Institute at Winneba to form the nucleus of the Advanced Teacher Training College (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975).**

Indeed, there is no evidence that this policy document was subjected to public deliberations for citizens to share and participate in how the education system at the time had to be designed to

help address the nation's problems, especially in relation to education. For example, Young (2000) contends that education policy develops completely legitimated first if entire citizens become aware of the democratic choices that are involved in the course of dialogue and decision-making. The voices of all stakeholders in education are too important to be ignored in contributing to a meaningful and well-informed policy formulation that will sustain the education of a country (Young. 2006a).

However, unfortunately, this policy was drawn up during the military era of governance, which only contributed to a thin line of DCE by setting separately most significant characteristics that can contribute to lively democratic citizens in the nation. Put differently, this policy unfortunately did not include the participation of most stakeholders who were affected by the policy (Arnot et al., 2018). It was drawn up exclusively by those who supported the military government (Arnot et al., 2018). This act by the military government was in direct contrast to what Gutmann and Thompson (2004:3) say, namely that citizens must not be preserved as inactive substances of law but as unrestricted and identical representatives who contribute to the domination of the culture unswervingly or complete legislatures.

4.3.3 Economic and political depression (military intervention) period (1972-1990)

In the mid-1980s, the Ghanaian educational system was in high-pitched deterioration resulting in a prolonged meagre economic routine in the 1980s. In 1982, per capita proceeds were 30% beneath the 1970 level, and the catalogue of actual monthly incomes had tumbled from 315 to 62. This outdated period also saw a severe dearth in teachers, textbooks and instructional resources all over Ghanaian schools (Akyeampong et al., 2007).

4.3.3.1 1987 New Educational Reform

The People's National Defense Council (PNDC) under the leadership of Lt. Ft. Lt. retired J.J Rawlings organised a successful coup and came into power in 1981 with the promise to solve the country's educational problems relating to access, quality and infrastructure (Osei, 2004). It is interesting to note that most of the features of the 1987 Education Reform emanated from the 1974 report by the Dzobo Education Review Committee (Dzobo, 1974) in which the military government of Supreme Military Council I and II did not have the "political will" (Adu-Gyamfi et al., 2016:63) to implement. The major features of this reform are:

- reducing the number of years spent at the pre-university level of the education system from 17 years to 12 years (six years' primary education, 3 years' junior secondary school and 3 years' senior secondary education;
- replacing the Common Entrance Examination, GCE O level and A level with Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) and the Senior Secondary School Certificate Examination (SSSCE);
- improvement of the curriculum content at basic school through the introduction of technical and vocational subjects for all children up to the junior secondary school and additional introduction of religious and moral education, music and dance;
- continuous assessment became part of the assessment policy in schools;
- the active involvement of the community in the school management through the institution of school management committees;
- increased in access to education through the opening of more primary, junior senior secondary schools, the supply of educational inputs, such as books and equipment; and
- the improvement of quality, efficiency and relevance of pre-university education.

The reform encountered challenges, such as the inability of the existing senior secondary schools to absorb the large number of applicants who were eager to go to secondary school, the low-quality products of the new programme, the high rate of disparity in the provision of infrastructure between the people in the north and the south of the country to mention a few. Although the design and implementation of the 1987 New Educational reform were under the leadership of a military government, it was able to chalk up success in the implementation of the reform that had DCE values like participation, inclusion and civil engagement.

On the part of participation to education, it was estimated that, by 1983 about 43% (Osei, 2004) of children of school-going age was not in school. The New Educational reform reasoned that implementation (Adu-Gyamfi et al., 2016) of three years of junior secondary school education would help educate more children by providing them with access to comprehensive and basic secondary education. This also had to guarantee the promotion of academic excellence (Osei, 2004). An increase in access and participation also prompted government to build many school infrastructures throughout the whole country and to encourage participation in the development

of preparatory schools. This action by government was in agreement with Young (2000:23) suggests that everyone should have equal right and effective chance to talk about interest and concerns and to question one another, to criticize one another in our proposals and arguments.

To ensure gender equity, a Science, Technology and Mathematics Education (STME) (Amankwah-Amoah, 2016) clinic was established in 1987 to address the gender imbalances and fallacies around girls' involvement in science and technology education. The system ensured that those children who have completed primary schools needed access to enter an advanced level of overall academic training in order to address the inequality between secondary schools and middle or continuation schools.

More so, the reform helped in the institution of the free textbook scheme. The scheme was aimed at fulfilling the military government policy of basic schools – free and obligatory for all children of school-going age in achieving access and participation as a democratic citizen's right to education as enshrined in the Constitution of Ghana and in the Children's Act, 560 of 1988 (Laird, 2002).

Improving curriculum content and implementation was another positive effect that the 1987 educational reform brought for the Ghanaian educational system (Osei, 2004). This made the curriculum content to be useful and relevant and skills were imparted so that learners would complete school familiarised with technology, science and vocations. Put differently, the curriculum content emphasised skill acquisition, creativity and the act of enquiry and problem solving. This supports Assie-Lumumba (2006:156), who opines that researchers, policymakers and teachers should involve socio-historical content in designing a curriculum for our educational system in finding solutions for societal problems.

Another positive democratic element of this reform was the institution of community libraries in district centres and some selected towns throughout the country (Osei, 2004). These libraries were expected to serve as information centres for dissemination of information through reading of books, government gazettes, Hansards, legislative instruments and bulletins (Osei, 2004). The reform was noted for allowing private participation in the provision of education to the citizens. This idea of private participation further emphasised the policy of decentralisation. As Young (2000) contends that education policy develops completely legitimated first if citizens become aware of pretentious democratic choices that are included in the process of discussion and policymaking.

4.3.4 Contemporary democratic period (1992-2012)

This was the period of a new era in the political history of Ghana as the country was ushered into the era of the Fourth Republican Constitution after 21 years of military intervention since independence.

4.3.4.1 Free compulsory universal basic education (FCUBE) – 1995

The Fourth Constitution of Ghana became a guiding document that directed how the country had to be governed (Government of Ghana [GoG], 1992a). Article 39(2) of the Constitution demands, "within three years after the first sitting of parliament the government should draw and implement a Free, Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) programme for all Ghanaian children of school going age by 2005" (GoG, 1992a:40). This programme was popularly known as FCUBE. This reform sought to address three main thematic areas of our educational sector, namely enhancing access to education, improving the worth of education, and efficient management of resources. In addressing the issues raised above, the government implemented the following strategies;

- creation of a desk at national, regional and district offices to encourage female education (girl-child offices);
- substantial provision of classroom and accommodation for teachers;
- establishment of school management committees to collaborate with educational authorities;
- abolishment of all school fees and the institution of a school feeding programme;
- provision of in-service training for all teachers to meet modern practices;
- constant reviews of the curriculum and textbooks;
- retraining of learner teachers to diploma status; and
- organisation of training programmes for district directors, circuit supervisors and managers of schools in achieving –

  - management efficiency;
  - provision of accommodation for heads of schools;
  - appointment of heads based on academic and professional qualifications; and

- the institution of district education oversight committees and other management reforms (GoG, 1992a).

Although the 1995 FCUBE reform was introduced to address the quality concerns in basic education (Akyeampong, 2009), the successful implementation of all the measures listed above accounted for some insignificant enhancements in the worth of the education reform but they were not of great significance change to educational outcomes at secondary level.

However, the reform produced chalk up some achievements, which had DCE value could be recommended. The policy gave birth to inclusive education in the Ghanaian education system (Nketsia, 2017). The Ministry of Education in response to the 1992 Fourth Republican Constitution of Ghana Article 39 (2) stipulates, "[t]he government shall, within two years of parliament first meeting after coming into force of this constitution draw up a programme for implementation within the following ten years, for the provision of free, compulsory and universal basic education" (GoG, 1992:40). Indeed, the establishment of the Inclusive Education Policy in 1998 (see Ametepee & Anastasiou, 2015), the Children's Act, 560 of 1998 (see Laird, 2002), the Persons with Disability Act, 715 of 2006 (see Asante & Sasu, 2015), and the Domestic Violence Act, 732 of 2007 (see Osei-Tutu & Ampadu, 2017) were all geared towards the provision of free, compulsory and universal basic education.

As a result, a special education division of the GES developed a policy in 2004 that sought to adhere to the challenges of marginalisation, segregation and inequality experienced by learners with additional needs in Ghanaian schools (GES, 2005). The aim of the policy was to create equal educational prospects for all individuals with unique requirements at the basic level in order to promote access and participation, quality and inclusion. The Ministry of Education's Strategic Plan (ESP) (2003-2015) (MoE, 2003) also aimed at achieving a quality inclusive education system by 2015. The ESP focused on four main parts:

- equitable access to education;
- quality of education;
- educational management; and
- Technology and Vocational Education (TVET) (GES, 2003; Hooker, 2008; Kuyini, 2010).

More so, the policy brought about the institution of girl-child education (gender equality) in the Ghanaian education system. This was implemented by GES through the creation of girl-child

education coordinators at the headquarters, and at the regional and district directorates. The objective of this policy is the achievement of women empowerment to solve gender imbalances that exist in our society due to social and cultural barriers that have discouraged women and girls from seeking equal opportunities in all aspects of life (Tetteh, 2017). GES also recognises the civil liberties of children, as the 1992 Constitution made efforts in addressing all aspects of education. Here, gender equity was highlighted via the ensuing curriculum programmes, the syllabus and textbook development reviews, and the institution of the National Gender and Children Policy in 2004 (Tetteh, 2017). Another success of the 1995 FCUBE was the institution of school management committees (SMC), which was adopted by the government of Ghana under the Ghana Education Act, 506 of 1994 in all basic schools to achieve a democratic school environment through community involvement and mobilisation for education delivery as well as improving quality teaching and learning (GES, 2001).

4.3.4.2 New education reform – 2007

In 2002, President JA Kufuor inaugurated the committee on the evaluation of education reform in Ghana under the chairmanship of Prof. Jophus Anamuah-Mensah, the then vice-chancellor of the University of Education, Winneba (MoE, 2007a). The committee advised that –

> [T]he philosophy underlying the education system of the country should be the creation of well-balanced (intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically) individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values and aptitudes for self-actualization and for the socio-economic and political transformation of the nation (Anamuah-Mensah, 2007a:15)

The committee report includes the following:

- kindergarten is now part of the formal educational system;
- the number of years spent at pre-university level increases from 12 to 14 years):
  - 2 years – kindergarten;
  - 6 years – primary;
  - 3 years – JHS; and
  - 4 years – senior high school;
- 3 years senior high school in technical, vocational or agricultural studies;

- tertiary institutions now comprise colleges of education, professional institutes, polytechnics and universities;
- at early-grade level, English and Ghanaian languages should be used as a medium of instruction, while the English language should be used for upper primary as a medium of instruction;
- the basic level should place emphasis on literacy, numeracy, Information, Communication and Technology (ICT), dance and physical education;
- the motivation of teachers to teach agriculture, business, technical, vocational, general arts or science programmes for senior secondary schools;
- introduction of certain core subjects, such as life skills, science, religious and moral education, hygiene and culture for lower primary level at basic school. The basic mathematical skills, integrated science and citizenship education for upper primary level at the basic school;
- the junior secondary school – which is now known as the JHS – the school should teach the following core subjects: English language, mathematics, social studies, integrated science, as well as agriculture, ICT, Ghanaian languages and French. The senior secondary school should teach core subjects, such as English, mathematics, integrated science social studies and ICT; and
- the establishment of more technical vocational training centres to provide employable skills (GoG, 2004).

Even though the 2007 New Education Reform (MoE, 2007a), which is the current reform, has been in existence for the past ten years, some of the recommendations that had been approved by government are yet to be implemented namely –

- the decentralisation of the district directorate of education as part of decentralised assemblies;
- the full-scale working operations of the National Inspectorate Board (NIB); and
- the establishment of the National Teaching Council to start issuing licenses to all teachers and monitor teacher education in Ghana.

Besides these challenges, the New Education Reform has achieved some successes in relation to DCE (Kuyini, 2013). Currently – based on my personal observation and documentary analysis – the 2007 New Education Reform has led to the creation of a democratic system of education that engages both the staff and learners in decision-making at certain levels of school management, especially at metropolitan and municipal schools. To some extent, parents and past learners' associations of the school are also involved in decision-making on certain matters, such as learner and staff welfare, learner discipline and provision of school facilities. This action by government in bringing together all stakeholders in education through their respective representatives in designing the current educational reform supports Gutmann and Thompson's (2004) notion of deliberative democracy. Here, Gutmann and Thompson (2004:10-12) argue that deliberative democracy seeks to –

- endorse the correctness of communal decisions;
- inspire civic lively standpoints on public matters;
- stimulate a reciprocally courteous practice of decision-making; and
- it aids to avoid blunders that may arise in the course of communal decisions being made by citizens and their representatives.

The Education Act, 87 of 1961 has been repealed to bring into existence Education Act ,778 of 2008 (Avoke & Hayford, 2017:30) with the preamble that states that the Act 778 seeks to –

> Provide for the creation of an educational system envisioned to yield well well-adjusted persons with the required acquaintance, expertise, ethics, talents and assertiveness to become purposeful and industrious citizens for the overall growth and democratic expansion of the nation and for allied issues (Avoke & Hayford, 2017:32).

The major highlights of the Act are:

- the emphasis on free compulsory education at the basic level;
- decentralisation of education;
- inclusive education;
- private education institutions;
- the establishment of a board of governors for schools;
- school management committees;
- district education oversight committees;

- rights in education;
- strict adherence to the Children's Act of 1988 (Act 560);
- school durbars (assemblies or gatherings in schools) (MoE, 2010);
- school prefectorial systems;
- committee systems;
- admission processes of learners;
- procedures for recruitment of staff; and
- rules and regulations to ensure discipline should be all-indicative of a democratic system of education practices in Ghanaian schools (Avoke & Hayford, 2017:40).

Moreover, through curriculum innovations, there has been an introduction of the teaching of certain subjects at primary, junior high and senior high schools such as Religious and Moral Education, Citizenship Education, Social Studies, History and Government, which have helped learners who also acquire training in DCE. It must be pointed out that the subjects mentioned above were designed based on Ghanaian beliefs, attitude, values, skills and knowledge, which will help train the young Ghanaians to become good citizens (MoE, 1999; 2007b, c; 2010). Here, Blege (2001:9) supports this claim, by saying that, within the school setting, citizenship education as an instructional programme is designed to prepare the youth towards making them good and responsible citizens.

4.5 Analysis of Ghanaian education policy documents in relation to DCE.

From the discussions on Ghanaian education policies and their relationship with DCE so far, it can be deduced that there was some level of citizens' participation in the development of education policies. One of the main pillars of DCE is participation and civil engagement. Opportunities available for citizens to deliberate during the development of education policies were however minimal. According to Gutmann and Thompson (2004:7), deliberations permit citizens similarly and at will to validate choices made by them although not all citizens may be in support of each other. It is evident that most of the education policies in Ghana is based on the political philosophy of the governing party and their attitude towards DCE.

For instance, the transitional and immediate post-colonial education policy reforms of 1951, 1961 and 1967 were mainly aimed towards achieving increasing access and participation to basic education to the neglect of DCE in Ghana. During the political and economic depression

(military) periods of 1987 and 1995, attempts were made by successive governments to stimulate the contribution of citizens in education discussions through the formation of various committees that involved all stakeholders in education and the introduction of certain subjects in the basic education curriculum to solve societal problems. Yet, the major features of DCE were in inadequate.

Moreover, there has been a drastic change towards the institution of the tenets of DCE during this period from 2007 to the present where successive governments have reviewed that commitment in achieving highly accessible and participatory quality education through policies like the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy (GPRS 1). In relation to the Mensah et al. (2013) submission to the enhanced highly indebted poor country (HIPC) facility in 2001, the government put together a comprehensive development policy framework in support of poverty reduction and growth known as the GPRS 1 policy, which was to readjust the biased macroeconomic milieu and enhance the state of affairs for putting into practice sectored policies intended to stimulate viable economic growth. This strategy focused on the human development component with directed procedures aimed at improving access by the Ghanaian population to basic needs and critical services. These targeted programmes include basic education, safe water, improved health and environmental sanitation.

The Education Sector Policy Review Report (ESPRR) (Takyi-Amoako, 2012), conducted in August 2002 as education sector policy document aimed to meet the challenges faced by government in the provision of teaching, learning material and infrastructure development by the government of Ghana in (2002). The ESPRR identified eight policy goals, to these, a ninth and tenth goal were added to emphasise national and international concerns about prevention and management of HIV/AIDS and promotion of female education. Education for all (EFA) is an education policy document enacted by the United Nations Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2000 has six international education goals aimed to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015 (UNESCO, 2000). Two of the MDGs directly related to Education for All (EFA) are;

Goal 2: attain universal primary education and see to it that all boys and girls finish a full course of basic schooling; and

Goal 3: encourage gender equity and resource women, eradicate gender inequality in basic and secondary education ideally by 2015 and in all levels of education not later than 2015 (UNDP,

2010). Though most of the ESP targets mentioned above were achieved, however the issue of high-quality inclusive education system by 2015 was not achieved within time frame (Opoku, Agbenyega, Mprah, Mckenzie and Badu, 2017; Mantey, 2019).

The more recent amongst these policies is the implementation of GPRS II. This policy was implemented over the period of 2006-2009 following the positive results achieved by GPRS I. GPRS II emphasised the establishment of a skilled human resource base for the growth of the country whereby education plays a significant role (MoESS, 2005). With this objective, GPRS II does not only meet MDG 2 but also strengthens excellence in basic education, and increase quality and effectiveness in the supply of education service (MoE, 2010). The GPRS II policy document has put in place some interventions that have an effect on basic education in Ghana (Mensah et al., 2013), namely:

- school feeding programme;
- capitation grants;
- free transportation to school for primary school children;
- bicycles for teachers;
- health insurance;
- free uniforms;
- eradication of schools under trees; and
- free exercise books and textbooks (MoE, 2010).

In 2010, the Ghana Share Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) and National Development Planning Commission (NDPC) were established, the Ministry of Women's and Children Affairs in 2001, and Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection in 2012. These were also innovative policies initiated by various governments with the objective of instilling democratic values and protection to learners who are regarded as the future leaders of the country – an implication for the survival of democracy in the country.

Ghana is among the first African countries that quickly ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (African Union, 2010). Article 12 of the UNCRC states that "whenever adults make a decision which will affect you in any way, you have the right to give your opinion, and adults have to take it seriously" (Davies et al., 2002:22). Rudduck et al. (1996) argue that what learners say about teaching and schooling is not only worth listening to

but provides an important foundation to think about ways of improving schools and other educational reforms. This is a unique responsibility that the school is expected to exercise.

4.6 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I tried to investigate the detailed meaning of education policy in Ghana and I demonstrated the unique significance of policy analysis in helping government agencies to deliver adequate facts about the needs of educational institutions to aid in the preparation and application of education policies in the country.

The second part of this chapter comprised the analysis of Ghanaian policy changes from the immediate post-colonial era, during military interventions and into the contemporary era (1950 to 2007) and its contribution to the promotion of DCE. This was necessary in order to understand and explore the unique value of these Ghanaian education policies in cultivating democratic citizens.

In the next chapter, I will discuss some of the Western theories of DCE, namely the work of Callan, Benhabib, Young, Nussbaum, and Gutmann on DCE to determine how their views can attend to the research questions of the current study. More specifically, the work of three Ghanaian theorists on DCE, namely Appiah, Gyekye and Wiredu will be explored.

CHAPTER FIVE

THEORETICAL CONCEPTIONS OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter constitutes the theoretical framework relating to DCE.

A discussion of the views of theorists, namely Callan (1995; 2006; 2016), Benhabib (1996: 2002; 2006), Young (1990; 1996; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2006a-c; 2011), Nussbaum (2000) and Gutmann and Thompson (1996; 1999; 2003) on DCE were analysed to see how their views could help solve the research questions for the current study. In addition, three renowned African theorists of DCE, namely Appiah (1994), Wiredu (1995; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2008) and Gyekye (2004; 2013) were also considered. This was necessary because of the unique differences in social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds that affect Africa, especially Ghanaians, and other global concerns on DCE.

5.2 WESTERN CONCEPTIONS OF DCE

In this section, I discuss the views of five Western philosophers, namely Callan (1995; 2006; 2016), Benhabib (1996; 2002; 2006), Young (1990; 1996; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2006a-c; 2011), Nussbaum (2000) and Gutmann and Thompson(1996; 1999; 2003) on DCE and how these might be responsive to the research questions of the current study.

5.2.1 Eamonn Callan's view on reciprocity as DCE

According to Callan (2016:78), reciprocity is a pious act aimed at helping people to implement mutually acceptable terms of cooperation in matters which hitherto were in disagreement. In talking about reciprocity, Callan starts by indicating what it means to be fair. Callan explicitly contends that our reasoning must always go with reflections so as to make informed judgements. This can be done by exploring how plausible it will be for the consequences of our moral principles as we invoke these moral principles.

Callan (2016) emphasises that reciprocity works well in an environment where our difficulty of judgement, as expressed by Rawls (1993:98), are always acceptable. A clear case is an ethnic society with similar religious beliefs. Their ethnic homogeneity prevents numerous social

conflicts much as they appreciate other cultural practices. Even when they share the same religious beliefs and precepts, they have the feeling that someone is unworthy (Callan, 2016).

The fact is, once we have different experiences, interests and varied social roles, conflict about fair still persists (Callan, 2016). Even where we have the same roles, we may have divergent but essentially equal factual beliefs about our world view and this goes to indicate our moral judgement (Callan, 2016).

Callan elucidates that, as humans, our careless reasoning, our guilt and ignorance, our psychological pressures and our self-centredness undermine what is fair. In addition, Callan (2016) asserts that the success of reciprocity as a function of democracy empowers the populace to be capable of differentiating facts from fiction in a fair and reliable manner, more especially in the area of conflict in their moral practices and judgements. Therefore, in an attempt to make a clear distinction with respect to collective, reasoned moral dilemmas on fairness and non-moral irrational thinking, it is always necessary to interrogate one's feeling of moral right through reflections of thought and deeds (Callan, 2016).

Callan (2016) further points out that the place of reciprocity, which has to do with reasonable agreement on fair means of cooperation, is attainable through acceptance of some difficult judgements we make in all circumstances. For instance, our ethnic and religious theories, which hold that these ideas are without blemish and the only determining force in history and should be preserved and protected with all dignity.

Callan's view of reciprocity in modern times does not function adequately as compared to the olden days. Today, problems are not mitigated by merely looking at them and devising a solution. It takes a discerning analysis of the issue, such as giving a second thought about what is generally accepted in order to come out with a different opinion, which turns out to be true. Hence, to develop society culturally, Callan (2016) accentuates the need for constant judgement about happenings in that when we fail in this reciprocity and for that matter the foundation of our social system and cohesion will be underutilised. The use of "reasonable heresy" by Callan (see Callan, 2016:83 is not to protect dogmatic individuals who readily accept what comes to them, but always to weigh what they receive in accordance with ethnic and traditional beliefs (Callan, 2016).

Callan believes that accepting burdens is quite crucial in reciprocity. According to Callan (2016:84), exercising one's judgement and thought has proved that no one idea of truth or

falsity is sacrosanct, and that subjecting such ideas to test using ethnic precepts and any other means prove the underlying principle of reciprocity.

Callan (2016:85) indicates that the idea of burden of judgement goes with Rawl's (1993) belief in reciprocity, which deals with political concepts of man. This means the boundaries of reasonable pluralism are at the same extent with diversity of beliefs and practices of judgement.

Callan (2016:88) concludes that a challenging political education will assist the younger generation to comprehend virtues. Again, partaking in reciprocity-governed discourse and living with these ideas in our pluralistic society are quite enduring (Callan, 2016).

5.2.2 Callan's view on legitimacy as DCE

According to Callan (2006a:528), in matters of civic education, the state has the powers to take decisions but is limited in terms of control, and the limitation varies with respect to what happens in a free society. This is because any identifiable liberal democratic dispensation needs to acknowledge that the state powers on civic education have a limit (Callan, 2006a:528). Callan (2006a:530) believes that if the state takes charge of civic education then the possibility of legitimacy losing its function is high. This is exactly what Brighouse (1998:46) says, namely that state control of civic education will be geared towards the well-being of the state rather than anything else and will intimately destroy the very purpose legitimacy seeks to achieve.

Callan (1996a:530) further argues that Brighouse's idea is more or less out of proportion, as the state taking over civic education will amount to nothing and will corrupt it. Callan contends that any attempt by the state to determine what goes into democratic tradition will render the system weak. Mill (1991:50) observes that the state control of civic education will lead to the exercise of absolute cruel power over the mind and body at large. Hence, free individuals must obey the whims and caprices of the state (Mill 1991). Callan (2006a:530) further indicates that state power in education brings about total control of the mind. It is also true that power in the hands of other institutions (such as Civil Service Organisations {CSOs}) are necessary dangerous. In consonance with these, Callan (2006a:530) says that socialisation in families and the entire society will lead to oppression of the mind since unequal power brings about abuse. Surely, ignorance and prejudice expose future citizens to situations where they cannot contribute meaningfully to democratic ideals and this is blamed on parents rather than on the state in the abuse of freedom. This is not to prove that the state should be trusted in matters of educational authority (Raz, 1986:165). It is probably important first-impression reasons on the

need to share authority among parents and state, and may be the teaching profession. Any attempt to do otherwise may result in the others (i.e. teachers and parents) being undermined (Guttmann, 1987:214; Shapiro, 1999:376).

Callan (2006b) says divergent ideas are quite necessary even if many institutions or few institutions are entrusted to promote public virtue. Callan believes that tolerance is a virtue, and we need to be convinced of what tolerance stands for in order to minimise the suffering and humiliation we bring to bear on people in disrupting a valued way of life (Strike, 1998:345). To Callan, civic education is dragged through the mud when we allow public virtue to triumph by violating tolerance, which is the life blood of liberal education. Therefore, any attempt by the state to regulate education devoid of inputs from the citizens and public interest groups will without doubt not the best (Reich, 2002:288). Callan (2006b), however, proposes that good decisions on civic education should not just help us to resolve the challenges bedevilling education. Instead, it should help us with the idea of the best education and coming out with an array of civic virtues as the best educational outcomes as well as the practices necessary in attaining these virtues (Callan, 2006b).

According to Callan (2006b), the kind of policies the state prescribes in regulating schools – public or private and whether publicly or privately funded – addresses the issue of tolerance, and if autonomy is necessary at all, it has to be tolerable ideas that deal with independent agency (Callan 1997:39). To Callan the distinctive quality of tolerance indicates how the idea ends in civic education.

5.2.3 Callan's view on trust as DCE

Callan (1995:329) is of the view that moral development as seen in a theory of justice is an unpleasant idea of Rawls's (1993) political theory and the deficient part of the theory urges him to move into political liberalism several decades ago (Rawls, 1993:98). The argument goes further, namely that once we accept justice to be reasonable, its rational development and stability will be to devote oneself to political attachment (Callan (1995). The reason for the above statement is that justice is an enshrined trust within a given organised society and it provides a strong defence against outside forces (Callan (1995).

Callan (1995) says that trust paves the way for reciprocity, and it is through this that reasonable citizens who receive justice can be useful in impartial world. According to Callan (1995), we simply interpret judgement of those who disagree with us when trust is weak, and this will lead

to compromise and alteration of justice. When trust is lost, it prevents us from mutual recognition we are accorded if we have to count on our moral character that occurs when reasonable people share together in good faith. Callan (1995) maintains that, if trust is strong, we know that we cooperate well. However, when there is misled trust, the very people in that lost trust will be given up to abuse.

In conclusion, an earned trust accorded a just society is dependent on historical gains of a particular society and not something achieved overnight (Callan, 1995).

5.2.4 Callan's view on equality as DCE

Callan (2016:82) acknowledges that there are inequalities in educational opportunities which are regarded as a necessary tool of injustice, even when these inequalities are at the slightest point. Callan (2016) points out that the value of education is equal to the opportunities given to learn even in a capitalist state. The argument Callan is trying to advance is that when there is deviation in educational equality, some people are disadvantaged while others are put on a better placed in terms of elite post-secondary education and consequently better jobs. Callan (2016) gives an example of educational eligibility, which in the United States warrants an individual unskilled employment, which permeates the entire society. This undoubtedly affects one's children in the area of violence, healthcare and nutrition. To Callan (2016), any move to emphasise competitive educational success, competition arises leading to injustice. When we think about equal educational opportunities, then we are in a way resolving the challenges they bring such as the poor and the less privilege and that no matter the education we give to poor citizens, the injustice is rife because of unequal educational opportunities (Reich, 2013:43).

Callan (2016) says good citizens vote on issues they consider common good. He discusses here the concept of morality of good citizenship, and we believe that we should be worried about groups who are already disadvantaged and cannot be supported by the weak sense of justice that has engulfed society. In such a situation, propaganda and indoctrination will be the order of the day, but healthy civic education will be the panacea (Callan, 2016). To Callan (2016:84), the question of equality and sufficiency in educational distribution puts some kind of burden on us, and if we see education as the means to enter the labour market favourably, then the case of equality will seem to be the only tool to ensure morally unmerited favour. This, therefore,

calls for a sufficientarian[4] standard measure of education necessary for good citizenship. Callan (2016) points out that this difficult decision about education will be avoided as we see to it that equality of opportunities persists although it does little to resolve the injustice that arises due to success and failure looking at the connection between education and the labour market, despite the fact that we have a better way of responding to such injustice.

Callan (2016) argues that the rationality of equal opportunities in today's socioeconomic circumstances points to two clear problems. First, the difficulties poor children go through, thus from education to the labour market and the difficulties thereafter makes it difficult to achieve fairness and equality among citizens. The second problem, according to Callan (2016), is about what Lesley (2003:265) termed "stakes of fairness". Putting all hopes on competitive endeavours results in unjust, no matter the fairness in its pursuit (Callan, 2016). If an attempt is made to eliminate unfair access to high-quality post-secondary education, it will result in equal opportunities for poor as well as the rich (Callan, 2016).

According to Callan (2016:85), removing certain unwarranted advantages in the educational system although good should not supersede our pressing programmes. The fact that there is an inadequate measure of necessities will undermine equal citizenship. Nonetheless, equal opportunities require the elimination of inadequate measure of necessities and this is needed now. In search for equal educational opportunities, another moral canker we need to tackle is to ensure that societies are liberal and democratic (Callan, 2016). Research indicates that early influences on the child's education affect the quality of his or her educational outcomes later (Nelson & Sheridan, 2011:45). Therefore, Callan (2016) believes that we can limit inequalities that the family has brought to public policies aimed at enriching the education of children who would otherwise have been disadvantaged.

Callan (2016) further underscores the fact that citizens of a democratic society are free as well as equal, and exercising this freedom calls for excitement and varied worthwhile lives that come about due to free choices and creativity among the rank and file. Again, to perpetuate that freedom we need not require the state's presence in the family to ensure equal educational opportunities. Callan (2016), however, believes that it is cumbersome to reach reasonable

[4] **Sufficientarian** refers to a theory of distributive juistice. It claims that securing enough of some goods is of special importance. It examines distribution solely in terms of the number of people who have secured enough in each distribution (Shields, 2012).

agreement about conditions under which equal opportunities are attained inasmuch as reasonable disagreement about values of learning persist.

According to Callan (2016), access to selective educational institutions in the United States more importantly is unfair to the extent that it affects positional advantage for culturally privileged groups making them powerful and penetrating. To Callan, this is as a result of the unequal distribution of civic educational opportunities. Therefore, impartial case of countries fairness across the labour market and the duty of the family as the drivers of ethical diversity in rooting out inequality in educational opportunities need to be pursued vigorously as a way of ensuring democratic justice in education.

5.3 GUTMANN AND THOMPSON'S VIEW ON RECIPROCITY AS DCE

According to Gutmann (1999:105), the core value of deliberation is reciprocity: the willingness and ability to justify the laws and policies that mutually bind democratic citizens. Reciprocity among people conceived as free and equal individuals is therefore a key goal of democratic education (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996:52-94). To Gutmann and Thompson (1996:99), ethical "deliberative disagreement" has crashed into a deadlock. As a result, disputants have become committed to looking for an impartial means of co-operation; however, their disagreeing ideals have made it impossible to achieve the goals. Religious beliefs are expected to be at the centre of such deadlocks and more so, Gutmann and Thompson (1999:74) admit that reciprocity might be of inadequate practice. To them, "reciprocity should not be left behind" (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996:78). Moreover, they recommend that decision-makers should assess all views before making their decisions. It does not seem to be so, as they admit, mostly innovative guidance, nor does it do copiously to settle disagreements: "[t]his approach to moral conflict makes sense as far as it goes, but it does not go very far" (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996:78). Gutmann and Thompson (1996:85) opine that, when reciprocity has been worn out, ideals of compromise ought to deal with deliberative disagreement.

According to Gutmann and Thompson (1996:55), the twofold expected choices that can mostly be made from an educational perspective in obliging tenacious divergence, encourage reverence aimed at diverse opinions or reassuring open-mindedness amongst them. Open-mindedness is a comparative feature of unreceptiveness, for it allows people to accept a 'live and let live' point of view (Gutman & Thompson, 1996:55) to individuals without considering their diverse views. However, reverence without a demeaning nature requires a complex reasoning obligation from

individuals to be acquainted with, if not to appreciate, the individual's perspectives. As Gutmann and Thompson (1996:65) argue, inasmuch as open-mindedness might disregard separation, shared esteem requires individuals to partake expressive exchanges with others about worth modifications.

According to these authors, "it requires a favourable attitude toward, and constructive interaction with, the persons with whom one disagrees" (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996:79). This condition of "constructive interaction" does not impose on the freedom of disputants to hold their views. So far as vigorous request trails. According to Gutmann and Thompson (1996:66), not only do values of conciliation necessitate individuals in a country to co-operate with one another amongst their disagreement; they also recommend that individuals should give an outlook for negotiation to succeed. However, Gutmann and Thompson's (1996:66) ''request of character" sends the all-inclusive nature of reciprocity. For a respectable negotiator, Gutmann and Thompson appear to propose that an individual should have a unique character and not only skills. Invariably this "character" is probably the utmost rigorous *ex ante* restriction that Gutmann and Thompson (1996) adduce to the dialogue procedure.

Gutmann and Thompson (1996:66) espouse that the preparation aimed at an intended premeditated character is not an order that rules the purposeful procedure; nonetheless, this is a precondition to the process. In as far as the evolution of such a character is concerned, it turns out to be an education question: what must occur in the contextual ethos of discussion, via education, to endorse in individuals the character defined above to equip persons for discussion? Gutmann and Thompson (1996:66) recognise the keen position of education to their vision: "[i]n its civic education, deliberative democracy goes even further than other forms of democracy" (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996:66). The request for reciprocity proposes a copious civic education, prearranged towards nurturing a certain character rather than passing on skills and abilities to learners (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996).

5.3.1 Amy Gutmann's view on reasonableness as DCE

Here the complicated idea of what is "reasonable" requires deliberating. Rawls (1993), Cohen (1997) and Gutmann and Thompson (1996) enumerate the vital role played by this notion in the description of purposeful egalitarianism. However, a persistent opposition to the proposed diverse ways Gutmann (1999:105) and others like Rawls (1993) and Cohen (1997) use to describe 'reasonableness', a situation where individuals have continuously expressed different

opinions. More importantly, what drives the contextual meaning of the notion of civic rationality alludes to Gutmann's (1999:105) interpretation of reasonableness, without the opinions of others. Gutmann (1999:105) sees 'reasonable' as an ethical notion, which is undefinable in a simple means. Here, there is no evidence surrounding the process of what reasonable ought to be. To Gutmann (1999:110), the finest way of understanding the notion is via its usage, which might be clarified by other notions, and explained by ethical values. It is from her background philosophy that Gutmann (1999:105) searches to explain the idea of (partisan) reasonableness. Gutmann (1999:105) espouses the notion of reasonableness by elaborating the characteristics designed for a reasonable individual with dual ethical powers considering these characteristics to be unimpeded and sensible equal persons. According to Gutmann (1999:106), stipulations have come to recognise and admit that more reasonable individuals unavoidably encourage all-inclusive principles different from theirs. Gutmann (1999:108) shares the opinion that being reasonable involves admitting the unavoidability of reasonable diversity. In such a situation, the resultant motive for and performance of the necessities of a generous partisan conception of fairness. A reasonable individual's wish to co-operate with others on conditions that each party will reasonably accept. The indication here is that it is not always so that the actions of a reasonable individual accept other dogmas (Gutmann, 1999). Habermas (1996:21) claims that Gutmann's (1999:105) notion of reasonableness merely infers acceptance of one's actions. However, if all issues were acceptable and/or reasonable, then how do we describe the actions of Christian fundamentalists, who accepts other religions but maintains on establishing a national religion. Are their actions reasonable? Reasonable individuals for Gutmann (1999:106) do not only accept other views, they will also not accept unfairness at all. Alternatively, they enjoy living with others in relation to certain values and rules other reasonable individuals have come to accept and approve. Also, they want to be able to justify laws and political policies to people holding different reasonable doctrines with reasons that other reasonable individuals recognise and admit to practice. To Gutmann (1999:106), reasonableness includes a willingness to tactfully interact with others of diverse persuasions regarding public reasons.

5.3.2 Gutmann's view on co-operation as DCE

The core of Gutmann's (2003:50) apprehensions and doubts involving democratic models which include persons towards a notion of shared virtuous or that cohere to marginalised

persons to shared conclusions. Gutmann (2003:55) doubts that majoritarianism[5] is narrowly uncommon: "Majority rule loses its moral appeal when there are discrete and insular minorities whose equally meritorious political views are consistently less likely to prevail than those of a relatively cohesive majority." Regardless of the fairness means of voting, contextual circumstances of the process might give persons differing reasons possibly to agree on common opinion. Consequently, on majoritarianism, Gutmann (2003:58) deduces that, it ought not to control democratic procedures if another possibility might esteem personal partialities; she contends that deliberative democracy is a descriptive advancement of majority ruling inasmuch as it may subsume the welfares of marginalised category.

Gutmann (2003:56) assumes that civic aims necessitate that nationals interpret their religious promises into language reachable to all to be deliberated. Here, some nationals argue contentiously for an abrupt split of persons' distinctiveness. According to Gutmann (2003:56), as nationals taking part in civic discussion, we must support our personal allegiance, limit our aim and discussion which is openly acknowledged and approved upon, thus those that are collectively shared. Regarding the uncertainties surrounding the mental reasonableness of the notion of isolation alongside oneself, there is the need to consider the educative significance of this notion. In order to employ civic rationality, learners must acquire knowledge on the distinction amid civic and non-civic rationality. Here they should desperately consider the dissimilarity amongst whatsoever all-inclusive dogmas they have proclaim to a non-sectarian reasonableness. To Gutmann (2003:56), critics of communitarianism focus attention on the educational duty that learners should study on the changes amid a civic and individual uniqueness whereas upholding a unified consciousness of oneself. Furthermore, if learners are to show high regard to nationals than to only accept divergent opinions, resulting from an honest regard but not to condescend, it should be indicated that learners prior to this have shown some sympathy to individuals' viewpoints. This is of great significance to education, specifying the reasoning and educative contrast amid the promotion of acceptance and the complex goal of shared esteem.

However, liberality can overlook the unconsciousness of individuals' opinions ("live and let live"), thoughtfulness necessitates a few conjectures of its thinking. To Callan (2002:465), this dissimilarity is of significance in the deliberation of civic courteousness. If all-inclusive dogmas

[5] It is the idea that collective decisions are made rightly when they reflect the views of the majority (Macedo, 2010).

involving religious, moral, philosophical, or if not are connected to schools, then learners cannot probably come to regard their individual nationals, a process that Gutmann and Thompson's (1996:78) model request upholds. This connection disables children from coming to interpret what gives meaning to their fellow citizens' lives with the sympathy and open-mindedness that would nourish respectful social co-operation in the midst of diversity. According to Gutmann and Thompson's (1996:80) standard of shared esteem necessitates schools to impart learners the varied dogmas to which nationals might accept, a duty that Gutmann (1999:105) especially recommends in *Democratic Education.* She writes, "Open-minded learning in a multicultural setting to which learners bring competing presuppositions and convictions is a prelude to democratic deliberation in a multicultural society and world" (Gutmann, 1999:20).

Gutmann and Thompson (1996:79), previously cited the personal qualities of a decent debater as well as emphasising the significance of nationals being "open to the possibility of changing their minds … if they confront unanswerable objections to their present point of view" (Gutmann & Thompson, 1996:80). To them, the position to amend a person's decision basically requested for ethically independent nationals who can reason disparagingly when needed and reconsider their thoughts resulting from contemplation in order not to accept autocratic power. In Democratic Education, Gutmann (1995) describes the concept of ethical independence that a public education for a purposeful egalitarianism ought to endorse as: "Liberal moralism," identifies "moral autonomy as the goal of moral education: education should produce in children the desire and capacity to make moral choices based on principles that are generalizable among all persons" (Gutmann, 2003:58). Hitherto, this stipulation for ethical independence, including the aloft request of civic rationality and shared esteem where characteristics alluded to public nationals but appears to preclude individual nationals whose opinions are embedded in obedience to the religious principle that they lay hold of to be trustworthy afar logical thought. To such nationals, forging their assertion "generalizable" and when submitted to logical examination would basically distort and renew their opinions. Moreover, education that nurtures "deliberative character" consequently turns the danger of discerning in contrast to religious persons. Additionally, as Gutmann (1999:106) contends, such a practice would efficaciously reject such persons from civic discussion.

5.4 BENHABIB'S VIEW ON LEGITIMACY AS DCE

Benhabib has made series of efforts to answer questions concerning deliberative model. According to Benhabib's deliberative model (1996:67), legitimacy and rationality may be reached via mutual understanding and agreement in a decision-making process from a society when organisations of this society are so connected to the extent that individualism is frowned upon (in Rousseau's [1960:306] terms, "the general will"). Because the society belief that, in shared decision-making processes both minority and majority views should be considered and all persons must be given the needed attentions. The more shared decision-making processes embrace divergent views, the more assumed legitimacy and rationality increases. Benhabib (1996:67) considers democratic legitimacy as the trust majority of organisations in a society have on the public on resolutions made and accept it to be useful to observed and accorded prescriptive acknowledgement. The source of legitimacy in democratic institution can only be drawn from the belief that occurrences of exercise of compulsory decision is a representation of the common interest of all. This belief will only be rewarded where conclusions are drawn based on a suitable free discussion. According to Benhabib (2002:252), the discussion of the model of ethics and politics is exactly as actual reasonableness and purposeful legality. To her the primary intention on this model is based on the standards that are approved by all stakeholders, if such decisions were drawn as a consequence of a process of shared decision-making that had the following features:

- Involvement in shared decision-making process is guided by rules of fairness and evenness; thus, everyone is allowed to begin a conversation, make enquiry and argue his or her case out.
- stakeholders can interrogate allocated issues for discussions;
- stakeholders can knee-jerk opinions on the guidelines of the dialogue to be approved.

It is untenable to argue that guidelines work against the objective of deliberation, nor personality of the individuals, inasmuch as marginalised persons or groups show proof that they are disadvantaged with regard to the guidelines under review. In some cases, it would imply that citizens of a democratic community would have to go in for a practical conversation with non-citizens who may be living in their countries, at their frontiers, or in nearest communities if there are situations which affect them all. Conservation and climate factors are the reasons

making it possible for discussions to expand. Generally, the end result of our actions expands and affect more people increasingly (Benhabib, 2002).

According to Benhabib (2002:252), issues of ethics and politics prepares most of the principles and moral instinct amidst the soundness claims of a deliberative replica of democracy. However, the processes that specify those special argumentation situations called "practical discourses" are not involuntary transferable to a miniature-institutional level nor is it mandatory that they should be transferable. Democracy theory as against a general moral theory, would have to be bothered with the question of institutional definition and practical practicability. Notwithstanding the above, the processes always affect the discourse model and act as test cases for critically judging the basis of membership, talking about the guidelines for setting the framework and for the arrangement of public discussions within and among institutions. With the deliberative model, the ways of organising deliberation lead to legitimacy and in the same way some level of pragmatic logic. What then are the assertions to practical rationality of deliberative processes? When we talk of deliberative processes, we are simply declaring the rationality of collective decision-making processes for three main reasons. In the first place, Manin (1987:338) has discussed in an article "On Legitimacy and Deliberation," deliberative processes are the processing which transmit information. New information is conveyed because in the first place no one individual can forecast and foresee all the differences of perspectives through which issues of ethics and politics would be discern by different individuals; secondly, no individual can claim that all the information is quite necessary to a certain decision affecting all aspect of deliberation is a plan of action for being informed.

5.4.1 Benhabib's view on cosmopolitanism as DCE

According to Benhabib (2006:15), alongside globalisation and kingdoms, cosmopolitanism has become one of the jargons of our time. To Benhabib (2006:15), moral cosmopolitanism embraces a world morality that sees each as being worthy of equal moral treat and respect. Our duties to kin, family and country is not to supplant our obligations to other people from afar. Benhabib (2006:15) suggests a particularistic attachment to this discourse from a moral point of view emanating from our embedded linguistic, cultural, religious and other environmental certain, which have no privileged affirmation upon us. To Benhabib (2006:16), the ideas of cosmopolitans that has to do with cultures always learn and borrow from one another. He says we need to be open to the rapid abundance and unsuitability of the global cultures.

Benhabib (2006:15) claims that from the time of Universal Declaration of Human Rights, men have experienced a reorientation in terms of the development of worldwide culture that is characterised by a shift in focus from global to multicultural standards of fairness. According to her, this is not merely a semantic change. Although norms of global regulation emerge via agreements signed by the states and their representatives, multicultural customs ensued by persons are regarded as moral and legal in a worldwide culture. If multicultural customs are initiated through agreements, such as the UN Charter, and the numerous human rights conventions can be considered to be for their member states, their peculiarity is that they limit the sovereignty of states and their representatives, as well as oblige them to respect all manner of persons in accordance with convinced human rights standards. Nations have now engaged in a process of "self-limiting" or "self-binding" their sovereignty, as the large number that has signed the various human rights covenants that have come into existence from the time of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights of 1948 (Assembly, 1948) shows.

Benhabib (2006) claims that the Cattleman idea of cultures (Herder, 1998) as consistent and carved around communities, with a unique outlook on the world, is wrong empirically and regulates cultural cosmopolitan. Instead, it is important we acknowledge and accept a decentralized, several position and mixed conception of culture as well as associate. It is expedient to note that, legal cosmopolitanism is unique from both positions and in sharing with moral cosmopolitanism the view that every individual need to be accorded equal moral respect and concern is crucial. Legal cosmopolitanism maintains a moral attitude that need to be converted into actual creed and practice protecting the lives of individuals in the world. Aside this, legal cosmopolitanism is sceptic as to whether, morality opposed the laws of the community. It is important that the far-off strangers always need to supersede our more particularistic attachments loyalty. Therefore, in legal cosmopolitans, it is as well not necessary to believe one's or another's view of culture and that of oneself.

According to Benhabib (2006:17), the crucial objections to legal cosmopolitanism are in two ways: What is the need to defend such a position, when to be a rights-bearing person has to do with a member of a sovereign polity in which ones "right to have rights" (Arendt, 1998:105) is protected? Again, how is legal cosmopolitanism to be reconciled with the difference of the world's governments and authorities, which consider individuals as a being embedded indefinite in various moral, religious, ethical and linguistic circumstances. Legal cosmopolitanism seems to amount to a justification of moral involvement, even moral

colonialism. To Benhabib (2006) a lot of the recent restraint in contemporary discourse about the justification of human rights can be discovered back to their globalization for political ends by some and that the fear on the part of others with respect to the robust language of human rights can lead to moral colonialism. Cohen (1997:67) points out two distinguished kinds of human rights. These are first, "substantive", the second "justificatory". Substantive conservative deals with the content of human rights, and this has to do with norms of justice the world over. Justificatory minimalism, by distinction, it is about how to give "a conception of human rights, as an essential element of global justice for an ethically pluralistic world as a basic feature of global public reason (Cohen, 1997:70).

Benhabib (2006) suggests that the appeal of justificatory moderate flows out of a concern with inclusive world views and dogmas, which often are sectarian in nature. Such an overlapping finding an "overlapping consensus" in the global perspective that would not be based on all global agreement would need to be "freestanding" in (Rawls, 1993:40). Among human societies where the idea of human rights has been given attention and abused to indicate all sorts of political actions and involvement, such caution is surely received. A "freestanding" global convergence agreement is aimed to enhance the prospects of world peace by making sure that the terms of the agreement is agreed to by all. However, this welcome concern with liberal acceptance and peaceful harmony will also lead to liberal indifference and again an unjustified tolerance for the world's authoritarian governments.

According to Benhabib (2006:18), the plan for dealing with sets of problems is a better comprehension of how cosmopolitan legal standards works. For this reason, Benhabib (2006:20) introduces the concept of democratic iterations. By democratic iterations, he means multifaceted procedures of open disagreements, discussions, and conversations in which civil liberties claims are challenged and contextualised, appealed and repealed, theorised and situated during the course of lawful and partisan establishment including other human rights organization. Democratic duplication can explain how legal cosmopolitanism can be reconciled with the right kind of self-government. The fact is, Benhabib (2006:20) point of view is more welcome than this: only in a democratic dispensation can the changing range in the delivery of rights proposition as concrete legal rules be viewed as legitimate. Benhabib (2006:21) emphasises that democratic self-rule provides the basic framework within which cosmopolitan standards, which gives moral principles, flesh and blood as best claims that the company of a polity prescribe to one another. With this, the differences of human rights enunciation in law is

not conflicting with the global human rights declarations. Self-governing societies engage in ingenious renewal of theoretical cosmopolitan principles. Benhabib (2006) suggests his explanation and understanding of legal cosmopolitanism would gratingly judge people of the world's existing governments.

5.4.2 Benhabib's view on collective identity as DCE

Benhabib (2006:30) posits that every democracy focus on the idea that not only are equals equal but unequal's will not be seen and attended to equally. Democracy enjoins that, first homogeneity and second, if the need be, elimination of heterogeneity. Benhabib (2006) emphasises that equality is necessary and valuable in the political arena so long as it has value and for that matter the possibility and the risk of inequality. Universal and equal suffrage is only, quite important and reasonable, the end result is that there is a substantial equality within the domain of equals. This does not exceed equality that every adult, simply as a person, should be politically equal to one another. This is seen as liberal, and not a democratic concept. These developments according to Benhabib (2006:30), indicates that the universalisation of liberal democracy, which many years ago Fukuyama (1995:26) had thought of to be the result of humankind ideological evolution, is far from the fact. The world trend of democratisation is something which is there, but in so far as we are the oppositions and friction asserting themselves contrary to this trend in the way leads to various forms of difference - ethnic, national, linguistic, religious and culturally. In the whole world a new politics for the recognition of collective identity forms is emerging.

According to Benhabib (2006:32), the notion the politics of 'collective identity' at the beginning came out of the experiences of new social group in the late 1970s and the early part of 1980s in western capitalist democracies. Through the experiences of new social movements, a lot of changes occurred like that defined as being political treat. Benhabib (2006) emphasises that struggles with regards to collective rights took the place of the struggles over wealth, political position and access characterised by middle class and working-class politics in the whole of the 19th century and in the first half of the 20th century. In the same way, the social movement politics do not inquire the constitutional framework and identity boundaries of the body politic in western capitalist democracies, cultural, linguistic, ethnic and religious protester movements challenge correctly these markers.

To Benhabib (2006:32), several categories of recent social and political theory, from constitutionalism to citizenship and from secularisation to individualism, are always questioned by these developments. Her extraordinary book "Strange Multiplicity": Constitutionalism in an age of difference (Benhabib, 2016:115), which need to rethink the European constitutional tradition in the angle of these modern developments, Tully (1995:15) points out that the question "Can a modern constitution recognize and accommodate cultural diversity?" is a very difficult questions in the political circles we are entering, that is, the twenty-first century. In agreeing with Tully (1995) on the pressing nature of this question, Benhabib (2006) thinks that his thoughts do not answer a question which Tully poses in his book which according to him is the key inconsistency affecting all politics of collective identity. The contradictions according to Benhabib (2006) is that all movements working against collective identity, at the same time, positing the incidence of proposed identity clarity while in the same way arguing for their necessity. However, identity claims are said to be important and cannot be negotiated and identified from the opinions of others with whom respective groups participate. The other side of it is that, identity claims which reflect the profess purity, discernible and non-diminished of the claims of one group to those of another must be created through processes of social and political vigour and cultural expression. The paradox of identity seeks to solve two components. The first is, how can common good be identified and encouraged? How can individuals work in concert to realise collective good? Gutmann (1999) concludes that if every will power is disproving, truly is not every identity which is equivalent. This is due to the fact that, it defeats the difference which account for it as we see it.

5.5 YOUNG'S VIEW ON INCLUSIVENESS AS DCE

Young (2000:5) thinks of inclusion as a term where citizens take part in political deliberations. To Young inclusion connote the process whereby a "heterogeneous public engaged in transforming institutions to make them more effective in solving problems justly" (Young, 2000).

Young (2000:5) again indicates that democratic inclusion occurs in a sequential manner and that many societies have engaged in democratic practices. To her, most societies have some democratic practices. Democracy is not an all-or-nothing affair, but a matter of degree; societies can vary in both extent and the intensity of their commitment to democratic practices (Young 2000). She is of the view that inclusiveness in the world implies countries that embrace

democracy and the very principles of it still weigh several democratic ideals in practicing them but on a small note.

She believes that inclusion as a concept provides the framework to deeply appreciate and understand democratic principles and at the same time gives an insight into the concept. In all these, inclusion is key in understanding and solving the ills of democracy and ultimately bringing about democratic transformation.

Young (2000) indicates that as we visualize inclusion and understand inclusion ideals, we are on a better path to deepen and entrench democracy for more citizens and to practice it in a better way. To Young (2000:12) inclusion prepares the way to resolve inequalities in the world else would have threatened democratic processes.

As a result, democratic practice should endeavour to work towards inclusion to a greater degree as a matter of justice (Young, 2000:53). To Young, participatory democracy which deals with equality of all believes that decision making should involve everyone in their planning and implementation (Young 2000:26). She contends that a mere deliberation is not enough and that rules governing deliberations put some people aside (Young 1996:123).

Inclusion essentially addresses the question of who is part of the democratic process and to what extent. History makes it clear that certain group of people within the society have been neglected from public discourse due to race, gender, socioeconomic status (SES) and ability. Owing to this, democratic decision making in the traditional perspective is with only the elite class. That is, to say that in deliberative democracy today the dominant groups and individuals decide the way forward. Hence, Young (1996) admonishes that inclusion comes from experience of exclusion. Indeed, democratic education goes beyond knowledge, skills and temperament that members of that dispensation should have in order to be partaking in decisions as citizens of society (Dewey, 1916; Gutmann, 1987:315). Democratic education talks about the gradual acquisition of the characteristics; norms, values and behaviours of society and this is entrenched in democracy and this is the purpose of it (Apple & Beane, 2007; Dewey, 1916).

Today, democratic theorist suggest that the utmost duty of democratic education is to reinforce and adopt the role of changing society through bridging the gap between the ideal and realities of democracy and not just preaching democratic principles (Bank, 2002:22; Giroux 2004). Therefore, to overcome societal injustices, the likes of Young (2000) and Benhabib (2006)

agree that we need to emphasis democratic education for all children for citizenship and this is supported by theories of democratic inclusion.

Young (2006a:100; Abdi & Richardson, 2008; Gutmann, 1987:315) indicate that democratic inclusion ideals give the answer that can empower all learners. Theorist in democracy suggest that inclusive education believes in education that work against inequality (Young 2006a:102). She suggests that the role of democratic inclusion is to fine tune education to ensure what is ideal (Young 2006a: 101) therefore, proposes democratic inclusion that must prepare individuals and groups to have access to schooling, curriculum, quality teachers and resources and again, work to overcome problems associated with historical and cultural practices that support some people and work against others in their quest for learning (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2006; Young, 2006a:102).

Young (2006) says educators who are committed to inclusion should build those structures of schooling to help address the marginalized in terms of knowledge and policies which in the words of Bank (2002:22) "contest existing political, economic, and educational practices and call for fundamental change and reform".

To this end, Young (2003: 120) calls for inclusion in education and in doing this the disadvantaged members of society would have the chance to talk about their experiences, needs, perspectives and opinions in situations affecting them. Hence, to achieve the purpose of democratic education learners must be included just as society must be inclusive of all its citizens.

To her, the idea of inclusion gives the outcast a voice. Through inclusive learning communities and deliberative decision-making opportunities in their classroom becomes real and this is what those who advocate for democratic education need to commit themselves to (Young, 2000).

5.5.1 Young's view on political equality as DCE

Young (2003:105) opines that political equality is where all participate fully on equal terms and not mere counting of people. This to her promote free and equal opportunity and to speak and decide in the political process. She suggests that everyone should have equal right and effective chance to talk about interest and concerns and to question one another, to criticize one another in our proposals and arguments (Young 2000:23).

According to Young (2003:105), political equality has to do with equal participation and must be free from domination. Any attempt to include historical and marginalized tactics in political equality will lead to new ideas and transformation of these ideas politically and morally and that everyone's opinion, criticism is free from domination. Young (2000) recommends that when inclusion and political equality are put together "it allows the expression of all interested opinions and criticism, and when it is free from domination, discussion participants can be confident that the results came from good reasons rather than fear or force of false consensus" (Young, 2001:24).

5.5.2 Young's view on reasonableness as DCE

Young (2001:670) believes that one of the crucial factors of an ideal deliberative democracy is reasonableness. She refers to it as the disposition of the individuals in the process of reasonableness. According to Young (2001), a reasonable individual is the one who takes part in deliberative discussions to solve problems aiming at reaching agreement and consensus. Young (2000) again suggests that having an open mind, being a good listener, a respecter of persons and making conscious efforts to understand people by asking questions and avoiding quick judgement goes to make somebody possess a reasonable character.

Young (2000) thought about the fact that non-violent behaviour and the ability to engage and yoke with others with different opinions to one's own simply indicate reasonableness. Young (2001) suggests uncooperative persons are "people who think they know more or are better than others and are sometimes too quick to label the assertions of others as irrational, and thereby try to avoid having to engage with them" (Young, 2001:24). Therefore, the idea of reasonableness according to Young (2001:672), encompasses the urge to express disagreement while willing to take the views of others who wants to express it. As individuals engage in a reasonable discussion, they are willing to change their thought and recognize the wisdom and challenges in the deliberations.

5.5.3 Young's view on participation as DCE

Young (2006a:101) in taking affirmative approach indicates that citizens involved in inclusive democratic processes need to learn to take part in democratic processes. Young says "good citizens should not merely know the rules, cast informed votes, and try to hold their elected leaders accountable. They also ought to be ready to bring conflict and difference into public and work through them" (Young, 2006a:101). To Young, knowledge and engagement suffices

for political processes. In her work Inclusion and Democracy, Young (2000) talks about several issues of educated public participation in the deliberation process including police actions force, human right and other political discourses.

She suggests that focal to the idea of inclusive democracy is the process of who should be made to take active part in deliberation in decision making. She indicates citizens deliberating a community of referendum and how democratic issues occur in a structural inequality as problems arises from community social group. When such issue crops up, those not experiencing it rightly did not recognize the sense of urgency and essential it is. As citizens endeavour to use democratic processes the community members participate in deliberations about issues. This enable members to engage in deliberations about causes and solutions. Several events which has to do with community members and parties presents the opportunity for views from people and interest takes place over what Young refers to as "discursive terrains". This means fair and transparent deliberation. This deliberation takes time to arrive at decisions and has to do with give and take as well as accommodation.

Young (2006a) does not only give the processes in democratic inclusion but also describes that they engage freely and equally. The idea of participating freely and equally points how good democracies hinges on principles of inclusion and how important it is. Young (2006a), Benhabib (2002:105), also describe the concept of free and identical participation as; Arranging a shared decision-making in a free show of authority in the establishment of culture from its origin on the belief that decision-making touching the welfare of a collectivist is described as a result of the public discussion among persons regarded as moral and political equals.

By ensuring several ideas in decision making process, democratic inclusion aims at addressing the critique of democracy. In this attempt, you are not only bringing on board the marginalized individuals and groups but rather suggesting how democracy will be promoted. Young noted that the addition of multiple ideas means that taking affirmative approaches and reflect democratic processes as citizens work together to solve problems. Young again suggests that we derive many benefits from the democratic principles such as resolving social biases, changing one's perspectives, giving opportunities for social justice and making decisions more legalised.

5.5.4 Young's view on collective responsibility as DCE

Young (2011:104) gives five strategies in resolving structural injustice and this depend on subordinate groups capacity to organize and mobilise themselves and be in the position to assert their political goals. However, their status will affect their ability to do that. Young (2011) indicates that it is necessary for the well to do in the society and other groups within the society to assist in the struggle through various steps of their political move. Young's theory of collective responsibility is her way of enjoying all social groups to work towards justice. A chunk of Young's theory of collective responsibility is in her book "Responsibility for Justice". Young, 2011:95) more importantly in the essays "A Social Connection Model" and "Avoiding Responsibility". Young's Social connection model theory talks about the differences between two senses of the word "responsibility" which has to do with something emanating from guilt and fault. Again, responsibility as something coming from individual social roles and positions (Young, 2011:104). The first idea of responsibility is what she termed as: inability model of responsibility" and the second Young describes as foundation of "social connection model of responsibility". The inability model aims at bringing individuals or groups to do something compensatory due to the fact that they have found to be guilty for certain fault. This is how courts work and Young does not believe to underestimate this model of responsibility. But Young (2011:104) finds this model falling far below in context of structural injustice.

According to Young (2011:104), the first setback of this model would be its inability to tackle situation in which the guilty agent cannot be satisfactorily point out for the reason that in many cases of structural injustice it is the social institutions that are at fault and sanctioning some agents who seem to be guiltiest and the most liable would not guarantee the structural injustice.

Young (2011:100) argues:

> "The primary reason that the liability model does not apply to issues of structural injustice is that structures are produced and reproduced by large numbers of people acting according to normally accepted rules and practices, and it is in the nature of such structural processes that their potentially harmful effects cannot be traced directly to any particular contributors to the process".

The second weakness of this model is its ability to enforce the process of the blame game, which at the long run may just jeopardise the society and prevent it from working for justice. Young (2011:104) notes that the ones who are blamed of being guilty and cause would become

defensive, while the ones who were supposed to be the victims could be consumed with spiritually destructive resentment. Another shortcoming of this model is its tendency to find someone not guilty of charges. That is, seemingly less guilty and less liable individuals and groups, thereby putting them from having the responsibility to work for justice. The fourth weakness of this model is that it tends to be reactionary and backward-looking that hints in nature.

Young's (2011:105) theory of collective responsibility is constituted by her proposal to use the social connection model of responsibility in areas that has to do with structural injustice. She writes: "the social connection model of responsibility says that individuals bear responsibility for structural injustice because they contribute by their actions to the processes that produce unjust outcomes" (Young, 2011). Therefore, the model does not think about pointing out who are guilty and liable, or who are the most guilty and liable agents, due to the fact that it is more interested in looking at the weaknesses in the social structures. Again, this model would not result in unnecessary blame game because it is not interested in blaming anyone. Thus, dominant groups would assume a defensive posture, while subordinate groups would not be worried about the thoughts of their being victims. In the process they would not be freed from a possible antagonism the social groups can easily bring to bear in working to rectify problems of social structures.

Instead of thinking about the responsibility as an individualistic and sectoral duty, the social connection model casts responsibility as a collective duty by virtue of each individuals being part of a society with defective social structures. Young (2011) says: "where there are structural injustices, finding that some people are guilty of perpetrating specific wrongful actions does not solve others whose actions contribute to the outcomes from bearing responsibility in a different way" (Young, 2011:106). Under the social connection model, one's duty is driven and forward looking because it aims to stop the frequency of a given structural injustice, and it is dynamic because it urges all the members of a given society to work hand in hand in resolving the problematic aspects of their social structures. Therefore, Young (2011) was able to put forth that the task of addressing structural injustice does not belong to the subordinate social groups alone, but also to all social groups, especially to the dominant social groups in any given society.

Young (2011:154) gives four common reasons individuals give and social groups also suggest to turn away from their collective responsibility. The first of these is depersonalization or the reasoning that society works that way and that there is nothing we can do about it except just

deal with it (Young, 2011:154). The second is to deny the reality of associated and accept responsibility only for those challenges and harms that can be directly traced to us (Young, 2011: 158). The third of these is to accept the interrelation. However, to defend that we cannot address structural injustice because our time and attention are swallowed by the more immediate demands of relationships and everyday activities (Young, 2011:161). The fourth is to accept that something must be done about the structure but indicates that changing the structure is not our duty (Young, 2011:166).

5.5.5 Young's view on collective identity as DCE

According to Young (1990), theory of collective identity means love all social groups in true efforts of working for justice. The chunk of her theory of collective identity and structural and dynamic analysis of justice is found in the book "Responsibility for Justice" (2011), more importantly in the essays "A Social Connection Model," and "Avoiding Responsibility". Young's (1990:43) model is structural, though it is expected that her analysis would gear towards collective activity instead of individuals. Young, therefore, introduces the "social group" as her main analytic concept while emphasising that social theory and philosophy are yet to develop this concept in a more proactive manner (Young 1990:43). Young (1990:43) defines "social group" as:

> A collective of persons differentiated from at least one other group by cultural forms, practices, or way of life. Members of a group have a specific affinity with one another because of their similar experience or way of life, which prompts them to associate with one another more than with those not identified with the group.

To clarify Young's (1990:43) idea of the social group, she associates it with concepts like "aggregate" and "association" commonly used by social theorist and philosophers. Young 91990:43) observes that the concept aggregate means a collection of individuals formed by the sociologist and the ethnographer. According to a given quality this social group means more than just the coming together of individuals with certain characteristics, social groups contribute to the formation of the identities of its members. Young (1990:44) explains:

> Though sometimes objective attributes are a necessary condition for classifying oneself or others as belonging to a certain social group, it is identification with a certain social status, the common history that social status produces, and self-identification that define the group as a group".

Young (1990:44) further indicates that though an association deals with a collection of individuals with similar identities, this social group is not formed by just formal agreement of the members to come up with such a group according to some constitutional or bylaws agreed upon that would not differentiate it from a "club, corporation, political party, church, college or union" (Young, 1990:44). Young (1990:45) believes in both the aggregate and the association model of cooperation. The social group model Young 91990:44) is talking about is constituted in accordance with the idea that there are already social groups and that individuals may be pitched, because German philosopher Martin Heidegger (1889-1976) thought that such groups shape their identities.

Young (1990:44) points out that social groups emerge in three ways; first, through a cooperative self-differentiation in relation to another collectivist; the second is that through some social process that differentiates people according to economy, culture, gender and other similar actions and third through one cooperation act of defining and identifying another communalism (Young, 1990:43). The social group is the main investigative idea in Young (1990:44) theory of structural justice and collective responsibility since the social group is at the receiving end or the one to suffer than to profess structural injustices.

5.6 NUSSBAUM'S VIEW ON COSMOPOLITANISM AS DCE

Cosmopolitanism, the idea that principles of human justice and ethics apply with global reach has been a key theme in Martha Nussbaum's work (Nussbaum, 2000:12). Despite the fact that the notion of cosmopolitanism was coined in the course of the Hellenistic era, it was Nussbaum's essay "Patriotism and Cosmopolitanism" that was featured in the *Boston Review* in October/November 1994 which revitalised discussion and awareness on the issue (Nussbaum, 2000). According to Nussbaum (2000:15), the maiden commentary triggered appreciable disagreement and was put out alongside 29 rejoinders from a range of professionals raising a varied viewpoints and thoughts on the subject.

Nussbaum's (2000:20) cosmopolitan citizen essentially owe a favour to the Stoic philosophy of *Kosmo polites* where the most important citizen commitment is not to a particular authority or temporal power, however reasonably to an ethical public genuinely dedicated to an ultimate dignity for humanity. Without a doubt, it was Diogenes the Cynic who at the outset recommended all men of insight to be part of a sole ethical public that he hopefully refer to as "city of the world" (Nussbaum, 2000:15). The Stoics thought of the notion of a world citizen

in some extent not the same ways (Nussbaum, 2000). In the most conservative system, *Kosmo polites* called for a stringent loyalty to humanity where the most important fidelity of all citizens was to their fellow human beings (Nussbaum, 2000). From this viewpoint, nationwide assemblage allegiances relished no distinct significance above those given to ethnic groups and persons who are not part of these groups. The Stoic Zeno perceived, case in point, that, "there was no law, no compulsion, no currency, no temples (Nussbaum, 2000). All people embodied the divine spark and all were capable of logos, divine reason". In the eighteenth epoch, the concepts "cosmopolitanism" and "world citizenship' were not used essentially to detect partisan philosophies, however they pointed out a degree of cultural broadmindedness and neutrality instead. Indeed, a cosmopolitan was a person who was not associated to any particular sacred or partisan establishment and devoid of ethnic partiality.

Even though Nussbaum (2000:13) intensely affected by way of the Stoic perspective and associated more closely with the vigorous opinion of cosmopolitanism, she reasons that to become a world citizen certainly does not suggest surrendering indigenous fellow feelings, personalities or principles. Indigenous uniqueness without doubt spell out definite features of human personality that unavoidably sway our dealings with others. On the other hand, a person's most important ethical concentration rests on the interrelationship of human ideals to make sure that ethnic diversities do not take over a collection of worldwide moralities that delineate tolerable behaviour (Nussbaum, 2000). She reasons that the duty ahead of present cosmopolitan citizen is to demarcate in sets from the outside the groups to ensure that relationships in the direction of them turn out to be equal to the ones enjoyed by inhabitants.

Nussbaum's (2000:14) pronouncement of indigenous and numerous personalities come with a number of certain challenges. In her later work, "Cultivating Humanity", for instance, she remains particularly worried of persons who recognize multiculturalism and diversity regarding identity politics in which each uniqueness affirms his or her rights. Nussbaum's apprehension with partisan politics emanates from the alleged difficulty of ethnic doctrine, a disquiet conceivably more prevalent among the US knowledgeable groups and erudite as compared to the Canadian perspective where the educational custom is remarkably more susceptible to the notion of numerous personalities following their ethnic ideals and degrees (Nussbaum, 2000). This apparent connection amongst open-minded education and multicultural social conscience is principal to Nussbaum's thought championing the last values. According to Nussbaum (2000:14), this association is based on the ancestry of Western philosophical, intellectual

customs emanating from Socrates idea of 'the examined life' and Aristotle's idea of 'reflective citizenship to Greek, Roman' and Stoic theories of open-minded education (Nussbaum, 2000:14).

Nussbaum opines that open-minded education is an emancipator of thoughts from the "bondage of habit and custom" (Nussbaum, 1997:273) and therefore makes available an educational avenue well-resourced to churn out learners who are more responsive, level-headed, and reliable when looking at the defining characteristics required of by a multicultural populace. According to Nussbaum (2000:14), open-minded education is well fashioned out in the US with serious consideration on ethnic ideals and nationwide programme as a bench mark for the classroom encounters. Yet still, she cautions that this far from suggesting that the notion of a open-minded education that churns out multicultural populaces has been realized, nonetheless if there is an education system well-resourced to realizing this values, then US open-minded education system supported by the nation's open-minded democracy stands out.

Nussbaum (2000:14) puts forward a well-thought out open-minded education nurtures three fundamental capabilities amongst multicultural populaces to disentangle their thoughts from parochial tradition, habit and practice. These fundamental capabilities, according to her comprise the capability to painstakingly examined his or her self-concept alongside his or her background (Socratic self-examination), the capability to be aware of a universal ethics and human community, and lastly the capability for narrative resourcefulness, or the capability to envisage ethnic dissimilarity so that one can understand alternate descriptions of the 'other' and associate to them in an expressive and compassionate manner. The Socratic agenda of introspection is a capability that is required of open-minded education in order to grow deliberately amongst learners (Nussbaum, 2000). Notwithstanding her overall backing of the US education system,

Nussbaum (2000:14) identifies that introspection is characteristically given up at the dais of influential socialisation where Socratic inquisitorial is supplanted with more unreceptive and theory-oriented methodologies to learning. Without a doubt, inside US a number of perspectives and learning locations conduct themselves as a deep-thinking meddler progressively well thought-out to be rebellious, drastic and generally unbecoming, dissimilar to the more instantaneous desires for commercial effectiveness, visionless partisanship, and partisan suitability. Regrettably to Nussbaum (2000:15), the current position on introspection as most

important open-minded education experience essential to cosmopolitanism weakens her challenging opinion that US education gives a prospective exemplar for worldwide citizenship.

Nussbaum (2000:15) opines that multicultural citizenship is vital to building global social equality, to make stronger the worldwide economy and, awkwardly, to mean compellingly laying claim to champion US intercontinental politics and economic happiness. On the other hand,

Nussbaum (2000:15) stresses that "cosmopolitanism is necessary not in a pure instrumentalist sense, cosmopolitanism as an instrument to seek politico-economic ends but as a deliberative, rational mechanism through which differences are understood, similarities identified and conflict ultimately reduced." She trusts that cosmopolitanism has the prospect to come out with shared ethics that bond traditions deprived of disallowing indigenous and close relationships. Instead of discouraging every single and indigenous distinctiveness, the greater human ethics and sensible public makes available the concentric circle that welcomes all and sundry. In the nutshell, Nussbaum (2000) multicultural populaces are introspective persons and an outcome of what we are certain of is an extremely mysterious open-minded education that is collectively open, critical, resourceful and compassionate.

5.7 THE AFRICAN CONCEPTION OF DCE

In this section, three Ghanaian theorists of DCE specifically Kwame Anthony Appiah (1994), Kwame Gyekye (2004) and Kwasi Wiredu (2001) will also be explored. This is necessary because of the unique differences in social, cultural, backgrounds that impact Africa more especially Ghana and other global concerns on DCE.

5.7.1 Kwame Anthony Appiah's view on cosmopolitanism as DCE

According to Appiah (1994:150), globalisation has given impetus to this antique idea, cosmopolitanism, significant. He asserts that there are two apparent situations that has made citizenship real, thus awareness of the activities of other populaces, on one hand, and the authority to change them, on the other. Appiah (1994:150) views cosmopolitanism as a double-stranded tradition: in a slogan, it is universality plus difference. He emphasises the reason cosmopolitans' consent to, without doubt, makes merry of an inclusive collection of genuine human multiplicity. For instance, he says what is a forbidden act because of worldwide

apprehension, what evangelists of varied religious background have done? The reason we should not be universal propagators of truth and let others enjoy this truth?

Cosmopolitans, according to Appiah (1994:150), becomes heir to our Greek forerunners an acknowledgement of the imperfection of human understanding. Appiah suggests that cosmopolitanism brings into being the logical dogma of fallibilism, thus the appreciation that we are bound to make mistake, even when we are very diligent and cautious of the fact and use the best of our mental prowess (Appiah, 1994). To Appiah (1994:51), a fallibilist recognizes that he or she is imperfect and mistakes are abounding in his or daily activities. Everyone is entitled to his or her opinions and at all times be ready to defend them. However, one should be ready to change his or her opinions when available evidence suggest so. Likewise, Appiah (1994:151) says "if I'm wrong about something, maybe I can learn from others, even if they are wrong about something else".

Appiah (1994:153) also suggests there is another thought, a person whose backgrounds are found in a more contemporary notion: the notion which suggests that each person is responsible for the protection of his or her own life. To Appiah, the respect of an individual is inherent, in part, accurately in his or her capability to and ability of self-management. Appiah (1994:154), therefore, suggests that it is imperative that individuals become conscious of certain values they hold supreme, regardless of the fallibility of those chosen values. As Mill (1991:11) rightly puts it, "If a person possesses any tolerable amount of common sense and experience, his mode of laying out his existence is best, not because it is the best in itself, but because it is his mode".

Appiah (1994:155) emphasises that it is appropriate, that is as soon as individuals become conscious of certain values, they hold supreme. He says:

> If I force a man to do what I take to be right when he doesn't think it is right or stop a woman from doing what I take to be wrong, when she doesn't agree that it's wrong, there's a sense in which I am not making their lives better, even if what I take to be right or wrong really is right or wrong. Of course, if the wrong someone is doing harms others, I may have to stop her anyway, because the universal concern that underlies cosmopolitanism means that it matters to me that every human life should go well. But if she is of sound mind and the wrong, she is planning to do affects only her fate, then the right way to express my concern for her is not to force her to do the right thing, but to try to persuade her she is mistaken.

Appiah (1994:155) further suggests that for the reason that cosmopolitanism is fallibilist, multicultural discussion through ethnic, partisan, societal, economic and religious frontiers is not about comprehensive exchange: it bothers on learning as well as teaching; it bothers on listening as well as talking. According to Appiah (1994:153), currently worldwide deliberation is a figure of speech; it calls for clarification, in the same way the figure of speech of worldwide nationality desired clarifying. For the reason that, one is unable to accurately communicate with more than seven billion peoples on the planet earth. However, a worldwide environment of multiculturalists is made of persons who are more inclined to know the other customs of life with the study of anthropology and history, works of fiction, shows, news stories in newspapers, on radio, and television. Appiah (1994:155) suggests that cosmopolitanism is universality plus difference, thus to Appiah (1994:155) multiculturalists face two adversaries: one, are persons who disapprove the validity of universality and two, are persons who disapprove of validity of difference. Appiah (1994:155) emphasises that the initial kind of an adversary many a times rubbishes the plea for universality because of the nation.

This idea, according to Appiah (1994:158), has the tendency to offer you the warm-and-fuzziest, however it is nothing to ride home about. On the other hand, the initial adversary presumes that worldwide apprehension calls for individuals to relentlessly endanger their lives for strangers around the world in the same way the nationalist presumes individuals are prepared to endanger their lives for their country men and women. To Appiah (1994:160), this assertion contradicts the real import of cosmopolitanism. Multiculturalists recognise that countries require lots of sacrifices from their citizens than that of community, likewise families require lots of sacrifices from their members than nations. This literally means that it is erroneous for anyone to entertain the thought that in this world some persons are superior while others are inferior (Appiah, 1994).

Appiah (1994) suggests that to lay stress on universality is to proclaim that each person has definite number of privileges, and it is the responsibility of everyone to ensure that everybody gets what is rightly his or her. Indeed, it is not quite an easy exercise to guarantee the right of everyone. However, the multiculturalists maintain that everyone need to reflect on statements such as: “Am I doing my fair share to make sure everyone has the chance at the dignified human existence that we are all entitled to?” Appiah (1994) opines that a loyalist has the determination to even endanger his or her own like to guarantee the safety of his or her fellow countryman.

The multiculturalist is merely asserting that she is unwilling to do anything short of this to the ordinary person.

5.7.2 Kwame Gyekye's view on civil-engagement as DCE.

According to Gyekye (2004:64), political value of consultation or conferring postulates civil-engagement as a very important feature in the concept of DCE. To him, ideas and benefits about democracy, like those about the nature of a person, society, God, human destiny, were in preliterate cultural setting of African's historical part given conceptual formulation in proverbs as well as in artistic expressions. For example, in examining these two Akan proverbs; (i) One head does not go into council, (ii) wisdom does not reside in a single head, one can testify that the two proverbs express the real essence of consensus, the notion that discussion or civil-engagement with lots of persons on issues of great interest to the masses has always proved beneficial than deliberation by just one (Gyekye, 2004). Since the proverbs clearly implies, each individual is endowed with the ability to use his or her senses rightly on issues of great concern to the whole state or community, it would be disrespectful for single individual to arrogate to him or herself the authority to think, deliberate and decide on all matters that affect the matters.

Gyekye (2004:65) articulates that the Akan proverbs also emphasises the need for choice and practice of consensus as an ideal procedure in political decision-making. To him, compromise alongside resolution, gives the impression to be a potent administrative asset rigorously followed in traditional assemblies and considered vital to the practice of democracy in most traditional African political systems. For it empowers citizens to share thoughts freely, without fear of intimidation and victimization, and this goes a long way to foster forbearance, open-mindedness and preference for dialogue which are essential ingredients for democratic discourse where an individual is at liberty to abandon or modify his or her previously held belief as a result of convincedly persuasive views by others. Compromise needs to be seen as a democratic virtue, a perfect means for any democratic decision-making body.

For Callan (1997:215) the idea of civil engagement moves beyond for seeing an effort to reach dialogical success over an opponent however, it seeks to endorse as morally acceptable terms of engagement. Via discussion, teachers and learners interrupt contentment or ignite suspicious on the exactness of their ethical views or about the key variance amongst competing individuals' trust that goes along with irregular procedure of deliberation and ethical moral

conflict that is aggression (Callan, 1997:211). In this situation, aggression and agony will give way for moral reconciliation. In such a circumstance where fact and inaccuracy in competing one another has been well situated and appropriate for the attainment of a blend of dissenting views (Callan, 1997:212). Civil engagement, according to Waghid (2005:323), frowns on the idea of culture of silence, that's, where those in powerful positions turn to harass those who share divergent thoughts, however civil engagement ensures that individuals including teachers and learners can share their thoughts freely and are also well positioned to take steps to seek and advance the course of justice in their neighbourhood. Indeed, teachers and learners must wake up to be advocates of all forms of injustices including poverty and racial abuse in their community and to do so apparently because of their love for fundamental human rights. In fact, teachers and learners must act as allies and be ready to sacrifice everything they have to guarantee free speech.

According to Waghid (2005:325), the idea of free speech is a catalyst towards building a democratic system involving patriotism as an essential element for the achievement of a state reunion. Democratic patriotism enjoins all citizens to freedom and equality. Consequently, all individuals in a democratic community should be valued in terms of social discrimination restrictive within standards of shared esteem and courteousness (Callan, 2002:476).

Contrary, 'freedom' points towards free expression devoid of race, class, ethnicity etc, while 'equality' guarantee fairness and impartiality. The consequence of this is to do right to all manner of persons including foreigners and that citizens should be encourage to air their grievances on the happenings in the country and to do so willingly and without any malice. Again 'a democratic community' is a community that does not fall for the whims and caprices of those in power but fights for the ultimate good of all. Such an idea of civil engagement that underpins freedom, equality and community will not only educate learners on their duties as citizens in a democratic country but also foster reconciliation and national development.

5.7.3 Kwame Gyekye view's on cosmopolitanism as DCE

Gyekye (2013:115) uses the word globalisation to describe cosmopolitanism as a DCE concept. According to Gyekye (2013:118), to globalise, is to become a common feature of the world through the dissemination and exchange of notions, ideals, institutions, techniques of doing things. To him, the notion of "becoming" points out that globalisation as a process leads to the ultimate sharing of notions, ideals, practices, viewpoints, and outlooks all over the world or

greater part of it. The uniqueness of the concept "globalisation" has created the awareness that process is somewhat new. Globalisation has been with us for centuries. Gyekye (2013:120) suggests that individuals may perhaps as Appiah in a few words puts it "describe the history of the human species as a process of globalization" (Appiah, 1994:158). Gyekye (2013:124) opines that the beginnings of globalisation were cultivated in individuals shared humanity; in the limitation of human brainpower; in the dissimilarities in human endowments and talents and in man's limitless longing for wellbeing, better life and contentment in this world. In other words, Gyekye (2013:124) stresses that individuals shared humanity positions everyone towards exchanging certain ideals or fundamental necessities, engaging shared wishes, optimisms and desires that everyone might be seen as basically human that guarantees each person's fulfilment. He is also of the opinion that globalisation has assumed to have involved in some essential shared ideals that the citizens of the world exchange some fundamental necessities that each person is prepared to achieve if he or she wishes to enjoy a plainly acceptable and endurable life on earth. An individual's limitless appetite for his or her everyday wellbeing in the long run brings about the longing not to look only within, but also away from his or her ethnic surroundings in hunt of the things that give satisfaction. This according to Gyekye (2013:124) points toward the facts that globalisation is fastened in the features of human kinds.

Gyekye (2013) argues that such a notion of cultural ideals, practice or institution acquire the rank of universality because of its remarkable relevance or functionality or power of conviction or some such quality. As a result, people beyond the ethnic foundation of the notion become increasing attracted because of a number of factors and take, apply and adventure for their own sake. Gyekye (2013:125) was of the view that ideas or value would become meta-contextual, because it goes beyond its initial ethnic and might have therefore received greatest approval in a different place due to its attractiveness, interest and enjoyment generated by those cultural products. There are several examples that can be mentioned to support the above issue of universality namely; the collapse of communism, the translation of a book by a Ghanaian musicologist, Nketia (1986), titled "Music of Africa" which has been translated into many languages like Chinese and Japanese and Chinua's (1958) "Things Fall Apart" which according to Ogbaa (1999) is Africa's renowned novel ever to be written.

According to Ogbaa, this novel had, by 1991, been translated into more than thirty different languages in the world (Ogbaa, 1999). For instance, Gyekye (2013) advocates for the

institutionalization of a clear arena of universality to be dominated by contributions coming from the diverse ethnic groups championing civilization. To Gyekye, until lots of ethnic groups or countries begin to benefit from the harvests of culture, we cannot suggest that those harvests have been globalized (Gyekye 2013: 128). Benhabib (2006:16) on the other hand, posits that ethnic multiculturalists emphasise that all ethic grounds assimilate and adulterate from others ethic groups always. She says citizens ought to come clear on the wobbling large quantity, diversity, and inconsistency of the world's ethos (Benhabib, 2006).

5.7.4 Kwame Gyekye's view on inclusiveness as DCE

According to Gyekye (2013:256), the preamble of the constitution of a nation like Ghana is clearly insistent on the importance of the prominence of the citizens in the partisan mandate that was likely to be recognised by the constitution. For instance, the foreword of Ghana's 1992 constitution reads as follows: "We the People of Ghana … Do hereby adopt, enact and give to ourselves this constitution". To Gyekye (2013), these three words "We the People" have implications for the inclusive democratic political practice that will reflect the ideal democratic governance.

On the contrary, Gyekye (2013) argues that the aftermaths of relegating to the background a chunk of the citizens in matters of governance that go against the lives of the citizens has the tendency to ignite partisan disagreement, vehemence, animosity and misapprehension. In short, the citizens are desirous to be part of matters and decisions that affect their wellbeing. In his attempt to define politics of inclusion, Gyekye (2013:239) espouses inclusion as somewhat to average people who have voting and other civil liberties however, they have been administratively side-lined or marginalised in matters like exerting definite influence on the work or decision of management, average people have had little if not none to contribute.

Gyekye (2013) argues that the idea of inclusion is a game changer for country that is determined to be egalitarian. Consequently, a country that is unsuccessful in providing enough room for inclusive politics cannot pride itself as being democratic. It is therefore justifiable to advocate for politics of inclusion which is somehow related to politics of consent, bilateralism and participatory democracy. Gyekye (2013) supports his argument above with the utterance of a Ghanaian traditional sage: "wisdom is not found in the head of one person". This deep-thinking expression points toward the fact that as it is widely stated wisdom is not the birth right of any single individual. In the area of governance too, this particular expression instructs head of

states and parliamentarians to be opened to divergent thoughts, welcome constructive criticisms and compromise and give due consideration to the words of wisdom and truth that may be contained in the presentations of other members of the assembly, including the members of the minority and opposition parties.

Gyekye (2013:242) articulates that there is a perceived relationship between politics of inclusion and bipartisanship. To him, this argument is justifiable when due and serious consideration is given to the views of others, particularly those in the opposition parties and incorporate those views in the policies that will finally emerge from the ruling government which will place both members of the majority ruling government and the opposition party on the oath towards bipartisanship. On the contrary, it is very difficult to achieve bipartisanship because of sharp ideological differences. Indeed, the result of sharp ideological difference is what John Kuffour, Ghana's former president, described in a speech to mark Ghana's independence anniversary in 2006 as 'excessive partisanship' (Ayee, 2013). Excessive partisanship eliminates negotiation and compromise. It breeds the politics of exclusion not of inclusion and accommodation (Gyekye, 2013).

Gyekye (2013:243) posits consensus politics as one of the remarkable features of inclusive politics. According to him, the pursuit of the social ideal of solidarity as well as beliefs in the uniqueness of interest and ambitions of citizens give rise to the notion and practice of consensus. Beliefs in, and the pursuit of, the partisan and ethical principles of equal opportunity and reverence for others opinions can also lead to consensus. Gyekye (2013), in support of consensus elucidates that consensus tolerates all persons to be open-mindedness and have the chance to freely express themselves in a subject under discussion. Consensus fosters fortitude, shared open-mindedness and bold consent-that are expressed in democratic practice where a person is likely to rise and accept modification or avoid it as a result of a considerable views expressed by others.

Gyekye (2013:245) elucidates that participatory democracy relates with politics of inclusion as deals with the activities of the citizens and not the activities within the government and assembly. Here much more emphasis is placed on the concept of participatory. He argues that democracy is governance of the citizenry or the application of administrative authority by the citizenry, in that it is the civil liberty of citizens to be part of deliberations and discussions that affect the development and progress of their country devoid of challenges. Nonetheless, it is a

known secrete that the term “participatory” in participatory democracy seems useless in giving the exact understanding of democracy.

According to Gyekye (2013:246) as stated by the Greek philosopher, Field (2013:133):

> It is important for a modern reader to remember that Greek democracy meant the continued and active participation of all the citizens in the work of government. However, our modern systems of representative governments would have seemed to him in no sense democratic at all, because they involve the abdication to selected representatives of what should be the privilege and responsibility of each.

According to Gyekye (2013), there is a remarkable similarity between Field’s account of the self-governing practice in olden Greece and the description of the Ashanti self-governing practice highlighted by Rattray (1929) which needs a careful notification. Because the two pronouncements of Field and Rattray narrate the lively and incessant involvement of the citizens in the area of governance, both states (Greeks & Ashantis) believed that in self-governing endeavours the country needs to attend to the needs of all the populaces of the state and that partisan involvement should move beyond the idea and opportunity of electing representatives (Rattray, 1929).

Gyekye (2013:247) espouses that involvement is with conviction a significant way towards the search for the government of inclusion. This can only be successful based on the effectiveness of the institutions created to allow for participation. He concludes by saying that the politics of inclusion is democracy at work and would need to be pursed wherever democracy is practiced. On condition that self-governing philosophy was to be above individual inclinations and selfishness and focuses on the collective interest, inclusive politics will not be mirage; it will not present itself to us an ideal system that is beyond the pale of human capacity.

5.7.5 Kwasi Wiredu’s view on communitarianism and communalism as DCE

According to Wiredu (2007:34), a communalistic culture is a culture whereby prolonged affinity relationships is crucial in community kindred. The minutest kindred outfit to which any youth fits in with a secured sense of association is at present an important society. With regard to matrilineal case, the patrilineal option is derivable by acceptable appropriate adjustments. It comprises one's mother and one's siblings, one's mother's siblings and the children of their daughters and, at the top, a grandmother. On the condition that this immediate matriarch has been reasonably fruitful, it gives a wide purview of human kindred in which a conscious duties,

civil liberties and mutual benefits are advanced based on accepted emotional state of compassion and camaraderie. This entity, though pursues the matrilineal angle, it thus connects with the brothers and sisters of the grandmother and the children of their daughters, with an elaborate system of similar relationship entities which establishes a lineage in a particular locality.

According to Wiredu (2007:34), through a sense of ordinary spill over, the sense of compassion and camaraderie effortlessly secures a community-wide scope. By extension, there is without doubt a kind of attenuation on the face of association and team spirit, however it gives and reassures the individual of a sound sense of safety. Indeed, this sense of safety can effortlessly vanish in the comparatively non-communalistic atmosphere of a contemporary town, with destabilising aftermaths of a person's worries and for his or group stability. Contrary to the passionately dried out conditions of most city life, it turns out to be stress-free to recognize the impact of family cohesion in the preservation of self-esteem in traditional countryside life. Undoubtedly, the impact of collective cohesion on the traditional environment that a person's actual sense of self is contextualised guarantees its ideals so that an individual for all intent and purposes is not just a person born of human parentage, but also an individual whose distinguishing characteristics explain behaviours that demonstrate understanding of fundamental principles of the society.

According to Wiredu (2001:34), the beliefs of a communalistic society tolerate an essential connection to the moral principles of human community. The ultimate reasoning of ethics is: "adjust your interests to the interests of others even at the possible cost of some self-denial." The notion of alteration is some such notions becomes the golden rule, on condition that it is articulated rigorously than is as a matter of course devoted to it. However, such an idea of unadulterated ethics, and yet essential, is insufficient aimed at designing guidelines for over-all characteristics of human relations. By what method can we organize the continuance of the kinds, the renewal of optimism in the period of hostility, the utilisation of man power in manufacture, the building of community projects? In its excellent form, the golden rule quite significantly cannot offer farfetched regulatory instructions here. It is undeniable ethnic groups in the world show a vast multiplicity of selections in all these matters which are uniform with the golden rule.

Wiredu (2007:34) posits that the idea underpinning the selections of a communalistic culture, nonetheless, is not only uniform with the golden rule, besides it is similar to it. Citizens in

countries like these are charged to reason along the lines of not what they seek to get from their respective countries however what the countries can benefit from them, for all to develop. Put differently, a person's desires are to be moderated to suite the countries interest not the other way round. In the simplest motto moral motivation, we say: "be ready to abridge your interests so that they can harmonise with the common interest." This certainly is far from the norm of denial of a person's happiness, for the reason that it covers all citizens, and in the end result everyone must be more often a recipient of the tolerance of others than a denial egotism.

Interestingly, Wiredu (2008:333) argues that despite Nkrumah and Nyerere variances towards societal philosophy, they mutually viewed African socialism as an indisputable underpinning of their thoughts for nation-wide reform. The term "African socialism" contributes in defining those thoughts. Even though it covers considerable differences in views, it shows a shared aim specifically, on the belief that African traditional culture was a form of communalism. Consequently Nkrumah (1970) emphasises that communalism is "the social-political ancestor of socialism" (Nkrumah (1970:73). "Socialism shares semblance with communalism, likewise capitalism is associated with feudalism and slavery. In socialism, ideologies that underscore communalism are profound in recent interactions". Nyerere as well commented on "traditional communalism" (Nyerere, 1968:87) and avowed delightfully that "Africans have moved beyond socialism and democracy and so there is no need for these concepts to be re-introduced to us. Because to him these concepts formed part and parcel of our culture and our very existence" (Nyerere, 1968:12).

Wiredu (2008:333) on the other hand, highlights two issues in respect of African traditional society. One, he questions whether African traditional society is communitarian, and two, whether African communitarianism is a form of socialism. With regards to the first issue raised, there is ample evidence that points to the fact that traditional African society is communitarian, unless anyone has contrary findings that established otherwise. Though frankly speaking, there may be handful of some traditional African societies that these definitions may not include them. Undoubtedly, African societies see kinship relations as chief cornerstone and these start at the household level through to lineage and clan levels.

To Wiredu (2008), in terms of emotions African people are nurtured during childhood to have an infinite form of affection and love for their entire relatives both at home and outside. This infinite form of affection and love, serves as a preparatory ground whereby an individual gets closer and closer to discover him or herself along the lines of obligations and rights. At the level

of lineage, one establishes a bond with sizeable number of the populace. This ultimately leads to the last scope of obligations with the corresponding large scope of rights and privileges. It is appropriate for individuals to understand that we leave in a dispensation of reciprocities. It is therefore imperative and quite clear to decipher the structure of social organization under discussion. Thus, at on breathe it connotes a regime of obligations and in other it means dispensation of rights. Obligations seems to be fundamental, apparently because it engenders intrinsic drive to discharge a responsibility than to be given a pleasant as a token for your commitment and dedication to duty. The latitude of interconnection between rights and obligation pave way for unfettered relationship among neighbourhood, town, region, nation, and so on.

The kind of interaction and its effect between obligation and rights shows the wishes of human survival and contact. Indeed, this is the challenging draft in what African communitarianism is all about (Wiredu, 2008:333).

According to Wiredu (2008:334), there is a stimulating comparison involving the belief underlying the reciprocities of the communitarian mores and those underlying what we might call morals in the strictest sense. They are mutually described as ideologies for regulating the welfares of a person in relation to all persons in the public. Morality search for the harmonisation of the welfares of a person in relation to all persons in the public on the belief of what Wiredu calls sympathetic or better, empathetic impartiality. It is termed as the Golden Rule in Christian discourse. Significantly one needs to discard the notion that the Golden rule is a Western belief. Invariably, it is a worldwide belief. The comparison involving this belief and the belief underpinning African communitarianism involves in this issue is that the last also shows the search aimed at changing different welfares of a person to that of the public.

Wiredu (2008:334) emphasises that to regulate the welfares of a person to that of the public is not to subordinate the individual to the other. This connection is morally equal. On the other hand, we can describe it as the regulation of the welfares of the public to that of a person. However, we must not hypostatise the idea of the public. The public is basically a specific background of persons with reverence to their positions, insights of their welfares and those of others. Wiredu (2008:334) opines that communitarianism and individualism are mutually situated in diverse ways of searching for the welfares of persons. However, these changes centres around numerous challenges of human welfare concerning a person’s duties and responsibilities in a communalistic society than an individualist one.

To Wiredu (2008:334) the comforts and apprehensions engendered by such a distinct interest moves outside the domains of unadulterated ethics. A person decisively enjoys her civil rights and responsibilities with the totality of humankind. Wiredu (2008:334) explains that if a person sown to payback a borrowed money from another person in an agreed period, it is a clear show of a persons' practice of responsibility. This happens to everybody worldwide. More so, if a member of traditional African society undertakes communal help in farming, it is a clear show of the persons' responsibility to all individual farmers in the society who comparatively may not have the opportunity to do so.

Admittedly, these are issues of culture not of politics; which conveys to our philosopher kings that African communitarianism is an example of communism. Gyekye (1997:146) has commented, very correctly, that our philosopher kings made a mistake in supposing that modern socialism was "prefigured" in traditional African communitarianism. He goes on to say "I do not think that there is a necessary connection between communitarianism and socialism; nor is communitarianism a necessary condition of socialism. The European societies that gave birth to Marxian socialism were not markedly communitarian societies; they were in fact societies characterized by the ethos of individualism" (Gyekye, 1997:149). Gyekye's (1997) criticisms that represent realities simply escaped people like Nkrumah (1970), Nyerere (1968) and others. Invariably, it will be easier in building a socialist framework on communitarian fundamentals than achieving a similar mission on individualistic fundamentals. Which is a course of matter of very indeterminate conjecture.

According to Wiredu (2008:335), Western communitarianism is attuned with other aspect of cultural individualism, however, that cannot be said of African communitarianism. Western communitarianism is chiefly a system of connection between communality and individuality. Communitarians seek to unearth the real meaning of relationship which to them is misinterpreted by individualists and liberal theorists. Though shared common neighbourhood with individualist culture, it is uncommon for them to openly show their disapproval of the day to day activities of individualist culture. However, communitarians are vocal on issues such as public policies that do not have the underprivilege and the disadvantage elements in the community in mind. Even though there are serious issues with individualistic kingship setup, it does not in any way put the whole system into question. One should be mindful not to create the impression that Western kingship systems are generally more individualist than traditional African ones.

Wiredu (2008:335), on the other hand asserts that discussions on traditional African communitarianism should emphasised and be based on social organization set-up on kingship relationship. Modern day African philosophers have extensively delved and dedicated time and resources to the genesis of communitarianism. They have in no uncertain term agreed that traditional communitarianism epitomises both the social practice and theory. Even though precise distinction with Western communitarianism as explained has not been noted. This will accidentally encourage referential exactness to use either terms "communalism" and "communitarianism" in the traditional context. Ideally "communalism" was the prefer term between the two. We therefore use "communitarianism" to mean either contemporary African or Western hypothesising individuality and community and "communalism" is used in the context of traditional, social organisation. for the traditional social formation described above.

Wiredu (2008:336) emphasises that place a unique role in the minds of modern African philosophers. Just as common-sense instructs us to be exposed to our tradition so that we can benefit from it in such of viewpoints essential to present-day way of life. This study requires diligent and careful consideration in that traditional communalism will certainly come out great. For it unquestionable encompasses the foremost characteristics of our cultural heritage. Our philosopher kings of yesteryears, became aware of this and devoted substantial time and energy to it. As stated early, they appear to have moved to socialism through hurriedly. Indeed, in recent times matters of this nature have received the needed attention and support. In most areas of African continent disagreement effortlessly leads to violent causing great harm, death and destruction. The question that people keep on asking why should mere disagreement leads to loss of lives and properties? Truthfully, the answer to this question in no doubt must be of need, multifaceted and delicate, comprising ancient antecedent and present-day impediment.

In this endeavour we must apprise ourselves of the fact we are preoccupied with the characterisation of the system not the assessment of its participants. Wiredu (2008:336), in this regard, believes in one of the statements of Nyerere (1968:108): "Traditional Africa was no more composed of unselfish and hard-working angels than any other part of the world." Nyerere's 1968 classification of this generalisation was an indictment of his own country. He asserted, "… in most parts of Tanzania … women in traditional society were regarded as having a place in the community which was … to some extent inferior." Nyerere (1968) proceeded that, "If we want our country to make full and quick progress now, it is essential that our women live on terms of full equality with their fellow citizens who are men." Wiredu (2008: 336),

posits that communalism is a personification of the values of traditional Africa. Two things, however, should be noted. Firstly, values are not all times virtuous, thus, some values are virtuous; others worthless. Secondly, some values incontrovertibly virtuous, and such values are the ones we accept as moral values in the strictest manner.

5.7.6 Kwasi Wiredu's view on consensus and civil engagement as DCE

Democracy, to Wiredu (1999:36) is government by consensus. However, consensus is reached in different means. Consensus can be reached through drugging, misleading, enthralling, inducing, indoctrinating or persuading. Wiredu (1999:36), however admits that the best way to reach consensus is via persuasion. In view of this, the ambiguous that democracy is government by consensus must be understood as seeing consensus as the only genuine way of practicing democracy. To Wiredu (1995:53), asserts that decision-making in traditional African way of life and regime was a jurisdiction through consent. legally one need to make a good judgement in a composite conjecture of issues.

However, there are substantial proof that resolution through consensus was many a time used in African discussions to arrive at an opinion. Thus, it wasn't fair to exaggerate the comment made by Kaunda, the constitutionally ousted President of Zambia, aforesaid "In our original societies we operated by consensus. An issue was talked out in solemn until such time as agreement could be achieved" or when Nyerere, the retired President of Tanzania, also said "… in African society the traditional method of conducting affairs by free discussion" (Nyerere, 1968:110) and cited by Guy Clutton-Brock by acceptance conclusion that "The elders sit under the big trees and talk until agree" (Clutton-Brock, 1969:35).

Sarcastically, such declarations were made as might be expected in a defense of the one-party structure. On this note, Wiredu (1995) asserts that decision-making in traditional African way of life and regime was a jurisdiction through consent. He emphasises that the dependence on consent is not entirely a new political occurrence. To Wiredu (1995:53), in a situation where consent characterises political decision-making in Africa way of life expresses an imminent viewpoint to socialisation. Usually, any form of social interaction amongst adults' agreement is regarded as a collective decision accepted by all. This may not be so at all time. There was nowhere in African communities where the kingdom experienced a continuous agreement from different points of view. However, disagreement (inclusive of human beings) between and within families and cultural groups were rare. In an extraordinary situation, regardless of how

a decision on a matter is work out, the most important issue is the agreement reached but not simple avoidance of further accusations or crashes. Moreover, it is significant to consider that disagreements could be resolve in the absence of attainment of settlement (Wiredu, 1995:53).

According to Wiredu (1995:54), conciliation is model of consent. It involves the re-imposition of compassion via the reconsideration of the importance and consequence of the primary frames of disagreement. However, it does not essentially a broad recognition of virtuous or understanding of views. It is sufficient to let all individuals have the impression that their opinions have been considered in any future activity or concurrence. Likewise, not all consent achieves complete harmony. First and foremost, Wiredu (1995:54) emphasises that consent normally assumes an initial posture of heterogeneity. However, not all matters in question polarise judgement along strict rules of contradiction, exchange of ideas could work out to smooth the edges and give rise to settlements pleasant to individuals or, possibly unpleasant to none.

Moreover, in a situation when an individual feels to reach agreement with another, here an exchange of ideas can help to avoid dissent, initiating probable accepted proceedings devoid of necessarily accepted ideas (Wiredu, 1995:54). However, it essential to note that some circumstances as a matter of fact hurriedly disconnect the discourse that can achieve conciliation. For instance, whether we are to go for war or not. The difficulty here is how a person in the absence of agreement could resolve on one option in place of the other unaccompanied by isolating everyone. Presently, it is the serious test to consent and can at best be confronted when a person is ready to interrupt the lack of belief in order to persuade the remaining minority the choice to accept. More so, the practicability relies beyond just tolerance and influence of the good individual in addition to the reality that traditional African consensual structure did reliably position all group of individuals in the minority situation.

According to Wiredu (1999:35), linked with the stability of civil, political life, reflection is essential for public discourse. It borders on the concerns of the extensiveness of consensus as a method of group decision making. In traditional Africa and even the world at large it is a known fact that consensus feature prominently in decision making process and all interpersonal interactions that "sit under (Clutton-Brock, 1969:35) the big trees and talk until they agree." Wiredu (1999:35) emphasises that agreements under this situation should be interpreted as though unison relating to what is true or false or what ought to be done what ought not to be done. In fact, consensus always seeks to ensure that the right thing is done. This does not in any

way suggest that people cannot disagree on issues, however, if they do, they can still agree on issues by virtue of compromise. Absolutely when we talk of compromise, we do not seek to belittle on what is or ought to be. Many a time when intelligent people share different viewpoints on an issue but want to maintain the status quo (reach consensus), they can reasonable do away with some of their thoughts to avoid the unlikely event that consensus will not be reached. It is evidence here that the same issues that minimises expectation that was raise early on, however been both applied and perhaps academic. Consensus, indeed, stand below jettisoning issue of absolute unanimity, is a matter of compromise, and compromise is actually a moderation of expectations of individuals to the mutual good for something to be done.

According to Wiredu (1999:35), some critics appropriately describe the promotion of consent a generous call intended for conventionality, it is imperative to emphasise that this proposition do not invariably means anyone has the privilege to request for consent of any sort. Such a request would oppose the actual core meant for consent. Admittedly one may hold forth, when giving the opportunity to debate, on the importance of consent as a means of decision-making. However, this instance is merely taken care of in a free assessment of others, as in any open discourse. Moreover, the danger is that a replication of consent, as an aspect of decision-making in public deed, does involve agreement or conventionality in logical or moral credence. The impression is that any variety of such credence will demand a disposition to cooperate in order to influence the thinking concerning what to be done in order to achieve agreement amongst group exploit. Moreover, it is recommended that outside the realm of the politics the spirit of compromise maybe articulated in establishments that are totally different from most of the known democracies in the world today.

Wiredu (1995:35) believes that an individual may think that search for consent must come easily to the communalistic awareness, the complication here is the same modification made by the welfares of a person to all persons in the public where the awareness is attuned as a substance of culture. Moreover, it should be noted that in such a culture, conviction in consent would be agreed over to the domain of political decision-making. Indeed, realism agrees with assumption in many situations in ancient African nations. however, this situation seems to be disadvantage in practice rather than a desirable agreement, for some dictatorial African states, so as communalistic. Seriously this should not be a surprise as far as human cultures are prune to show contradictions of tendency in the mist consistencies.

On this note, after a careful study from better models, much attention will be on the classic example of government by consent in our legacy. Wiredu's (1995:35) argument is that in our customary practices where collective decisions were at any given period was described as democratic. For example, the majority system of democratic governance practiced in Britain and the USA is highly inconsistent to both our individual customary practices of democracy and the difficulties of our modern state of affairs. Despite the fact that our family ties in our olden day's governance structure cannot be conjured in these modern times, it is regarded as a possible scheme to give to modern non-party system of governance grounded on the ideas of consent. In this situation possibly, our desire to bring back the missing continuousness amid the nation and civic community in Africa (Wiredu, 1999:36).

In conclusion, the views of these three notable renowned Ghanaian philosophers (Appiah, [1994]; Gyekye [1997] and Wiredu [1999; 2008] hold in African's culture, history and traditions. Though these three African philosophers have the same history as far as European colonisation in their country attests to. They have all advocated for the need to have citizens who will have the opportunity to help other citizens and have the opportunity to let their voices heard (political participation). In this view, an African citizens knowledge in DCE will help them to embrace all the virtues and tenets of DCE and incorporate it in their everyday lives in their educational systems (school lives), practice it in their communities and eventually institutionalises it in the whole country.

5.8 KEY DCE TENETS: A SYNERGY OF WESTERN AND AFRICAN PHILOSOPHERS

In this section, I analysed some key tenets of DCE as espoused by both Western and African philosophers. Notable DCE tenets discussed were cosmopolitanism, legitimacy, trust, equality, reciprocity, reasonableness, co-operation, collective identity, inclusiveness, participation, collective responsibility, civil engagement, communitarianism, communalism and consensus. However, in this section, I shall highlight the DCE tenets that found their way and space in the discourse of both Western and African philosophers and argue out how African notion of these DCE tenets reconcile with that of the Western.

I shall begin by looking at the concept, *cosmopolitanism/globalisation*. Far from being a new idea, cosmopolitanism has begun to receive more attention in the field of education as interdependency between countries becomes more extensive. According to Benhabib (2006:

15), throughout the realm of globalisation, cosmopolitanism has been described as one of the greatest axioms of our time. To him, good cosmopolitanism adopts a universalistic morality that regards individual human beings of worthy of equally good to be dealt with and respected while societal cosmopolitans emphasise that all cultures can be continuously acquired from other person. For the purposes of this, Benhabib (2006) introduces the concept of democratic iterations in the discourse of cosmopolitanism. By democratic iterations, he means multifaceted procedures of open disagreements, discussions, and conversations in which civil liberties claims are challenged and contextualised, appealed and repealed, theorised and situated during the course of lawful and partisan establishment including other human rights organization. Nussbaum (2000), on the other hand, argues that to become a global individual (cosmopolitan) empowers one to renounce his or her social affections, characteristics or reliance. To Nussbaum, social affections identifies and explains unique characteristics of individuals' that unavoidably affect our interplay with other individuals. To her, a cosmopolitan society is desirous in building a global democracy, although, cosmopolitanism does not involve any form of consciousness – cosmopolitanism as a tool to search for an end to politico-economic awareness – though contemplative, logical discussions of these distinctions are understandable, resemblances recognised and disagreements finally brought down. Nussbaum is of the view that cosmopolitanism has conceivably pinpoint mutual standards that connects cultures beyond local and instant connections.

On the other hand, Appiah (1994) views cosmopolitanism as dual grounded mores: in its buzzword relating universality plus difference. Appiah (1994) suggests that cosmopolitanism first and foremost deals with the theoretical credence of fallibilism, an acknowledgement that might be wrong, once a cautious consideration has been made on the corroboration and enforced on our soaring intellectual capacities. Appiah (1994) suggests that regardless of how fallibilist cosmopolitanism maybe, cosmopolitan discussion covering cultural, political, social, economic and religious partition regardless of widespread transformation: it includes impartation of knowledge, paying attention as well as speaking. Appiah further espouses that cosmopolitanism is universality plus difference, thus to him cosmopolitans possess double opponents: persons who turn down the legitimacy of universality and persons who turn down the legitimacy of difference. Gyekye (2004), however uses the word globalisation to describe cosmopolitanism. To Gyekye (2004) to globalise, is to develop and adopts the mutual unique characteristics of the world by laying out and sharing of thoughts, standards, establishments and the procedures involved. Gyekye (2004) opines that the seeds of globalisation were sown in our common

humanity; in the limitation of human intelligence; in the differences in human talents and endowments and in man's insatiable desire for comfort, better life and happiness in this world.

I therefore argue that the concept cosmopolitanism has assumed similar if not the same interpretation from both the Western and African philosophers. The narratives on cosmopolitanism point to enviable conclusion that humanity may have their differences, there are more to bind us than those that to divide us. For instance, I argue that Benhabib (1996) idea and interpretation of democratic iteration and universalist reconcile with Appiah interpretation of universality and difference. Appiah's (1994) concept of fallibilism also give credence to Nussbaum (2000) that through deliberative democracy distinctions are understandable, resemblances recognised and disagreements finally brought down

Second is the concept of inclusiveness. This is also another tenet of DCE that has captured the attention of Western and African theorists of DCE. Young (2006a:95) describes inclusion in political mien where individuals participate in democratic deliberative activity. She generated an exact likeness of inclusion with an eye on "heterogeneous public engaged in transforming institutions to make them more effective in solving problems justly" (Young, 2006a:12). Young (2006a) espouses that inclusion engage in a significant role of problematising, acknowledging the shortfalls in democracy and envisaging a life-changing prospect. She suggests that inclusion gives an opportunity to interpret and discuss these systemic imbalances or else be disbanded, camouflaged, or strengthened in democratic discourse. Young (2006a) therefore advocates for inclusion in knowledge acquisition where persons of underprivileged groups have opportunities to share their knowledge, wants, viewpoints and opinions in an unlike circumstance where others can apprehend. Young (2006a) emphasises that for democratic education to fulfil its motives for all learners, it should recognise and involve the views of all of learners so as a society should involve all of its individuals.

Gyekye (2004) on the other hand, argues that the idea of inclusion expresses the unique features of democracy. To him, a political structure that is intolerable to accommodate all-inclusive politics ought not to have adequate claims to democracy. Gyekye (2004) therefore advocates for an all-inclusive government which ought to relate to like-mindedness in interactions and autonomous in participatory democracy. Gyekye (2004:23) supports his argument above with the utterance of a Ghanaian traditional sage: "wisdom is not found in the head of one person". This deep-thinking statement indicates, in the midst of other things, that two heads are always better than one when it comes to decision making or in the field of governance, the statement

enjoins leaders and followers of a meeting not to be conservative but rather be prepared to agree to divergent views, condemnations, be ready to find a middle ground in times of dispute and pay heed wise counsel and opinions and facts that may emanate from minority members and opponents. Gyekye (2004) further posits consensus politics as one of the remarkable features of inclusive politics. According to him, the pursuit of the social ideal of solidarity as well as beliefs, recognition of the interest and desires of the entire representatives of country give rise to the notion and practice of consensus. Looking at the narratives of Young (2006a) and Gyekye (2004), they both have similar thoughts in relation to inclusivity of DCE.

I therefore argue that while Young (2006a) on one breath was advocating for everybody including those marginalised to be included in public deliberation, Gyekye (2004) was sharing similar thought by advocating for consensus by way of reaching out to all who matters in public deliberation. They both agree that decisions are best taken when the inputs and opinions of those that the said decision will have implications for their lives are considered and factored.

The third DCE tenet of concern is collective identity. Though this tenet which was used by the Western philosophers and one might not find the same concept (collective identity) among the African philosophers, other concepts (communitarianism and communalism) share almost the same interpretation and meaning. To Benhabib (1996), in explaining collective identity posits that each and every democracy positioned on the proposition that not only individuals are equals equal but unequal's will not be handled equally. According to Benhabib (1996), the term politics of collective identity emphasises the struggles of collective rights over the struggles of wealth, political position and access. To him, democracy entails both homogeneousness and abolition of homogeneousness. Young (2006b) on her part, sees collective identity as a means of encouraging each one of the social groups in a united attempt to work towards fairness. Young (2006b:112) describes "social group" as a collection of individuals different from each one other group through social structures, applications, or culture. Followers of such group have a particular empathy for one another because of their sameness in practice or culture, that has led all members to connect with different members more than with those not recognised with the group.

Wiredu (2007), on the contrary prefers to use communitarianism and communalism instead of collective identity, though they both mean virtually the same. According to Wiredu (2007), a communalistic society describes a situation where interrelationship controls community connections. To Wiredu (2007), through this sort of habitual spill over, here, the feeling of

empathy and unanimity will eventually obtain the group freedom. Additionally, there is unavoidable decrease in one's feeling of acceptance and unanimity, however, this is well fortified to allow persons to have a feeling of certainty. Indeed, according to Wiredu (2001), the character of a communalistic society supports the main connection to the morals of persons in a group. The essential aspect of morality is how to modify one's welfares to the welfares of others even at a conceivable cost of sacrificing oneself. Wiredu (2001), posits that the concept which is implicit to the possibility of a communalistic way of life, although, this is not at most agreeable through the excellent regulation but then comparable to it. Persons in these societies are encouraged to give consideration to not what they will benefit from their community however what the community will benefit from them. Wiredu (2001), makes it clear that an individual decision to deny him or herself certain rights and privileges for the common good does not in any way make individuals' rights and privileges inferior to that of the masses. Wiredu (2001) makes the claim that connection is decently proportional. Regarding forgoing exposition on collective identity and communitarianism.

I argue that though these concepts might mean differently on the superficial level, however they have the same implicit meaning and interpretation. For instance, Benhabib (1996) in explaining collective identity advanced the idea of homogeneity (oneness). Young (2006b) on her view on collective identity advocated for social group where members of such group share affinity with one another. Wiredu (2007), however in explaining communitarianism as implicit in the concept is the sense of belonging and solidarity. In the nutshell, these theorists (Western and Africa) in essence all converge on the thought that collective identity and communitarianism rest on proposition that not only individuals are equals equal but unequal's will be handled equally.

The fourth DCE tenet of interest is participation. This concept found its way in the discourse of deliberated democracy by Young (2006a), though her African counterparts prefer to use civil engagement and consensus instead. To Young (2006a) individuals who are connected in inclusive democratic activities should acquire knowledge on how to participate in democratic endeavours. Young (2006c) says a decent citizen must not only be acquainted with the rules, cast well-informed votes, and try to clasp their chosen leaders answerable. They also must be prepared to guide disagreement and solve collectively through established order. To her, when an individual is intrinsically motivated to take part in political activity, it is described as an acceptance of consciousness and commitment to the democratic actions. She suggests that

central to inclusive democracy is a process of how individuals should be included in the deliberation and decision-making. Young (2006a) espouses that an integration of different viewpoints in the discussion and decision-making in democratic inclusion intent to inscribe the analysis of democracy. This is not the only way of acknowledging and enticing marginalised persons and groups but also recommends that through democratic activities, problems relating to those advantaged and situationality are interpreted.

According to Gyekye (2004), political value of consultation or conferring postulates civil-engagement as a very important feature in the concept of DCE. To him, agreement alongside conciliation, seems to be a partisan virtuousness rigorously followed in traditional councils' meetings and considered vital to the practice of democracy in most traditional African political systems. Gyekye (2004) asserts that civil engagement allows and gives all persons to be open-mindedness, chance to freely express themselves, encourages fortitude and shared consent that are essential in democratic practice. Wiredu (2001) on his part, emphasises that democracy is government through agreement yet agreement could be established in numerous courses of actions, thus by drugging, misleading, hypnotising, inducing, indoctrinating, or convincing the established order.

Wiredu (2001), however believes that individuals can reach a final agreement through a legally acceptable means. Wiredu (2001) emphasises that consensus generally entails a posture of multiplicity. Since the matter in question at every time do not polarise views alongside strict lines contradiction. In such a situation, conversation could possibly be use to smooth the edges and bring about agreement pleasing to everyone, or not many, unpleasant to some. Wiredu (2001), therefore suggest that in a situation where individuals are determined to reach agreement, interchange of views can help avoid dissent, helping to reach consent unaccompanied by agreed thoughts.

With regard to Young's (2006b) interpretation of participation, Gyekye (2004) and Wiredu (2001) views on civil engagement are all similar. I argue that Young's (2006b) idea of integrating numerous viewpoints through discussion and decision-building is similar to Gyekye's (2004) and Wiredu's (2001) ideas of consultation or conferring and consensus or dialogue during decision-making.

5.9 RECONCEPTUALIZATION OF DCE IN AFRICA

Following my discourse analysis of the Western and African views on DCE tenets and their reconciliation, in this section the discussion will be centered on the reconceptualization or distinctiveness of DCE in Africa and its tenets as an extension of the views of these renowned African philosophers, such as Appiah (1994), Gyekye (2004), Waghid (2009), Wiredu (2007), Dzobo (1974), Mbiti (1970) and Menkiti (2004). Here, particular emphasis will be made on their articulations on the following distinctiveness of DCE in Africa namely; civil-engagement, communitarianism, cosmopolitanism or globalisation, inclusiveness, participation and ubuntu. This will enable me towards critiquing the limits over which DCE tenets in Africa are based. This reconceptualised notion of DCE tenets in Africa will help address problems associated with Junior high education (basic education) teaching and learning in the Ghana education policy document. This is necessary because of the unique differences in social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds that impact Africa especially Ghanaians and other global concerns on DCE.

By cross-examining the broad-based DCE and the its distinctives in Africa DCE in becoming, I am on the conviction that both DCE in becoming and the existing theories of these African theorist above can put up towards introducing public reorganization via the attainment of impartiality, entrée, inclusivity, participation, civil-engagement, reciprocity, independence, abstract thought, comprehension and open-mindedness of varied thoughts and knowledges.

5.9.1 Ubuntu as Potentiality of DCE in Becoming

Ubuntu as a concept is a potent African ideological philosophy which can guide education in Ghana. I theorise that this concept has lots of viewpoint that have found their way in the involving conceptualisation of DCE and this has all the characteristics and the requisite element that can guarantee quality education in Ghana and Africa at large. I am convinced beyond reproach that the concept Ubuntu was and has the necessary catalyst to reorient and impact educational policy formulation and implementation in Africa. The concept Ubuntu is the foremost Africa idea of survival which doubles as the transcendent bases from majority of Africa community (Kamwangamulu, 1999:7).

I support Benhabib's (1996) description of Ubuntu as a concept that unearths human worth and their culture. Indeed, it shares more light on memories on a given society who peacefully coexist amidst the era of technological explosion. Waghid (2010) relates Ubuntu to "human interdependence through deliberative inquiry … that exists in most of African languages,

although not necessarily under the same name" (Waghid, 2010:76). Put differently the concept of Ubuntu is an ancient idea of human revolution which with the passage has been adopted by majority of societies as the guiding concept that mediates human relationship and communication in Africa specifically in conflict prone areas. In other words, with the ranging controversy surrounding African understanding of the concept Ubuntu. Some philosophers speak against the potentiality and the efficacy of the concept Ubuntu serving as the panacea to African challenges (Enslin & Horsthemke, 2004:545). Others also find the concept to be potent and worth wide African idea (Letseka, 2011) that needs to be utilised to resuscitate education and humanity specifically in the direction of compassion (Waghid & Smeyers, 2012); to create the awareness of friendliness (Waghid, 2014:92); and the repercussions these may have for reconciliatory reasons (Ntamushobora, 2012).

In an attempt to define the concept Ubuntu in an African context, Mbiti (1970:141), a Kenyan philosopher refers to an individual survival and personality as "I am because we are". This is the African's philosophy that defines his world view about life: I am because you are, and you because of me – this is ubuntu. This adage espouses the essential belief of shared open-mindedness and interdependence. This is the world view of the African essentially defined by compassion, humane humanity, co-operation and self-help. It is not as if the African is not competitive; his competitive urge is defined and driven by this very perspective on life. In other words, Mbiti was of the opinion that an individual source of livelihood and safety of humankind emanates after co-operation through the public. According to Menkiti (2004:330), it is this kind of relationship that leads to the moral sense of the description of a human person in the African context. Africans have been accommodating and staying together as one people in a community of diverse background in terms of tribes, race, religion, language and ethnicity but still rely on one another for their survival. This makes an individual African to realises the need for commonality in human existence an epitome of moral existence.

I would therefore be tempted to say that Ubuntu can been seen as an interdependency relationship between individual person and the community as a whole. According to Menkiti (2004:330), this kind of association triggers the ethical wisdom of the depiction of a person in the African context. In context, the community here refers to the spaces the community provides in terms of human actions, customs, guidelines and authority from which an individual develops his or her morality. The implication here is that the survival of an individual is based on the existence of others. This really means that recognising the existence of others with others and

for others certainly forms the potentiality for the likelihood of DCE. The concept Ubuntu can further be likened to the vivid interpretation and narration by Wiredu (2004) and Gyekye (1987) on the Akan's view of a person. Wiredu (1996) espouses from his research that a person is made of three inseparable components.

To Wiredu, the first part is called blood (mogya) whiles Gyekye (1987) called body (honam). The second part is made of the soul and the spirit which they both refer to as the (okra) and the (sunsum) respectively. They both described the 'okra' as an innate element given by god, an innermost being and immortal. On the other hand, the 'sunsum' is the spirit inherited from the father, it is mortal and perishes or stays with the soul. The final element was called 'honam and mogya' by Gyekye (1987) and Wiredu (1996) respectively which indicates a person's clan identity and portrays that a new person has arrived from the mother's lineage.

From the above discourse analysis, it evident that Wiredu (1996:158) concurs the description and importance, respect and the value of human dignity one should offer in the understanding of a person an implication for the analysis of the involvedness towards human soul in African milieu. His conception of a person further explains the relationship between matrilineal kinship and the community of people who are widely separated geographically. He also noted how the Akan's community had an inclusive form government in their traditional set-up. A situation where citizens had the opportunity to enjoy political equality, participation and reasonableness.

The narrations indicate the unique role community plays in moulding the personality of an individual, an indication of DCE in the process of in becoming. This is because the totality of individual person was unknown but the inculcation of communal values and norms gives hope for the development of a democratic citizenry.

Here, one is of the opinion that Akan's understanding of a person gives a reflection of Ubutuness. This is vividly so, especially in the way it involves the father, mother and the gods in the development of a person, by inculcating the spirit of care, congruence, friendliness, reverence and collective receptiveness in the individuals' persons existence in the society. More, so if these were the qualities of an African especially among the Akan's in Ghana in nurturing a person, then why do we still have social inequalities, social neglect and more ethnic violence in Africa? This is what Africa philosophers should address. According to Wiredu (1980) and Oruka (1983), the concept of violence is less spoken about in the philosophical literature among Africa philosophers.

In the nutshell, I am of the opinion that Ubuntu in Ghana's education system can used as a pedagogy in teaching and learning. Africans value the existence of community for the survival of individuals' life which calls for group and co-operative learning. Here it calls for the development in the society virtues like respect, hospitality and acceptance of diverse background. The concept Ubuntu connotes that African education must welcome and encourage all-inclusiveness, with the ultimate aim to obtaining high moral standards in schools, uplift and build on the capacity of individual intellect by shaping public discourse and taking a centre stage in policy direction in a process of decision making for the well-being of all and sundry.

5.9.2 Civil-engagement as Potentiality of DCE in Becoming

One of the presumptions of a viable democracy is how citizens participate in the life of their community and nation. Civil engagement is a concept with complexity of meanings and approaches. Here I will discuss this concept alongside evolving themes of DCE in becoming which has the potentiality essential for education in Africa. According to Waghid (2014); Waghid and Davids (2013), education drives on instructional interactions and connections in whatever is remarkable as a potential for DCE in becoming. Here, I based my argument on the account of civil-engagement by Callan (2016), Derrida (1988), Waghid (2010) and Gyekye (2004) as espoused in the early part of this chapter.

According to Gyekye (2004:64), these two political values of consultation and conferring postulates civil-engagement as a very important feature in the concept of DCE in becoming. To him, ideas and benefits about democracy, like those about the nature of a person, society, God, human destiny, were in preliterate cultural setting of African's historical part given conceptual formulation in proverbs as well as in artistic expressions. For example, in examining these two Akan proverbs; (i) One head does not go into council, (ii) wisdom does not reside in a single head, one can testify that the two proverbs express the political value of consultation, the idea that deliberation or civil-engagement by several heads (minds) on matters of public concern is always better than deliberation by just one. Since the proverbs clearly implies, every person has some ability to think and to think about, in this case matters affecting the whole state or community. It would be presumptuous for one person to assume the right to think or deliberate for all others. Derrida (1988:632) conception of friendship and mutuality can be likened to the contemporary understanding of civil-engagement and goes on to depict the positive role of friendship to citizens engagement with others. For example, this Aristotelian conception of

friendship suggests that human beings are regarded as human beings through deliberate engagement with others.

According to Derrida (1988:632), “the friend is the person who loves and declares his or her love before being the person who is loved”. He defines honest friend and relationship as someone or something that is extremely comradely than the brother (Derrida, 1988:632). He clarifies further by saying anyone in friendly relationship is more inclined to show fondness to the other purposeful, instead of extemporaneously to gain feelings and impressions with the intention of satiating the enthusiasm (Derrida, 1988:633). Waghid (2010a:59) compares the Aristotelian notion of friendship to a modern appreciation of self-governing exercise. In the classroom teaching and learning, teachers should create an enabling environment that will results in friendship and love between the teacher and the learners. This gives a clear signal to the learners that their teacher loves and care for them, and this single act has the propensity to ignite the inquisitive abilities in learners in a way that they may begin to demonstrate their hidden talents and capabilities to the amazement of their teacher (Waghid, 2010a: 53).

In view of this Waghid (2010a) admonishes teachers to demystify their classroom dealings and engagement with learners to encourage the learners to take the centre stage in the teaching and learning enterprise so that the learners can take steps to conceive issues outside the scope of their study. Teachers who engage learners in an atmosphere of friendliness not only succeed in aiding the learners to excel in diverse ways but also to become aware of the learner’s superiority and exceptionality. By so doing learners goes the extra mile to conjecture and discover newer opportunities because they have developed perfect self-concept.

Wiredu (1995:53), in confirming to the views of Gyekye (2004) and others on the concept of civil-engagement as a potentiality DCE in Africa in becoming, commented that decision-making in ancient African governance was based primarily on consensus. Similar to all broad views on composite matters, it could be reasonable to deal it with caution. However, ample evidence suggests that decision-making by consent (civil-engagement) was time and again the norm and principle in all African considerations. Consequently, it was not needles exaggeration at the time Kaunda (the constitutionally overthrew Zambian’s President) maintained that, "In our original societies we operated by consensus. An issue was talked out in solemn until such time as agreement could be achieved" or at the time Nyerere (1968:20), the former Tanzania’s President, also emphasized that "… in African society the traditional method of conducting affairs by free discussion" and again, a quote by Guy Clutton-Brock which said, “The elders sit

under the big trees and talk until agree". As luck would have it, all statements were espoused in a tacit agreement and support of a unitary system. Because of this, Wiredu highlights an essential statement on the importance of the need to reach compromise in African deliberations. He emphasises that the dependence on compromise is not a uniquely partisan event.

According to Waghid (2005:340), civil-engagement as a tenet in DCE in Africa manifests itself in the political manifestoes in South Africa. This DCE tenet offers the citizenry educational approaches that ensure the advancement of the ideals of the constitution by fostering the principles of communication, participation and civil engagement in schools with the aim to creating the platform for free speech (US Department of Education [DoE], 2001: 40). Waghid (2005) agrees that political manifestoes that foster a belief in exchange of ideas should not take place at the instance the expression of members in discourse because of irresponsible expressions. According to Waghid (2005), 'safe expression' ought to mean an appropriate speech devoid of vengeance and persecution. To him teachers and learners determined to foster and instil compassion have to show respect and be civil because respect obliges an individual not only to speak freely but also sensibly. This suggest that unrestricted speech should not resemble what Gutmann (2003:200) calls "an unconstrained license to discriminate", only then will one action be considered responsible.

Put differently the permit to unrestricted and unimpeded speech stops when discrimination against persons start. An individual cannot be said to be courteous and respectful, critical and just and if he or she suggest an opinion that is difficult to be discerned from discounting a group of persons, that is showing open biasness covetously (for the most part persons, in society who are extremely defenceless and lack the exact free will as those who are discounting them) because of factors like gender, race, sexual orientation, ethnicity and religion (Gutmann, 2003:200). Waghid (2009:400) emphasises that becoming civil centres on individuals' abilities to curtailing our reckless expressions. It is just through this means that we can move in an arena of eclectic prospect of linking all Africans in the ultimate goal to achieving civil engagement. But an appropriate speech is not an epitome of 'safe expression'. To him, an appropriate speech signifies engaging in confrontational act while safe expression seeks to prevent anguish and embarrassment to a person which can also be through retribution and victimisation.

Waghid (2009) advocates for manifestoes that promote the notion of 'safe expression' in view of the fact that teachers and learners should sidestep hostility and anguish and should rather foster civil engagements in their classroom discussions. Such an opinion on 'safe expression'

has the ingredient to work against the true meaning of discussions. Basically 'safe expression' by way of sidestepping hostility and embarrassment has the tendency to condense the wave of discussions including stopping persons from adventure. To Waghid (2009:402), if debaters are cautious about safe expression, they will be hesitant in adventuring by way of teachers and learners antagonising each other during discussions. This notion of civil engagement with which Waghid (2009:403) espouses, thus where no individual is permitted to mute the opposition and where persons are entitled to free speech and when teachers and learners are also entitled to free speech, they will be in a position to adventure with view to placing them satisfactorily along the lines of bettering fairness in their community. Teachers and learners who are better positioned to speak all arrays of including poverty and racism in their community do so on the bases championing egalitarian impartiality. They demonstrate friendship in their quest to guarantee freedom of expression, thus appropriate expression contrary to safe expression.

5.9.3 Inclusivity as Potentiality of DCE in Becoming

In this section, I discuss on the concept of inclusivity as one of the DCE tenets in Africa. Africans have their own conceptions of democratic citizenship which is manifested in various forms of governance. A reconceptualization view of inclusiveness as DCE in becoming in African context would have to involve the identification of these related terminologies of; social difference, power, identity and culture. In our present day-to-day classroom interactions, we encounter with learners from different social backgrounds. Here, the school should not be seen as a simply site of knowledge but also a place to shaped the exigencies of history, politics, and self-location of our children. The identification of who our learners are, their relative identities and histories, the cultures and experiences that they bring to the school system, and the interplay of culture, history and location in shaping educational outcomes is very paramount.

Gyekye (2013:241) arguing in favour of inclusiveness among the populace, emphasizes that the idea of inclusion is the essential element of equality that is principal to the exercise of egalitarianism. Thus, a democratic establishment that does not give way for inclusive government cannot be considered as practicing modern democracy. Consequently, it is reasonable to champion inclusive government that governs by consensus, bipartisanship and participatory democracy. Gyekye (2013) corroborated his assertion with one of the widely publicized Ghanaian traditional adage, which say: "wisdom is not found in the head of one person". This deep-thinking statement indicates, in the midst of other things, that two heads are

always better than one when it comes to decision making or in the field of governance, the statement enjoins leaders and followers of a meeting not to be conservative but rather be prepared to agree to divergent views, condemnations, be ready to find a middle ground in times of dispute and pay heed wise counsel and opinions and facts that may emanate from minority members and opponents.

Gyekye (2013:242) further articulates that there is a perceived relationship between politics of inclusion and bipartisanship. To him, this argument is justifiable when critical thought is given to the opinions of others, for the most part persons at the other side of the political divide and incorporate these ideas in the programmes that will eventually come from the government in power. This politics of all-inclusiveness guarantee bipartisan deliberations from members of the government in power and those of the opposition on all matters of national interest. On the contrary, it is very difficult to foster mutual deliberations due to sharp philosophical differences when it comes to governance. Indeed, the result of sharp ideological difference is what John Kuffour, Ghana's former president, referred to as "excessive partisanship" during the commemoration of Ghana's 49th Independence Day anniversary (Gyekye, 2013:242).

Excessive partisanship disregards cooperation and conciliation. It gives birth to governance of elimination not of all-inclusiveness and mutuality. Gyekye (2013:243) adopts the term consensus politics as one of the remarkable features of inclusive politics. According to him, the pursuit of the social ideal of solidarity as well as beliefs in the distinctiveness of the interest and desires of both the majority and minority members in a meeting give rise to the notion and practice of consensus. Beliefs in, and the pursuit of, the partisan and ethical ideals of equal opportunity and reverence divergent opinions can also lead to consensus. Gyekye (2013) in support of consensus further explains that consensus guarantees freedom of expression and also ensures that individuals can argue their case out without fear of persecution and intimidation. It upholds patience, reciprocal forbearance and a demeanour of compromise, altogether are paramount for all-encompassing governance exercise whereby each person is required to be an agent of change or be ready to alter his or her thought in the face of more compelling point of views by others.

On the contrary, Waghid's (2005:324) concept of participation as tenet of DCE in Africa can be likened to the ideas of inclusivity of DCE in becoming. Here, Waghid (2005:325), espouses that enlightening the populace to believe egalitarianism entails creating the awareness of the liberty to partisan involvement, the liberty to hold certain portfolios and carry out certain

responsibilities, and the liberty to discuss and take decision on certain issues (Benhabib, 2002:162). Waghid (2005:325) emphasises that the populace have to be enlightened on why they cannot sit aloof and deny themselves the right to occupy sensitive offices and carry out sensitive assignments by virtue of their ethnic dissimilarities. Every citizen by constitutional provision need not to be spectator but an active citizen who is at liberty to express his or her views on a matter and be allowed to justify his or her line of thinking in the atmosphere courteous unrestricted platform of culturally diverse consideration and opposition (Benhabib, 2002:130). This points toward the fact that we are duty-bound to be familiar with the liberties of learners which include the right to free speech and to participate in ethical discussion, and in this discourse they ought to be given an equal same privileges to a number of language performances, to start fresh themes and to seek for explanation of the premises of the discussion (Benhabib, 2002:107). Only then do learners become participants in an educative process underpinned by democratic citizenship.

Once again, it seems as if the values in the *Manifesto* resonate with such a view of democratic citizenship on the grounds that people build consensus and understand the difference on the basis of 'debate, discussion, and critical thought' (US DoE, 2001:3). To this the school should therefore inculcate the values in inclusiveness that will necessitates educators to deal with the challenges, possibilities and opportunities entailed in having different bodies in their schools and classrooms for debates and discussion that will involve all learners. This is why Young (2006a:101) champions that all-inclusive governance must decompose persons and groups right to education, programme, quality teachers, and resources.

5.9.4 Cosmopolitanism and Globalization as Potentiality of DCE in Becoming

Here, I will reflect and interrogate the views of Africa philosophers on their conception of cosmopolitanism from the African context of DCE in becoming. We are now in a global world where communication and technological development has made it easy for people to connect and access information from distance places in the world. Globalisation has made more individuals in this generation to develop high sense of belonging to the whole world rather than to their locality, and this interconnectedness has also result in more conflicts in our time between cultures especially in African countries like; Zimbabwe, Kenyan, Nigeria and Ghana just to mention a few.

Gyekye (2013) in affirming to the two concepts (cosmopolitanism and globalisation) existence in the African context of DCE in becoming uses the word globalisation to describe cosmopolitanism as a DCE concept. According to Gyekye (2013:118), to globalise, is to turn out to be an ordinary or exceptional icon and vessel of the universe through which notions, morals, organisations, procedures or means of doing things are disseminated and propagated. To him, the notion of "becoming" points toward globalisation as a mechanism will eventually trigger the spreading of notions, morals, practices, viewpoints, stances all over the world or much of it. The uniqueness of the concept "globalisation" signifies a new process. Globalisation has been with us for centuries. Gyekye (2013) suggests that other philosopher may perhaps as Appiah in a few words describe the history of the human species "as a process of globalisation".

Appiah (2006) in explaining the concept of cosmopolitanism, argued from his book, "Cosmopolitanism: Ethics in a world of strangers" that people should be encouraged to peacefully co-exist. To him, modern civilization is interested on our differences instead of our commonalities. Appiah (2006:13) articulates that the idea of cosmopolitanism integrates two differences. At the outset, is the notion that persons have responsibilities towards others (the same way the others have to the persons), responsibilities that move away from our relatives, or even the more recognized connections of a collective social responsibility. Secondly, persons are critical on the worth not just of human life, but of specific lives, which suggests having an interest in the practices and beliefs that lend them significance. The suggestion is that a cosmopolitanism environment exhibits different persons, there is the need to be cautious of our differences. For that matter, there are so many prospects to explore, people should not think that every society should have the same commonality of life.

Appiah is of the view that persons ought to understand other persons in other areas, be passionate about their civilisations, their point of views, their mistakes and their successes, not for the reason that this will guarantee agreement among citizenship, but for it will ensure that citizens become familiar with one another. The populaces will be able to understand each other, or may perhaps be interested by different means of reasoning, sensing and behaving. For example, Ghana, similar to lots of countries in Africa, is endowed with ethnic multiplicity. This does present varied personality, but presents dissimilar traits looking at other countries and continents. Ghana as a country is blessed diverse ethnic background in terms of language, dressing, food, beliefs and from different people stay together peacefully. In this era of cosmopolitanism, Ghanaians have a duty to be aware of, appreciate and show reverence to all

manner of person, based on race, class, ethnicity, culture, etc to be able to peacefully co-exist and tackle communal challenges problems together. This alike will be able to be implemented in the school set up, that accommodate learners who come from diverse cultural backgrounds and find themselves under the same roof and learning environment. These learners are "citizens of the world" (Appiah, 2006:16) and ought to be able to pick up and appreciate the morals of others. Learners come to appreciate persons from diverse background, their way of thinking and importance of their pasts and dissimilarities.

Gyekye (2013:124) further opines that genesis of globalisation found it way in our collective civilization; in the limitation of human astuteness; in the dissimilarities in human abilities and talents and an individual's limitless appetite for security, improved life and contentment in this world. In other words, Gyekye (2013) says our collective identity orients people in the direction shared ethics, or fundamental necessities, championing collective wishes, anticipations and aims that we consider primarily as human and fostering our human fulfilment. He is also of the opinion that globalisation has assumed to have involved in some basic ideals that the citizens of the world ascribe to, certain fundamental necessities that they need to have if they desire enjoy a nominally acceptable and tolerable life here on earth. An individual's limitless effort for his or her everyday relaxation in turn provokes the craving to search beyond his or her personality, cultural neighbourhoods to safeguard his or her wishes. This, according to Gyekye (2013:124), point toward the fact that the effects of globalisation are embedded in the distinctiveness of human kinds.

Another African philosopher who supports Appiah (2006) and Gyekye's (2013) ideas is Waghid. Waghid (2004) suggests that societies by far have set up cosmopolitanism as some virtuous good that cannot be repudiated. Waghid (2004) emphasises that if cosmopolitanism cannot be unrelated to virtue, then, following Cavell (1979) the possibility does exist that cosmopolitanism cannot be unrelated to un-virtue. For instance, if acting hospitality is considered a virtuous practice, the possibility exists that being inhospitable towards others can be said to be an un-virtuous practice from which cosmopolitanism perhaps cannot be unrelated. According to Waghid (2004:525), all claims about cosmopolitanism suggest that the notion cannot be separated from virtue and perhaps rightfully so.

To Waghid (2004:525), if one considers the Kantian view that cosmopolitanism signifies 'the right of hospitality' that belongs to all human beings insofar as we view them as potential participants in a world republic (Benhabib, 2006:13), then cosmopolitanism entails a moral or

virtuous claim. This right to hospitality, Benhabib (2006:13) argues, "imposes an obligation on the political sovereign, by prohibiting states from denying refuge and asylum to those whose intentions are peaceful and if refusing them sojourn would result in their demise". In this sense, Waghid (2004:525) claims cosmopolitanism invokes the moral and seems to be related to virtue. But then, following Cavell (1979:45), cosmopolitanism as a construct needs to tolerate disallowance, that is, the likelihood that hostilities can ascend. It makes available the opportunity for individuals to enjoy their freedom responsibly. "It provides a door through which someone alienated can return by the offering of and the acceptance of explanation, excuses, and justifications, or by the respect, one human being will show another who sees and accepts the responsibility for a position which he would not adopt" (Cavell, 1979:37).

In this way, according to Waghid (2004:526), it may be possible the that cosmopolitanism might be unconnected to ethics, and therefore connected to un-virtue or an act that may continuously remain inconsistent by way of whatever that is demanded of an individual who behaves for instance as a cosmopolitan being. This un-virtuous interaction with others become likely for the reason that people think through cosmopolitanism as not above criticism. This is undoubtedly not the reason when it speaks contrary to what Cavell (1979:40) talks about as "the newest evil", which is, showing mercy to the unmerciful.

To Waghid (2004:526), an impression is created that the objectives of DCE are constrained apparently because the objectives think through behaviours solely emanating from individual's vantage point and this calls for deliberate steps in favour of respond other nationals and groups. The argument therefore is can cosmopolitanism spread out the DCE objectives? Although democratic citizenship operates generally in the confines of its followers, highlighting the citizens' sense of duty and obligations towards other persons and groups, cosmopolitanism acknowledges the civil liberties of others to worldwide friendliness, thus different individuals are entitled to be kindly catered for. The privilege of kindness enforces a responsibility on countries and citizens that are democratic should always be ready to create safe haven for persons who come with peaceful intents, for the most part, on the condition that saying no to them can jeopardize their lives (Benhabib, 2006:13).

Waghid (2004:28) suggests that in principle, cosmopolitanism and its accompanying objective of friendliness which have to be understood by the entire populaces in numerous angles that supplement the sense of duty and obligations connected to the actions of egalitarian populations. Indeed, the impression is created that Waghid's (2004:28) assertion in favour of

cosmopolitanism gives credence to the fact that social conscience has failed to raise legitimate claims on the parts of populaces, for the most part migrants and other disadvantaged groups. Waghid (2004:29) argument for cosmopolitanism looks as if it has merely ethical principle and that populaces need not automatically enjoy the privileges approved by nation states. Put differently, migrants and disadvantaged groups are legitimately denied the opportunity to enjoy their rights. Waghid (2004:30) claims that a panacea to such an unfortunate spectacle is that worldwide human rights deliberations have to be factored into a cosmopolitan notion of citizenship. Thus, worldwide human rights make available a speculative foundation for cosmopolitan citizens. For instance, Waghid (2004:30) suggests that it is absurd to contrary be opposed to the statement that a Universal Declaration of Human Rights as championed by the United Nations ought to guarantee legitimate privileges. Granting that such an opinion would appear weak, for the reason that human rights should not reasonably be a speculative foundation for cosmopolitan citizenship due to the fact that human rights deliberations are situated in a Universalist point of view, unlike that of citizenship which is situated in a more particularistic point of view.

Waghid (2004:30) holds the opinion that reasonableness for all populaces should realistically be safeguarded if universal human right could be implemented by countries to bring about a formidable form of cosmopolitanism. Waghid (2004:32) believes that the implementation of human rights deliberations should not essentially be theoretically distinctive to cosmopolitan citizenship, and the conflicting of human rights with citizenship should not be as theoretically illogical. Indeed, Waghid suggests that a Universal Declaration of Human Rights should advance the enablement and serious involvement of populaces in the framework of partisan environment.

5.9.5 Communitarianism as Potentiality of DCE in Becoming

There are several views which has been expressed by African philosophers in the understanding of the concept of African Communitarianism. Most of these views expressed tried to likening this concept to the relationship between individual and the community as a whole. According to Mbiti (1969:108-109), in contributing to the understanding of communitarianism in Africa context gave this expression: “In traditional life, the individual does not and cannot exist alone except corporately. He owes this existence to other people, including those of past generations and his contemporaries. He is simply part of the whole.” The community must therefore make, create, or produce a person who is influenced by community whatever happens to the individual

has an effect on the entire community, and whatsoever takes place in the community has a ripple effect the person. The person will able to just say "I am, because we are; and since we are therefore, I am". This is the principal step in appreciating the concept of man from the African perspective. Mbiti's claim was supported by Dzobo's (1992:132) when he gave powerful expression: *"we are, therefore I am, and since I am, therefore we are."* What it means is that any benefit that the community accrued invariably also benefit the individual, because the two are mutually interwoven. The survival of the individual depends on the community as well. Menkiti (1984) seems to concur the view expressed by Mbiti (1969) on the dependence and reliance of the community over individual when he outlines the unique role of the community as that of producing and breeding an all-round person relies solely on the entire community. This form of communitarianism espoused by these philosophers mentioned above has some form of limitations when it comes to concept of DCE.

More so, Wiredu (2007:34) in supporting the views expressed by some Africa philosophers postulated that the rule underpinning the selections of a collective society, nevertheless, remains not just friendly following the ideal situation, nonetheless as well akin to it. Persons in these societies are obliged to reason along the lines of they can benefit from their societies not the other way round, thus what their society can benefit from them. Simply put, the person's happiness is to be moderated to those of the large society, likewise those of the larger society moderate it's to that of the person. It is exactly the same point of view in the maxim of ethical enthusiasm: "be ready to abridge your interests so that they can harmonise with the common interest". This certainly cannot be a rule of the renunciation of a person's happiness, for the reason that it affords all persons to be duty bound to ensure continuously other individuals become a beneficiary to their altruistic nature. Precisely the similar fact of the communalistic imperative.

Interestingly, Wiredu (2008:333) argues that despite Nkrumah and Nyerere point of departure on collective preposition, both viewed African collectivism as a guaranteed underpinning of their thoughts with regards to national rebuilding. The phrase "African socialism" is often used to summarize these viewpoints. Notwithstanding the fact that it negates considerable diversity of thinking. This articulates a fundamental cohesion, to be exact, the idea that African traditional society share some semblance with socialism. Thus, Nkrumah (1970:70) asserts that communalism is "the social-political ancestor of socialism" "Socialism has characteristics in common with communalism, just as capitalism is linked with feudalism and slavery. In

socialism the principles underlying communalism are given expression in modern circumstances". Nyerere, likewise commented on "traditional communalism" (Nyerere 1968:87) and stated excitedly that "We in Africa, have no more need of being 'converted' to socialism than we have of being 'taught' democracy. Both are rooted in our own past, in the traditional society that produced us" (1968:12).

Moreover, Menkiti (2004:334) opines that African communitarianism fails to give the young and the older the same kind of recognition in the process of making decisions and choices. Here children are regarded as infant who have not achieve their fullest potentiality and therefore do not need to enjoy equal freedom in terms of thoughts, desires and speech just like adults. This has the potentiality of affecting the day-to-day management of school administration where top management adopts top to down style of communication in decision-making because of their regards for children as 'incomplete' human beings. However, this viewpoint of children as incomplete human beings was criticised by Gyekye (1997:59), where he maintains that individuals enjoy some level of inherent rights despite the natural social order which places individuals inside a classification of collective principles and practices.

According to Menkiti (2004:25), Western opinions on personhood as understated because they subscribe to the idea that a person is unaided and a single, he/she is not situated with reference to the larger community (Menkiti, 1984:190). This is viewpoint however is contrary to Rawls' (1999:11) stance and argument that each person is endowed with the capability to transform to an ethical person not because personhood is given meaning by the community. Rawls disparages the African standpoint of freedom and justice, and manner the public describes it. Rawls additionally alludes to that the society is allowed to play a cardinal part in the affairs an individual because the individual comes to be known as a public person who is given meaning by the community.

Menkiti (2004) and Menkiti's (1984) conformist communitarianism is narrow-minded to other individuals who share no memberships with the group. The difficult associated with conformist communitarianism as highlighted by Nussbaum is that they are enable to accept and recognize persons who share no membership with the group possibly because of racism, ethnicity and religious conflicts (Nussbaum, 1997: 69). Different to this understated idea of citizenship, open-minded communitarians put forward an education that nurtures and encourages decision-making among the youth and cultivate a logic of equal opportunity, democracy and collective

reasonableness by doing away with racial discrimination, chauvinism and homophobia in children (Steyn, 2001:116).

Waghid corroborates this at what time he discerns that considerable part of communitarian stresses education interconnects appropriately with John Dewey's thoughts of democratic education and the equal opportunities nature of the society (Waghid, 2008:197). Gyekye (1995) disagrees with Menkiti's (2004) authoritarian communitarianism by emphasizing that the latter's opinions are disingenuous because he pays no attention to dynamics including reasonableness, virtue, appraisal of ethical decisions and action that so critical in defining personhood in Africa. The point of departure Gyekye's (1995) temperate communitarianism as against the authoritarian communitarianism of Menkiti (2004) and Mbiti's (1970) include Gyekye's opinions on communitarian principles which seek to merge a person's civil liberties using the idea of community wellbeing.

Despite the fact that Gyekye admits that persons have fellow-feeling towards others due to the fact that they are from the same community, he rebuts Mbiti (1970) and Menkiti's (2004) idea that persons are exclusively giving identity by the community by saying that "It is a mistake to conclude that there are no individual dimensions to personhood in Africa" (Gyekye, 1995: 38). Community, according to Gyekye (1995), sources its benefits from the individual, implying that the connection among the individual and the community is offshoot and not most important as put forward by Menkiti (2004). The persons are always at liberty decides to be part of the community or not. The community likewise permits a person to develop to the fullest his or her capability and assume a unique identity in the public view short of short-changing his or her motivation.

Gyekye (1995) raises that argument that identical ethical principle needs to be followed and adhered to by both the community and the individual. For that reason, he recommends the principle of equiprimordiality which buttresses his view on communitarian ethic. It is not without merit for one to think that the community requires the services of the individual for its improvement, likewise the individual relies on the community to accomplish his or her objectives. Gyekye's (1995) point of views are that both individual and community ideals and wellbeing ought to be accorded the same courtesy. His objective is to lessen the disparity that exist between extreme individualism and extreme communitarianism. For that reason, reasonable communitarians (Appiah, 1992; Gyekye, 1995) are not hesitant to unearth that the discrepancy between the individual and the community will be erased simply via education for

democratic citizenship. Learners need to be involved in democracy deliberations regardless of their racial difference, religious affiliation or sexual characteristics (Appiah, 1992). Gyekye (1995) and Appiah's (1992) critique on conformist idea of education of sensitizing persons to contest alongside each one for measurable and representational gains for the reason that they further the course of individualism in their understandings of personhood. According to Gyekye (1995), laying emphasis on the ideals and wellbeing of a community at the detriment of individual ideals and wellbeing or vice versa is a complete blunder. The notion of equiprimordiality seeks to agree with the idea of the "natural sociality" of a person, on one hand and the thought of "individuality", on the other (Gyekye, 1995:45). This involves accepting the assertions that communitarian philosophers and liberal philosophers together consider a person's wishes and public ideals (Gyekye, 1995:45). Different to Menkiti's (2004) opinion that personhood is gotten, Gyekye (1987; 1998) postulates that in Africa the word 'person' is equivocal because it has more than a few connotations. Waghid (2006) shares similar feeling when he says again that for an individual to turn out to be a person who depict standards of human actions similar to kind-heartedness, empathy, magnanimity, thoughtfulness and reverence for other people (Waghid, 2002:461).

Gyekye's (1995) moderate communitarianism is subject to multiculturalism that typifies the African continent. He was of the opinion that the incorporation of a person's civil liberties alongside the idea of a communitarian beliefs in solving the socio-political and cultural challenges that threaten the culturally diverse communities in Africa. The sense I get from Gyekye's (1987; 1998) argument is that every person, notwithstanding his or her cultural background, ought to enjoy his or her civil liberties including liberty to free speech, liberty of movement and liberty to take decision, and the right to be treated fairly and membership. The communitarian notion of learners' participation in decision-making and governance is premised on the role and position of learners as participants of an organized community aimed at knowledge co-production James (2006: 356).

Even though, Ghana is a force to reckon with when it comes to democratic governance, however, a recent assessment of the education policy in Ghana and how it attends to democratic governance gives the worrying picture that not much has been done in the formal education system. Despite the fact that diverse ethos have dissimilar connotations and understandings of democracy, there seem to be a set of worldwide and basic beliefs; civil liberties, involvement, fairness and knowledgeable consent which are salient element of modern democracy.

In Ghana, measures have been put in place to embolden learners to be part of decision-making process at all levels of education, especially at the elementary level are poorly inadequate. All basic schools in the country have the School Management Committee (SMC) as their governing body, and this committee comprises headteacher, teachers' representative, community representative and parents' representative and conspicuously missing is learners' representatives. This gives credence to that fact that learners are involved and neither are the consult before and during decision making process. Interestingly, the media space have done some education to getting learners involve in the decision making process. According to Manful (2010), the part the media has played in highlighting learners' opinions on national and international matters is commendable. Manful (2010), reiterates that a project took off in 1995 immediately the association of women communicators and journalists organised the International Children's Day of Broadcasting in Ghana. The children (106) who took part in the seminar put themselves together to form a club and were provided the platform to present programme on issues affecting children during a 30-minute slot on a state radio with adult supervision. The programme was made up of discussion of issues that bother on children which have been chosen by the club and also a live phone-in segment where children at home were given the opportunity to make their thoughts know on the topic under discussion. Manful makes it clear that because of the live phone-in radio segment, the club managed to draw major stakeholders including politicians, the Speakers of Ghana's parliament, child advocates, psychologists and heads of government agencies attention to issues affecting children in the country. This indeed has championed the wide-spread of lots of youth-centred programmes in the media landscape with the aim of seeking to give children the platform for them to make their thoughts known of all relevant matters. Nonetheless, notwithstanding the enviable achievement of this programme, key stakeholders in education have failed to use this programme and implement if not same then similar one in our schools.

Furthermore, currently the world's attention has been redirected toward the civil liberties of children, through the education and promotion of reasonable opportunities to quality to education while getting rid of gender inequalities. Besides the 1989 United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child, lots of resolutions and conferences including the 1990 World Education Conference on Education for All, Jomtien, Thailand; Dakar Framework for Action, and the UN MDGs that have sought to protected the civil liberties of children (Phillips & Schweisfurth, 2006).

A collection of some of these previous agreements strengthen the MDGs as validated by 189 world leaders at the UN summit in September 2000. Also, and passed a resolution at the UN General Assembly in 2001 passed a resolution which sought to be committed to work together to build a safer, more 108 prosperous and equitable world (UNDP, 2010). Two of the MDGs directly associated to Education for All (EFA) are:

- Goal 2 Achieve universal primary education: This guarantees all children finish a packed programme of primary education.
- Goal 3 Promote gender equality and empower women: This disregards gender inequality in basic education if possible, by 2005 and at all levels of education not later than 2015 (UNDP, 2010). As discussed in Chapter four, many countries including Ghana, are almost at the verge of achieving these goals.

Even though, the content of Ghana's 2008 Education Act 778 comes with some packages including the right for every child of at least four years to have access to basic education. The Act, through FCUBE, allows for free and compulsory access to basic education with District Assemblies providing the needed infrastructure and other facilities in educating the child. More importantly, on DCE, the Act helps in ensuring that education is made for "All" regardless of one's sex, tribe, physical disability, geographical location, economic status and others. Careful analysis of the content of the Education Strategic Plan (2010-2020) gives prominence to policies such as inclusive, HIV/AIDS education, technical/vocational education and others thereby promoting participation and inclusiveness.

Lastly, Ghana's inclusive education policy defines the strategic path of the government for the education of all. The policy is the outcome of series of discussions and consultations between numerous stakeholders in the education sector more especially the GES, Girls Education Unit, and Ministry of Health among others. This policy document is based on the premise that every child has the right to be educated and can learn. Inclusiveness, one of the tenets of DCE is therefore an aspect of Ghana's education system. This policy document takes it source from the 1992 constitution of Ghana, the Education Strategic Plan (2010-2020), the Disability Act, the Education Act among others. The inclusive education document gives every stakeholder in the education enterprise to address the diverse learning needs of various categories of citizens in Ghana's education system. This policy document is also based on the value which Ghana holds that all persons who attend educational institutions are entitled to equitable access to quality

teaching and learning which gives beyond the idea of physical location and again ensure the value of promoting participation, friendship and interaction which are necessary in any educational endeavour. Under this framework, the inclusive education policy is designed to ensure that there are child friendly schools in Ghana. These schools are to work towards: - flexible curriculum, that there is no discrimination, children's participation in all manner of activities and others. The basis of this inclusive education policy of Ghana and therefore Ghana's clear commitment to DCE is seen in the country's full endorsement and support for all initiatives through national and international signing and agreements such as the UN convention on the rights of person's with Disability, the Salamance Accord which enjoins Ghana to ensure that all manner of people, especially children of school going age have access to regular schools which should accommodate them.

From my point of view the issue of equity, participation, human right and other DCE features are clearly demonstrated. This notion is akin to decision- making grounded on consent where each person is eligible and allowed to make his or her thoughts known on issue of serious national concern. According to Adeyemi and Asimeng-Boahene (2001), democracy and equality to all manner of persons have been part of African life dating way back in the pre-colonial, colonial and post-colonial periods.

5.10 SUMMARY

In this chapter, attempts were made to discussed and analysed the various theoretical frameworks relating to DCE. It reviews the existing DCE theories that have influenced the Ghanaian educational system. Here a discussion of the views of five Western and three African theorist views on DCE were critically analysed to find out how their views can attend to research questions of the study. This is necessary because of the unique differences in social, cultural, and ethnic backgrounds that impact Africa especially Ghanaians and other global concerns on DCE.

The second part of this chapter was a discourse analysis of the reconceptualization of DCE in Africa and its tenets as an extension of the views of these African philosophers like Appiah, Gyekye, Wiredu and Waghid with emphasis in their articulations on DCE tenets like civil engagement, inclusivity, participation, Ubuntu and cosmopolitanism were all premised.

In the next chapter, I intend to discuss and argue out to show whether the education policies, Acts, curriculum programmes, teaching and administrative management in JHSs in Ashanti region of Ghana offer opportunities to cultivate the key tenets DCE adequately and whether these policies have helped citizenry in solving their challenges. I shall also discuss whether or not the Ghanaian education policies, Acts and programmes are contributing to the development of DCE.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS OF DCE CULTIVATION IN GHANAIAN EDUCATION POLICY DOCUMENTS, TEACHING AND LEARNING AT ASHANTI SCHOOLS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents and discusses the uniqueness of DCE in Ghana with focused links depicted in Chapter 5, namely inclusive education, participation, collective identity, civil engagement, compassion and cosmopolitanism. The reason for doing this is to reconceptualise and address the question whether these liberal thoughts address the intentions of Ghanaian basic education towards egalitarian and democratic education as engendered in the current policy document, namely Education Act 778 of 2008. The question is also raised whether education, according to this act, is adequately bringing about the education that Ghana desires. The analysis in this chapter will show that Ghanaian education policies depict a DCE that already exists within the liberal framework, especially as discussed in Chapter 5, but is also still absent in certain instances. One example is the prevalence of inequalities and violence, which negates the values of deliberative democracy.

In this chapter, I argue that the liberal DCE presented in Chapter 5 is narrowly conceptualised in terms of responsibility, rights and belonging (Waghid, 2013:9). DCE in a Derridian sense is established through various subjects or agents who actually produce and consume it (Waghid, 2002:86). Derrida (1988) notes that we can never arrive at a meaning of a concept that can't be said to be actual. In view of the fact that the definitions of words can never be actualised perfectly, because when we look for the potentiality of concepts, we realise that they also have bi-potentialities of meanings when they fail to address the problems at hand. In such thinking, meaning making becomes a constant activity (Derrida, 1988).

In this chapter, I shall discuss whether the education policies, acts, curriculum programmes, teaching, learning and the management of junior high schools (JHSs) in the Ashanti region offer opportunities for the cultivation of some key tenets of DCE sufficiently, and whether or not the Ghanaian education policies, acts and curriculum programmes are contributing to the development of DCE.

6.2 OVERVIEW OF DCE IN THE GHANAIAN EDUCATION SYSTEM AND THE POLICY RHETORIC

Since Ghana achieved her independence on 6 March 1957, various governments and military leaders have all enacted policies, acts and rectified international conventions in relation to the Ghanaian education system with the ultimate aim of instilling democratic values and protection of learners who are – by implication – regarded as the future leaders of the country. The introduction of 1951 Accelerated Development Plan (see MoE, 1951) with the main objective of achieving universal free primary EFA children of school-going age in the country. According to section 2 of Education Act 87 of 1961, "every child who has attained the school going age as determined by the Minister shall attend a course of instruction as laid down by the Minister in a school recognized for the purpose by the Minister". Section 22 of the act also tried to make education more secular so that citizens would not be denied education because of their religious beliefs. It read:

- No person shall be refused admission as a pupil to, or refused attendance as a pupil at, any school on account of the religious persuasion, nationality, race or language of himself or of either of his parents;
- No test or enquires shall be made of or concerning the religious beliefs of pupils or students prior to their admittance to any school or college;
- No person attending a school as a pupil shall if his parents' objects be required to attend or abstain from attending, whether in the institution or elsewhere, any Sunday school or any form of religious worship or observance, or any instruction in religious subjects (MoE, 1961:22).

The guarantee of individual freedom of religious belief in this Act is also recognised in article 21, section 2-4 of the 1969 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana (see GoG, 1969). These three sections of article 21 were restated in article 27 section 2-4 of the 1979 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana (see GoG, 1979). Here both constitutions emphasise freedom from compulsory participation in religious instruction in educational institutions (GoG, 1969; 1979).

The 1974 Dzobo Education Review Committee report (see Dzobo, 1974) also tried to create the opportunity to make school available for every child of school-going age. The 1995 Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) (see Akyeampong, 2009) was enacted in the 1992 Constitution of Ghana. Article 39(2) of the 1992 Constitution of Ghana stipulated that,

within three years after the first sitting of parliament, the government of Ghana (GoG) should draw up and implement a Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education programme for all Ghanaian children of school-going age by 2005 (see GoG, 1992a). Hence, it was stated in article 25(1a), "persons shall have the right to equal educational opportunities and facilities with a view to achieving the full realisation of the right (GoG, 1992a:27).

In the recent past, successive governments have reviewed that commitment in achieving highly accessible quality education through polices such as the Ghana Poverty Reduction strategy (GPRS) I (MoE, 2008e). In relation to the application to the Highly Indebted Poor Country (HIPC) facility in 2001, the GoG formulated a comprehensive development policy framework in support of poverty reduction and growth known as the GPRS I policy. The aim of this policy was to realign the distorted macroeconomic environment and improve the conditions for implementation of sectored policies designed to promote sustainable economic growth (MoE, 2008e). This strategy focused on the human development component with targeted measures designed to improve access by the Ghanaian population to basic needs and essential services (MoE, 2008e). These targeted programmes comprise basic education, safe water, improved health and environmental sanitation. The Education Sector Policy Review Report (ESPRR) was published in August 2002 as an education sector policy document aimed at meeting the challenges faced by government in the provision of teaching, learning material and infrastructure development (MoE, 2003).

The ESPRR identified eight policy goals. To these, goals nine and ten were added to emphasise national and international concerns about prevention and management of HIV/AIDS and promotion of female education (MoE, 2003). Education for all (EFA) is an education policy document enacted by the United National Education, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in 2000, which has six international education goals aimed to meet the learning needs of all children, youth and adults by 2015 (UNESCO, 2000). Two of the MDGs directly related to EFA are:

- Goal 2: achieve Universal Primary Education and ensure that all boys and girls complete a full course of basic schooling.
- Goal 3: promote gender equity and empower women: eliminate gender disparity in basic and secondary education preferably by 2015 and in all levels of education not later than 2015 (UNDP, 2010:25).

The Education Strategic Plan (ESP) was introduced in 2003 (see MoE, 2009e) and focused on the period 2003-2015 (MoE, 2009). The ESP is based on the poverty reduction strategy and operates within the framework of a sector-wide approach (SWAP) for education, which in Ghana is partly situated within the multi-donor budget support (MDBS) framework (MoE, 2009). The ESP is based on four main areas:

- equitable access to education;
- quality of education;
- educational management; and
- Technology and Vocational Education (TVET).

The ESP also envisions the achievement of a quality inclusive education system by 2015 (GES, 2003; Hooker, 2008; Kuyini 2010). Although most of the ESP targets mentioned above were achieved, the issue of a high-quality inclusive education system by 2015 was not achieved within the time frame (Agbenyega, Badu, Mckenzie, Mprah & Opoku, 2017; Mantey, 2019).

In 2004, the GoG issued the White Paper on Education Reform (see MoE, 2004). The white paper covers the whole education sector, which was to be implemented from 2007 with its major targets identified for 2015 and 2020. The major key issues referred to by this white paper concerning basic education were:

- to build upon the ESP commitments and ensure that all children of school-going age are provide with good quality free basic education, namely two years of kindergarten as well as the existing six years of primary and three years of JHS; and
- the entire basic cycle will be free and compulsory and will receive the highest priority of all sectors; basic education will be fully funded by the GoG with an expected target of 100% completion rates for boys and girls at all basic schools by 2015.

This objective could not be achieved within the time frame; however, since the 2017 academic year to date, basic education is fully funded by the GoG (Osei-Owusu et al., 2020).

The more recent amongst these polices is the implementation of GPRS II (MoE, 2010). This policy was implemented over the period 2006-2009 following the positive results achieved by

the GPRS 1 (MoE, 2009b). GPRS I was focused on developing Ghana to the status of a middle-income country by 2015 (MoE, 2009b). GPRS II emphasised the creation of a competent workforce for the development of the country where education plays an important role (MoESS, 2005). With this objective, the GPRS II did not only meet the MDG 2 but also strengthened the quality of basic education and improved quality and efficiency in the delivery of education services (MoE, 2010). For education, one of the main strategies to be adopted is that of bridging the gender gap in education through creating girl-friendly schools by ensuring the provision of adequate toilet facilities and on-site water sources (MoE, 2010).

The GPRS II policy document put in place some interventions that had an effect on basic education in Ghana, namely a school feeding programme, capitation grants (see 1.1), free transportation to school for primary school children, bicycles for teachers, health insurance for all Ghanaians, free uniforms, eradication of schools under trees, as well as free exercise books and text books (MoE, 2010). The following are innovative policies initiated by successive Ghanaian governments with the objective of instilling democratic values in learners and protection of learners who are regarded as the future leaders of the country, an implication for the survival of democracy in the country:

- the National Gender and Children Policy of 2004 (see Ofei-Aboagye, 2004);
- the Ghana Poverty Reduction Strategy I and II in 2003 and 2006 (see Mensah et al., 2013);
- the Ghana Share Growth and Development Agenda (GSGDA) of 2010 (see National Development Planning Commission [NDPC], 2010);
- the Inclusive Education Policy (see Ametepee & Anastasiou, 2015);
- the Children's Act, No. 50 of 1998 (see Laird, 2002);
- the Persons with Disability Act, No. 715 of 2006 (see Asante & Sasu, 2015);
- the Domestic Violence Act, No. 732 of 2007 (see Osei-Tutu & Ampadu, 2017);
- the Education Act 778 of 2008 (see GoG, 2007);
- the establishment of the Ministry of Women's and Children Affairs in 2001 (see Mama, 2005); and

- the Ministry of Gender, Children and Social Protection in 2012 (see Oddsdottir, 2014).

Ghana is among the first African countries that quickly ratified the United Nations Convention on the Rights of the Child (UNCRC) (African Union, 2010). Article 12 of the UNCRC states, "whenever adults make a decision which will affect you in any way, you have the right to give your opinion, and adults have to take it seriously" (Davies et al., 2002:22). Rudduck et al. (1996) argue that, what learners say about teaching and schooling, is not only worth listening to but provides an important foundation to think about ways of improving schools and other educational reforms. This is a unique responsibility that the school is expected to accept.

6.3 INCLUSIVE EDUCATION IN JHS'S IN THE ASHANTI REGION: AN EVIDENCE-BASED ANALYSIS

Education delivery in Ghana is a right for all citizens of school age. Ghana considers a quality human resource base as crucial in its development efforts to ensure socio-economic well-being of its citizens, and education plays an important role in this regard. Various policies have consequently been initiated to enable citizens, especially children irrespective of their socio-economic background, to have access to formal education to develop their potential and provide equal opportunities to contribute to the development of the country. The concept of inclusive education has been embedded directly and indirectly in several government policies since independence. The Ghanaian Inclusive Education Policy (see Ametepee & Anastasiou, 2015) defines the strategic path of the GoG for EFA. The aspiration for inclusive education dates back to 1951 when Dr Kwame Nkrumah, in the Education Reform under the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) (MoE, 1951), introduced fee-free compulsory basic EFA children aged five to sixteen (MoE, 1951). The ADP sought to expand access to EFA, narrowing the gap between the north and the south, as well as urban and rural areas. The policy was enacted into law under the Education Act of 1961 (Act 87) (Achanso, 2010; Thompson, 2008). After independence, successive governments have consistently pursued education policies aimed at expanding access for disadvantaged groups and limiting exclusion from quality education (Nudzor, 2017). Ghana has ratified several international conventions on the right to education, including:

- the United Nations Declaration of Human Rights (see UNDP, 2009);

- the UN Convention on the Rights of the Child (see Hammarberg, 1990);
- the UNESCO statement on principles and practices of Special Need Education (see UNESCO, 2000);
- the Education for All (EFA) goals (see UNDP, 2010); and
- the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) (see UNDP, 2010).

These, in fact, have been incorporated into national laws (see, Nudzor, 2017).

Inclusiveness, one of the tenets of DCE, is an aspect of the Ghanaian education system (Assasie-Gyimah, 2018). This inclusive education policy document (see Ghana Inclusive Education Policy, 1.2) is based on the premise that every child has the right to be educated and can learn. The inclusive policy is also expected to provide a platform for addressing the varied educational needs of all Ghanaians of school age using the Universal Design for Learning (UDL) (see Isaac & Dogbe, 2020; Prosper, 2017) and for ensuring that the teaching and learning environment is friendly to all learners. Thus, the conceptual framework of this policy is anchored in the premise of UDL and the concept of child-friendly schools (CFSs). The architectural principles of UDL serve the general purpose of making learning accessible to more learners in inclusionary programmes (Gargiulo, Metcalf & Metcalf, 2017). The idea is that, with modifications of representation (materials), expression (methods of communication), and engagement (how learners respond to the curriculum), a much wider range of learners can be included in regular classroom instruction (Gargiulo et al., 2017). On the other hand, CFSs is a rights-based approach to ensure that all learners learn in a friendly school environment (Wanjiru, 2019).

The GoG – through the Ministry of Education and the GES – has adopted and implemented policies in the JHSs geared at the achievement of the MDGs with varied initiatives, such as FCUBE, girl-child education, capitation grants, the school feeding programme and free school uniforms, which were all designed to encourage school enrolment, retention and completion rates (MoE, 2008; Osei-Owusu et al., 2020). Delivery of quality education is critical for attracting and retaining learners in schools. Quality education is also imperative in meeting the expectations and aspirations of learners, parents and the nation (MoE, 2008; Van Niewerburgh, 2018). It is therefore crucial for schools to satisfy all the educational needs of learners with diverse backgrounds and abilities. Provision of facilitating inputs plays a key role in satisfying learner's needs (Pritchard, 2017). Enough evidence exists to support the fact that there are new approaches to teaching to address the learning challenges of learners in the chosen region.

Indeed, learners' interests reign supreme in classroom lesson delivery (Pritchard, 2017). The use of a favourable medium of instruction is another requirement for achieving learner's needs (Race, 2019).

With regard to the acquisition of literacy and numeracy skills, the GoG has adopted the National Accelerated Literacy Programme (NALAP) (see Anlimachie, 2016; Dery, 2017; Man, 2017), which uses 12 approved local languages in teaching and learning in basic schools (see Anlimachie, 2016; Dery, 2017). The GES has adopted a child-centred method, which is interactive, participatory and activity-based, and widely used in public JHSs (Akyeampong, 2017). In fact, various teaching strategies, which are child-centred are also enforced and used in most classrooms are in line with the policy demands of the Education Strategic Plan (ESP) (MoE, 2003). The new approach is to move away from a teacher-centred approach and to make learning active and dynamic. This method facilitates active participation of learners in the learning and teaching process (Akyeampong, 2017).

The Ministry of Education's Inclusive Education Policy requires active participation of communities in the management of schools to instil a sense of ownership (Nketsia, 2018). A community participation policy (the SPAM [see GES, 2001; MoE, 2010) provides opportunities for communities to seek and enrol their children in schools (Coleman, 2018). This calls for continuous sensitisation programmes to ensure efficient school management and accountability (Coleman, 2018). The implementation of the community participation policy, which has brought into being school management committees (SMCs) and parent-teacher associations (PTAs), is fraught with problems. Most of the SMCs and PTAs are not as effective as expected (see Abreh, 2017). They will only operate effectively once communities understand the value and importance of education. Many of them are indeed non-functional due to a lack of adequate resources (Abreh, 2017).

The concept of developing inclusive schools as the most effective means for achieving quality EFA is underpinned by the notion of social justice, empowerment and democratic participation in regular schools (Agbenyega, 2006; Giroux, 1997; Hamre et al., 2018). Regular school inclusion is expected to be free from child abuse as well as forceful and oppressive pedagogy (Agbenyega, 2006; Giroux, 1997; Hamre et al., 2018). Indeed, an educationally inclusive school is a one in which the teaching and learning, achievements, attitudes and well-being of every learner matter whether it is a learner with or one without disabilities (Lupton & Jones, 2002; Hamre et al., 2018). Agbenyega (2006:15) argues that an effective inclusive school

should demonstrate sound inclusive practices, such as collaborative leadership styles and good practice, and it should identify resources to support progressive inclusion. Evidence (see Hamre et al., 2018; Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020) points to the fact that key indicators of inclusive schooling are:

- the school's mission statement is well articulated towards promoting inclusion and raising attainment;
- all the members of the school community are fully aware of and actively support the principle of inclusion;
- all staff are actively using sound strategies to provide better support and greater access to all learners and teaching;
- learning is routinely monitored by teachers, head teachers and senior managers to ensure they are in tune with the mission of the school;
- schools demonstrate a culture in which admission policies do not discriminate on the grounds of racial, ethnic, religious or disability status;
- schools have a clear policy on bullying and punishment;
- child protection policies are in place to provide a safe environment for all learners;
- schools recognise and value the achievements of all learners who experience barriers to learning; and
- schools offer learners the opportunity to play a full and active part in their own learning (see Hamre et al., 2018; Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020).

My years of teaching service in the JHSs afforded me the opportunity to provide a rich analysis of the different factors that inhibit or promote inclusive education and the extent to which these were present in the JHSs in the Ashanti region. Documentary analysis (Amponsah, Milledzi, Ampofo & Gyambrah, 2018) suggests that children's aspirations are not being met across the majority of Ghanaian JHSs in the Ashanti region. The baseline evidence from the documentary analysis (Amponsah et al., 2018) suggests that the needs for inclusion are not being met because of a lack of synergy between the different actors who have a responsibility e.g. district education offices, the Ghana National Association of Teachers and the GES, have a stake in improving

quality education (e.g. effective teacher supervision, teacher motivation and regular in-service training).

The current quality of education study builds on these findings (see Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020) as well as adding additional dimensions to some findings to provide an even more comprehensive assessment of factors that inhibit inclusion and quality (see Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020). In terms of gender, evidence (Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020; Momsen, 2019) available suggests that teachers are sensitised to the need to ensure that boys and girls are treated equally in the classroom. In most cases, positive classroom strategies are adopted to ensure that both sexes can participate (Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020). However, there is also much evidence (Collins, 2019; Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020; Momsen, 2019) that reflects that there are still many factors remaining that inhibit girls' access to education. More particularly, factors – such as levels of teacher training, school infrastructure and socio-economic, cultural and family background – have a debilitating influence on girls' access to education (Momsen, 2019).

According to Agbenyega (2006:20), the practice of inclusive education and the quality of educational materials and instruction learners receive are influenced by beliefs about disability, ethnicity, attitude and teachers' concern. In fact, there are many regular teachers who feel unprepared and fearful to work with learners with disabilities in regular classes (Agbenyega, 2006; Hamre et al., 2018). This group displays frustration, anger and a negative attitude toward inclusive education because they believe it could lead to lower academic standards. Apart from that, access to resources and specialist support influences teacher confidence and attitudes toward inclusive education (Agbenyega, 2006; Bennett, Deluca & Bruns, 1997; Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020). Indeed, teachers' negative attitude towards inclusive education in regular schools is not surprising.

Agbenyega (2006), Avoke (2002) and Oliver-Commey (2001) all confirm that the most critical barrier to free universal education for learners, particularly those with disabilities, is a negative attitude and prejudice. Some schools in the Ashanti region still attribute the causes of disabilities to curses by the gods (Mills, 2018). The Ghana Society of the Physically Disabled (GSPD) claims that the situation of disabled persons in rural communities in the Ashanti region is – to say the least – dreadful (Opeyemi, 2017). The challenge revolves around how to remove these barriers to expand social and educational inclusion (Opeyemi, 2017). Inclusive schooling offers new hope for school success and social integration for persons with or without disabilities (Cowne, 2003; Gable & Hendrickson, 1997; Opeyemi, 2017).

Available evidence (Opeyemi, 2017; Osler & Starkey, 2017) also suggests that teachers are reluctant to have children with disabilities in class (especially those with behaviour problems), because of large class sizes (Osler & Starkey, 2017). Other challenges, Kuyini (2010) notes, are the considerable numbers of untrained teachers, superficial skills in relation to inclusive practices, and a high rate of teacher turnover. While these are extremely difficult issues to overcome, there is also the concepted approach in establishing inclusive schools. This unplanned approach, Kuyini (2010) argues, does not augur well for achieving the vision of inclusion in line with the EFA and MDG goals and targets. While the Ministry of Education's Strategic Plan 2003-2015 (see MoE, 2003) envisages the development of a model for inclusive education within the framework of education for all (EFA), the allocation and provision of resources to special needs schools are reflected in the structural inequalities and marginalisation of persons with disabilities (MoE, 2003).

A plethora of literature espouses the need for inclusion in our democratic practice. the Young (2000:5) indicates that democratic inclusion occurs in a sequential manner and that many societies have engaged in democratic practices. To her "[m]ost societies have some democratic practices. Democracy is not an all-or-nothing affair, but a matter of degree; societies can vary in both extent and the intensity of their commitment to democratic practices" (Young 2000:6). She is of the view that countries all over the world that embrace democracy and the very principles of it still weigh several democratic ideals in practicing them but on a small scale. Moreover, Young (2000:7) emphasises that inclusion as a concept provides the framework to deeply appreciate and understand democratic principles and at the same time the framework provides insight into the concept. In all these, inclusion is key in understanding and solving the ills of democracy and ultimately bringing about democratic transformation (see Young, 2000).

Young (2000) indicates that, as we visualise inclusion and understand inclusion ideals, we are on a better path to deepen and entrench democracy for more citizens and to practice it in a better way. To Young (2000:12), inclusion prepares the way to resolve inequalities in the world, which else would have threatened democratic processes. Young (2000) suggests that the role of democratic inclusion is to fine-tune education to ensure what is ideal. Young (2006a:101) therefore, proposes democratic inclusion that must prepare individuals and groups to have access to schooling, curriculum, quality teachers and resources and again, work to overcome problems associated with historical and cultural practices that support some people and work against others in their quest for learning (McLaren & Jaramillo, 2006; Young, 2006a:102).

Young (2006) says educators who are committed to inclusion should build those structures of schooling to help address the marginalised in terms of knowledge and policies, which in the words of Bank (2002:22), "contest existing political, economic, and educational practices and call for fundamental change and reform".

To this end, Young (2003:120) calls for inclusion in education. By doing this, the disadvantaged members of society would have the chance to talk about their experiences, needs, perspectives and opinions in situations affecting them. Hence, to achieve the purpose of democratic education, learners must be included just as society must be inclusive of all its citizens.

To Young, the idea of inclusion gives the outcast a voice. Through inclusive learning communities and deliberative decision-making, opportunities in their classroom become real, and this is what those who advocate for democratic education need to commit themselves to (Young, 2003).

Gyekye (2013) argues that the idea of inclusion is a game changer[6] for a country that is determined to be egalitarian. Consequently, a country that is unsuccessful in providing enough room for inclusive politics cannot pride itself as being democratic. Consequently, it is reasonable to champion inclusive government that governs by consensus, bipartisanship and participatory democracy. Gyekye (2013:242) supports his argument above with a Ghanaian traditional saying, "wisdom is not found in the head of one person". This deep-thinking expression points toward the fact that, as widely stated, wisdom is not the birth right of any single individual. In the area of governance too, this particular expression instructs heads of state and parliamentarians to be open to divergent thoughts, to welcome constructive criticisms and compromise, and to give due consideration to the words of wisdom and truth that may be contained in the presentations of other members of the assembly, including members of minority and opposition parties (Gyekye, 2013).

6.4 CULTIVATION OF PARTICIPATION AND COLLECTIVE IDENTITY IN JHSS

Community theory holds that there are social interactions and relationships within and between groups (Epstein, 2018; Marshall, 1950), and these social interactions have the ability to generate

[6] In this regard, a game changer implies something altogether new, which changes the existing situation in a significant way.

and produce collective actions that will affect civic and political life (Newton, Stolle & Zmerli, 2018; Verba, 1989). Akin, Verba and Tocqueville (1945) believe that collective identity promotes an increasingly powerful strength or force, which encourages social trust and a corresponding action-oriented paradigm to getting things done for the citizenry. Indeed, the strength of the people lies not within their individual abilities but in the combination of shared habits that the larger group is willing to pursue towards the greater good (Sennett, 2017).

Collective identity is rooted in the word 'community' (Smith, 2017). Tonnies (1959) describes collective identity from the notion of political order as an element that is substantive compared to the current state or order of modern society. It is a common phenomenon to note that political communities are often tied with cultural communities, it instils the feeling of support obtained from existing cultures, especially among civic communities. Box (1998:15) posits that citizens in the pursuit of the common good must have adequate knowledge about their community to discern collective identity easily before making judgments in terms of situations. Collective identity enhances the skills of good decision-making, for example, decisions regarding economic matters as a result of adequate knowledge and preparative information regarding one's community (Klein, 2017). The common interest in all issues, for example, economic decisions, is therefore easily and accurately made to benefit the community (Klein, 2017). In fact, a collective identity portrays a civic virtue that reflects the willingness to deny self-interest for the common good, thus the willingness to sacrifice individual concerns for the benefit of society as a whole (DeLue & Dale, 2016; Sen, 2018).

The term 'participation' entered widely into development discourse since the 1960s and 1970s, when it grew out of the concern for meeting basic needs (Fafunwa, 2018; Kothari, 2019). Gaventa and Valderrama (1999) define participation as the process through which stakeholders influence and share control over their own development initiatives, decisions and resources, which affect them. Participation can also be seen in the levels of consultation or decision-making in all phases of classroom interaction (Fafunwa, 2018; Kothari, 2019).

Generally, learner participation shows the extent to which learners take part in the lesson delivered (Kothari, 2019). In most of the JHSs in Ashanti region of Ghana, the teacher is observed delivering a lecture to the learners, punctuated with an occasional question by the teacher, which in some cases receives a chorused response (Mbanefo, 2017). Some lessons give the appearance of being learner-centred or participatory (Mbanefo, 2017). Generally, learner participation is low if we are concerned with learner participation in the form of experiential

learning where learners' participation is used to develop critical thinking, analysis and synthesis of information and the application of knowledge to real-life situations (Asamoah & Oheneba-Sakyi, 2017). In most of the districts in the Ashanti region and in the majority of rural and urban schools, the dominant form of learner participation is chorused parrot-fashion involvement (Mbanefo, 2017). In the majority of lessons, learners do not demonstrate effective learning by physical or verbal responses to information received from teacher or textbook (Good & Lavigne, 2017; Pritchard, 2017).

Several studies (see, for instance, Mitchell & Sutherland, 2020; Pinter, 2017; Pritchard, 2017) reveal that poor classroom pedagogy serves as a key barrier to quality classroom learning. In fact, many teachers do not use learner-centred and participatory methods to ensure that classroom instructions actively engage learners (Pritchard, 2017). Alhassan and Adzahlie-Mensah (2010) found that a higher proportion of rural children than urban children drop out because rural children perceive schooling to be unnecessary or uninteresting. Undoubtedly, many learners find the classroom uninteresting because lesson delivery is not meant to engage them actively (Mbanefo, 2017). There is very limited evidence (see, for instance, Mbanefo, 2017) that participatory methods, which promote learning in classrooms, are actively being used in the Ashanti region. The dominant strategy in both project and non-project schools[7] is the chalk-and-talk approach (Giri, 2016). Many teachers merely use the lecture method in teaching, where they often combine L1 and L2 (i.e. Asante Twi and English).

Learners' participation in the lessons is often determined by whether they understand the language of instruction, feel comfortable and confident to try answering a question, and whether the strategies used by the teacher invite participation. Teacher-centred lessons usually have very little learner participation, and participation often takes the form of chorus answers, echoed by learners and 'yes' and 'no' responses to teacher questions. Higher-order questions, which require critical thinking and application by the learners, are often missing from the classrooms. In many classes in the Ashanti Region, teachers at the JHS level deliver their lessons via the lecture approach, often punctuated by an occasional question, which is usually given a chorused response. Although some lessons give the appearance of being learner-centred, for example, in

[7] **Project schools** are schools where teaching and learning is predominately learner-centred pedagogy which involves a dynamic classroom approach whiles **non-project schools** are schools where teaching and learning is predominately teacher-centred and many at times the learner becomes a passive recipient of knowledge (Giri, 2016). These schools are called project schools and non-project schools because they differ in their teaching and learning approach (see Giri (2016:490).

some of the reading lessons, the teachers read and the learners simply repeat, parrot-like. Although, all the learners get involved, the extent to which they actually learn, is questionable.

Gyekye (2013:247) espouses that involvement with conviction is a significant way towards the search by government for inclusion. This can only be successful based on the effectiveness of the institutions created to allow for participation. He concludes by saying that the politics of inclusion is democracy at work and would need to be pursued wherever democracy is practiced. On condition that self-governing philosophy will be above individual inclinations and selfishness and will focus on collective interest, inclusive politics will not be a mirage; it will not present itself to us an ideal system that is beyond the pale of human capacity (Gyekye, 2013). Gyekye (2013:245) elucidates that participatory democracy relates to politics of inclusion as it deals with the activities of the citizens and not the activities within the government and assembly. Here, much more emphasis is placed on the concept of participation than on inclusive politics. Gyekye argues that democracy is a rule of the people or the exercise of political power by the people in which the people must necessarily participate to make decisions concerning the affairs of their nation without hindrance. It might be said, however, that the term 'participatory' in participatory democracy appears redundant in terms of the real meaning of democracy (Gyekye, 2013).

Taking an affirmative approach, Young (2006a:101) indicates that citizens involved in inclusive democratic processes need to learn to take part in democratic processes. Young says, "good citizens should not merely know the rules, cast informed votes, and try to hold their elected leaders accountable". "They also ought to be ready to bring conflict and difference into public and work through them" (Young, 2006a:101). To Young, knowledge and engagement suffice for political processes (Young, 2006). In her work *Inclusion and democracy*, Young (2000) talks about several issues of educated public participation in the deliberation process, including police force, human rights and other political discourses.

6.5 CULTIVATION OF CIVIL ENGAGEMENT IN JHSS

Around the globe, it is becoming increasingly clear that governance is gradually shifting from a concentrated leadership model to grassroots political participation that gives responsibility to the very core of the local social structures (Lovan, Murray & Shaffer, 2017; Sandbrook & Oelbaum, 1997). The move from a concentrated government towards civil governance, according to Sandbrook and Oelbaum (1997), offers new spaces in which the concept of

participation may also be expanded in the political, community and social spheres. Similarly, Cunill (1997) sees civil engagement as the intervention of private citizens with determined social interests in public activities with the aim of helping public good. While civil engagement implies political participation, it might also include the direct intervention of social agents in public activities (Cunill, 1997). Indeed, the advent of civilization and the emergence of recorded history have shown that civil engagement is a potent force in the orientation and governing of mankind in every culture, civilisation and era (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011; Reckwitz, 2018; Shafritz & Hyde, 2005). This ancient art of governance is practiced worldwide from primordial tribes to complex civilisations (Denhardt & Denhardt, 2011; Reckwitz, 2018; Shafritz & Hyde, 2005;). Civil engagement, which is seen as perm eating every aspect of the human being, has come a long way to improving society and governance (Battistoni, 2017).

Civil engagement has been espoused as the medium through which unity and sense of one people belonging to one nation can be groomed and sustained (Copper, 2019). According to Putman (2000:25), when people are given the opportunity to exchange their viewpoints on issues of importance, they develop confidence amongst themselves, which can help to avoid disturbances in society. The basic idea here is that "good things happen when people engage with others" (Putman, 2000:25), and therefore, civil engagement has the capacity to prevent the divisive tendencies that had fomented in the country for some time (Putman, 2000). In fact, the process of civil engagement – defined as interacting more often and more meaningfully with others in respect of civic issues – has the potential of helping to build a stronger and more unified civic nation (Addai, Opoku-Agyeman & Ghartey, 2012). The logic in civil engagement in a country such as Ghana s clearly articulated by Rimmerman (1997:4):

> The facets of participation embraced by the citizenry, all of which go beyond merely voting, form the basis of the New Citizenship. The New Citizenship is rooted in the notion that they are not born as citizens; they need to be educated and trained. This training emphasizes the importance of understanding civic rights and encourages regular participation. Civic efforts need individual volunteering. The New Citizenship attempts to enhance the quality of democracy by bringing together toleration, respect, trust, and social and political engagement.

In a society such as Ghana with many attributes of ethnic divisiveness, dual allegiances between tribal belonging and nation, lack of trust and others, and civil engagement through dialogue have been found to harness the democratic achievements experienced in the past (Addai et al.,

2012). Putting this in context, the question that follows is how Ghana achieves such a dialogue as espoused through civil engagement (Addai et al., 2012). Which structures and institutions in the country can be utilised to achieve the noble goals of civil engagement without necessarily draining the limited resources in the country? (Addai et al., 2012:998). The answer may lie in building a strong civil society that can ease the tension emanating along political, ethnic, social, religious and economic lines. Several indicators have been used in different African countries in recent times to measure civil engagement (Marti & Besson, 2017). Civil engagement ultimately creates a social structure for interaction and democratic advocacy, transparency and openness (Marti & Besson, 2017).

According to Gyekye (2004:64), the two political values of consultation and conferring postulate civil engagement as a very important feature in the concept of DCE in becoming. To him, ideas and benefits about democracy, like those about the nature of a person, society, God and human destiny, were in preliterate cultural settings in African history given conceptual formulation in proverbs as well as in artistic expressions. For example, in examining these two Akan proverbs – one head does not go into council, and wisdom does not reside in a single head – one can testify that the two proverbs express the political value of consultation or the idea that deliberation or civil engagement on matters of public concern by several heads (minds) is always better than deliberation by just one. The proverbs clearly imply that every person has some ability to think and to think about matters of public concern, in this case matters affecting the whole state or community. Individuals should not be overconfident to take on decisions, choices or reasoning or avoid the viewpoints of other individuals during discussions (Gyekye, 2004).

For Callan (1997:215), the idea of civil engagement moves beyond seeing an effort to reach dialogical success over an opponent; however, it seeks to endorse dialogue as morally acceptable terms of engagement. Via discussion, teachers and learners interrupt contentment or ignite suspicions among themselves on the exactness of their ethical views or about the key variance amongst competing individuals' trust that goes along with irregular procedures of deliberation and ethical moral conflict, which is aggression (Callan, 1997:211). In this situation, aggression and agony will give way for moral reconciliation. In such a circumstance where fact and inaccuracy are competing one another and have been well situated and appropriated for the attainment of a blend of dissenting views (Callan, 1997:212). Civil engagement, according to Waghid (2005:323), frowns on the idea of a culture of silence, where those in powerful

positions turn to harass those who share divergent thoughts. Civil engagement however ensures that individuals – including teachers and learners – can share their thoughts freely and that they are also well positioned to take steps to seek and advance the course of justice in their neighbourhood. Indeed, teachers and learners must wake up to be advocates of all forms of injustices – including poverty and racial abuse – in their community and to do so apparently because of their love for fundamental human rights. In fact, teachers and learners must act as allies and be ready to sacrifice everything they have to guarantee free speech.

In Ghana, the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) came into being in 1993 (Ijon, 2017). The NCCE mandate is derived from the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana (Articles 231-239) (see GoG, 1992b) and the National Commission for Civic Education Act 452 of 1993) (see GoG, 1992b; MoI, 1993). The NCCE has the duty of promoting civil participation and of creating and sustaining awareness of the principles and goals of the Constitution of Ghana in all learners and stakeholders in education (Arnot et al., 2018). Since the NCCE came into being, it has had a nationwide presence through its regional and district offices, which provide a platform that enables NCCE to reach out to every community (Arnot et al., 2018). For instance, ample documentary evidence shows that the school performance appraisal meetings (SPAMs) have effectively engaged stakeholders in education (Shibuya, 2020). A SPAM is a meeting of the major stakeholders in education to deliberate in a civil manner the performance of learners at the various levels of education delivery, i.e. school, unit, circuit or district (Shibuya, 2020). Evidence suggests that issues concerning learners' performance are discussed dispassionately among the key stakeholders – learners, teachers, head teachers, members of the school management committee (SMC), parent-teacher associations (PTAs) and circuit supervisors.

A SPAM therefore seeks to engage all stakeholders and keep them in education, particularly local communities well informed about the extent of teaching and learning going on in their schools. All members of the community – not just representatives – should be given the opportunity to participate meaningfully in deciding how to improve the outcomes in their schools. Indeed, sample evidence (Anab, 2018; Poster & Day, 2018; Shibuya, 2020) emphasises that a SPAM is not only restricted to outcomes such as the School Education Assessment (SEA) and the Basic Education Certificate Examination (BECE) or the end-of-term assessment. The engagement includes the inputs regarding teachers, teaching and learning material, textbooks and other resources required for the schools. The teaching and learning process also includes

attendance of both learners and teachers, time on task, and the quality of teaching and learning. Indeed, the aim of SPAM at all levels is to engage courteously, and to provide stakeholders in education with detailed feedback on the state of teaching and learning achievements in schools.

6.6 CULTIVATION OF COMPASSION IN JHSS

According to Wong and Wong (2005), an effective classroom management style consists of creating an environment and attitude towards the learners, which is task-oriented, predictable, and consistent. The core of the Learner-Centered Model (LCM) is that all instructional decisions begin with knowing who the learners are individually and collectively (Winder, 2018). This is followed by thoroughly understanding learning and how best to support learning for all people in the system. Finally, decisions about which practices should be in place at the school and at classroom level depend upon what we want learners to know and be able to do (Winder, 2018). The LCM puts learners at the heart of a system dedicated to learning and leading. It brings the education system back into balance with what we know about learners, leading other learners, and living systems (McCombs & Miller, 2006; Winder, 2018). According to Panitz (1999), effective learning demands an environment where collaborative and compassionate learning is encouraged. Panitz (1999) defines compassionate learning as a philosophy of interaction and a personal lifestyle where individuals are responsible for their actions, including learning, and where they respect the abilities and contributions of their peers. When teachers support learners in collaborative activities, learners learn the importance of giving and taking, of speaking, of listening, and of respect for others (Guthrie, 2004; Pritchard, 2017). Undoubtedly, learners accrue benefits when the learning environment supports their work in a compassionate manner, sharing insights and assisting each other in metacognitive processes (Pritchard, 2017).

Similar to ‘treat the patient, not the disease’, children must be seen as individuals with minds of their own, entitled to opinions, emotions, concerns and preferences, and not as ‘adults in the making, ‘work in progress’, projects of future workers, future citizens or future parents (Osler & Starkey, 2017). What will matter is how learners view and experience their own learning, so that it shapes and drives the education process to provide learners with learning opportunities that fulfil their childhood needs (Osler & Starkey, 2017). Experiences that spark children’s natural curiosity, inspire their efforts, grip their concentration, endow them with the joy of mastery, give them purpose, build their confidence, drive them to collaborate, and connect them with others and with the world (Sivananda, 2018; Winder, 2018). Ultimately, the goal is for

children to be happier, kinder and healthier than before learning took place. A child treated kindly, will become a kind adult. It is the natural consequence, but when it becomes the goal, the focus is no longer the child, the person in front of you, but the skill and the future adult (Sivananda, 2018; Winder, 2018). The LCM is about teaching children with compassion, and it is the most powerful avenue for building their sense of worth, belonging and purpose (Winder, 2018).

Compassion may lead children to feel overwhelmed by others' emotions if they do not know how to manage their own, or when they feel guilty or powerless for not knowing what to do about it (Preckel, Kanske & Singer, 2018). Compassion and empathy are meaningful when children know, understand and trust themselves, as well as when they know who they are, what they have in common with others and what sets them apart (Preckel et al., 2018). Children need to be aware and in control of their impulses and emotions, so that they are able to focus on how others feel without dismissing their own feelings or letting them get in the way (Davis, 2018). Only then will empathy and compassion build true connectedness. Teaching with compassion requires also helping learners understand and acknowledge the discrimination, condescension or oppression – open or hidden, macro or micro – that other people and groups experience from day to day due to their gender, age, ethnicity, faith, socio-economic condition and sexual orientation (Davis, 2018). This is a lens that sharpens compassion and needs to be trained time and again because it tends to wear off (Davis, 2018). Compassion is a first step towards teaching children to care for those in need. A broader skill set will therefore help them to –

- think critically about the conditions that perpetuate injustice;
- think creatively about what they can do, today or in the future, to change those conditions;
- make a realistic plan that informs their choices and inspires their personal journey in the short and long term; and
- pursue those goals with resolve and purpose (Brookfield, 2017).

Classroom learner encouragement, teacher feedback and usage of appropriate correction strategies are keys for building learner self-confidence and promoting learning environments of good quality (Van Niewerburgh, 2018). Classroom observations reveal that very few teachers are aware of learner and/or classroom encouragement strategies and teacher behaviours that promote learning apart from using praises and having the class clap for learners who gave the right answer (Van Niewerburgh, 2018).

Available evidence (Alt & Itzkovich, 2019; Finnan, 2018; Keiler, 2018) shows that in about half of the classrooms across the region under consideration teachers approach and/or demeanour demonstrates a compassionate, positive, warm and friendly character. A further reflection on learner encouragement is the extent to which the teacher is sensitive to different learners' needs and how this encouragement is being balanced with respect to their treatment of boys and girls (Alt & Itzkovich, 2019). Keiler (2018) states clearly that, if learners feel included in the learning process and their responses are being solicited, this goes some way to add value to their experiences in the classroom. Of course, when learners' responses are praised, or if wrong responses are not criticised or ridiculed, learners will feel loved, cared for and motivated to participate in subsequent lessons (see Keiler, 2018).

The extent to which teachers are able to engage with learners, build learners' confidence and address their needs is in part determined by the teacher's approach and attitude in the classroom (Alt & Itzkovich, 2019). This dimension of quality is particularly pertinent in the context of those classrooms where the usage of verbal and physical abuse is often widespread (Alt & Itzkovich, 2019). A well-documented factor in teaching and learning in Ghanaian classrooms is the usage of the cane not just for punishing learners for disobeying any of the classroom routine practices, such as talking in class when teaching and learning are taken place or when found fighting in class but also for punishing learners whose performance is not up to the teacher's expectations (Alhassan & Kunelius, 2008; Buckler, 2019). The use – and often misuse – of physical punishment has a devastating effect on learners' readiness to learn, their confidence to inquire and their ability to stay in school (Buckler, 2019).

Evidence across the classrooms in the Ashanti region shows that learners feel safe and comfortable in classes that are free from abusive language, physical action by the teacher and/or other learners, and where compassion is demonstrated toward learners (Nkrumah, 2019).

Documentary evidence reveals that learners reported how they were more likely to interact freely both with each other and with the teacher in a compassionate learning environment than other children and teachers who are disruptive and fearful (Nkrumah, 2019). On the other hand, teachers who are harsh and overly punitive evoke fear in their learners, and this deters learners from participating fully in the class lessons and sometimes causes them to drop out (Nkrumah, 2019). Therefore, a teacher whose demeanour is positive – kind, friendly, approachable, enthusiastic and confident – is more likely to facilitate learners' participation and create a classroom conducive to learning than teachers who are disrespectful, fearful, arrogant and

uncooperative. Indeed, learners – particularly in the JHSs – enjoy being in class with teachers who use humour, are friendly, demonstrate compassion and are easily approachable (Nkrumah, 2019; Szech, 2019).

6.7 CULTIVATION OF COSMOPOLITANISM IN JHSs

Educational practices and policies are bound by various definitions (see Foster, 2019), and are affected by even more factors, such as inclusion and participation (see Goldberg, Beemyn & Smith, 2019). Over time, different notions have naturally reformed education policies and initiated new pedagogical strategies to be put in practice (see Gay, 2018). Nowadays, key notions, such as globalisation, multiculturalism, identity and citizenship, are the practices that impose the need for re-evaluating the education system through theoretical analysis and practical implementation (Burbules & Torres, 2000). The curriculum serves as the guiding backbone of an education system (Feng, 2020). While educators and education administrators are responsible for enacting the curriculum and essentially "breathing life" into it (Feng, 2020:166), a national curriculum is the framework within which these systems operate (Feng, 2020). This is especially true in centralised education systems,[8] such as Ghana (Edzii, 2017; Ekbatani, 2019). Indeed, the curriculum, as the essence of an education system, becomes the stage where the balance between universal cosmopolitan values and local realities play out (Ekbatani, 2019; Feng, 2020). Similarly, the curriculum is one of the primary vehicles for illustrating how education systems have adapted to meet the demands of globalisation (Feng, 2020).

Dating back to the Stoics and capturing the imagination of modern philosophical giants, such as Immanuel Kant, incarnations of thought on cosmopolitanism have emerged consistently throughout time (Noland, 2016). The application of cosmopolitanism to education is a more recent development, seen by Martha Nussbaum (2016) as a means of counteracting nationalistic patriotism, and replacing it with a means of educating learners to respect and consider the common experience of humanity. Both the earlier interpretations of cosmopolitanism and Nussbaum's view of it seek "to imagine a wider, potentially universal, sense of belonging" (Chernilo, 2012:53). The inclusion of this conception in curricula has been promoted as being well equipped to address changing conceptions of citizenship in the face of globalisation

[8] A **centralised education system** is an education system of a country (such as Ghana) where all educational policy guidelines in terms of curricula for all levels of education, teacher recruitment, promotion, supervision exit-point examinations are controlled and directed by the central government (Edzii, 2017)

(Tawil, 2013). While noble in its respect for all-encompassing human rights, cosmopolitanism has also been criticised for emphasising unity and homogeneity over difference and heterogeneity, which some feel "are fundamentally unable to account for historical change and sociocultural variation" (Chernilo, 2012:49). In contrast, other cosmopolitan scholars, such as Appiah (2006:256), have begun to advocate for a more particularised interpretation of cosmopolitanism, which is more developed, in other words, "a dialogue among static closed cultures, each of which is internally homogenous and different from all the others; not a celebration of the beauty of a collection of closed boxes" (Appiah, 2006:256).

Although globalisation is one of the most frequently discussed phenomena (see Robertson, 2018:2), several authors accept the ambiguity of its definition and acknowledge its significance in the various academic discourses (Singh, 2004; Torres, 2013). As Burbules and Torres (2000) maintain, globalisation cannot be given a clear definition unless the economic, political and cultural terms are taken into consideration. In terms of education, globalisation can be seen as a neoliberal process that has emerged through the involvement of international organisation and the development of somewhat invasive approaches for assessment, evaluation, testing and teacher training (Robertson, 2018). This means that the globalisation of education comes to some extent in conflict with the sovereignty of a nation as far as education systems are concerned (Robertson, 2018). Indeed, as education systems attempt to accommodate the challenges of globalisation and equip learners with the skills to participate in not only the national society, but also a world society, education systems increasingly become "sites par excellence where the expression of normative cosmopolitan ideals intersects with the production of actually existing cosmopolitanisms" (Sobe, 2012:274).

Characterisations of globalisation generally converge on two points. First, globalisation is "a phenomenon in which commodities, capital, labour, and ideas actively move across the world, beyond national boundaries" (see So, Lee, Park & Kang, 2014:1). Second, globalisation is commonly considered an empirical and powerful force that affects humanity, ensuring that as the world becomes more integrated, "people can no longer exist solely within the particular nation state or ethnic group to which they belong" (So et al., 2014:1). For education, this means that education systems bear increasing responsibility (Hayhoe, 2019). The education system must prepare learners for a globalised world and address global problems that affect humanity as a whole, rather than only within the boundaries of the nation. Consequently, the role of the education system has become increasingly multifaceted (Hayhoe, 2019). Essentially, no

contemporary macro analysis of education policy can be performed without considering both the processes and effects of globalisation (Gopinathan, 2007). While the effect of globalisation on education can be witnessed in numerous aspects of contemporary education systems, Gopinathan (2007:55) highlights:

> Globalisation's effects can be seen in greater internationalization, of a trend towards the commodification of education, greater convergence in views about how education should contribute to the economy, greater use of choice, competition, deregulation and increasing both the involvement and burdens for parents.

These trends are commonalities that can be found increasingly in education systems around the world and are indications of the way in which many of them have been influenced by globalisation (Oliver, 2017). This is also typical of the education system in Ghana. Far from being a new idea, cosmopolitanism has begun to receive more attention in the field of education as interdependency between countries became more extensive (So et al., 2014:2). As education systems become progressively responsive to across-the-board worries concerning the environment, genocide global inequity and cosmopolitanism makes available a priceless interpretational framework for addressing to the aforementioned controversies (Appiah, 2006). Bromley (2009:34) points out that, although the concept of world citizenship and an emphasis on human rights have been added, cosmopolitanism is the "vision of an interconnected society and culture unbounded by the political territory of the nation". Although the notion, as has been established (see subsection 6.7), is still the reality of how education systems are framed and administered, cosmopolitanism and its ability to serve as a guide for reconciling globalisation with national curricula, have begun to receive attention in the field of education (So et al., 2014).

According to Sobe (2012), Nussbaum is the most visible figure in the translation of the normativity of cosmopolitanism and its central tenant of 'allegiance to humanity' into concrete educational recommendations and visions, advocating for "curricular projects based in the humanities that are designed to nurture ideal, cosmopolitan citizens who, as such, can rise above their national patriotisms" (Nussbaum, 1996:418). Nussbaum has also convincingly claimed that through a cosmopolitan curriculum:

- we learn more about ourselves;
- we make headway solving problems that require international co-operation;

- we recognise moral obligations to the rest of the world that are real and that otherwise would go unrecognised; and
- we make a consistent and coherent argument based on distinctions we are prepared to defend (Nussbaum, 1996:11).

Elements of Nussbaum's conception of cosmopolitanism (see Nussbaum, 1996:25) can certainly be infused into education systems. Her work has been essential to reinvigorate discussions of cosmopolitanism, especially at a time when it is a valuable lens for educating in a globalised world (Sobe, 2012). Stoddard and Cornwell (2003:46) also point out that in such ethical cosmopolitanism, which focuses on the common experience of humanity as a whole, the importance of location is "not merely spatial, but also socio-political and historical" but also has significant implications for education, particularly national education systems. Despite this, global multinational organisations are promoting the inclusion of cosmopolitanism in education and have been instrumental in strategies for developing a cosmopolitan curriculum (Pisani, 2018).

Globalisation has had an increasingly powerful effect on Ghanaian education systems. With greater focus on aligning learners' education with maintaining competitiveness in the global economy, curricular perspectives have also shifted (Reimers & Chung, 2019). Including cosmopolitan values in national curricula is one way in which Ghanaian education system have responded to the task of educating for a globalised world (Appiah, 2017). International and multilateral organisations, which have an increasingly present voice in the development of educational agendas in the country, have also testified to the value of a cosmopolitan education (Reimers & Chung, 2019). Traditional conceptions of cosmopolitanism, however, have been universalist in nature (Appiah, 2017). Despite increased influence by international organisations and calls for educating to serve humanity as a whole, education is still basically managed by successive governments of the nation to serve humanity (Altbach, Reisberg & Rumbley, 2019).

6.8 DCE AND THE GHANAIAN JHS (BASIC EDUCATION) SYSTEM

DCE, as shown in Chapter 5, highlights the liberal understanding of conceptualising education. Within the liberal setting, DCE emphasises the significance of responsibilities, belonging, rights and freedom in assisting individuals to cultivate their potentials by escaping the restriction of social status, traditional roles and ascribed fixed identities (Waghid, 2013:9). For

liberals, such practices are made possible when legal systems are organised so that they promote liberal value of freedom and human rights (Arnot et al., 2018). Arguably, the current education system in Ghana is found and built on liberal principles (Arnot et al., 2018). Indeed, education policies (past and present) emphasise that learners should be equipped with skills and knowledge to enable them to utilise their potential individually and collectively in service of national development and national unity. The aim is for learners to achieve social equality, religious freedom, to promote a cultural heritage of equal opportunity and equal distribution of public goods with specific emphasis on education as public good (Johnson, 2013:331; Osler & Starkey, 2005:9). However, the liberal perspectives provide a narrow understanding of individual human rights and do not ensure that equality is achieved (Osler & Starkey, 2005:9). This is really a classic example of the Ghanaian education system, where equal access to basic education is still a mirage, the gap between the poor and the rich is alarming, and ethnic discrimination remains a national issue.

I argue that liberal DCE in Ghanaian basic education is narrow as it gives distorted views of participation, deliberation and belonging (Assasie-Gyimah, 2018). Ghanaian basic education is limited in its conceptualisation of DCE because of its nationalistic orientation coverage that narrows education to national development and neglects humanistic overtones (Owusu, 2018). For instance, in Ghana, the meaning of citizenship – as leading to bureaucratic enterprise, the culture of capitalism, international aid and sovereignty – has assumed centre stage in all levels of education (Ninsin, 2019). This kind of shift means that, even though Africa is a distinct continent, and for that matter Ghana, a distinct nation, decisions made on and conceptualisations emanating from the continent – including what education means – are still incommensurate with the aspirations of Ghanaian basic education (Ninsin, 2019). Despite the expansion of basic schools to allow equal opportunities, there are still challenges in relation to access. For instance, learners from low-income backgrounds continue to be underrepresented in all sectors of the economy (Ninsin, 2019). Nationalistic discourses encourage ethnocentrism (see, Ninsin, 2019:18) because attempts are often made to draw distinct lines between those who belong to a particular tribe and those who do not belong.

A nationalistic conception of DCE is therefore not enough to engender education, which is narrow and weak for several reasons. Firstly, the structural policies intended to develop effective public services – including basic education – have turned out to be masking corruption, inequalities, academic capitalism and the force of privatisation from the liberal

(international) push for development (Otieno & Munene, 2007:461). This has led to a breakdown in the redistributive functions of the national state and to its inability to cater for the welfare, education and health of citizens and to provide services to them (Broch-Due, 2005:3). This is mostly so because the increasing demands to educate citizens have attracted international aid and donors who dictate policies even though alien and inappropriate to necessitate education policy and practices; hence, posing challenges to academic planning and the intensification of the education process (see Broch-Due, 2005)

Broch-Due (2005:6) notes that ethnicity has been used to explain violence in Africa; yet, the complexity of the violence is related to identities formed around gender, generation, locality, class, religion, nationality and difference, rather than the universal mask of ethnicity. Regarding gender inequality, for instance, Sifuna (2006:85) claims that gender was not a determinant and/or an essential framework in education policy formulation during the colonial epoch; however, the post-colonial epoch has increased the inclusion of women in higher education. Even though the improvement is noticed, exclusion is still persistent as a result of this legacy, since women's participation in education currently presents instances of inequality, which urges the Ghanaian government to revisit its education policies and legislation to address the phenomenon of gender inequality, amongst other disparities in policy formulation (Takyi, Amponsah, Asibey & Ayambire, 2019). It is however, noted that, over the years, the Ghanaian government has made an effort to equalise educational opportunities for its citizens, although there are still lingering disparities. Participation in and access to education institutions remain highly unequal, and the various socio-economic groups in education are considered to be the cause of such disparities (Foster, 2019; Takyi et al., 2019). Indeed, education is biased for some groups of people and against other groups in society, especially in terms of the social class composition of learners (Foster, 2019). In this case, I argue that the provision of financial support to needy learners could be a solution to these disparities. This view is in contrast to Chege's (2012) proposition, namely that academic and management integrity is more fundamental to citizenship development than financial factors, which also count, since the financial outlook in Africa in general is not good. These aspects point to the complexity of citizenship education challenges in Ghana.

I explain in this chapter how notions of DCE – such as participation, civil engagement, compassion and cosmopolitanism – could contribute to DCE in Ghana and, at the same time, recognise the foundations these notions of DCE means for re-imagining DCE in Ghana. In

addition to the concepts presented in Chapter 5, liberal DCE highlights the functions of education, namely to –

- achieve intersubjective, mutual interaction through collective effort;
- prepare citizens to participate in public deliberations about issues of justice and morality; and
- focus on developing capabilities for reasoned arguments in both written and oral form.

For instance, national borders have become porous, and communication, migration and international relations present ever-changing educational terrains (Burchill, 2020). In the light of this, a cosmopolitan view of citizenship education presents a more plausible perspective than a non-cosmopolitan perception of framing education and education policies. Osler and Starkey (2005:20) suggest that cosmopolitanism provides a more plausible conception of citizenship than a non-cosmopolitan one because it challenges purely nationalistic education. Cosmopolitanism creates a sense of belonging to a human community that draws its values from such a community (Osler & Starkey, 2005). I argue that fashioning education from a cosmopolitan perspective does not devalue nationalistic education, but sees it as a springboard for generating humanistic values that are universal to humanity (see Nagle, 2016). Indeed, cosmopolitan citizens with these multiple identities like sense of belonging and mutual respect take active part on public deliberations which actively reflect on the communities to which they belong and the links that join these communities (see Nagle, 2016). In doing so, cosmopolitan citizens recognise others as essentially similar to themselves, and they arrive at a sense of citizenship based on a consciousness of humanity rather than on allegiance to a state (Osler & Starkey, 2005:20).

Further, I argue in this chapter for the use of the ideas of Derrida (1997) and Agamben (2007) related to the 'actuality' and 'potentiality' of post-liberal DCE to disrupt the liberal understanding developed in order to achieve a deeper understanding, which offers a reimagined view of DCE that has the potential to make Ghanaian basic schools excellent as democratic institutions that propagate citizenry and curb ethnic discrimination in the country (see Bart-Plange, 2019). In addition, the notion of *ubuntu* within African philosophy circles assists in contextualising DCE for the African context and also offers a way of thinking differently about DCE, thus making it substantive (thick) (Waghid, 2013). This is aimed at expanding the liberal

DCE functions and, at the same time, extending the post-liberal perspective of education as a process in becoming (Agamben, 1993; Derrida, 1988; Waghid, 2013:9; 2014).

6.9 FLAWS IN DCE IN GHANAIAN BASIC EDUCATION

In this section, I attempt to identify and explain the various challenges heads, managers and administrators of Ghanaian basic schools' encounter when they try to inculcate the various DCE tenets in the day-to-day management of their schools.

6.9.1 Deliberation and management

Deliberation and management are at the core of the role schools play in shaping a civilised and democratic society (Boswell & Corbett, 2018). I argue that, between 1970 and 1985, Ghanaian basic education experienced weak management and administration. This was felt most especially in the separation of powers that delinked channels for communication; hence, the unrest in various levels of education in Ghana (Wadja, 2019). Education is considered an engine of economic growth (see Wadja, 2019). Education also plays a role to liberate minds and contribute to cultivating a democratic and inclusive society (see Wadja, 2019). To do this, education at all levels needs to be innovative, a lack of which is detrimental to the responsibility of civil society for social justice (Wadja, 2019). Indeed, since independence in 1957, there have been several attempts to reform education in Ghana. These reforms took the form of recommendations, commissions and policy articulation (Wadja, 2019). Despite these attempts, the implementation of reformed policies has proved cumbersome and has resulted in more educational problems (Posner & Kramon, 2011). For instance, an increase in ethnic discrimination and political violence has led to the death of many citizens, which can be attributed partially to communicative problems; thus, a lack of inclusive deliberation (Posner & Kramon, 2011). For this reason, such reformed policies have not served Ghanaian education well. Policy development in Ghana shows a trend of excluding key stakeholders in policy formulation and modification (Mohammed, 2016).

It is apparent from the analysis in Chapter 3 that education policy development in Ghana has been delegated to a few political elites (see 3.9). This is exemplified in the top-down administration of policies from the political elite to the school administrators. It is clear from the literature (see Patrick & Simpson, 2020; Zhang, 2016) that, when the policies are handed down to administrators, they are required to be implemented without questioning. For instance,

in terms of the policy of free senior high school education being implemented by the current regime, the administrators (headmasters and headmistresses) are forced to implement the policy without questioning. Failure to do so will lead to termination of employment and outrageous transfer (Patrick & Simpson, 2020; Zhang, 2016).

This indeed negates the democratic ideals postulated by the liberal concerns stated in section 6.8 above. On the other hand, failure to implement the various education policies, especially the Education Act of 2007, can be linked to poor communication and a lack of participation by the stakeholders in education in Ghana (see Wadja, 2019). There is in fact a need to develop interactive channels, a sense of community of practice and public deliberation within educational circles (see Wadja, 2019). A lack of communication and coordination among policymakers and educational stakeholders is paralysing the implementation of policy, as documented in terms of liberal DCE. Another question could be whether a liberal bracketing of education in Ghana is plausible. Goodman (2007:193) notes that reflexive solidarities between nationalism and globalism affect how democratisation operates in nation states. He notes that cosmopolitanism brings with it normative ideas that disrupt inclusive forms of national identity. He then suggests that there should be a balance between global demands and national divides. The restructuring of education policies in the post-colonial period started in 1961 (Bart-Plange, 2019) but there are still challenges in terms of leadership, the relevance of education and the suitability of graduates for the job market in Ghana, despite education policies emphasising aspects of capacity building (Bart-Plange, 2019).

Another challenge Ghana is facing, is rapid expansion of basic education in terms of enrolment in proportion to available resources (Bart-Plange, 2019). This expansion is experiencing a crisis because of the deteriorating quality and relevance of education (Mukhwana, 2017). For instance, the available infrastructure, leadership and learner enrolment are not sustainable (Mukhwana, 2017). This is most pressing in relation to staff morale and workload, as limited available resources reduce the research output that is needed for schools as centres of development (Kenny, 2018). Liberal DCE in Ghana is narrow because it portrays the bi-potentialities of the available leadership in basic education institutions in their inadequacy to deal with the rapid expansion of education and the quality of education that its institutions offer in equipping its citizens (Bart-Plange, 2019). Ghanaians still long for a change in education, although they have – at the same time – resist change (Bart-Plange, 2019). The question could be asked why these problems persist. Do Ghanaians still plan their education system? The lack

of democratic communication – thus, participation in and deliberation of inclusive practices in decision-making on public education – has contributed to resistance to change (Bart-Plange, 2019). I also question the nature of education that goes on in the classrooms in relation to communicative action. Part of the problem is related to the lack of resources, population growth and an obsession with consumerism among the elite; however, the major problem is related to the communication channels in educational institutions (Muricho & Chang'ach, 2013).

Learner unrest and riots are further indicators of a lack of cultivation of a democratic community in Ghana. Participants in basic education should be held responsible for their capabilities to change societal impediments to education, such as violence. For instance, learners, management and teachers could assume the responsibility to deliberate amicably on disputes at stake, thereby avoiding violent options (Bart-Plange, 2019). If communicative channels were put in place to deal with learners' anxieties, learner unrest and violence will surely be something of the past. This is because most of the learners would have their grievances resolved amicably. Indeed, equal opportunity is a necessity for democratic schooling (Kenny, 2018). I argue that educational institutions should not necessarily be paradigms of perfection. If education institutions could acknowledge learners' voices and involve the communicative abilities of citizens to be present in egalitarian spaces where they are recognised as part of the school community and can contribute to reforms in education, it is possible that such institutions of learning might be seen as avenues for promotion of democratic citizenship education.

6.9.2 Equality

The notion of equality is derived from policy sentiments and/or principles of education and development throughout the history of education and policy in Ghana (Ansah & Swanzy, 2019). Formal education involves selecting and sorting out the skills that every individual should have acquired by the end of every level of schooling (Ansah & Swanzy, 2019). In Ghana, reforms at all levels of education are championed by the push from a declining economy, population growth and increasing sectoral competition for scarce financial resources and the neo-liberal policies that dictate policy reforms for financing education (Poku & Whitman, 2017). Johnson (2013:331) shows that schools in Africa (Ghana included) have been conceptualised as serving the rich, the elite and the politically connected, and notes that this will result in "maldevelopment, social stratification and the centralisation of knowledge", which will undermine the concept of education as engendering equality. Accordingly, inculcating cultural heritage is a broad policy statement contained in policy documents throughout the history of

Ghanaian education (Kwoyiga & Apusigah, 2019). This concept is broad enough to cover issues from cultural instruction to the norms associated with adult membership in society. In this sense, civic and citizenship education are commonly taught (Kwoyiga & Apusigah, 2019). Morality and good grammar are both taught in basic schools in Ghana. However, deliberative socialisation is far removed from real schooling in Ghanaian basic education (Kwoyiga & Apusigah, 2019). Much of citizenship education refers to nationalism in relation to independence, *harambee* (self-help projects) and African socialism (Frazier, 2017). As a country, Ghana strives to inculcate the ideas of equality in its education policy statements to instil the notions of liberty of person; freedom of speech, thought and faith; right to own property; and rights to justice (Arnot et al., 2018). Liberalism and political citizenship in Ghana and in its educational policies can be traced to the attainment of independence, which improved the rights to economic welfare and security for the citizens of the country (Arnot et al., 2018).

Despite the massive effort to liberalise education policy in Ghana, equality has not been achieved (Arnot et al., 2018). Today, in Ghana, citizens are still stratified in terms of wealth, power, ethnicity and difference (Arnot et al., 2018). Governance and access to education institutions are still linked to minority groups (i.e., elite people, or people with high social status). Inequalities of status remain a canker in Ghana. Some citizens count, while others are ignored or are hardly noticed. Education in Ghana simultaneously promotes the conditions for equality and the conditions for inequality (Arnot et al., 2018).

Put differently, basic education in Ghana and in most parts of Africa promotes equality in the sense that it enables an individual's increase in skills, and it aims at improving the economic wealth and state of the country (Wadja, 2019). However, it also promotes inequality in the way it cultivates hierarchies according to class, status and power (Arnot et al., 2018). A lack of critical skills in education cripple's critical citizenship and marginalises those who are not able to acquire or access education (Arnot et al., 2018). Indeed, I agree that education ought to open spaces for all citizens to claim rights to be different. Prewitt (1972:7) rightly points out, "if equality implies that education should be accessible to all, it also implies that each individual has the right to be educated according to his talents and ambitions". In this case, the policy formulations in education should consider the equality of all human beings, irrespective of their geographical origin or ethnic affiliation. Equal opportunity means equal chance to display "difference" (Arnot et al., 2018:120).

Based on the aforementioned, I argue here that, even though education policy in Ghana promotes equal educational opportunities, opportunities for education are not equally available to all citizens in the country. I will point out instances where these manifests.

First, the geographical location in which an individual grows up determines his or her chances to access basic education (where the emphasis is on quality). Those who grow up or go to school in the southern sector have greater access to prestigious secondary education institutions than those from other parts of the country, for instance, those from the northern part of the country (Arnot et al., 2018). This is because the availability of quality education institutions in Ghana is centralised in the major cities of the country, making it difficult for people from other parts of the country to access them. The quality of basic education also varies in terms of quality of instruction, of facilities and of resources, as well as academic standards (Arnot et al., 2018). "Geographical inequalities are further reflected in rural and urban differences. For instance, schools located in the major cities are mostly regarded as prestigious" (Hall & Barrett 2018:32). Even though many people from other towns gain access to schools, they prefer to be in the prestigious ones due to the lack of facilities and poor quality of instruction found in the rural schools (Pesando, Wolf, Behrman & Tsinigo, 2020). In fact, in the major cities of Ghana, facilities are of high quality and levels of instruction are better because of better-qualified academic personnel (Pesando et al., 2020). Therefore, educational opportunities in Ghana are not distributed equally (Pesando et al., 2020).

I argue further that educational opportunities in Ghana are influenced by family loyalty. Most elite parents secure positions and cultivate relationships with power to acquire positions for their children in all levels of education at schools they have attended (Pesando et al., 2020) or whether they have family connections. Wealthier parents also gain more access than poorer parents for their children (Pesando et al., 2020). For instance, there is a computerised system that allocates JHS candidates to senior high schools called Computerised School Selection and Placement System (CSSPS) (MoESS, 2005; Nettey, 2019). Here, the allocation is based on learners' raw scores in final examination that qualify them to attend their preferred choice of high school selected and they are then given access based on whether they can afford to pay or whether they have family connections to the institutions. Thus, educational opportunities in Ghana are obtained through family connections (Amponsah et al., 2018). The question that arises is what happens to those learners with similar qualifications who cannot afford to pay.

Undoubtedly, meritocracy plays a considerable role in selecting educational opportunities in Ghanaian education institutions (Amponsah et al., 2018). Prewitt (1972:13) notes that educational attainment, merit considerations, qualifications and job performance determine access to prestigious positions in Africa. In addition, favouritism, patronage, social connections, ethnic affiliations and political loyalties determine opportunities to access education (Pesando et al., 2020). In essence, equal opportunities are not considered in relation to being human, with the intelligibilities that come with it (Pesando et al., 2020). In other words, inequality is the norm propagated by the most privileged citizens (see Pesando et al., 2020), which is contrary to what is articulated in policy.

The question that arises is how DCE, career mobility and occupational status can be determined based on merit and performance if factors such as tribalism and/or ethnicity and patronage play a decisive role. Although there is a strong emphasis on patriotism and paternalism in the Ghanaian education system, however blind patriotism falls on the side of those who are marginalised in society and paternalism ensue among those destined to occupy privileged positions (Abankwa, 2018). This situation in Ghana presents a narrow understanding of self in relation to society.

6.9.3 Access and participation

Access and participation in education in Africa are contentious, unequal and exclusive (Furlong & Cartmel, 2009:17). In several instances, the Ghanaian government has attempted to equalise opportunities for education (see Abankwa, 2018; Wadja, 2019), but there is apprehension about disparities in access and participation by several socio-economic groups (see Abankwa, 2018; Wadja, 2019). Endeavours to democratise access and participation promoted by public subsidies do not seem to have had any meaningful influence on participation in Ghanaian basic education by learners from the lower end of the socio-economic scale (Abankwa, 2018; Wadja, 2019). In fact, most learners who come from low socioeconomic backgrounds find it extremely difficult to climb the educational ladder. In view of this, access to quality education becomes problematic (Abankwa, 2018). Indeed, it is worth mentioning that access to quality education is based on the socioeconomic status of one's parents. Learners whose parents are well placed socioeconomically get the opportunity to attend good schools (Abankwa, 2018; Wadja, 2019). Even though the implementation of the Free Senior High Policy has helped in giving access to most learners who come from low socioeconomic backgrounds (Edwards & Amoah, 2020), there is still ample evidence to suggest that the socioeconomic status of parents is the key

determinant when it comes to getting opportunities to access quality education (Amponsah et al., 2018). The question here relates to the justness of this process, which includes some and excludes others. A further question relates to who participated in making such policies that exclude, and whether this policy is in tandem with justice as described in the liberal strands of DCE analysed in 6.8 (also see Pesando et al., 2020).

Instances of injustice in the Ghanaian education system cannot be overlooked, because they have resulted in much bitterness and unrest in the country in the period 1970-1990 (see Abankwa, 2018). The distribution of quality education, for example, does not take the demographics of the country into account (Owusu, 2018) and the geographical location of higher education institutions in the country does not allow equal opportunities for access by the different ethnic groups (Pesando et al., 2020). This means that some ethnic groups have more access to quality education and greater participation than others. Apart from access, the quality of schools in Ghana is alarming (Pesando et al., 2020). Schools have opened in areas in various districts to cater for those who previously did not have access because of the unequal distribution of schools. The problem is that the quality of education offered in such schools does not compare well with those in major cities. Most of these schools do not have qualified staff or the necessary resources and infrastructure (such as classrooms or buildings, administrative offices, teachers' bungalows and dormitories for learners) (Bart-Plange, 2019). This undermines the principles of justice that Rawls (1993) proposes (see Schrepfer, 2019). One might ask –

- Is it fair that the ethnically divided regions have inferior schools with very limited resources?
- Will such schools accept the role of education as a hub of knowledge for developing a just citizenry?
- Which equal platforms can these schools create, for instance, to alleviate injustice and inequality? (Schrepfer, 2019).

Indeed, some socio-economic groups cannot afford access to educational institutions; hence, there is a problem of accessibility and inequality in Ghanaian basic schools.

6.9.4 Public reasonableness

The Ghanaian Constitution (especially Chapter 5, articles 12 & 13) provides the right to fundamental freedoms (GoG, 1992b), specifically freedom of expression, freedom of

association, academic freedom and access to justice. While public reasonableness is highlighted in the Constitution, there seems to be discrepancies between what is constitutional and the reality in the everyday running of school and societal interactions (see Buchanan, 2017; Sey, 2018). I am of the view that Ghanaian education seems to be an example of a lack of and/or an actualised understanding of public reasonableness (see Sey, 2018). Learners, academics and management alike could avoid unnecessary altercation by taking responsible action in exercising their public reason as a potentiality (Moellendorf, 2018). Following the analysis reflected in (see, 6.2), it could be argued that colonial education had a greater influence to unresponsive culture and an unquestioning culture among Ghanaians in relation to exercising their authority. Indeed, Ghanaians were taught to respect authority and never to question it (see Bart-Plange, 2019). This, in fact, contradicts Habermas's (1997) perception of communicative freedom, and undermines the human need for interaction. It is evident that, even at the level of university education, the political elite silenced academics teaching public reasonableness, and learners were not encouraged to question or engage in public discourses about public policy or to question political authority in Ghana (Arnot et al., 2018). Today, with unlimited freedom of communication, even though the Constitution provides space for academic freedom, and freedom of expression, Ghanaians rather keep quiet about their problems in order to maintain the peace (Arnot et al., 2018). This remains one of the unrestrained issues that have erupted in several instances of violence, culminating in sporadic ethnic clashes that the country experienced.

6.10 GHANA'S JHS CURRICULUM AND THE TEACHING OF DCE

Ghana has undergone dramatic changes since the first democratic election in the country's history in 1950. Among the changes that have taken place is the enactment of education policies relevant to the establishment of a unitary and democratic Ghana. Ghanaian education policy and subsequent curriculum development placed participatory democracy and active citizenship at its centre (Arnot et al., 2018). The first education policy, which was laid before parliament, was the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) of 1951 (MoE, 1951). The main objective of this policy was to achieve universal free basic EFA for children of school-going age in the country. Indeed, one year after the implementation of the ADP, many public, middle and secondary schools in Ghana opened, and by 1957, middle school enrolment had shot up to 115 831 with another 9 860 learners in 38 secondary schools receiving government assistance (McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). Despite the success achieved in terms of enrolment of

learners, the 1951 ADP education policy lacked the concept of DCE (see McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). The education policy failed to encourage learners to participate and to deliberate on issues of national importance (see McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975). Learners did not have a voice on issues confronting the nation. This, in fact, did not help Ghanaian citizens to be active democratic citizens (see McWilliam & Kwamena-Poh, 1975).

According to McLaughlin (1992), the concept of citizenship is defined in terms of a continuum of minimal and maximal interpretations. This explanation is correspondingly true of education for citizenship, McLaughlin argues. In this context, the term 'minimal' refers to citizenship as 'taught', and by extension to education for citizenship that relies entirely on the formal school curriculum. Interpreted maximally, citizenship can be 'taught' and 'caught', that is to say, effective education for citizenship covers opportunities for teaching about citizenship within and outside the formal curriculum. In recent years, the Ghanaian curriculum has experienced a drastic change towards the institution of the tenets of DCE (see Banini, 2019). For instance, the current Ghanaian education policy, Education Act, No. 778 of 2008, seeks to provide for the establishment of an education system intended to produce well-balanced individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values, aptitudes and attitudes to become functional and productive citizens for the total development and democratic advancement of the nation and for related matters (see Banini, 2019).

The question of how learners can learn the political capabilities that empower them to function more effectively in a democratic state and society and to have the 'voice' to be able to participate in deliberative democracy certainly has important and complex implications for formal education. This raises the key issues of how schools are structured and how they should be structured and organised along democratic lines, taking into account that democracy is best learned in a democratic setting (Mncube, 2008). In this ideal model, particularly in terms of the distribution of decision-making power, participation is encouraged as well as freedom of expression and a sense of justice and fairness in order to help to produce citizens who are fully capable of functioning in a democratic state (Mncube, 2008). Democratic citizenship requires double democratisation of education within the micro and macro society (Davies et al., 2002). Indeed, Mncube (2008) argues that a more democratic development of society requires a democratic system of education.

It is evident that most of the educational policies in Ghana are based on the political philosophy of the governing party and their attitude towards DCE (Banini, 2019). For instance, the

transitional and immediate post-colonial education policy reforms of 1951, 1961 and 1967 were mainly aimed at achieving increasing access to and participation in basic education to the neglect of DCE in Ghana (Banini, 2019). During the political and economic depression periods of 1987 and 1995, attempts were made by governments to encourage the participation and deliberation of citizens in education discussions through the formation of various committees that involved all stakeholders in education and the introduction of certain subjects in the basic education curriculum in an attempt to solve societal problems (Banini, 2019). Yet, the major features of DCE were inadequate. The current education policy emphasises –

- free compulsory education at the basic level;
- decentralisation of education;
- inclusive education;
- the establishment of school boards of governors;
- the establishment of school management committees;
- district education oversight committees;
- rights in education;
- strict compliance with the Children's Act, No. 560 of 1988;
- school durbars (i.e. assemblies or gatherings in schools);
- school prefect systems;
- school committee systems;
- admission processes of learners;
- procedures for recruitment of staff; and
- rules and regulations to ensure discipline (GoG, 2004).

Indeed, the above are indicative of the cultivation of a democratic system of education practices in Ghanaian schools (MacBeath, Dempster, Frost, Johnson & Swaffield, 2018).

I argue that the 2008 Education Act has indeed led to the creation of a democratic system of education that engages both staff and learners in decision-making at certain levels of school management, especially in the metropolitan and municipal schools. To some extent, parents and past learners' associations of the school are also involved in decision-making on certain matters, such as learner and staff welfare, learner discipline, and provision of school facilities. This action by government in bringing all stakeholders in education together through their respective representatives in designing the current educational reform supports the concept of

DCE. It is interesting to note that all the measures stated above are currently being implemented in the JHSs (Mohammed, 2016; Owusu, 2018). More so, through curriculum innovations, the teaching of certain subjects at the JHS has been introduced. These subjects include Religious and Moral Education, Citizenship Education, Social Studies, History and Government, which have helped learners acquire training in DCE. Suffice it to say that these subjects were designed based on Ghanaian beliefs, attitudes, values, skills and knowledge, which will help train young Ghanaians to become good citizens (MoE. 1999; 2007a; 2010).

The NCCE has also played a fundamental role in the sustenance of democratic education in Ghana. The NCCE is an independent, non-partisan governance institution, set up under Article 231 of the 1992 Constitution of the Republic of Ghana. The NCCE works to promote and sustain democracy and inculcate in the Ghanaian citizenry the awareness of their rights and obligations, through civic education (Issahaku, 2019; MacBeath et al., 2018). The NCCE was established in 1993 under the National Commission for Civic Education Act, No 452 of 1993. Since its inception, the NCCE has implemented several programmes and public education campaigns to sustain and increase awareness of constitutional democracy among Ghanaians for the achievement of political and social stability for equitable economic growth and integrated development through civic education (GoG, 1992b). However, the focus of the NCCE work is the adult population who are expected to exercise their voting rights during elections and to promote democratic practices in various micro institutions, such as schools (MacBeath et al., 2018).

Despite the great success of DCE in Ghana, recent assessments of DCE depict that democratic political culture is underdeveloped and formal democratic institutions and processes give inadequate voice to the poor and to marginalised groups (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). Effective participation in the making and implementation of public policy is has been limited to a powerful president and a small political elite who has succeeded in capturing the presidency through fairly competitive elections, and with it control of the public resources that the Constitution places under control of the executive branch (Fox et al., 2011; Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). There are concerns about politicians' use of language that could fan ethnic tensions, especially during social and political discourse (MacBeath et al., 2018). The support for the two main parties, the New Patriotic party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC), precariously splits along ethnic lines (AfriMAP, 2007; Akuamoah, 2017). For the past almost three decades (1993-2020), the NCCE has performed creditably in the delivery of quality

democratic citizen education; however, formal education has greater potential than is being utilised in educating learners towards democratic citizenship (Akuamoah, 2017).

6.11 SUMMARY

This chapter presented a discussion of whether education policies, acts, curriculum programmes, teaching and learning at JHSs in the Ashanti region offer sufficient opportunities for the cultivation of some key DCE tenets and its contribution to the development of DCE in Ghana. Here, there was an in-depth discussion of the key tenets, namely inclusivity, participation, cosmopolitanism, compassion and civil engagement and their practices in the JHSs in the Ashanti region of Ghana. This enabled me to answer my research question of the thesis (see 1.6).

Four flaws of DCE in Ghana basic education (JHSs) were identified: deliberation and management, equality, inclusivity and public reasonableness, which have resulted in weak management and administration of basic education. These have to be improved. It was found that Ghanaian basic education seems to be adequate in terms of teaching and learning because in theory, the Ghanaian curriculum has recently (2008 to date) experienced a drastic change towards the institution of the tenets of DCE, but very little in practice.

In the next chapter, I discuss the research process, the contribution of this research study and the research findings on the DCE in Ghanaian JHSs and the implications on teaching and learning, as well as the recommendations and areas for future study.

CHAPTER SEVEN

A RECONCEPTUALISED VIEW OF DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: POTENTIAL CONTRIBUTIONS TO GHANAIAN JUNIOR HIGH SCHOOL PROGRAMMES

7.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter presents a synopsis of the research process and discusses the contributions of this research to Ghanaian junior high schools (JHSs) in Ashanti region and recommendations for further research arising from this study. Throughout this study, I explored how Ghanaian educational policies, various acts and curriculum programmes with respect to teaching, learning and management of JHSs in the Ashanti region of Ghana offer opportunities to the cultivation of some key tenets in democratic citizenship education (DCE), and the extent to which these policies, acts and curriculum programmes contribute or do not contribute to the development of DCE. I argued that liberal DCE in Ghanaian basic education has a very narrow division on the basis that it gives distorted views of participation, deliberation and belonging. I found that Ghanaian basic education is limited in its conceptualisation of DCE because of the nationalistic orientation of Ghanaian basic education that narrows education in terms of national development and neglects humanistic overtones.

However, I theorised that, if DCE were to be achieved in Ghana, then a deliberative model of DCE needs to be implemented in Ghanaian basic schools. This suggestion becomes imperative because deliberative DCE empowers all citizens to participate freely and equally in different activities in which they can engage themselves, expressing their ideas by way of argument, and justifying their reasons for their various stances. Indeed, it is through this engagement that citizens come to understand each other, recognise their misunderstandings and misconceptions, and become abreast of things with which they hitherto were not familiar. Citizens also become critical thinkers who are not afraid to talk in public and who are able to contribute to finding solutions to the problems that society faces every day. This chapter therefore provides a reconceptualised view of DCE and its potential contributions to the teaching and learning in Ghanaian JHS programmes.

7.2 SYNOPSIS OF THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The current research explored the important aspect of DCE in the Ghanaian educational policy framework. My conviction is that the only form of society that facilitates the continued evolution of the human species is a democratic form of society. Furthermore, the development of such a society is largely dependent on the democratisation of schools and schooling (Dewey, 1903). Democratic citizenship requires double democratisation of education (micro) and society (macro) (Davies et al., 2002). Indeed, throughout the world, countries such as the United Kingdom, the United States of America, Egypt, Botswana, Nigeria and South Africa have embarked on various reforms and policies in education to promote democracy after the collapse of authoritarian and colonial rules (see 3.8) (Carlson, 2018; Crick, 2017; Nwoye, 2018). In its quest to better the educational system in that country, Ghana has gone through countless educational reforms and interventions (Ansah & Swanzy, 2019).

Successive governments have implemented various interventions to improve access and quality of education delivery. Indeed, a critical assessment of the various acts, interventions and reforms in the Ghanaian educational system before, during and after the colonial period attests to changes in the curriculum. Yet, in most cases, the main stakeholders of the educational sectors – namely parents, learners, teachers and opinion leaders – are rarely consulted on the implication of these reforms and curriculum changes towards teaching and learning. Therefore, in this section, I describe my findings during the educational research in terms of the Ghanaian educational reforms, acts and curriculum, and the tenets of DCE. My discussions of the observation are based on data reflected in Chapters 4, 5 and 6 for better understanding.

The main research question the study sought to address was:

- Do the educational policies in the Ashanti region of Ghana offer opportunities to cultivate DCE in Ghanaian society?

This was supported by the following secondary questions:

- What is DCE within the liberal framework?
- To what extent are Ghana's educational policy documents informed by DCE?
- Finally, what are the implications of educating for DCE to teaching and learning in Ashanti schools?

The above research questions guided and directed my study into JHS (basic education) in Ghana as I explored its contribution to the cultivation of DCE.

In this research, I made used of the concept 'philosophy of education', and described in detail the research design and methodology (see 2.1) and the method (see 2.4) used in this thesis. This was imperative, particularly to have a full appreciation of the importance of philosophy of education, its objectives, and the way it contributes to educational research. I also described the research design and methodology; thus, the interpretive theory (see 2.4.1) and other research methodology, namely deconstructive, conceptual and narrative analysis that was used to gain information about the relationship between DCE and Ghanaian educational policies, acts and curricula to enhance democratic citizenship in Ghanaian society (see 2.1).

Philosophy of education therefore provides a way to solve educational problems through philosophical attitudes (constantly asking questions to understand something better, or to clarify a phenomenon with which one might not be familiar) in order to arrive at conclusions or solutions. For instance, the use of philosophy of education has contributed to understanding and clarifying Ghanaian education policies, acts and curricula, which are the main sources of current research in education (see Gyimah-Boadi, 2010; also see 2.3).

The research used liberal DCE (see 2.4.1) because of its emphasis on the notion of discursive and communicative deliberation among people in public spaces where all participate equally and freely, without any oppression from those who are in power, to discuss issues that are of concern to them and society (see Burchill, 2020). The concept of liberal DCE is also important on account of its principles of respect, equality, inclusion, collective identity and civil engagement, which all help to improve equality and participation in the sharing and distribution of public goods in Ghana (see Arnot et al., 2018).

Furthermore, I used interpretive theory as research paradigm, concept analysis and deconstructive analysis (see 2.1) as research methods to collect, think about and analyse information on the tenets of DCE in relation to management and teaching and learning in JHSs in the Ashanti region of Ghana. The purpose of doing this was to have a clear understanding of the concept of DCE, and to be able to assess the Ghanaian education policy documents in terms of DCE tenets. Concept analysis serves to expose (typically unconscious) practical inconsistency (see Bassham et al., 2008; Feldman, 2019). In this regard, conceptual analyses, such as that of democracy, citizenship, education as well as Ghanaian educational policy

documents, were done to see how they attend to the cultivation of DCE in Ghana and its relationship with teaching and learning in schools.

Again, the interpretive theory is the theoretical framework that guides research efforts in terms of philosophy of education (Feldman, 2019). This theory assumes that people act for a variety of reasons. It is about analysis that involves more than observation (Krippendorff, 2018; Schwandt, 1994). In other words, actions should not be only observed, but also must be explained (Keedy, 1992; Krippendorff, 2018). I adopted the interpretivist approach for this research because it can uncover people's understanding of phenomena, as argued by Waghid (2002).

In this regard, tenets of DCE were used to understand and clarify the meanings of the Ghanaian educational policy documents in relation to management, teaching and learning in Ghanaian schools. Undoubtedly, the use of the philosophy of education helped me to identify the challenges that have bewildered the educational system in Ghana, and to find ways to eradicate them. Questions were asked constantly during the investigation to understand the meaning of the educational policy documents. The methodology and the methods used also guided me in reaching the findings. For instance, I used deconstruction and conceptual analysis in appraising and examining the liberal framework of deliberative democracy in Ghanaian schools.

7.3 SYNOPSIS OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

Chapter 3 reported on literature and an exploration of modern definitions of democracy (see 3.2), types of democracy (see 3.2), models of democracy (see 3.3), democracy and national development (see 3.4), deliberative democracy and education (see 3.5), education for democracy (see 3.6), the relationship between DCE and management (see 3.7) as well as teaching and learning in Ghanaian schools (see 3.8). The purpose of presenting this overview of democratic spheres of change in Ghana was to reflect on the link between democratic discourse and education. However, before attempting the analysis of a Ghanaian policy framework on education, it was imperative to understand democracy and its related concepts. In this regard, I established that there are many theories and models that explain the concept of democracy. On an in-depth analysis of these theories and concepts, I found that most of the theories differ completely from one other and provide different explanations for the concept of democracy. Indeed, there are also theories and concepts, which help to understand the gaps between existing democracy and what democracy should be.

Regarding the models of democracy, I found that democracy and its form of functioning can be divided into two major types. One form is the representative or liberal democracy where citizens choose their representatives to govern the state. Accordingly, decision-making is done by the representative of the people (see 3.3). The other form describes indirect or participatory democracy in which all citizens participate in the governance of the country and thus are directly involved in the decision-making (see 3.3). Indeed, it must be emphasised that both patterns and styles of democracy are thus classic varieties of the complex democratic system that we see functioning in different parts of the world today, including Africa and Ghana. The prominent education system in classic democracies inspires a sense of citizenship and responsibility among citizens towards their state and fellow citizens. This way they can participate productively in the functioning of the state and their democratic system by adding value to the existing system.

Regarding deliberative democracy as a key feature in DCE, I found that deliberative democracy is at the heart of democratic practice (see 3.5). The ideals of deliberative democracy believe that citizens should always make sure that they justify their decisions in the context of public reasoning (see 3.5). They should work to seek mutually justifiable answers for all laws, which they wish to impose upon each other. Deliberative democracy requires the application of a deliberative character as well as deliberative attitudes, skills and values, all of which can be cultivated effectively in a classroom setting. Indeed, schools are miniature forms of the larger society, and thus constitute the best arena to cultivate education for exercising deliberative democracy (see 3.5). However, there are conflicting conceptions of democratic education, just like those of democracy. There are conflicts with regard to the kind of values and skills that should be included within an educational framework for deliberative democracy.

Furthermore, I established that there is an increasing trend towards democratisation of several governments (see 3.6). This implies that education has gradually started playing a major role in creating a political culture. Democratic education helps learners understand that they share the power to make most of the key decisions governing the economy (see 3.6). A democratically based approach tries to educate by giving instructions based on democratic rules. In order to make the young minds of learners accept the principles of democracy, rather than simply accepting their leaders, it is important to help them grasp democracy through practical exposure. Thus, civic education in DCE teaches learners not only to respect human dignity but also to

appreciate its role in sustaining cooperation in terms of politics. This aspect of appreciation also requires them to understand the diverse ways of life of their fellow citizens (see 3.6).

Chapter 4 reported in more detail on the key policy documents that have affected the Ghanaian educational system. The rationale for doing this analysis of policy content in the context of Ghanaian educational policy documents was to explore and understand Ghanaian educational policy changes and their contribution to the promotion of DCE. However, before analysing the Ghanaian educational policy, it was necessary to understand policy and educational policy. In this regard, I found the meaning of policy as declarations of aim, and those that embody strategies of work. Policy can also be thought of as a position or stance developed in response to a problem or issue of conflict and directed towards a particular objective (see Harman, 1984).

On the one hand, education policy is described as "a set of political decisions which have been taken by those who exercise power (policymakers, teachers, unions and community organisations) through a prescription of actions aimed at changing educational institutions or practices" (McLaughlin, 2000, cited in Waghid, 2002:33). It can also essentially mean a set of objectives or goals that members of government, policymakers, teachers and organisations attempt to accomplish. Suffice it to say that education policy is exposed to different meanings and interpretations, because different teachers (mostly the ones who implement the educational policies) understand education policy differently, according to where they are located (see Kogan, 1975; 2018).

Within the Ghanaian educational system, the concept of DCE is not new; it existed before the introduction of formal Western education (see Asimeng-Boahene, 2000; Kankam, 2016). Young people were taken through a specialised initiation process resulting in the transmission of values, norms and culture to the young in order to develop a "sense of belongingness" (Quaynor, 2018:368) to society. Literature shows that citizenship education was described by scholars (such as Kankam, 2016; Quaynor, 2018) as multivalent in nature (in other words, citizenship education was susceptible to many interpretations and values), and it leads to the inculcation of –

- good moral values in young members of the community, such as honesty, honour and respect for the elderly;
- promotion of intellectual training through the study of local and oral history, poetry, reasoning, riddles, proverbs and storytelling;

- vocational training based on the apprenticeship system from the father or relative who has mastered such a vocation in order to ensure economic survival and physical development by undertaking recreational activities, such as dancing, singing, wrestling and acrobatic displays (see Kankam, 2016; Quaynor, 2018).

The major objective of this education was to help the young child learn to play, eat and share with siblings and friends in the community in order to develop the spirit of communalism (see Kankam, 2016).

However, the introduction of formal Western education in Ghana during the colonial era in the nineteenth century and early part of the twentieth century destroyed and collapsed this African form of indigenous education (see 4.3). For instance, I noted that in all the educational ordinances passed by the various colonial governments, there was no evidence of DCE. The major objective of these ordinances was to develop the cognitive mind of the Ghanaian who had to be able to read, write and serve as interpreters to represent the merchants in their businesses, and indeed without these interventions (ordinances), the majority of the Ghanaian populace would have remained illiterates (see Antwi, 1995:29; Gyimah-Brempong, 2017).

Regarding Ghanaian educational policies, I found that the first government of Ghana – the Convention People's Party (CPP) under the leadership of Dr Kwame Nkrumah – presented to parliament the first educational policy, the Accelerated Development Plan (ADP) of 1951 (MoE, 1951). The main objective of this policy was to achieve universal free primary education for all children of school-going age in the country. One year after the implementation of ADP, many middle and secondary schools in Ghana had opened. In addition, the ADP successfully Africanised the curriculum up to the secondary school level (see Aziabah, 2018; Graham, 1976). However, despite the various successes chalked up by the ADP, evidence points out that this educational policy lacked the concept of DCE (see Edzii, 2017). For example, the policy failed to encourage citizens to participate and deliberate on issues of national importance. In fact, citizens did not have a voice on issues confronting the nation at all (see Edzii, 2017).

Furthermore, in the period immediately following the post-colonial period (1961-1969), the government of the day, realising that education was important in national development, introduced two educational policies, the Education Act of 1961 and that of 1967. I found among other things that the Education Act of 1961 was passed to overhaul our education in order to:

- meet the philosophy and aspirations of the government and the citizens;
- ensure that all children of school-going age go to school;
- make education more secular so that people are not denied education because of their religious affiliation; and
- give the government a greater say in the control and management of education in the country.

However, the 1961 Act was described as a policy, which did not promote public participation and deliberation on different issues and concerns affecting the entire nation (see Boakye, 2019). The educational system was developed on the political ideology of the ruling CPP government under the leadership of Dr Kwame Nkrumah who had declared the country a one-party state (see Boakye, 2019). Indeed, this act exhibited a lack of DCE and participation by citizens and the exclusion of others who could have contributed in solving societal problems when given the opportunity to do so (see Boakye, 2019). After Gen. A. A Afrifa, the military ruler, had overthrown the Nkrumah-led government in 1966, the National Liberation Council (NLC) also constituted an educational review committee (MoI, 1967). Evidence (see Boakye, 2019), however, suggests that this policy document was not subjected to public deliberation for citizens to share and participate how the education system at that time should be designed in order to help address the nation's problems, especially relating to education. In fact, this policy did not include the participation of most stakeholders who were affected by the policy. It was drawn up exclusively by those who supported the military government.

After a successful coup, the People's National Defense Council (PNDC), under the leadership of Flight Lieutenant (retired) JJ Rawlings, promised to solve the country's educational problems relating to access, quality and infrastructure (MoE, 1987). Although the 1987 New Education reform was under the leadership of a military government, the reform demonstrated some elements of DCE (Arnot et al., 2018; Osei, 2004). For instance, in terms of participation, many children of school-going age had access to comprehensive basic and secondary education (Arnot et al., 2018; Osei, 2004). In addition, to ensure gender equity, Science, Technology and Mathematics Education (STME) clinics were seriously highlighted to address the gender imbalances and misconceptions about girls' participation in science and technology (Amankwah-Amoah, 2016). Another positive element of DCE in this reform was the institution of community libraries at district centres and in some selected towns throughout the country (Boakye, 2019). These libraries served as information centres for the dissemination of

information through the reading of books, government gazettes, parliamentary Hansards, legislative instruments and bulletins (Boakye, 2019). The idea of private participation further emphasised the policy of decentralisation in the Ghanaian education system (Asante & Debrah, 2019).

The new era in the political history of Ghana, where the country was ushered into the Fourth Republican Constitution further saw a number of educational reforms. To begin with, in 1995, the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) programme ensured that all Ghanaian children of school-going age were in school (see GoG, 1992a). The reform sought to address three main thematic areas of our educational sector, namely –

- increasing access to education;
- improving quality of education; and
- efficient management of resources (see Akyeampong, 2009; Ekundayo, 2018).

The reform chalked up some successes, which had DCE connotations. For example, I found that the policy gave birth to inclusive education in the Ghanaian education system (see 4.7.1). This reform saw the establishment of the Inclusive Education Policy of 1988 (see Ametepee & Anastasiou, 2015), the Children's Act, 1998 (see Laird, 2002), the Persons with Disability Act, 2006 (see Asante & Sasu, 2015), and the Domestic Violence Act, 2007 (see Osei-Tutu & Ampadu, 2017). Indeed, the Special Education Division of the GES developed a policy that sought to adhere to the challenges of marginalisation, segregation and inequality experienced by learners with special needs in Ghanaian schools (see GES, 2005). Another area of success of the 1995 FCUBE was the institution of school management committees (SMCs). This ensured that all basic schools achieved a democratic school environment through community involvement and mobilisation for education delivery as well as improving quality teaching and learning (Ekundayo, 2018).

In 2002, the government, under President JA Kufuor, also introduced the Presidential Committee on the Review of Education Reform in Ghana and this resulted in the 2007 Educational Reform (MoE, 2007). This committee was of the view that the philosophy underlying the education system of the country should be the creation of (intellectually, spiritually, emotionally and physically) well-balanced individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values and aptitudes for self-actualisation and for the socio-economic and

political transformation of the nation (MoE, 2007). The major highlights of the 2007 Educational Reform included:

- the emphasis on free compulsory education at the basic level;
- decentralisation of education;
- inclusive education;
- the establishment of school boards of governors, SMCs, District Education Oversight Committees and Rights in Education;
- the strict compliance with the Children's Act of 1988 (Act 560);
- school durbars (i.e. assemblies or gatherings in schools) (MoE, 2010);
- school prefectorial systems;
- committee systems;
- admission processes of learners;
- procedures for recruitment of staff; and
- rules and regulations to ensure discipline.

These elements are indeed indicative of and point to the democratic system of education practices in Ghanaian schools.

Chapter 5 discussed various theoretical underpinnings related to DCE. The rationale behind this discussion was to enable me to address DCE in the Ghanaian context in order to answer the main research question, namely whether the educational policies in Ashanti region of Ghana offer opportunities for the cultivation of democratic citizenship education.

I described the ideas of five theorists in terms of DCE, namely Callan (1995; 2006a; 2016), Benhabib (1996; 2002; 2006), Young (1990; 1996; 2000; 2001; 2003; 2006a; 2006b; 2006c; 2011), Nussbaum (2000), Gutmann (1996; 1999; 2003) and Gutmann and Thompson (1996). I also described three Ghanaian theorists' ideas of DCE, namely Appiah (1994), Wiredu (1995; 1999; 2001; 2007; 2008) and Gyekye (2004; 2013).

Based on the information in Chapter 5, I found that, in their separate theories (discursive, communicative and deliberative) of DCE, Callan (2006a), Benhabib (2006), Young (2000), Nussbaum (2000), Gutmann and Thompson (1996) agreed that decision-making and debates must take place in public spaces where all can participate equally and freely, without any oppression from those who are in power, to discuss issues that are of concern to them and

society. In particular, Callan (2006a) in his communicative model of DCE, Benhabib (2006) in her discursive model of DCE, and Nussbaum (2000), Gutmann and Thompson (1996) in their deliberative models of DCE, shared the same idea that deliberations on issues concerned with society should be done in public spaces and that decisions agreed to will be legitimated by the majority affected by the debate. The above authors agree that deliberative DCE, despite favouring the promotion of legitimacy in collective decisions, also aims to promote mutual respect in the process of decision-making, helps to correct mistakes that may emerge during the discussion, and helps participants to gain a better understanding of something with which they, as citizens, may not be familiar. Benhabib (2006) as well as Gutmann and Thompson (1996) espouse that, in deliberative DCE, citizens cannot be reduced to or treated as merely passive objects of legislation; they should rather be treated as autonomous beings who wish to participate freely and equally in the process of decision-making. Put differently, citizens are not passive recipients who obey what others have to say without questioning the reasons for the decisions they have made (see Benhabib, 2006).

In contrast to the above theorists, Iris Marion Young states that such deliberation in public spaces is not enough. Young (2000) emphasises that, for democratic education to fulfil its purposes for all learners, it must recognise and include the perspectives of all of its learners just as a society must be inclusive of all of its citizens. Young therefore advocates for inclusion in education by suggesting that members of disadvantaged groups have opportunities to share their experiences, needs, perspectives and opinions in situations where differently situated others can hear their voices. Young (2006a) confirms that, for well-functioning deliberative DCE, there is a need for four elements that will legitimate the decision-making process, namely inclusion, equality, reasonableness and publicity. This suggests that deliberation will be inclusive when all citizens affected by the decision-making are included – also the less privileged and marginalised – and that they can participate freely and equally in the process. To her, citizens should be willing to listen to each other during public discourse, and should give persuasive justification to others, which brings trust, respect, mutuality and friendship.

Ghanaian theorists Appiah (1994), Gyekye (2004) and Wiredu (1995) added their views on the concept of democratic citizenship education. They advocate the need to use indigenous knowledge and African traditional experience in DCE. Gyekye (2013) opines that consensus, along with reconciliation, appears to have been a political virtue rigorously pursued in traditional councils and assemblies. Consensus is further considered vital to the practice of

democracy in most traditional African political systems. According to Wiredu (2008), African societies are founded on kinship relationships, which begin at household level and expand to lineage and clan proportions. Thus, in terms of feeling and sentiment, people are brought up to develop a sense of bonding with large groups of relatives at home and outside it from very early childhood. This evolving sense of bonding is a learning process in which the individual sees him- or herself increasingly as the centre of obligations and rights. On the other hand, Appiah (1994) believes that people should learn to live together and appreciate each other, learn about other places, take an interest in other civilisations, and listen to each other arguments and ideas, which will bring respect, trust and mutuality among citizens. The essence of DCE is that every human being has certain minimum entitlements, many to do with his or her fair share of making sure that everybody gets that to which they are entitled (Appiah, 1994). Appiah (1994) believes a true patriot will want to do more than this minimum for his or her fellow citizens.

I further established the synergy of Western and African philosophers on some key tenets of DCE. I began by looking at the concepts 'cosmopolitanism' and 'globalisation'. I found that the concept 'cosmopolitanism' has assumed similar if not the same interpretation from both the Western and African philosophers (see 5.8). The narratives on cosmopolitanism point to an enviable conclusion that, although humanity may have its differences, there are more to bind us than those that divide us (see Benhabib, 1996). For instance, I argued that Benhabib's (2006) idea and interpretation of democratic iteration and universalism can be reconciled with Appiah's (1994) interpretation of universality and difference (see 5.8). Appiah's (1994) concept of fallibilism also gave credence to Nussbaum's (2000) idea that, through deliberative democracy, differences are understood, similarities identified, and conflict ultimately reduced (see 5.8).

The second concept that was considered was that of inclusion. Inclusion, as used by Young (2000), refer to a political term, as citizens engage in a democratic deliberative process (see 5.8). Gyekye also argues that the notion of inclusion is the defining characteristic of democracy. Synthesising the narratives of Young (2006a) and Gyekye (2004), I established that, while Young (2006a) advocates for everybody – including the marginalised – to be included in public deliberation, Gyekye (2004) shares similar thoughts by advocating for consensus by way of reaching out to all who matter in public deliberation. In fact, I noticed that they both agreed that decisions are best taken when the inputs and opinions of benefactors are considered and factored.

On the DCE tenets of collective identity, I found that, while these tenets were used by Western philosophers – one might not find the same concept among African philosophers – other concepts such as communitarianism and communalism share almost the same interpretation and meaning. I found that, although these concepts might have different meanings at superficial level, they have the same implicit meaning and interpretation. For instance, Benhabib (2006), in explaining collective identity, advanced the idea of oneness. Young (2006c), in her view on collective identity, advocated for the social group where members of such group share an affinity with one another. Wiredu (2007), however, in explaining communitarianism as implicit in the concept of collective identity, refers to the sense of belonging and solidarity. I therefore conclude that these theorists (Western and African) in essence converge on the thought that collective identity and communitarianism rest on the principle that not only individuals are equals equal but unequal's will be handled equally.

The issue of participation found its way in the discourse of deliberated democracy by Young (2006a), although her African counterparts prefer to use "civil engagement" (see Gyekye, 2004:64) and "consensus" (see Wiredu, 1999:36) instead. Indeed, with regard to Young's (2001) interpretation of participation, the views of Gyekye (2013) and Wiredu (2008) on civil engagement are similar if not the same. I consequently found that Young's (2001) idea of incorporating multiple perspectives in deliberation and decision-making corresponds to Gyekye (2013) and Wiredu's (2007) ideas on consultation or conferring and consensus or dialogue.

Regarding the reconceptualization of DCE in Africa, I discussed the reconciliation views of Western and African DCE tenets as an extension of the views of renowned African philosophers such as Appiah, Gyekye, Waghid and Wiredu, Dzobo, Mbiti and Menkiti. Here, emphasis was placed on their articulations of the following distinctiveness's of DCE in Africa: civil engagement, communitarianism, cosmopolitanism or globalisation, inclusiveness, participation and *ubuntu*. This enabled me to deconstruct the parameters through which DCE tenets in Africa are premised. This distinctiveness of DCE tenets in Africa helped to address problems associated with junior high education (basic education) teaching and learning in the Ghanaian educational policy documents. This was necessary because of the unique differences in social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds that affect Africans, especially Ghanaians, and other global concerns on DCE.

In interrogating the liberal DCE and its distinctives in African DCE-in-becoming, it is my conviction that both DCE-in-becoming and the existing theories of the above African theorists

could contribute towards initiating social transformation through the achievement of equality, access, inclusivity, participation, civil engagement, reciprocity, autonomy, critical thinking, comprehension and tolerance of diverse ideas and experiences.

I proposed the concept of *ubuntu* as a viable African ideological philosophy that has the potentiality to guide and influence education policy formulation and implementation in Africa and in Ghana in particular. Here, I also supported Benhabib's (1996) description of *ubuntu* as a concept that depicts the value of people and their heritage. The narrations of Benhabib (2006), Waghid (2008), Menkiti (2004) and Wiredu (2007) indicate the unique role community plays in moulding the personality of an individual, an indication of DCE in the process of becoming. This is because the totality of the individual person is unknown, but the inculcation of communal values and norms gives hope for the development of a democratic citizenry. In the nutshell, I believe *ubuntu* can be used in Ghana's education system as pedagogy in teaching and learning. Africans value the existence of community for the survival of individual lives, which calls for group and cooperative learning and the development of societal virtues, such as respect, hospitality and acceptance of diverse backgrounds.

I discussed civil engagement as a concept with the emerging conceptualisation of DCE-in-becoming that has the potentiality necessary for education in Africa (see 5.9.2). I supported the views of Waghid (2014) and also the education drives of Waghid and Davids (2013) on instructional interactions and connections in whatever is remarkable as a potential for DCE in becoming. that education is driven from pedagogical encounters, relationships in whatever singular becomes a potential for DCE-in-becoming. Here, l based my argument on the accounts of civil engagement by Callan (1995), Derrida (1988), Waghid (2005) and Gyekye (2004) as espoused in the early part of this chapter (also see Chapter 5).

The concept of inclusivity as a potentiality of DCE-in-becoming in African context was analysed (see 5.9.3). This involved the identification of the related terminologies of social difference, power, identity and culture. In our day-to-day classroom interactions, we encounter learners from different social backgrounds. Here, the school should not be seen as a simple site of knowledge but also as a place to shape the exigencies of history and politics and the self-concept of our children. The identification of who our learners are, their relative identities and histories, the cultures and experiences they bring to the school system, and the interplay of culture, history and location in shaping educational outcomes are all of paramount importance.

I considered the views of African philosophers on cosmopolitanism from the context of DCE-in-becoming. We are living in a global world where the development of communication and technology makes it easy for people to connect and access information from all over the world. Globalisation has also increased in individuals the development of a high sense of belonging to the whole world rather than to their locality, and this interconnectedness has resulted in conflicts in our time between cultures, especially in African countries such as Zimbabwe, Kenya, Nigeria and Ghana, to mention just a few. Here, l supports the views expressed of Gyekye (2013), Appiah (1994) and Waghid (2008) (see Chapter 5).

Finally, on communitarianism as potentiality of DCE-in-becoming, I took into account the views expressed by African philosophers, such as Mbiti, Wiredu, Waghid, Menkiti and Gyekye to gain an understanding of the concept. Similar sentiments on communitarianism as potentiality of DCE-in-becoming as echoed by Waghid when he reiterates that, for one to become a person, one must display the norms of human behaviour, such as generosity, compassion, benevolence, kindness and respect for other people (Waghid, 2002:461). I support the argument by Gyekye (1997; 1998) that each member, irrespective of his or her ethnic group of origin, should be able to exercise his or her rights, such as freedom of speech, freedom of movement and freedom of choice, and the right to justice and participation. The communitarian view of learners' involvement in decision-making and governance is based on the role and status of learners as members of an institutional community involved in the co-production of knowledge (James, 2006:356).

Chapter 6 explored DCE in the Ghanaian education system in relation to some key tenets in DCE discussed in the previous chapter (see 5.8). This analysis enabled me to answer the main research question of this thesis (see 1.6). I began by looking at whether basic schools in the Ashanti region of Ghana practice inclusive education as an aspect of DCE. I found that the concept of inclusive education has been embedded directly and indirectly in several government policies since independence. The aspiration for inclusive education dates back at 1951 when Dr Kwame Nkrumah, in the Education Reform under the ADP, introduced fee-free compulsory basic education for all children between the ages of five and sixteen. However, documentary analysis suggests that children's aspirations are not being met across several of the JHSs in the Ashanti region. The baseline evidence suggests that the needs for inclusion are not being met because of a lack of synergy between the different actors who have a responsibility (e.g. district education offices) or a stake in improving quality education. For instance, I found that teachers

are reluctant to have learners with disabilities in class (especially those with behaviour problems) because of large class sizes and the stereotypical attitudes toward such people (see 6.2).

On the issue of whether basic schools in the Ashanti region of Ghana cultivate participation and collective identity in the management of the day-to-day activities that affect teaching and learning, I found that in most of the districts in the Ashanti region and in the majority of rural and urban schools, the dominant form of learner participation was chorused parrot-like involvement. In the majority of lessons, learners' participation did not take the form of learners demonstrating effective learning by physical or verbal responses to information received from the teacher or the textbook. Indeed, there is very limited evidence that participatory methods, which promote learning in classrooms, are being used actively in basic schools in the Ashanti region. The dominant strategy in both project and non-project schools is the chalk-and-talk approach. Many teachers merely use the lecture method, which is often punctuated with the usage of L1 and L2 (thus, Asante Twi [L1] and English [L2]). In addition, higher-order questions, which require critical thinking and application by the learners, are often missing from the classrooms. In many classes in the Ashanti region, teachers at JHS level deliver their lessons via the lecture approach, which makes it extremely difficult – if not impossible – for learners to develop critical thinking skills.

In terms of the question whether civil engagement is used as a tool in the teaching and learning process in basic schools in the Ashanti region, I found that the National Commission for Civic Education (NCCE) has a mandate for promoting civil participation, creating and sustaining awareness of the principles and goals of the Constitution of Ghana among all learners and stakeholders in education. Since its inception, the NCCE has had a nationwide presence through its regional and district offices, which provide a platform that enables NCCE to reach out to every community. For example, I noted that the school performance appraisal meetings (SPAMs) have effectively engaged stakeholders in education. SPAMs are meetings of the major stakeholders in education to deliberate in a civil manner the performance of learners at the various levels of education delivery; thus, school, unit, circuit or district. I found that SPAMs are not only restricted to this outcome but include inputs regarding teachers, teaching and learning material, textbooks and other resources needed for their schools.

Regarding the cultivation of compassion in the teaching and learning process in basic schools in the Ashanti region, I found that learners feel safe and comfortable in classes that are free

from abusive language, physical action by the teacher or other learners, and where compassion is demonstrated toward learners. In fact, documentary evidence reveals that learners speak of how they are more likely to interact freely both with each other and with the teacher in a compassionate learning environment than in a class that is characterised by abusive language and physical action by the teacher or other learners (see Opeyemi, 2017; Osler & Starkey, 2017). Teachers who are harsh and overly punitive evoke fear in their learners. This deters learners from fully participating in the lessons and sometimes leads to learners dropping out. Indeed, learners – particularly in the JHSs – enjoy being in class with teachers who are humorous and friendly, who demonstrate compassion and who are approachable.

Regarding the cultivation of cosmopolitanism in the management of basic schools in the Ashanti region, globalisation has had an increasingly powerful effect on Ghanaian education systems, with greater focus on aligning learners' education by maintaining competitiveness in the global economy. Curricular perspectives have also shifted by including cosmopolitan values in national curricula. Indeed, international and multilateral organisations[9] who have an increasingly present voice in the development of educational agenda in the country, have also testified to the value of a cosmopolitan education (see Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020).

I further discussed the uniqueness of DCE in Ghanaian basic schools with specific references to DCE tenets, such inclusion (see 6.3), participation (see 6.4), collective identity (see 6.4), civil engagement (see 6.5), compassion (see 6.6) and cosmopolitanism (see 6.7). The reason for doing this was to reconceptualise and address the question of whether these liberal thoughts address the intentions of Ghanaian basic education towards egalitarian and democratic education as engendered in the current Ghanaian policy document, namely Education Act, 778 of 2008. The analysis showed that the Ghanaian education policy depicts a DCE that already exists within the liberal framework; yet, which is also absent in certain instances. I found that the liberal DCE presented in Chapter 6 is narrowly conceptualised in terms of responsibility, rights and belonging. I argued that liberal DCE in Ghanaian basic education has a very narrow division on the basis that it gives distorted views of participation, deliberation and belonging. Ghanaian basic education is limited in its conceptualisation of DCE because of its nationalistic orientation that narrows education to national development and neglects humanistic overtones, as expressed by Owusu (2018).

[9] **Multilateral organisations** are organisations that obtain their funds from multiple governments and spend the funds on projects in various countries (Browne, 2017).

Despite the expansion of basic schools to allow equal opportunities, there are still challenges in relation to access. Indeed, I established that nationalistic discourses encourage ethnocentrism because attempts are often made to draw distinct lines between those who belong to a tribe and those who do not belong. I also argued that fashioning education from a cosmopolitan perspective does not devalue nationalistic education but sees it as a springboard for generating humanistic values that are universal to humanity. Indeed, cosmopolitan citizens process the multiple identities that they actively reflect on the communities to which they belong and the links that join these communities. In so doing, cosmopolitan citizens recognise others as essentially similar to themselves, and they arrive at a sense of citizenship based on a consciousness of humanity rather than on allegiance to a state (see Osler & Starkey, 2005; 2017).

On the issue of the flaws of DCE in the Ghanaian basic education system, I found that, at the time, Ghanaian basic education experienced weak management and administration. This was felt most especially in the separation of powers that delinked channels for communication; hence, the unrest in various levels of education in Ghana. Indeed, it was found that, since independence, there have been several attempts to reform education in Ghana. The reforms took the form of recommendations, commissions and policy articulation. Despite these attempts, the implementation of reformed policies has proved cumbersome and has resulted in more educational problems. A lack of communication and coordination among policymakers and educational stakeholders was identified to have paralysed the implementation of policy, as documented in terms of liberal DCE (see Author, date). In fact, the lack of democratic communication, in other words, participation and deliberation, and the lack of inclusive practices in decision-making on public education have contributed to resistance to change. I therefore encourage educational institutions not to be paradigms of perfection necessarily. However, such institutions of learning – if they can acknowledge learners' voices and involve the communicative abilities of citizens to be present in egalitarian spaces where they are recognised as part of the school community – can contribute to reform in education.

I noted that the issue of equality was derived from policy sentiments and/or principles of education and development throughout the history of education and policy in Ghana. Despite the narratives to liberalise education policy in Ghana, equality has not been achieved at the time of this research (i.e. 2015-2020). I found that, in Ghana, citizens are still stratified in terms of wealth, power and ethnicity. At the time of this research, governance and access to education

institutions were still linked to minority groups. Inequalities of status remain a canker in Ghana. Put differently, basic education in Ghana promotes equality in the sense that it enables an individual's increase in skills and aims at improving the economic wealth and state of the country. I argue that, even though education policy in Ghana promotes equal educational opportunities, opportunities for education are not equally available to all citizens in the country. First, I found that the geographical location within which an individual grows up determines his or her chances of access to basic education (with the emphasis on quality). Second, educational opportunities in Ghana are also influenced by family loyalty. Undoubtedly, meritocracy plays a considerable role in selecting educational opportunities in Ghanaian education institutions. The question that I asked myself was how DCE, career mobility and occupational status can be determined by merit and performance if factors such as tribalism and/or ethnicity and patronage play a decisive role.

On the issue of access and participation, I found that, in several instances, Ghanaian governments (previous and current) have attempted to equalise opportunities for education. There is however apprehension about disparities in access and participation by several socio-economic groups. The attempts by government to democratise access and participation with the support of subsidies seem to have had no meaningful influence on the participation in Ghanaian basic education. It was surprising to note that access to quality education in Ghana is based on how much money an individual is able to pay. I therefore argue that instances of injustice in the Ghanaian educational system cannot be overlooked, because they have resulted in much bitterness and unrest in the country.

The Ghanaian Constitution (Chapter 5, articles 12 and 13) provides rights to fundamental freedoms, specifically freedom of expression, freedom of association, academic freedom and freedom of access to justice. I established that public reasonableness was highlighted in the Constitution, but there seems to be discrepancies between what is constitutional and the reality in the everyday running of schools and societal interactions. I argue that education in Ghana seems to be an example of a lack of and/or an actualised understanding of public reasonableness. It could be argued that colonial education had a greater influence on an unresponsive and unquestioning culture among Ghanaians in relation to exercising their authority. Indeed, I noted that Ghanaians were taught to respect authority and never to question it.

On the issue of whether the Ghanaian basic education curriculum might be adequate or inadequate in the teaching of DCE, I found that, in theory, the Ghanaian curriculum experienced a drastic change towards the institution of the tenets of DCE recently. For instance, the current Ghanaian educational policy, Education Act, 778 of 2008, seeks to provide for the establishment of an educational system intended to produce well-balanced individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values, aptitudes and attitudes to become functional and productive citizens for the total development and democratic advancement of the nation and for related matters. I further argue that the 2008 Education Act has indeed led to the creation of a democratic system of education that engages both staff and learners in decision-making at certain levels of school management, especially at metropolitan and municipal schools. I also noted that the NCCE has played a fundamental role in the sustenance of democratic education in Ghana. Despite the great success of DCE in Ghana, I found recent assessments of DCE show that democratic political culture is underdeveloped and formal democratic institutions and processes give inadequate voice to poor and marginalised groups (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010).

7.4 CONTRIBUTION OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY

In this educational research, I analysed how educational policies attend to the cultivation of DCE in relation to teaching and learning in basic schools in the Ashanti region of Ghana. This investigation also took a critical look at some key tenets of DCE. I concluded that current and successive governments are and always have been concerned about ensuring increasing access and quality to education. Thus, successive governments have shown concerned about training citizens who can contribute to the development of their lives, the lives of their family, the community and the country at large.

In answering the main research question, based on the findings, I concluded that, despite the efforts of successive governments to transform the Ghanaian education system to make a better contribution to the development of quality and multifaceted Ghanaian citizens, the present and previous educational policies are failing and have failed to contribute adequately to promoting DCE in Ghanaian society. This is apparent because of a lack of synergy and/or a very narrow division with respect to DCE policies the country has had. More so, Citizenship Education, Social Studies, and Religious and Moral Education are introduced into the curriculum at primary schools and at JHSs according to which learners are taught structures of democratic governance but not the practices of democracy in schools.

7.5 CONCLUSION OF THIS RESEARCH STUDY

In the light of the above, the following conclusions were drawn:

1. There is a need to strongly highlight, boost and emphasise deliberative democratic citizenship in Ghanaian policies so that citizens can participate freely and equally, with the chance and right to initiate speech acts, to question, to interrogate, to open debate and to provide reflexive arguments and reasons. Therefore, having a deliberative DCE in Ghanaian schools will potentially enable citizens to recognise their rights, exercise citizenship and find solutions to their social problems. This is very helpful in every democratic society.
2. Basic education (i.e. JHS) in Ghana needs to be reconceptualised to provide opportunities for learners-in-becoming with the associated DCE tenets to help deal with problems in JHS teaching and learning in the Ghanaian educational policy documents. This is necessary because of the unique differences in social, cultural and ethnic backgrounds that affect Africa, especially Ghanaians, and other global concerns on DCE. This could also contribute towards initiating social transformation through the achievement of equality, cosmopolitanism, critical thinking and tolerance of diverse ideas and experiences.
3. Basic school education – teaching and learning – in the Ashanti region should reflect on pedagogy, such as *ubuntu*, as a means of achieving quality education and the solution of societal problems in the country. This will call for the development of society virtues, such as respect, hospitality and acceptance of diverse backgrounds. This will also help basic education in Ghana embrace team spirit, with the common goals to achieve moral outcomes in education and to elevate the notion of individual reason by contributing ideas and making practical contributions to decision-making for the betterment of the community as a whole.
4. Education in the Ghanaian basic school system must be informed by DCE-in-becoming by building a strong civil society through civil engagement that will create a social structure for interaction and democratic advocacy, transparency and openness in dealing with tension emanating from citizens' political, ethnic, social, religious and economic lives.
5. Current Ghanaian education policy documents in the basic school system should be restructured to help unmask corruption, inequalities, academic capitalisation and the influence of donor countries to our educational policies to achieve global demands and

national divides. This will open the space for contributing to and recognising the foundation for re-imagining DCE in Ghana.

6. Basic education policies must be reconceptualised to create an environment of collective identity, reasonableness, understanding, inclusivity and reciprocity to be comparable to DCE-in-becoming. This will help educators to deal with the challenges, possibilities and opportunities that will arise because of having different bodies in schools and classrooms for debates and discussions that will involve all learners.
7. Basic education policies should highlight the recognised structures and bodies in all basic school systems for learner representatives for effective teaching and learning. This will also make learners' voices heard, and help learners to make informed choices and participate in decision-making processes in schools.

I argued that the Education Act, 778 of 2008 has indeed led to the creation of a democratic system of education that engages both staff and learners in decision-making at a certain level of school management, especially at metropolitan and municipal schools. To some extent, parents and old learners' associations of the school are also involved in decision-making on certain matters, such as learner and staff welfare, learner discipline and provision of school facilities. This action by government in bringing all stakeholders in education together through their respective representatives to design current educational reform supports the concept of DCE. More so, through curriculum innovations, the teaching of certain subjects at JHS has been introduced, such as Religious and Moral Education and Social Studies which has helped learners acquire training in DCE. Suffice it to say that these subjects were designed based on Ghanaian beliefs, attitudes, values, skills and knowledge, which will help train young Ghanaians to become good citizens (MoE. 1999; 2007a; 2010).

Despite the considerable success of DCE in Ghana, recent assessments of DCE depict that democratic political culture is underdeveloped, and formal democratic institutions and processes give inadequate voice to poor and marginalised groups (Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). Effective participation in the making and implementation of public policy has been limited to a powerful president and a small political elite who has succeeded in capturing the presidency through fairly competitive elections, and with it the power to control public resources, which the constitution places under control of the executive branch (Fox et al., 2011; Gyimah-Boadi, 2010). There are concerns about politicians' use of language that could fan ethnic tensions, especially during social and political discourse (MacBeath et al., 2018). The support for the two

main parties, the New Patriotic Party (NPP) and National Democratic Congress (NDC), precariously splits along ethnic lines, although several attempts have been made by civil societies in the country, such as IMANI Ghana and the NCCE to reduce this ethnic tension (AfriMAP, 2007; Akuamoah, 2017). For the past two decades (1993-2020), the NCCE has performed creditably in the delivery of quality democratic citizen education; however, formal education has greater potential than is being utilised in educating learners towards democratic citizenship (Akuamoah, 2017).

7.6 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY CONCERNING JHS EDUCATION IN GHANA

Having examined deliberative DCE in the Ghanaian JHS education policy, various acts, curriculum formulation and practices, I suggest the following areas for research that emanated from the gaps in knowledge recognised in this study and which require attention.

- ways in which the reconceptualised view of DCE could foster the involvement of citizens in policy decision-making, particularly in educational policies;
- the Ghanaian government also needs to support a deliberative DCE model if it wishes to achieve the ideal of democratic citizens in Ghanaian society; and
- analysis and discourse of democratic citizenship deliberations should be done in public arenas to foster a sense of togetherness among citizens.

7.7 SUMMARY

In this chapter, I presented a synopsis of the research process and the research findings on DCE in Ghanaian junior high schools, and its implications on teaching and learning. Recommendations and areas of study from the gaps recognised in the research have been suggested in this concluding chapter.

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APPENDIX 1

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