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Oneness, Indigeneity, and Ghanaian Citizenship(s): Lessons Learned from Teachers

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Abstract

Redefining Ghanaian citizenship has been the impetus for the new 2019 educational reform (NaCCA/MoE, 2018). This is out of the ambition from Nana Akufo-Addo, the current President, to seek a ‘renewed mindset’ in future Ghanaians to break dependence on aid from the West and refocus onto Ghana to become self-reliant, moving their country out of poverty (GOG, 2019a:8). For this reason, the President also seeks in children a greater appreciation of their heritage for a more located, historic expression of citizenship. These words are symbolic: echoing those of the first Ghanaian President, Kwame Nkrumah (1963:132) who articulated this as ‘Oneness:’ a deep-rooted identity and unity for mobilising African solutions to African problems. The current Government deems teachers as central to this change.

This thesis explores what lessons can be learned from government primary teachers in the city of Accra, Ghana about Ghanaian citizenship, in relation to their learners. The main lesson learned was about Ghanaian citizenship(s), a vast, overlapping definition on their ethnic, national, and (Black) African consciousness, with its tensions, contradictions, and possibilities. The new curriculum and, in particular, the subject of History after its prolonged absence in schools, had begun to activate these teachers’ views. Drawing on the words of Nkrumah, teachers further spoke of ‘Oneness,’ described as a relational Indigenous ontology for seeking unity in difference, and, to sustain the liberal democratic state. Oneness was also grounded in ‘Rootedness’ for articulating indigeneity, symbiotic with how teachers located their learners in forming and negotiating the intricacies of ethnic identity and difference. Additionally, these teachers viewed Ghanaian citizenship(s) as rhetoric for re-centring mindsets back onto Ghana, to accelerate their economic development. Oneness was a symbol for national transformation. While accepting the Government’s neoliberal terms for fostering self-sufficiency in their learners, the teachers were seeking to reimagine a different trajectory for their future nation on their own Ghanaian terms. This included reclaiming the meaning of (Black) African identity and heritage. Inspired by these teachers’ words, one possible conceptual model for critical praxis around the subject of Ghanaian citizenship(s) in the urban classroom in Accra is presented.

List of Tables **6**
List of Figures **6**
Acknowledgement **7**
Author's Declaration **8**
Abbreviations **9**

Chapter 1. Lessons Learned from Teachers? Redefining Ghanaian Citizenship in Primary Schools **10**
1.1. Introduction 10
1.2. Rationale for the Study 12
1.3. From Theory to Reality 14
1.4. Research Questions 15
1.5. Thesis Outline 16

Chapter 2. Being Ghanaian: Tracing the History of Ethnicity, the Nation, and Indigeneity **19**
2.1. Introduction 19
2.2. A Brief History of Ghana 19
2.3. Contemporary Ghana: Questions on Identity and Belonging 31
2.4. Revisiting the 'Indigenous' in Contemporary Accra 35
2.5. Chapter Summary 42

Chapter 3. Contemporary Ghanaian Citizenship: Some Theoretical Models **44**
3.1. Introduction 44
3.2. Liberal Democratic Citizenship for the Right to Develop 45
3.3. Neoliberal Citizenship for Ghana Beyond Aid 57
3.4. Chapter Summary 67

Chapter 4. Citizenship from the Curriculum to the Classroom: A Literature Review **69**
4.1. Introduction 69
4.2. Ghana's 2019 Curriculum for Change and Sustainable Development 70
4.3. Content of the National Curriculum 82
4.4. Teachers' Views on Ghanaian Citizenship and Identity and Difference 99
4.5. Chapter Summary 114

Chapter 5. Teachers as Experts: Research Methodology **116**
5.1. Introduction 116
5.2. My Epistemological and Ontological Stance 116
5.3. A Statement of Positionality 118
5.4. Trustworthiness 121
5.5. Research Design 123
5.6. Data Collection 126
5.7. Reflexive Thematic Analysis 138
5.8. Embodying Transformative Praxis 144
5.9. Chapter Summary 146

Chapter 6. Connecting the Teachers: The Context of the Three Schools in Accra, Ghana.. 147
6.1. Introduction...147
6.2. The Three Schools...148
6.3. Profiling of the Teachers...154
6.4. Overview of Teachers' Characteristics 157
6.5. Chapter Summary 160

Chapter 7. 'Knowing Your Roots:' Presentation of Findings in each School 161
7.1. Introduction...161
7.2. Findings from School 1 161
7.3. Findings from School 2 174
7.4. Findings from School 3 187
7.5. Chapter Summary 198

Chapter 8. 'Oneness: We are One:' Presentation of Findings from across the Schools 200
8.1. Introduction...200
8.2. 'A Native Structure of our Very Being' 200
8.3. 'Standing on our Past'..208
8.4. 'Their Pre-Conditioned Mindset'...216
8.5. 'Bringing their Minds Back to their Country'................................223
8.6. Chapter Summary 228

Chapter 9. Lessons Learned from Teachers about Ghanaian Citizenship(s) 230
9.1. Introduction...230
9.2. Lesson Learned #1: Ghanaian citizenship(s) is Oneness, Rootedness, and Critical Consciousness...231
9.3. Lesson Learned #2: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) is Ethnic Consciousness.......234
9.4. Lesson Learned #3: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) should be for Revisiting Ethnic Difference..238
9.5. Lesson Learned #4: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) is National Consciousness 240
9.6. Lesson Learned #5: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) should be for Re-centring Mindsets Back onto Ghana...244
9.7. Lesson Learned #6: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) is and should be for Reclaiming (Black) African Consciousness...247
9.8. Chapter Summary 250

Chapter 10. Conclusion.. 252
10.1. Introduction 252
10.2. Implications for Future Theory 252
10.3. Implications for Future Practice...255
10.4. Limitations to the Study 256
10.5. New Lessons Learned?...257

List of References.. 258

Appendix 1. Postgraduate Research Application Form.......................... 279

Appendix 2. Letter of Approval from the College of Social Sciences Research Committee... 297

Appendix 3. Interview Topics 298

Appendix 4. Letter of Approval from the Ghana Education Service to visit the Schools 299

Appendix 5. Consent Form... 301

Appendix 6. Participant Information Sheet.. 303

Appendix 7. Extract of Field Notes... 306

Appendix 8. Example of Transcription (2.4) 309

Appendix 9. Finalised Thematic Map demonstrating Themes in each School 311

Appendix 10. Finalised Thematic Map demonstrating Themes across the Schools 312

Appendix 11. Educational Data for each District and across the Greater Accra Region 313

List of Tables

Table 1. Criteria for rigour: Research strategies and techniques 123

Table 2. Key customs relevant to the interviewing process........................ 128

Table 3. Location of the schools in the city of Accra, the Greater Accra Region 129

Table 4. Number of research participants per school 130

Table 5. Profiling of teachers in School 1 155

Table 6. Profiling of teachers in School 2 156

Table 7. Profiling of teachers in School 3 157

Table 8. Educational data for each district respective to the three schools 314

List of Figures

Figure 1. A map of the Ashanti Kingdom 20

Figure 2. A political map of Ghana and the location of Accra 38

Figure 3. A political map of the districts of the Greater Accra Region........... 148

Figure 4. One possible conceptual model of Ghanaian citizenship(s) for learners in urban schools in Accra, Ghana 233

Figure 5. Letter from the GES to the Greater Accra Regional and Central Regional Directors granting permission to conduct research 299

Figure 6. Letter from the Director of the Greater Accra Region to the three respective Directors of Education 300

Figure 7. Field notes of visit to School 1 306

Figure 8. Field notes of visit to School 2 307

Figure 9. Field notes of visit to School 3 308

Figure 10. A finalised thematic map demonstrating themes in each school..... 311

Figure 11. A finalised thematic map demonstrating themes across the schools 312

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To Dad, for your generosity, laughter, and amazing gift of words;

To my friends, for keeping me dancing;

To my Jesus, for your amazing grace and justice.

Author's Declaration

I, Amy Smail, declare that except where explicit reference is made to the contribution of others, that this dissertation is the result of my own work and has not been submitted for any other degree at the University of Glasgow or any other institution.

AMY SMAIL

Abbreviations

4IR	Fourth Industrial Revolution
FCUBE	Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education
GES	Ghana Education Service
GhBA	Ghana Beyond Aid
GOG	Government of Ghana
GSS	Ghana Statistical Service
IMF	International Monetary Fund
MoE	Ministry of Education
NaCCA	National Council for Curriculum and Assessment
NEIP	National Entrepreneurship and Innovation Programme
OWOP	Our World, Our People
RME	Religious and Moral Education
SDGs	Sustainable Development Goals
UN	The United Nations

Chapter 1.
Lessons Learned from Teachers?
Redefining Ghanaian Citizenship in Primary Schools

1.1. Introduction

Primary teachers are seen as central to the renewed imaginings of Ghanaian citizenship, driving the new 2019 educational reform. This is borne out of Nana Dankwa Akufo-Addo's ambition, as the current Ghanaian President, to instil a 'new sense of identity' in future citizens in order to deepen democracy for economic development (NaCCA/MoE 2019a:iii). With lessons learned on the 'inherent challenges' from the previous 2007 Education Reform (NaCCA/MoE, 2018:14), the process for fostering this new citizenship is now well defined; for inspiring children to problem-solve, innovate, and create economic opportunities, coming out of a country dependent on Western aid into an entrepreneurial, self-sufficient nation.

These priorities are pertinent for primary teachers in the capital city of Accra, faced with the immediate challenge of reversing high youth unemployment that is intensifying urban poverty, and still permeating within Indigenous communities (Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Chege, 2012; 2013; Paller, 2019). Located along the southern coast of Ghana, West Africa, with a rising population of 5.46 million, approximately half of Accra's population is under 24 years of age (GSS, 2021b:27), and a significant proportion of these youths make up 7.8% of Ghana's unemployed population (GSS, 2021e:45). Consequently, the new curriculum seeks to position Ghana as a nation with possibilities.

Equally, while key theoretical models of liberal and neoliberal citizenship still influence the new curriculum, the Government seeks to instil in learners a more located, historic expression of citizenship. According to the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (2019a, no.pagination), 'To create engaged citizens committed to the national cause, the new curriculum reintroduces a focus on the history, heritage and culture of Ghana… They will be given a heightened sense of their cultural identity, knowledge, and understanding of traditional norms.' Arguably, this is an indication of the Government starting, in the terms

of Dei (2016:502), to ‘revisit the question of the “Indigenous.”’ This has also been another lesson learned from the Government after criticisms of the previous 2007 reform being a ‘crisis of vision’ — which prioritised Western donor imperatives while subjugating domestic priorities (Takyi-Amoako, 2012; Kuyini, 2013:157). With Ghana’s population of 30.8 million having over 70 ethnic groups, as well as Accra, having the most ethnically diverse population in the country (GSS, 2021c:50), the Government has prioritised in the new curriculum the teaching about pre-colonial origins and cultures of these groups. Teachers, themselves, are positioned as key agents for nurturing ‘unity in diversity’ in their learners to deepen democracy (NaCCA/MoE, 2019e:37). This is despite teachers’ voices being relatively absent in educational policy-making processes to date (Osei, 2009; Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah, 2018).

According to the President, such transformation of the nation begins with learners inspired by Ghana’s ‘brave founders,’ after their anti-colonial struggle that led to the nation’s Independence in 1957 (NaCCA, 2019a: no.page). This includes of their first President, Osagyefo Dr. Kwame Nkrumah, and, while not fully attributed, whose decolonising ideas on African consciousness can be found within the new curriculum. Nkrumah’s work is also resurfacing within contemporary African literature for ‘taking charge of the definition of Africa and Africanness’ and with this, enabling Africans to reclaim the meaning of Blackness, in identity and heritage for undoing colonialism (Biney, 2011; Henaku, 2019; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020:87). Indeed, Ghanaian teachers are encouraged in the new curriculum to foster children’s pride in being Black, as part of their self-definition in Being Ghanaian (NaCCA/MoE, 2019d; 2019e). After a prolonged absence in primary schools, the new curriculum also now teaches about Ghana’s history of British colonial rule, opening conversations on power and difference.

The new educational reform is symbolic for teachers in Accra: a site where their pre-colonial and colonial histories are constantly intersecting along with their memories of Independence, and, evoking daily questions on Ghanaian identity and belonging (Pierre, 2012; Paller, 2019). However, curriculum implementation is renowned for being ambiguous and messy, instead of universal and formalised (Jung and Pinnar, 2016). For these teachers, their urban post-colonial classrooms

already inhabit a nexus of complex and contradictory contextual factors, shaping their views on citizenship, in relation to their learners.

Furthermore, emerging literature asserts that, without indigeneity, the study of the Ghanaian state-citizen relationship in Accra 'remains incomplete' (Paller, 2019:253). Paller (2019:40) claims that, while it is well known that the city is indigenous to the Ga people, indigeneity, an organising principle of 'who settled first' as the original claimants to the city, is profoundly understudied. The Ga people are found primarily in one of six Indigenous settlements, 'which together presently constitute the modern city' (Odotei 1991:61; Paller 2019). Paller argues that indigeneity, seen in the informal civic life of Accra, is constantly intersecting with formal models of citizenship, as well as shaping still understandings of ethnic identity and difference. Researching how Ghanaian citizenship intersects with indigeneity in schools in Accra, according to teachers, could make a significant contribution to the field of education. It offers insight into how teachers could be negotiating the 'tension between Western [liberal and neoliberal] and [indigenous] understandings of citizenship,' which is still to be reconciled (Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah, 2018:124).

1.2. Rationale for the Study

This thesis explores what lessons can be learned from government primary teachers in three urban schools in Accra, Ghana, about Ghanaian citizenship, in relation to their learners. As a qualitative study, 26 teachers were interviewed. From previously working with teachers in Accra, I recognise how teachers' voices offer a fascinating lens on the renewed conversations around Ghanaian citizenship stemming from the 2019 education reform. I also purposefully spoke with teachers of the urban poor who are under-studied in educational literature on Ghana. This is because poverty in Ghana is largely a rural phenomenon, yet these teachers are still part of Ghana's journey on fostering citizenship in their learners with the aim to transform the nation. For this reason, the schools used in this study were located in some of Accra's most economically deprived communities.

More generally, my study responds to a significant gap in educational literature on teachers' views on Ghanaian citizenship, particularly of primary teachers in Accra. Out of this, my study prioritises asking teachers about the different models of Ghanaian citizenship, as featured in the new curriculum, but without being limited to the normative educational policy discourse. I also purposefully position these teachers as 'curriculum-makers' instead of curriculum-implementers (Rosiek and Clandinin, 2016:297). This is to acknowledge their implicit roles in making meaning of the curriculum with their learners 'beyond the mandated curriculum,' as defined by the Government (2016:294). Given the newness of my study, parameters are still needed. I prioritise asking teachers about citizenship, in relation to their learners, rather than explore their own personal beliefs and subjective realities as ordinary citizens, as well as their professional identities and experiences in being a teacher — although I acknowledge that all these factors would shape their responses. This thesis also contends that an important starting point in this emerging area of research is to ask the teachers which curricular subjects, and any corresponding objectives, might be activating their views on citizenship. For this reason, I am not exploring further the multiple ways in which the new Ghanaian curriculum (such as hidden, null, lived, and experienced) is interpreted and enacted in the classroom by these teachers, and its effects on producing future citizens.

My rationale for positioning teachers as curriculum-makers is also to give space to 'revisit the question of the "Indigenous"' in relation to alternative understandings of citizenship in schools (Dei, 2016:502). It responds, in particular, to Paller's (2019) call for exploring indigeneity in Accra, as part of these teachers' Indigenous heritage. Out of this, a case is put forward for researching each school separately in regard to the school's proximity to one of the six Indigenous settlements of the Ga people. This opens conversation on how teachers define their learners' identity and difference, intimately connected to the power relationships located in Ghanaian histories, that, as literature suggests, still surface in daily life in the city. Subsequently, researching across these schools is to explore any shared meanings that teachers gave to citizenship and gives opportunity to seek their views on the value in revisiting the past and what this means for the future of Ghana.

Lastly, my rationale for this study comes from being a teacher, working with teachers, and researching about teachers in several post-colonial cities. It was my first experience of working with primary teachers in the city of Mumbai, India that provoked this interest. Upon training these teachers about the global child-centred approach (CCA), I observed a plethora of issues in its enactment in the classroom, despite a willingness from the teachers to engage with this. These observations led me to explore the issues with the same teachers in semi-structured interviews, conducted a few years later. My research revealed that an Indian indigenous expression of child-centred philosophy '[was] an intrinsic, interdependent element of what defines' their role as teacher and, intersecting with their understandings of the global CCA, critical for its sustainability (Smail, 2014:18).

The research stimulated my academic interest in 'revisiting the question of the Indigenous' (Dei,2016:502) with primary teachers in other post-colonial cities, forming the initial proposal of my PhD study. My proposal was also developed against the backdrop of educational reforms being announced in several post-colonial countries, with an explicit aim for renewing a sense of identity and belonging in learners, and acknowledging the role of Indigenous Knowledges, heritages, and cultures as central to this process. This included Ghana. These developments helped me to refine the focus of my study.

This thesis contends that these primary teachers are certainly well placed to provide their own lessons learned on Ghanaian citizenship. In doing so, they offer praxis for current and future education in Accra and their role within it.

1.3. From Theory to Reality

The original ambition for this thesis was to explore teachers' views on citizenship in two post-colonial countries of India and Ghana. Until halfway through my PhD, I was pursuing a comparative study between these countries and within each country. At the time, there was no foreseeable disruption to my fieldwork. Ghana was the first country out of the two where I began data collection, and in early 2020, I collected most of my data in Accra. However,

due to the spread of COVID-19 globally, I had to return earlier than planned as the UK borders were set to close. I was unable to travel to Winneba (in Ghana) to collect more data. Unfortunately, by mid 2020, there was also a travel ban to India, and prevented me from contacting the teachers, including virtually, as most had returned to their hometowns.

These unforeseen events profoundly impacted this thesis and what I had hoped to achieve by the end. However, meeting the teachers in Accra and exploring their voices in this study reshaped my own understandings of citizenship that I would not have arrived at without this unexpected opportunity. While adapting my study has been challenging, in speaking with me earnestly and honestly about their learners' futures, these teachers have taught me a seminal lesson in what can come from being led by reality rather than theory.

1.4. Research Questions

My research questions were formed in light of this context, and are outlined below. The main research question is:

> What lessons can be learned from government primary teachers in three urban schools in Accra, Ghana, about Ghanaian citizenship, in relation to their learners?

To investigate further, I ask the following sub-questions:

1. How do teachers explain the different models of Ghanaian citizenship in the current curriculum reform, in relation to their learners?

2. How do teachers define learners' identity and difference?

3. In what ways do teachers view the purpose of education in fostering and teaching about citizenship and their own role within it?

4. Through their views on citizenship, what are these teachers offering as praxis? What can this tell us about the relationship between teacher, curriculum, and the nation of Ghana?

1.5. Thesis Outline

The thesis is comprised of ten chapters. **Chapter 1** is an introduction that describes the issue in context and my rationale for the study, and outlines the research questions. It is important to highlight here that, for the remaining chapters, I have attempted to cite Ghanaian and other African scholars as much as possible. This is to acknowledge the need for decolonising research, due to the imbalance of academic knowledge production in and through the Global North. This includes writing white in lower-case and capitalising the terms, Black and Blackness, and Indigenous Knowledges, as plural. 'Race,' 'tribe,' and 'native' are also placed in inverted commas to acknowledge their discreditation in academia and policy as empty categories.

Chapter 2 explores the historical formation of Ghanaian citizenship and the state with attention to ethnicity and indigeneity. Firstly, I focus on pre-colonial Ghana, exploring the early Akan and Ga philosophy for communalism and personhood. This reveals what the British colonialists disrupted through the imposition of British subjecthood. Setting out the vision for Independent Ghana, I then explore key tenets of Kwame Nkrumah's (1979:10) philosophy of 'one-ness' for re-awakening (Black) African consciousness. Secondly, I examine ethnicity in contemporary Ghana and its relationship to the 'national.' The discussion is then contextualised in Accra, where the teachers of my study are located, showing the importance of indigeneity in everyday citizenship.

Chapter 3 presents two theoretical models on citizenship relevant to the current Ghanaian context. Firstly, I explore liberal citizenship and its relationship with democracy and human rights, as enshrined in the Ghanaian 1992 Constitution. Secondly, I examine neoliberal citizenship for economic development, as a relatively new theoretical model. I integrate research on the city of Accra to deepen this profile.

Chapter 4 examines the Ghanaian educational context. It traces the key developments leading up to the new 2019 educational reform, with attention to governmental thinking on citizenship and its role in education. I also analyse the new *Curriculum for Change and Sustainable Development* to understand which

theoretical dispositions, as explored in Chapter 3, inform the curricular content that the teachers of my study must enact. Next, I review the existing educational literature on Ghanaian teachers' views on citizenship to seek themes that might emerge in my interviews.

Chapter 5 presents the methodology for conducting this study. This starts with exploring my paradigmatic, epistemological, and ontological stance, and my positionality to acknowledge my biases in being a white British, middle-class woman, and a teacher and a researcher, and its impact on the research. It is important to acknowledge here that the enmeshment of my relationship in being white British with Ghanaian teachers of self-ascribed Black identity is inherently complex due to the legacy of colonialism. I am privileged above them. Equally, being a white British teacher and researcher served as my commonality and difference with these teachers, as a way of recognising as well as positioning them as the experts of their learners in their post-colonial classrooms. Secondly, I describe my fieldwork in Accra, and the interview process. Lastly, I describe my approach for using Reflexive Thematic Analysis of the two datasets (first, in each school, and next, across the schools).

Chapter 6 describes the contexts and demographics of the three different schools in their local communities across the Greater Accra Region. I then provide an overview of these 26 teachers' profiles in their schools.

Chapter 7 presents the findings in each of the three schools. I explore how indigeneity, defined as 'knowing your roots,' shapes these teachers' views on the selected theoretical models of Ghanaian citizenship, and on ethnic and tribal identities. I also explore their views on the purpose of education for citizenship and their role within it. To note, the terms, tribe and native are written thereafter without inverted commas to acknowledge how these teachers were redefining its meaning on their own African terms.

Chapter 8 presents the findings across the three schools. The significance of Oneness is seen, described as 'a native structure of our very being,' and a common narrative for expressing their ethnic, national, and (Black) African

consciousness. The findings reveal the messy realities for these teachers in defining and enacting citizenship in post-colonial Ghana.

Chapter 9 offers key lessons learned from these teachers, providing a deeper analysis. This is also presented as one possible conceptual model for critical praxis around the subject of Ghanaian citizenship(s) in the urban classroom in Accra. I also seek to answer my research questions and build on the existing literature from the previous chapters to advance this important conversation.

Chapter 10 concludes my study. After summarising this thesis, I consider the implications of my study for future theory and practice and its limitations.

Chapter 2.

Being Ghanaian:

Tracing the History of Ethnicity, the Nation, and Indigeneity

2.1. Introduction

To understand Ghanaian citizenship and nationhood, a review of its history is needed. Given the scope of this task, this chapter is separated into two parts. In the first part, I focus on pre-colonial Ghana to explore the historical meaning of ethnicity as a group-based identity. I give attention to the early Akan and Ga people as being indigenous to Southern Ghana (where Accra is located), although the Ga are indigenous to Accra specifically. In particular, I explore the early philosophy of personhood, now a basic concept in African communalism. This gives insight into what was disrupted by British colonial rule from 1874, leading me to examine the British colonial notion of subjecthood and the inventions of 'race' and 'tribe' that were enforced on Ghanaians until their Independence in 1957. Finally, I focus on the early writings of Ghana's first President, Kwame Nkrumah; I introduce his vision for the newly Independent Ghana, as articulated through Oneness.

For the second part of the chapter, meanings of ethnicity in contemporary Ghana will be explored. This will be done alongside an analysis of basic concepts of nation and the nation-state in the context of Ghana and its relationship to citizenship, which will be used and problematised throughout the rest of the thesis. Finally, I will contextualise indigeneity in contemporary Accra, where the teachers of my study are located.

2.2. A Brief History of Ghana

2.2.1. Pre-colonial Ghana

The migration of the early Akan people is seen as pivotal in West African History, primarily for their settling in the largest interior region that now makes up most

of present-day Ghana (Getz, 2004; Hargrove, 2015) [1]. It was specifically the Ashanti people of the early Akan who inhabited this interior region, which was known as the Ashanti Kingdom, as shown in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1. A map of the Ashanti Kingdom

(Source: Wikimedia Commons).

Also settling in Southern Ghana, along the coast, were the early Ga people, part of the Ga-Dangme people (Parker, 2000). The early Ga and Akan peoples were connected in several ways. Firstly, before official British colonial rule (which began in 1874), these settler groups began trading with the British and other Europeans in gold and ivory from the mid-sixteenth century, and some of whom were involved in the trading in enslaved peoples until its abolition in 1807 (Getz,

[1] Other settler groups migrated to the Northern and Eastern Regions, including the Ewe of the Volta Region and the Mole-Dagbani of Northern Ghana.

2004; Addo-Fening, 2013). Secondly, these groups are still recognised as indigenous to Southern Ghana. Of relevance to this thesis, the Ga people are considered as indigenous to Accra specifically, and 'claim authoritatively their first comer status… leaving no doubt to the question "who settled first and how"' (Paller, 2019:41). Paller (whose work I return to later on in this chapter) argues that these claims are still active within contemporary understandings of citizenship in the city, and its interplay with identity and belonging. I will now focus largely on the early Akan people to provide insight into the beginnings of Ghanaian nationhood, as they were the largest settler group and remain so in modern-day Ghana. I do focus on the Ga people, as being indigenous to Accra, where appropriate.

When examining settler groups in West African History and differentiating between them, it has been argued that applying the modern-day construct of ethnicity is unhelpful (Lentz, 2000; Nugent, 2008; Keese, 2015). While I unpack these debates in section 2.3.1, there is increasing historic evidence that identity and sense of belonging were not fixed to one particular group. Instead, early Ghanaians were organised through 'inter-group boundaries' constantly moving between one another (Nugent, 2008:924).

For Gyekye (1997:120), a more appropriate way of understanding how they identified is through the idea of a 'communocultural group,' rooted in the early Akan philosophy of personhood. This was eventually subsumed by the Ga people (Odotei, 1991; Neequaye, 2020). While the exact meaning of personhood is still contested, particularly between the prominent Ghanaian philosophers of Kwame Gyeke (see 1995) and Kwasi Wiredu (see 1983), there is general agreement that personhood was not granted from birth. Rather, since a person was born into the community, their personhood was acquired by acting in duty to that community. This was because the Akan believed that all were born with equality and dignity, since their *okra* (soul), *mogya* (blood), and *sunsum* (spirit) came from the *Onyame* (Supreme Being) — although, for the Ga people, *susuma* was spirit, and *kra* was soul (Chamlee-Wright, 1997). Living in duty to the community would enable their personhood to flourish. Their sense of morality was further demonstrated by the extent to which they valued the dignity and welfare of others above their own. Such principles are now seen as integral to African

communalism, and cogent with African humanism, which can be defined as solidarity amongst all Africans as one universal family (Muyila, 2012).

Traditional communalism had a political underpinning to it in terms of how groups were organised, and arguably was the closest expression to Ghana's early state-formation (Gyekye, 1997; Nugent, 2008). Although separate from each other, the early Akan and the early Ga were ruled under chieftaincy[2] comprising of a Chief, constituted by the royal lineage, and a co-ruling Queen Mother, and who were supported by a council of elders and several elites (Odotei, 1991; Getz, 2004). It is suggested by Gyekye (1997:132) that these contractual bonds between the chieftaincy and the people were based on rule by consent and that chiefs were elected with the 'acceptance of criticism and compromise.' He regards this as Ghana's earliest form of democracy. However, other historical evidence suggests that the early Akan society, as well as the Ga society, operated through a 'complex slave hierarchy' and implies that power engendered the freedom of certain groups over others (Getz, 2004:7). Ghana's history of inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic wars should also not be overlooked, demonstrating struggles for power between these settler groups (Hargrove, 2015).

Both groups were also organised through the use of sacred stools[3] and kinship by blood (matrilineal for the Akan and patrilineal for the Ga) (Odotei, 1991; Parker, 2000; Getz, 2004). However, an emerging scholarship argues for recognition of lineage over kinship when tracing the roots of identity and belonging in sub-Saharan Africa. According to Sangmpam (2017:36), 'Descent is deeper and involves, generally, a communal group reckoned by steps of filiation to a common ancestor… Kinship includes what is generally referred to as "relatives" and does not presuppose a common ancestor.' He argues that the difference, while subtle, is crucial as 'lineage and descent reckoning vocabulary and practices permeate everyday life' in contemporary sub-Saharan Africa (2017:37).

[2] The notion of chieftaincy was a colonial invention. This is described in more detail later in this chapter.

[3] In the case of the Akan, Hargrove (2015) explains that the Golden Stool symbolises when the gods confirmed the Asantehene as the absolute monarch of the Asante Kingdom, during the 1700s, and at the time, led to the Akans becoming one of the most powerful settler groups in West Africa. It also provides a connection to the spirits of their ancestors. Equally, the Ga people still observe the sacred stool, housed in Accra.

I shall return to this point after discussing British colonial rule in Ghana, to illustrate what was disrupted during this period.

2.2.2. Colonial Ghana

In 1874, shortly before the infamous Scramble for Africa, the British colonial governor was issued a proclamation over the Gold Coast[4] (Ghana), enabling it to become an official Crown Colony. This lasted until 1957, when Ghana gained Independence. British colonialism is best characterised as both a regime of 'divide and rule' for the extraction of overseas resources and of 'define-and rule' for the 'boundary, authority, and subjectivity' of colonised people (Mamdani, 2012:42). The justification for colonialism was centred on the ideology of imperialism that positioned the British Empire as sovereign and not subordinate to any earthly power. As Hyam (2010:1) comments, no other empire 'rivalled [the British Empire] for complexity and geographical spread.' As the Empire expanded, British colonisers began to codify the colonised inhabitants, through the notion of British subjecthood. Briefly illustrating the origins of this within Imperial Britain is useful for context and to examine how it manifested within Ghana.

As per the common principle of allegiance, British people were codified from birth as subjects of the royal Crown, and obliged to uphold its superiority as the bearer of all public power (Karatani, 2002). This belief in the Crown subsequently became the founding principle of the British Empire, an imagined and unlimited geographical territory. For Benton (2010:286), the 'portability of subjecthood' would connect both colonisers and the colonised people to the distant political entity of Imperial Britain. She further asserts that this was an early formation of state sovereignty, influenced by principles of the 1648 Treaty of Westphalia. This Treaty was used to create territorial borders between the new great powers of Europe in a way that would ensure non-interference. For Imperial Britain, the Treaty justified acquiring lands outside of Europe in which they could wield absolute power. These lands included the British Gold Coast, now known as Ghana. The area was delineated into an official territory with the

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[4] The four jurisdictions of the British Gold Coast are the Gold Coast, Ashanti, the Northern Territories Protectorate, and the British Togoland Trust Territory.

inhabitants controlled by British colonial administration, overseen by the centralised power of British Parliament that was located in Imperial Britain.

Once British rule was official, the fluidity and mobility of the early peoples of Ghana was profoundly disrupted (Lentz, 2000; Lentz and Nugent, 2000; Boone, 2003). The peoples were confined to a fixed geographic territory — although up until 1900 the Asante people possessed some of the interior region, having fought the British since 1823 (McCaskie, 1995). As Ghana was one of the later countries to be colonised in the late nineteenth century, British subjecthood of those colonised had already been inscribed into a number of legislations. In theory, subjecthood applied to the Ghanaians in terms of *jus soli* (right of soil or territory) and *jus sanguinis* (by right of blood or descent). A person born in a colony was said to acquire the same status as a person born in Britain. As Manby (2018:43) asserts, 'Only a tiny minority of Africans ever achieved the right to be treated on the same legal basis as whites.' The late nineteenth century was also the height of the British Empire, propounding the belief that 'Europeans were superior [and] gave rise to the claim that they had a right to conquer Africa… if necessary through force and colonization' (Falola and Agbo, 2018:85).

The logic of the British Empire was centred on a universalising model of European modernity: as Bhambra (2007:2) explains, 'Modernity, broadly conceived, refers to the cultural, economic, political, and social changes that took place in Western Europe from the mid-sixteenth century onwards.' In this so-called Age of Human Reason, Europeans believed that there was one objective, rationalistic, and universalising Truth and that all knowledge was thus European: nothing existed outside of it or before it. Any change was defined and validated in and through Europe as the metropolis, bifurcating Europe from non-Europe. Christianity, literacy, and the assimilation of other Western[5] cultural attributes became the tools for progressing European modernity in the colonies (Falola and Agbo, 2018; Manby, 2018). In sum, all humankind was believed to need civilising.

[5] The terms, 'West' and 'Western' and 'non-Western' are used repeatedly in African scholarship and in policy. As Mignolo (2015:25) explains, 'what constitutes the West more than geography is a linguistic family, a belief system and an epistemology. It is constituted by six modern European and imperial languages: Italian, Spanish and Portuguese, which were dominant during the Renaissance, and English, French and German which have been dominant since the Enlightenment… Thus the 'West' is shorthand for 'Western Civilization.''

The logic was used to justify scientific claims on 'race' that classified all human difference, both mental and physical. This is seen, for example, in the works of Robert Knox's *The Races of Men: A Fragment* (1850). For Knox (1850:241), the world was characterised by 'physical and psychological inferiority in the dark races generally.' Since 'race is everything,' he argued that, 'in a word, civilisation depends on it' (1850:v). This logic gained momentum through Social Darwinism, which further classified all human beings through an evolutionary rubric. It was espoused with Charles Darwin's monographs *On the Origin of Species* (1859) and *The Descent of Man* (1871), which became linked in popular understanding with Herbert Spencer's (1864) phrase, 'the survival of the fittest' — though historians now highlight that Darwin's theory was misapplied (Paul, 2003; Jeynes, 2011). Social Darwinism was quickly extended to the British Empire. With Africans portrayed as primitive peoples with an unchanging and fixed culture, civilising Africa was a moral imperative, 'which assume[d] that it is right for the "most fit" race to dominate the "less fit" (Dzorgbo, 2017:120). This was characterised as the 'white man's burden.'

It is well established that that the colonial invention of 'race' was used to classify and manage difference across British Colonial Africa (Mamdani, 2012; Manby, 2018). However, literature analysing the exact classifications used in the British Gold Coast is sparse, highlighting the need for future archival research[6]. For the same reason, it is difficult to identify when the term 'Black' was first used as a racialised category of Indigenous Ghanaians. What can be assumed is that 'race' was used to differentiate all white Europeans from those perceived to be different. From existing evidence, all peoples indigenous to Ghana were classified as 'native,' and were then differentiated through the term 'tribe' (Pierre, 2012). As such, 'race' managed difference between the coloniser (non-native) and colonised (native), whereas 'tribe' managed difference between those colonised. As Dzorbgo (2017) explains, 'tribe' in the British Gold Coast was for neatly binding and culturally homogenising the multitude of groups.

[6] Analysing the British Foreign and Commonwealth Office's *Gold Coast Colony Blue Books* (1846-1939) would reveal this, but is out of the scope of this thesis.

This mode of thinking gave the rationale for a central colonial administration and judiciary, located in Accra[7]. As Dzorbgo (2017:120) asserts, 'The colonised who had been self-sufficient in their social organisation and ruling themselves since time immemorial according to their cultural traditions, were now defined as incapable of governing themselves.' Customary law governed the 'natives', whereas civil law governed the 'non-natives'. The British further substituted the Ghanaian 'rudimentary kings' for chiefs and paramount chiefs, based on 'the "theology" of an omniscient, omnipotent, and omnipresent monarchy [that] became almost the sole ingredient of imperial ideology as it was presented to Africans' (Ranger, 2012:212). Known as Indirect Rule, so-called 'tribal' chiefs became agents of the British, infiltrating their power and minimising opposition while remaining inferior (Boone, 2003). Under this policy, British colonialists also created a Ghanaian 'urbanized elite' to serve in the central administration in Southern Ghana, who had greater hierarchical power in contrast to the local leaders mostly based in the rural areas of Northern Ghana (Addo-Fening, 2013:63).

With the colonial administration located in Accra, Southern Ghana had, by virtue, greater infrastructural development as well as a growing economy spurred by cocoa, mining, and trade. This fuelled a North-South divide, perpetuated by 'tribal' boundaries that fixed 'tribes' to a specific area for preventing migration while intensifying claims between them to territory and land (Lentz, 2000; Lentz and Nugent, 2000). Demonstrably, the British enforced inter-ethnic and intra-ethnic division between Ghanaians. In essence, this was tribalism.

By the mid-twentieth century, the Big Six[8], forming the first anti-colonial political party, entitled the United Gold Convention, began to campaign for 'Self-Government Now.' After the Accra riots and the imprisonment of the Big Six in 1948, the British Government eventually weakened their control in Ghana. The *British Nationality Act, 1948* accelerated the process by replacing subjecthood with citizenship in an attempt to recognise rights and freedoms in British colonies, including in the British Gold Coast (Karatani, 2002). Yet, gaining

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[7] The British colonial administration was originally located in Cape Coast until 1877.

[8] The members of the Big Six were Joseph Boakye Danquah, Kwame Nkrumah, Ebenezer Ako-Adjei, Edward Akufo-Addo, Emmanuel Obtsebi-Lamptey, and William Ofori Atta.

imperial citizenship was still a partial freedom for those in the colonies. Paradoxically, however, the permissibility of citizenship across the Empire led to its overturn.

2.2.3. Independent Ghana: Re-awakening Oneness

On the 6th March 1957, Kwame Nkrumah, the first President, declared Independence for the newly named nation of Ghana to live under the motto 'Freedom and Justice.' As the first African nation to gain independence[9], Ghana 'held a particularly important symbolic place in other anti-colonial movements throughout the continent' (Boogaard, 2017:48). British colonialism left a formidable task for Nkrumah in defining the new state-citizen relationship for nation-building. By virtue of disavowing the British Monarch as Head of State, Ghana immediately became a Republic. Further enacted in the *1960 Constitution*, the first Constitution of the country since their Independence, Nkrumah legalised citizenship. This granted those within its territory political membership to the newly formed state. In particular, Accra was symbolic of Nkrumah's nationalist ideal, which was displayed through various architectural monuments that can still be seen (Hess, 2000). This includes the Independence Arch still located in Black Star Square, which is inscribed with the country's motto. The Black star is also a symbol of Pan-Africanism.

While a politician, Kwame Nkrumah was also a philosopher. His major works between 1958 and 1966 set out a philosophy for exposing the active colonial legacy in all modern global systems and in the African conscience, identity, and subjectivity (Biney, 2011). At the heart of Nkrumah's vision was achieving Oneness across Africa (1963; 1964a; 1965; 1973). This articulated a deep-rooted identity and unity amongst Africans, firstly, for disinheriting colonialism, and, secondly, for mobilising political and economic unity to find African solutions to African problems. Many of these ideas were developed in *Consciencism*[10]

[9] This was granted by the British Commonwealth of Nations, under the *Ghana Independence Act 1957*.

[10] Given the growing interest in African Indigenous Knowledges, Nkrumah's *Consciencism*, as a philosophy rooted in West African tradition, originated separately to *Ubuntu*, rooted in Southern Africa. Ajei and Kwesi (2018:89-90) highlight the 'systematicity' of Consciencism that Ubuntu can benefit from, containing a 'consistent system of metaphysical, epistemological and social political dimensions.' These do, however, share commonality in seeking to re-humanise Africans.

(1964a). Nkrumah's foundational belief was that Europeans had colonised all possible forms of the African human condition as a site of power and oppression and, unless challenged, Europeans would remain superior in the African mindset. Boogaard (2017:57) describes how Nkrumah's 'ideology of… one-ness of the African people was a clear reaction to this subversion, as, in his view, the only way to overcome false consciousness of the oppressed was to unite against neo-colonialism.'

Nkrumah argued that the key site of oppression was through the term 'race,' which was invented by European white colonisers to create hierarchies between them, declaring in one of his infamous speeches that 'the foulest intellectual rubbish ever invented by man is that of racial superiority and inferiority' (1964b). To overcome racialised oppression so as to re-instate the fullness of the African human condition, a 're-awakening [of Black African]… consciousness[11]' was required (1973:206). For distinction, Nkrumah spoke about Black Africans in recognition of their subordination against white Europeans. This is why I will use the phrase (Black) African consciousness throughout the rest of the thesis.

According to Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2020), much of Nkrumah's philosophy grappled with the problem of Blackness that had emerged from African 'racialised' identities, while never using the phrase itself. This was done to address the more pressing question of Africanness, underpinned by 'key existential issues of being human, citizenship, belonging, rights, dignity, privileges, movement, and indeed life itself' (2020:72). Given the significance of Blackness today, a contemporary definition is needed before turning to Nkrumah's ideas on African identity and belonging. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2020:69):

> Blackness is an existential question. It is a problem created by racism. Blackness is best understood as a problematic state of being. When it mutated into an identity, it became part of assertion of humanity and a de-colonial declaration: I am human being.

[11] The intellectual genealogy of (Black) African consciousness was not distinct to Nkrumah. As Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2020) notes, while the phrase is typically associated with Steve Bantu Biko, who pioneered the Black Consciousness Movement in the resistance to apartheid in South Africa in the 1960s and 1970s, its ideology was central to various political movements during this era. These included Negritude, Pan-Africanism, and Garveyism, and further affiliated with individual African thinkers such as Frantz Fanon and Julius Nyere.

Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2020:13) argues that Blackness can be 'a sign of sub-humanity and inferiority' for some, conceived in opposition to whiteness. He further asserts that for others, it is a liberatory process of reclaiming the meaning of Black identity and heritage. Furthermore, Blackness signifies the memory of enslaved peoples and the fragmentation of Black people who descend from Africa. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni, most important is that Blackness is self-ascribed: a key point for consideration in my interviews.

In Nkrumah's vision, Oneness was at the heart of being African, symbolic of people's indivisibility and their shared experience of traditional values (Boogaard, 2017). It was their 'common Africanism' (Nkrumah, 1979:10). This is why what applied to Ghana, applied to all African countries. The concept of Oneness originated in *Africa Must Unite* (1963:132, italics original). He stated:

> In meeting fellow Africans from all parts of the continent I am constantly impressed by how much we have in common. It is not just our colonial past, or the fact that we have aims in common, it is something, which goes far deeper. I can best describe it as a sense of Oneness in that we are *Africans*. In practical terms, this deep-rooted unity has shown itself in the development of Pan-Africanism, and more recently, in the projection of what has been called the African Personality in world affairs.

Oneness was thus described interchangeably with (Black) African consciousness: a redirection of African identity and belonging away from Europe and back onto Africa as their rightful centre, forging unity in the process. For Nkrumah (1973:205), unity between Africans already existed through 'our historical past, our culture, our common experience and aspirations.' However, scholars suggest that Oneness was not simply expressing a unity in sameness imposed from colonialism, but reflected a unity in difference amongst Africans (Poe, 2003; Boogard, 2017). For Nkrumah, naming difference was for naming power and, in itself, constituted an emancipatory process for Africans.

Oneness was also for reclaiming what was most common between them: their relational ontology of African personhood and communalism, as found in the Akan traditional philosophy, which would provide a more authentic expression of citizenship and nationhood. These ideas were the basis for Nkrumah's vision of Pan-Africanism, 'a desire for a political union of African citizens… transcending state sovereignty' for economic unity, although the pragmatic expression of this

as a continental government failed (Boogaard, 2017:51). Nonetheless, Nkrumah (1973:206) believed that Oneness could be embodied through the '"African Personality," temporarily submerged during the colonial period. It finds expression in a re-awakening consciousness among Africans and peoples of African descent of the bonds which unite us,' and, equally, constitutes a way of bridging tradition and newness in the new African identity. In reality, due to significant resistance from other African Independent leaders, Nkrumah's Oneness, along with his vision for Pan-Africanism, became rhetoric instead for national consciousness, despite his intentions (Poe, 2003; Botwe-Asamoah, 2004).

Finally, Oneness was means for economic and political unity in finding African solutions to African problems (1965). It was designed to deter dependence on the West through aid: a process that, Nkrumah believed, was part of the enduring legacy of colonialism. Aid was a guise that enabled the West to retain control of Africa and exploit its natural resources for its own development. Without altering this mindset, he believed that Africans would remain financially dependent. Instead, Nkrumah sought self-sufficiency for Ghana and Africa built on their needs (1964a), and would be achieved 'through public control of the means of production' (1963:129). Regarded as the closest expression to the Akan principles of personhood and communalism, Nkrumah introduced socialism to Ghana. To meet this ambition, Ghana functioned as a social democracy for several decades, premised on the prioritisation of state-based welfare through equal distribution of resources.

Nkrumah ruled until 1966, when he was overthrown by a military coup d'état. His leadership became increasingly autocratic, with a one-party regime enacted through the *Constitution (Amendment) Act, 1964*. Nkrumah's contentious politics led to human rights abuses that included using citizenship laws to weaken his opposition (Paller, 2019). However, his philosophy is resurging in contemporary literature, as it offers a distinctively African rhetoric on citizenship (Poe, 2003; Henaku, 2019; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020) and has relevance for the wider political context of Africa (Ngang, 2018). Given Nkrumah's prominent role as Ghana's first President and his view that Oneness was synonymous with Africa's transformation, his influence is worth considering.

2.3. Contemporary Ghana: Questions on Identity and Belonging

Before I present the selected theoretical models of citizenship, introduced to Ghana after Nkrumah's presidency in the next chapter, I return to my initial discussion for this chapter — to explore the extent to which the historical meaning of ethnicity, as group-based identification, has carried into contemporary views on Ghanaian citizenship. Some basic concepts on nation and nation-state need clarifying in the process. This will also be helpful in Chapter 3. By returning to Paller's (2019) study on Accra, as highlighted at the beginning of this chapter, I will also give attention to the concept of indigeneity.

2.3.1. Defining ethnicity

Today, ethnicity is the most common form of group identification in Ghana (Lentz, 2000; Keese, 2015; Sangmpam, 2017; Asante, 2020b; 2020c). Currently, 70 ethnic groups are listed, although, for the purposes of national census, the Government classifies these into dominant groups. Of Ghana's 30.8 million population, the Akan comprise 45.7%, the Mole-Dagbani 18.5%, the Ewe 12.8% and the Ga-Dangme 7.1%, amongst several others (GSS, 2021c:50). However, there has been public debate over the meaning and relevance of ethnicity for some time after Ghana's Independence. According to Keese (2015:1), a new generation of 'Africanists' during the 1970s and 1980s argued that, 'Ethnicity had mainly been created through European colonial rule, and, was, therefore, an entirely artificial concept.' While ethnicity replaced the contentious term 'tribe,' it was seen not to matter in the long term. Within recent years, ethnicity has resurfaced, becoming entwined with questions about nationhood. As Keese (2015:2) observes, the sentiment for ethnicity is more than merely political, but instead 'appear[s] to play an essential role in their life.' He argues that ethnicity conveys a far deeper meaning for Ghanaians beyond their colonial history.

Finding a working definition of ethnicity in Ghana is described as highly problematic, however. As Lentz (1995:304) illuminates, it is a 'dazzling ambiguous category.' According to Sangmpam (2017:51), the overarching problem is a failure to engage with the term 'tribe' to 'avoid offending African

sensitivities.' While not seeking to reinstate the term, he claims that 'tribe' is still a 'social reality of sub-Saharan Africa,' for group-identity and belonging (2017:91). This is because 'tribe,' as Ghanaians refer to it, traces to ancestry from their pre-colonial history rather than being an exclusive political category from the onset of colonial rule. Similarly to Sangmpam, other scholarship has highlighted the complexity of defining ethnicity as a neat, homogenising category, with the assumption that it hinges around the modern state (Lentz and Nugent, 2000; Keese, 2015; Paller, 2019; Asante 2020c). These scholars suggest pushing for a more open-ended definition, with the aim of 'putting the history back' into its meaning (Nugent, 2008:920). They claim that this provides more nuance to self-definition, where ethnic group-boundaries are still mutating in a similar manner to their communalistic tradition. The debate on the value of 'tribe' would be worth considering in my interviews.

Without putting pre-colonial history back into ethnicity, it has been further argued that the importance of language, also for identity-formation and belonging, has been missed (Ansah, 2014; Keese, 2015). For example, Ansah's (2014) research has shown that language groups in Ghana follow the historical pattern of being linked to a common ancestor, sometimes transgressing ethnicity. He argues that, 'The assumption that multilingual/multi-ethnic communities are clearly bounded and homogenous along linguistic lines is merely ideological' and essentialist (2014:1). There are approximately 80 languages spoken in Ghana, 11 of which (including Akan, Ewe, and Ga) are government-sponsored (GSS, 2019). English is the official language. As a colonial device, its place in present-day Ghana is contested for endorsing unequal power, including in schools (Owu-Ewie, 2006; Edu-Buandoh, 2016).

Adding to this discussion, Keese (2015) highlights that, religion in Ghana, unlike language, holds a different relationship to ethnicity altogether. Religion is typically used to mobilise ethnic solidarity because it cuts across ethnic groups within communities, across communities, and at a national level. Ghana is multi-religious, composed of Christianity (71.2%), Islam (17.6%), African Traditional Religion (5.2%), no religious belief (5.2%), and other religions (0.8%) (GSS, 2019). African Traditional Religion is the closest expression of Ghana's pre-colonial past, but practised by a minority. This contrasts with the majority religions of

Christianity, also introduced through colonialism, and of Islam, which has different origins entirely. Equally, it is claimed that these categories for religion are homogenising, dismissing wider hybridities (Atiemo, 2013).

From the literature, it is apparent that the pre-colonial historical meaning adds context to the post-colonial definition of ethnicity and its complexities under the Ghanaian State. While the conceptual grounds are 'shaky,' Keese (2015:47-48) proposes a working definition on ethnicity that I use for this thesis:

> Ethnic groups can be described as self-declared communities whose spokesmen define them as groups with a common history and traditions, and who cling to this common identification independently from state structures and institutions… By contrast a sentiment relying on political institutions is also imaginable… or if the relationship between the largest existing political structure…within its borders is the central factor of identification, may refer to the equally vague concept of "nation"… Certainly the most important markers of ethnic identification tend to change from community to community and even within communities.

2.3.2. Defining the nation of Ghana

Despite being a common identification amongst Ghanaians, scholarship suggests that ethnic identity and belonging continue to be a site of struggle for the Ghanaian Government when defining citizenship and 'Being Ghanaian' (Asante, 2020b; 2020c). While I examine citizenship in detail in Chapter 3, it is generally understood as reflecting 'how people think of themselves as members of a political community,' and 'meaningful only within the political structures of the nation-state' (Asante 2020b:90). The nation-state refers to the political unit of the nation within an independent, sovereign territory and with a defined population who are governed. In the case of Ghana, the Government possesses the supreme power over its citizens, as it carries national sovereignty, as enshrined in Ghana's 1992 Constitution. Typically, national governments correlate citizenship with national identity, as it evokes a sense of belonging amongst the political community that is deemed necessary for fostering attachment to the state. This is central for achieving the nation-building project; for the most part, national identity subsumes group-based identities. As Asante (2020b:90) observes, the Government of Ghana has 'anxieties that

national attachment would be eclipsed by the strength of ethnic ties,' undermining their role and agenda.

The actual terms of nation and nation-state in Ghana are relatively new, 'bestowed upon [Ghanaians] by colonialism and the constitution' (Asante, 2020b:94). Anything related to the idea of 'national' is often complex, connoting different meanings for different people. Typically, Benedict Anderson's (1991: 6-7) *Imagined Communities* is the most cited when describing the nation: 'an imagined political community (that is) imagined as both inherently limited and sovereign.' Falling into the modernist perspective, he argues that the nation is a product of modernity emerging from the model of eighteenth and nineteenth century Europe. Nationalism is achieved by governments predominantly through a combination of print capitalism, which enables the dissemination of a common perspective using a modern European language, and industrialisation.

However, Anderson is increasingly criticised for his modernist perspective (Smith, 2005; 2009; Zajda, 2009). As Zajda (2009:2) observes, 'Unlike Anderson, Anthony Smith [another prominent theorist]… argues that even when nations are the product of modernity, it is possible to find ethnic elements that survive and flourish in modern nations, despite globalisation.' As a post-modernist, Smith (2005:25-26, italics original) asserts the need for greater recognition of the ethnic foundations of nations, defined as ethno-symbolism:

> Ethno-symbolism claims that most nations, including the earliest, were based on ethnic ties and sentiments and on popular ethnic traditions, which have provided the cultural resources for later nation-formation; and that even those new *state-nations* in Africa… that sought unity and identity of myth, symbol, value, and memory that can match that of nations built on pre-existing ties, if they are to flourish as nations. It is this *ethnic model* of nation that has proved the most influential, with its emphasis on genealogical descent, vernacular codes, popular mobilisation and historical nativism in a *homeland*.

Smith (2009:44) further contends that nationalism, mobilised through governments, is entirely dependent on these ethnic foundations; it is 'presupposed by the very idea of nation.' Arguably, scholarship on Ghana's 'accidental nation-building' seems more connected to Smith's theory (Kpessa, Béland, and Lecours, 2011; Asante, 2020b; Koter, 2021:862). For example,

Asante (2020b) finds in his in-depth interviews that Ghanaians share different imaginings on the concept of nation from other historical patterns in Europe and America, as well as Asia and South America. Instead, he finds that the meaning of Ghana as a nation fosters a shared memory within and between ethnic groups that goes far before the creation of the modern state and is sustained through a common Indigenous belief in relatedness. Equally, in the process of ethnic groups learning to co-exist within their relatively new boundaries of sovereignty, national identity and belonging were being forged. Markedly, this process had forged attachment to the Ghanaian State despite the respondents' criticisms of it. Asante (2020b:93) claims, 'In a paradoxical sense, it is the very act of the inauthenticity of the Ghanaian State, the fact that it is "something on a piece of paper," that inspires stronger attachment to it in spite of its many failures.' As ethnic identity is evolving, so too is national identity, and both of equal importance for the nation-building project.

In light of the discussion, key points have emerged. Firstly, it is argued that national identity and belonging are equal to ethnicity for Ghanaians, which suggests that this might be the same for teachers. Secondly, it appears that Indigenous ways of being and knowing, as a form of continuity of the past, are still influencing imaginings of the nation while being reconfigured to the boundaries of the Ghanaian State. This raises the question how these Indigenous ways of being and knowing, seeming to inform both ethnic and national identity, might intersect with teachers' views on citizenship as a westernised construct.

2.4. Revisiting the 'Indigenous' in Contemporary Accra

2.4.1. Defining indigeneity

For the final part of this chapter, I return to the discussion on the importance of ancestry and, underlying this, claims to an ethnic 'group's land or territory' (Sangmpam, 2017:95). This is indigeneity: an organising principle of 'who settled first' as a way of identifying the original claimants to a place (Paller, 2019:40). The term derives from indigenous, meaning 'literally born inside,' and corresponds with autochthony, meaning, 'of the soil itself' (Ceuppens and Geshiere, 2005:386). Indigeneity in contemporary Ghana is concerned with

linking to indigenous settlements as places that are still inhabited and often dominated by a particular ethnic group. Dei (2016) further observes that indigeneity, as associated with place, is where ethnic groups sustain and evolve their Indigenous ways of being and knowing. This is because, as is typical across West Africa, 'identity formations literally "take place"' (Zenker, 2011:63).

Scholarship claims that group-based identity-formation in Ghana is further constituted and performed at certain cultural activities at an ethnic group's indigenous settlement; namely festivals, funerals, folklore, and marriage patterns (Keese, 2015; Coe, 2020a). Typically, all ethnic members are required to attend these events, including those living in different locations. Festivals in particular are part of everyday Ghanaian society, as they preserve a collective memory for the ethnic group, thus creating cohesion (Clarke-Ekong, 1997; Lentz, 2001; Odotei, 2002). With some dated to the fifteenth century, their role is to '[project] the community into the national scene' and to remember their ancestry, since festivals are also 'rooted in the worldview and belief system of the people' (Odotei, 2002:17). For Lentz (2001), Ghanaian festivals are a way of placing boundaries around an ethnic group's Indigenous culture.

Extending this argument, Dei (2016:291) asserts that 'revisiting the question of the "Indigenous"' in general offers a powerful narrative for Ghanaian self-definition. Integral to this is the reclaiming of Indigenous Knowledges. While such knowledges are distinct to an ethnic group, so plural, research has highlighted that there is, quite uniquely, a commonality between these Indigenous Knowledges across Ghana. They all facilitate relatedness because of their underpinning of African communalism and personhood (Dei and Simmons, 2011; 2016; Quaynor, 2018). It is worth noting that such arguments are situated in the decolonising movement: a resistance to the legacy of colonialism that puts the Western episteme at the centre and defines all being and knowing through it, as well as existing through racialised hierarchies of power. In contrast, Dei (2016) suggests that Indigenous Knowledges are not concerned with making judgements and seeking to compete, but rather for co-existence. Dei points out that their reintegration is not to dispute anything Western or a call to a romanticised, mystic past. Equally, these Indigenous Knowledges are to be interrogated for their role in perpetuating unequal power. What is required

instead is an 'epistemic openness' that recognises both Indigenous and Western ways of being and knowing in order to negotiate tradition and newness (2016:307).

Indigeneity therefore symbolises what is distinct to an ethnic group as place-based (that is, culture, heritage, knowledge, and language) and what is common between these ethnic groups, sustained through their relational ontology that is occurring within the relatively new boundaries of Ghana. Of interest to this thesis, Dei (2016:305) contends that revisiting the Indigenous is critical for understanding Ghanaians' everyday 'negotiations of identities, representations, rights, sovereignty, citizenship and nationhood.' Put differently, it is a way of asking, 'what is not European/colonial?', as Dei argues:

> There is a critique that the term "Indigenous" homogenizes and obliterates distinctiveness and that we need to offer multilayered meanings. Much of this debate seems to gloss over what the term Indigenous might reveal as opposed to what it obscures. Hence, the use of the term Indigenous is about a political reclamation and self-definition to challenge Eurocentric dominance (2016:295).

2.4.2. The Ga People: The Indigene of the city

To situate this discussion, I now turn to Accra. Paller's political study illuminates the significance of indigeneity. From what exists of educational research on Ghana, indigeneity and its interplay with citizenship in schools appears limited. This is central to this thesis' contribution to knowledge.

Accra, as shown in Figure 2 below, is located in the administrative region of Greater Accra in Southern Ghana that borders onto the Volta Region (east), the Eastern Region (north), and the Central Region (west) and that has a coastline on the Gulf of Guinea. While the Greater Accra Region is the smallest region in landmass, comprising only 1.4% of Ghana's total landmass of 238, 533km^2, it has the highest population density per km^2 (GSS, 2021a).

Figure 2. A political map of Ghana and the location of Accra

(Source: Wikimedia Commons).

With a rising population of 5.46 million, Accra, and its wider region has the most ethnically diverse population in Ghana (GSS, 2021c:50). The Akan comprises the majority (41.1%), followed by the Ga-Dangme (25%), and Ewe (20.2%), amongst other ethnic groups (ibid). However, as is highlighted in various governmental documents, the Ga people (part of the Ga-Dangme of the Kwa branch of the Niger-Congo family of languages) are indigenous to Accra (GSS, 2014a; 2014b; 2014c). Subsequently, the Ga language is indigenous to Accra, although the dialect of Twi from the Akan language is most commonly spoken in Accra. Also unique to Accra, urban households (including of 6 years and older) are typically literate in the writing and reading of up to four languages, English and Ghanaian

languages (GSS, 2021d:28). This indicates the influence of British colonialism on the city, and the influence of globalisation, in recent years.

While Accra is typically referred to as indigenous to the Ga, there is a common narrative that specific Indigenous settlements signify the 'importance of first arrival, or who came first to Accra"'(Paller, 2019:85). There are six in total, located in different districts, but all in close proximity and largely forming the city centre (Odotei, 1991). Ga Mashie (consisting of Jamestown and Usshertown) is known as the first original settlement of the early Ga people who settled in the fifteenth century — 'Ga Mashie meaning indigenous Ga' (GSS, 2014a:3). There are five other Ga Indigenous settlements in Accra: La (Labadi), Nungua, Osu, Temi, and Teshie, which were formed later during the seventeenth century. Historically, these settlements established a central kingdom called Nkran. European colonials deviated this term to "Akra," and eventually evolved into "Accra." However, under the official ruling in 1874, the British colonialists used spatial segregation to enforce 'nativeness and Europeanness,' controlling the parameters between the Ga settlements (Pierre, 2012:27). The British control of land and property through customary law further created disputes between the Ga peoples that did not exist before (Parker, 2000).

In post-colonial Accra, political struggles persist for the Ga peoples over ownership of land and property, due to Accra's rapid urbanisation. The influx of outsiders, whether migrants from within the Greater Accra Region or from different regions in Ghana, is seen by the Ga people as a threat to their livelihoods along with their 'language, culture, and city' (Paller, 2019:161). This perceived threat is most pronounced for those of the Ga people who are already living in extreme poverty. While economic deprivation is not specific to one ethnic group, it is noteworthy that urban poverty across the city is highest in Ga Indigenous settlements and where the Ga people generally dominate (GSS, 2014a; 2014b; 2014c). Needless to say, other ethnic groups populate these settlements, and the urban poor are not a homogenous group. As Pellow (2001:73) contends, what does unify the urban poor, despite their ethnic diversity, is their everyday dealing with the legacy of colonialism, as seen in the city's 'imbalance in the urban economic base.'

To understand the intricacies of indigeneity in Accra, Paller (2019) conceptualises the Insider-Outsider paradigm, which has helped me to consider what this means for the teachers who are the focus of this thesis. Ga peoples are defined as insiders because 'Accra is their ancestral home' (2019:205). Outsiders are peoples of different ethnicities (who are not the indigene). At the surface level, this creates difference, referring to the way in which one category (self) is distinguished from another (other) on the basis of who lives in Accra and who belongs to Accra. Those of different ethnicities who live or have even been born in Accra would not be perceived as belonging, due to the norms of indigeneity. This extends to those born and/or living in a Ga Indigenous settlement: their indigeneity redirects them to their own Indigenous settlement in Ghana where their distinct ethnic identity and sense of belonging is produced and reproduced along the same ethnic lines. Of course, identity is complex — those of different ethnicities are equally negotiating their own identity-formation with the Ga people while living in Accra, as well as with the numerous other ethnic groups inhabiting the city.

Paller further claims that indigeneity influences views on citizenship across the city, as well as its enactment. This is the central focus of his research, an ethnographic study in 10 urban neighbourhoods in Accra comprising of focus groups as well as a survey of 249 households (including in the cities of Kumasi and Ashaiman). He finds that norms of indigeneity are integral within the civic life of the city, and are most pronounced in the Ga Indigenous settlements due to the principle of first arrival. Studying Ga Mashie, Paller observes that, 'civic life is governed along ethnic lines' (2019:206). This is in contrast to other areas of the city typically located in the outskirts where norms of indigeneity are weaker and 'civic life develops along multi-ethnic lines' (Paller, 2019:20). Here, governance and ownership of land is still indigenous to the Ga people, but civic life operates differently, given these areas are not seen as Indigenous settlements. Instead, Paller (2019:202) finds that, 'goods and services are distributed in a public or common fashion; they are accessible to all.' To add context, Boamah and Amoako (2020:105) explain that, 'Customary land in Accra, which forms over 70% of land in the city, is vested in indigenous Ga communities represented by traditional leaders known as chiefs and heads of various claims and families.'

Paller concludes that these informal norms in Accra can have both an inclusionary and exclusionary effect on urban citizens, carrying significant consequences for the urban poor. His research indicates that the narrative of who arrived first, organising and categorising ethnic groups on this basis, including within the Ga peoples, determines who is prioritised in public goods provision. The norms of indigeneity in Accra are 'part of the historical struggle for political space… that dates back to the early settlement of a city,' and profoundly shape the practice of contemporary democracy (2019:252). Paller gives a compelling argument; without indigeneity, the study of the Ghanaian state-citizen relationship and its enactment in the city 'remains incomplete' (2019:253). Researching how this plays out in schools, as formal institutions of the Ghanaian State, could make a significant contribution to educational literature.

By exploring Paller's study, this thesis puts forward the case for analysing the three schools in different parts of the city separately. With norms of indigeneity as part of the everyday in Accra, as Paller claims, there is a rationale for exploring how it shapes teachers' views on the formal models of citizenship, as defined by the Ghanaian State. This enables further analysis into whether these norms are more pronounced depending on the school's proximity to a Ga Indigenous settlement. Key models of citizenship relevant to Ghana now need to be reviewed in the next chapter in order to examine how they feature in the 2019 National Curriculum (as explored in Chapter 4). The extent to which indigeneity infiltrates into definitions of ethnic identity and belonging within the new curriculum will also be examined in Chapter 4.

Based on an earlier discussion, another case has been put forward for analysing findings across the schools, drawing on Dei's (2016:291) argument for the importance of 'revisiting the question of the "Indigenous"' — in this instance, with teachers. Due to the significance of place for ethnic groups in producing and constituting Indigenous ways of being and knowing, how teachers view this for their Ga learners is important. Nonetheless, my focus is on these teachers in their ethnically diverse classrooms and who are, themselves, ethnically diverse, coming from different regions of Ghana, and typically having been deployed as a condition of working for the Ghana Education Service (GES Council, 2017). It is

beyond the scope of this study to focus on the plurality of Indigenous Knowledges in their classrooms. However, according to Dei, there is potential for exploring what might emerge about the Indigenous in terms of Being Ghanaian, as shared between these teachers.

2.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter has demonstrated the significance of tracing the historic formation of ethnicity, creating the foundations of Ghana's nationhood, as much as how it carries into contemporary understandings of citizenship. Aligning with Sangmpam (2017:4), to 'open old wounds' on the colonial invention of 'tribe' while digging deeper into pre-colonial history, has exposed the epistemological influences on these key constructs. On the one hand, research indicates that ethnicity in Ghana is more than just political, hinging around the modern state. There is a historical sentiment to ethnicity for Ghanaians, conveying their deep sense of relatedness as a memory of their pre-colonial indigenous expression of African communalism and personhood. During his presidency, Nkrumah articulated this as Oneness for (Black) African consciousness. There is an argument for putting history — to be precise, pre-colonial history — back into ethnicity. On the other hand, as Asante (2020b; 2020c) observes, while ethnic and national identity are evolving simultaneously and complimentarily, it seems that the Government is yet to fully recognise this. Rather, he argues that ethnic identity when placed above national identity is perceived by the Government to undermine their role in nation-building and ideas about what citizenship is for.

By focusing on Accra, it is suggested that indigeneity as a way of defining ethnic identity and difference, and integral to the informal civic life of the city, appears to complicate understandings of formal citizenship and its enactment. The extent to which these informal norms carry into schools, as formal institutions of the State, needs more attention. The teachers of my study, as inhabitants of the city, and agents of the Ghanaian State, are well positioned to shed light on this. What is already apparent is that Accra is host to a complex negotiation of identity-formation and belonging that the teachers will be navigating, in an attempt to foster citizenship in their learners. This thesis will

now turn to an examination of selected theoretical models on citizenship relevant to the Ghanaian political context.

Chapter 3.
Contemporary Ghanaian Citizenship:
Some Theoretical Models

3.1. Introduction

In this chapter, I seek to understand the political context of what Ghanaian governments have sought in recent years for their citizens. This will provide the backdrop to the 2019 educational reform, as explored in Chapter 4, and better situate the teachers of my study. I select two theoretical models on citizenship that are relevant to Ghana. Firstly, I present liberal democratic citizenship with human rights, as enshrined in Ghana's 1992 Constitution (Folson, 1993; Ayelazuno, 2015; Gyimah-Boadi and Awal, 2021). Secondly, I present neoliberal citizenship for economic development, a model that has arguably gained prominence in Ghana 'in the last three decades of implementing neoliberal policy prescriptions' (Ayelzuno, 2014:80), and now seen through the new *Ghana Beyond Aid: Charter and Strategy Document* (GOG, 2019a). My rationale for choosing these theoretical models is because of their clear influence in post-colonial Ghana — ushered in by Western donors as a conditionality of aid and steering Ghana's agenda for nation-building, through the highly complex donor-recipient relationship (Abdulai and Crawford, 2010; Awanyo and Attua, 2016; Kumi, 2020). Another aim of this chapter is to begin answering the first of my research sub-questions. As my teachers are located in Accra, I integrate research on the city when appropriate to gain context on how these models of citizenship are enacted.

It must be acknowledged here that gaining an accurate profile of Accra is difficult, particularly of its economically deprived communities (where the schools of my study are located). While the most recent Government census was conducted in 2021, including of the Greater Accra Region and its respective districts, any data at the district level is not sufficiently disaggregated. This masks the vast socio-economic disparities in the city that other empirical studies identify (see Paller, 2019). Where possible, governmental data is used but this chapter relies more on independent research for this reason.

3.2. Liberal Democratic Citizenship for the Right to Develop

3.2.1. Context

Over the past 30 years, Ghana has been heralded as a model democracy for Africa, marked by its ability to hold relatively peaceful elections and to transfer power peacefully between political parties (Abdulai and Crawford, 2010; Gyimah-Boadi and Awal, 2021). This is fairly unique compared to the rest of the African continent, where elections can continue to be 'horrific, bloody violence' (Ayelazuno, 2015:65). Ghana's political stability is primarily attributed to *Ghana's Constitution of 1992 with Amendments through 1996*, which curtailed ethnic politics. In fact, since Ghana's Independence in 1957, the nation has never experienced a civil war (Sefa-Nyarko, 2020). One key factor for this stability was the introduction of a multi-party state within the Constitution, a core characteristic of liberal democracy (Folson, 1993). Another factor was the provision in the Constitution for decentralisation, further enacted through the *Local Government Act, 1993;* this is also a characteristic of liberal democracy. For context, there are 16 administrative regions in Ghana[12], which are further divided into 216 districts.

Prior to the 1992 Constitution, Ghana had been a one-party state, following changes enacted by Nkrumah in 1964. After his overturn in 1966, the country was governed by successive military regimes (Sefa-Nyarko, 2020). While these regimes claimed to adhere to social democracy, they 'violated the most elementary but primary tenets of democracy — namely the freedom of association and expression' (Ninsin, 1991:21). They also created prime conditions for fuelling ethnic politics, already incited from British colonialism, that resulted in unequal distribution of resources due to ethnic allegiance and, when coupled with poor investment in public welfare, led to drastic economic decline.

[12] These administrative regions are Ahafo, Ashanti, Bono, Bono East, Central, Eastern, Greater Accra, North East, Northern, Oti, Savannah, Upper East, Upper West, Volta, Western, and Western North.

The making of the 1992 Constitution was not without controversy. Despite being in power since 1981, Lieutenant Jerry-John Rawlings[13] continued to serve as the Ghanaian president for another two terms, until 2001. Some claim that he already had a history of implementing 'repressive policies and measures [that] stifled virtually every voice of dissent' (Oquaye, 1995:556). Nonetheless, the Constitution's gradual effect on Ghana is apparent. With the exception of several amendments made in 1996 (Act 527), it has been the 'only constitution that has lasted that long' (Gyampo and Graham, 2014:138). Today, President Nana Akufo-Addo's (2017, no pagination) vision for nation-building and the role of citizenship is 'to deepen [Ghanaian] democracy' as per the Constitution, further justifying my focus here.

The construction of liberal democratic citizenship that I now present is an infusion of both liberalism and democracy. Rooted within the Western episteme, liberalism, as a political and moral philosophy, is associated with classical European thinkers such as John Locke, Thomas Hobbes, and Jean-Jacques Rousseau in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, and John Stuart Mill in the nineteenth century[14]. The history of democracy can be traced back further to the ancient European sites of Athens and Rome. A political system was created in which citizens either ruled by themselves or through others they elected. Liberalism and democracy are linked by their promotion of the same goal, to 'protect the freedoms of the individual from interference by the state' (Ayelazuno, 2015:67). This gives meaning to the state-citizen relationship, of which human rights are its pragmatic expression. In basic terms, there is a human right to democracy and a human right to citizenship (Honohan, 2017).

In the theoretical discussion below, I do not intend to trace the historical developments of liberalism and its relationship to democracy and human rights. The topic of democracy alone is too vast for the scope of this thesis. Contemporary thinkers from the mid-twentieth century onwards, including Jürgen Habermas, Hannah Arendt, and John Rawls, have added to as much as

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[13] Lieutenant Jerry-John Rawlings began serving as Head of State in 1979. However, this was only for 112 days (4 June- 24th Sept) until Hilla Limann took office. Rawlings led a military coup and then returned to power from 1981 until 1993. After this, he served instead as President, according to the new 1992 Constitution. This was until 7th January 2001.

[14] These classical thinkers of liberal democracy have been criticised for supporting colonialism (see Arneil, 2012).

problematised this concept. The origins and theory of human rights are equally expansive. To narrow my focus, I outline core tenets of liberal democratic citizenship and the role of human rights relevant to the Ghanaian context, with the aim to examine the 1992 Constitution.

3.2.2. For individual freedoms

At its core, liberal democratic citizenship prioritises individual freedoms. Rooted in the Western ontology of individualism, the individual is regarded as a bounded, unattached entity that acts out of self-interest. Subsequently, they seek to protect their freedoms — a term closely associated with an individual's property and possessions. As liberal theorists put significant trust on the individual, Honohan (2017:69) notes that state interference should be minimal, as 'government power and law, although necessary, are constraints on freedom.' This provides the rationale for separating society into the public sphere (the state/political society) and the private sphere (the citizen/civil society). However, the state can interfere 'when an individual interferes with the freedoms of other individuals,' as drawn by law (Ayelazuno, 2015:67). It should be noted that, to make and enact laws, the state must be territorially rooted as an independent, sovereign government.

When balance is created between these public and private spheres, citizens act out of political will to contribute to government decision-making via elections. This ensures that the government is representative of the will of the people; hence the term "liberal democracy" can be used interchangeably with "electoral democracy." In this understanding, the citizen's participation should be optional rather than coerced. It is also why liberal democratic citizenship is often defined as 'thin' in that it relies 'heavily on institutions and laws to achieve a liberal society' (Honohan, 2017:91). In light of Chapter 2, there is already a noticeable contrast between the Western ontology of individual freedom and the Ghanaian Indigenous relational ontology that I argue emphasises relational freedom. How this unfolds in contemporary Ghana is worthy of further discussion.

The 1992 Ghanaian Constitution 'provides a machinery for running a liberal-democratic form of government' (Folson, 1993:12), and demonstrably prioritises individual freedoms. As Ghana is a Republic, the Constitution enshrines that all powers must reside in the will of the people (including the President) and mandates the enjoyment of the rights of its people 'free from state interference' (Ghana's Constitution of 1992, ch.6, art.37, sec.2). To prevent wielding of power over the citizens, the executive government is separate from the legislature and judiciary. The current President, Nana Akufo-Addo, serves as the 'Head of State and Head of Government and Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of Ghana' (ch.8, art.57.sec.1). This Constitution is also partially modelled on the British Westminster system, that was imported by British colonialism, and on the American Presidential system: both of these models were built on the classical liberal model (Gyampo and Graham, 2014). A point for this thesis, the Ghanaian Parliament and central governmental departments and ministries are located in Accra, the capital.

Results from the 2019 Afrobarometer, sampling 2400 adults, suggest that Ghanaian citizens perceive their democracy to be relatively successful. Upon questioning about freedoms, 75.5% (urban) and 64.3% (rural) of respondents felt free to say what they thought (Dome, Duayeden, and Armah-Attoh, 2019:32). Furthermore, 91.3% (urban) and 87% (rural) of respondents felt free to vote without feeling pressured (ibid). It is argued that a key contributor to success has been the outlawing of ethnic politics, which was set out in Article 55 of the Constitution (Sefa-Nyarko, 2020). Returning to another point in Chapter 2, Oelbaum (2004) suggests that, similar to the term 'tribe,' tribalism is often used by Ghanaians to describe their history of ethnic politics: power struggles over the modern state, based on ethnic loyalty that unfold as a legacy of colonialism. As Lentz (1995) observes, debates on the exact origins of tribalism are expansive but have little agreement between them, with some arguing that the division predates to the pre-colonial era, and others claiming, it was incited by British colonialists. Nonetheless, these debates are a reminder that all historic sites of power, colonial and otherwise, must be interrogated to understand why and how undemocratic practice can occur. Also mentioned in Chapter 2, an example of this is seen through the influence of indigeneity, rooted in pre-colonial Ghana and still found within the informal civic life of Accra, that is claimed to carry

both an inclusionary and exclusionary effect on citizenship and the enactment of democracy (Paller, 2019).

Importantly, the 1992 Constitution recognises the need for continuity of chieftaincy as a traditional political structure within a modern-day democracy. Sefa-Nyarko (2020:12) argues that part of the success of curtailing ethnic politics has come from ‘affirm(ing) chieftaincy as a parallel system of governance, conferring chiefs as custodians of customary laws.’ While their role is not central to the Constitution, he notes that chiefs have been ‘compensate[d]’ by featuring in other acts (2020:7): firstly, in the Local Government Act, 1993 (Act 462) — now the *Local Governance Act, 2016* (Act 936) — and secondly, in the *Chieftaincy Act 2008*. Chiefs, located in different regions of Ghana, belong to their respective Regional House of Chiefs. Representatives from the regions further comprise the National House of Chiefs (located in Kumasi in the Ashanti Region) that feeds into parliamentary processes as per the Chieftaincy Act 2008 (Act 759). However, literature suggests that the role of chieftaincy is ‘highly contested,’ leading to chiefdoms constantly in ‘debate over their respective spheres of influence and power’ (Schramm, 2004:170-171). One of their less debated roles in sustaining democracy, as recognised by the Government of Ghana, is to manage and govern their regional annual festival. This is discussed later in this chapter.

Despite Ghana’s acclaimed image as a successful democracy, research demonstrates that non-democratic practice has ensued: this is the paradox in Ghana’s journey (Abdulai and Crawford, 2010; Ayelazuno, 2015; Gyimah-Boadi and Awal, 2021). For example, Gyimah-Boadi and Awal (2021:15-16) discuss how ‘severe inclusion gaps’ exist, particularly in terms of the right to vote and mainly for ‘women, people living with disabilities and other social minorities as well as the poor, less educated.’ Ghana’s current President has arguably sought to address these gaps to strengthen the country’s democracy and its image to others. However, Asante (in 2020a:1-2) argues that the President’s call for ‘citizens not spectators,’ as voiced within his inauguration on 7 January 2017, implies that citizens are over-dependent on the Ghanaian State. In this understanding, citizens are believed not to participate in civic life, and ‘taken

to its extreme, the view holds citizens responsible for the country's challenges' (2020a:2). Asante's subsequent research contradicts this view.

Drawing on the 2019 Afrobarometer survey and conducting 20 additional interviews, Asante found that most respondents exercised civic participation, but did so outside of the formal institutions defined by the Government. Instead, the respondents expressed an 'informality of citizenship,' including participation in 'customary and religious institutions, and greater interaction with leaders in these domains' (2020a:12). This research emphasises the newness of the public/private dichotomy based on individual freedoms within the Ghanaian society that is traditionally based on relational freedoms. To some degree, it sheds light on why this paradox in Ghana's journey of liberal democracy might be occurring.

3.2.3. For legal status

Another tenet of liberal democratic citizenship is obtaining and exercising legal status. This 'establishes [for the individual] a significant range of rights against the state and others,' and protects the individual 'because government itself may become oppressive, [so] it must be constrained' (Honohan, 2017:87). Ghana's citizenship laws, namely the 1992 Ghanaian Constitution and the *Citizenship Act of 2000* (Act 591), are characterised by the principle of *jus sanguinis*, rather than *jus soli*. The laws are regarded as 'very progressive' since those born in Ghana cannot be deprived of citizenship under any circumstances (Atuguba, Tuokuu, and Gbang, 2020:16). As per the 2000 Act, the categories of Ghanaian citizenship are: by birth, registration through marriage, naturalisation, and through being a foundling or adopted. However, studies indicate that the principle of *jus sanguinis* can fuel discrimination against those classified as being of non-Ghanaian descent, or even, 'non-citizens' (Atuguba, Tuokuu, and Gbang, 2020). This finding is important to Accra, as governmental data reports that the highest proportion of Non-Ghanaians are found in Accra, namely from Nigeria, Togo, and from countries that make up the Economic Community of West African States (ECOWAS) (GSS, 2021c:27). How the teachers interviewed in this thesis define their learners of non-Ghanaian descent is worthy of attention.

With legal status, Ghanaian citizens are guaranteed a full holding of fundamental rights. In rights-based terms, the citizen is characterised as the ‘rights-holder’ and the state as the ‘duty-bearer’ (United Nations, 2022b). According to Landman (2013:38), ‘It is fairly straightforward’ to see why rights qualify as the pragmatic expression of democracy. Human rights provide governments with a ‘moral compass’ (2013:40) and give citizens the opportunity to challenge the ‘status quo power relations and existing regimes’ (2013:41).

The link between democracy and rights is further recognised in Article 1 of the United Nations (UN) (1948) *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR), which states that: ‘All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights.’ As a member of the UN, the Ghanaian Government observes the various UN declarations. However, Nyarko (2016:98) highlights that Ghana’s ‘notoriety for non-domestication of international human rights instruments is well known.’ This extends to the African Commission’s (1982) *African Charter on Human and Peoples’ Rights.* While most legislation in Ghana is aligned to these regional provisions that give the UDHR effect, the ‘uncertainty’ of the status of these laws has both enhanced and impeded their enactment (Nyarko, 2016:113). Nyarko (2016) argues that this has created ambiguity for many Ghanaians in knowing how and when to claim their rights.

Interestingly, Atiemo (2013:162) finds that the public awareness of human rights in Accra is generally ‘high,’ claiming that this ‘remarkable improvement’ is a result of the Constitution. He asserts that human rights have provided a cohesive narrative for Accra’s inhabitants to recognise their high ethnic and religious diversity and, essentially, to co-exist. Atiemo observes how opinion leaders and traditional elders have played a key role in enhancing awareness of modern-day human rights among community groups. Generally speaking, these rights were welcomed, as they were seen to converge with the Indigenous belief in protecting human dignity and equality. However, rights were criticised for elevating the individual above community, equally threatening their Indigenous belief in mutual reciprocity and responsibility. Offering a way forward, Atiemo (2013:141) argues for greater recognition of ‘indigenous elements that could be activated or modified to service human rights.’ However, he attests that this

does not dispute certain customary norms that provide the pretext for human rights violations.

3.2.4. For the right to diversity and non-discrimination

Considering Ghana's high ethnic and religious diversity, the Constitution enshrines the right to diversity and the right to non-discrimination. For liberal theorists, the right to diversity acknowledges equal identity before the law (Honohan, 2017). It also exposes on what grounds a citizen is being discriminated against (on the basis of identity) when making claims to rights, thus excluded from the full benefits of citizenship. The Ghanaian State recognises the following categories of identity:

> All persons shall be equal before the law… A person shall not be discriminated against on grounds of gender, race, colour, ethnic origin, religion, creed, or social or economic status… "Discriminate" means to give different treatment to different persons (Ghana's Constitution of 1992, ch.5, art.17, secs.1-3).

In light of Ghana's history of ethnic politics, it is claimed that the Government's management of the country's ethno-regional and religious diversity is markedly improving (Gyimah-Boadi and Awal, 2021). Given the focus of this thesis, it is worth examining how Ghanaians understand the identity-based categories of ethnicity and 'race' and their relationship to rights, as part of their citizenship.

Starting with ethnicity, research has found that, while Ghanaians increasingly place value on diversity for shaping democracy, views that discriminate on the basis of ethnicity remain relatively unchallenged (Parimah and Opoku, 2015; Odumah and Golo, 2016). Surveying 160 students at the University of Ghana, Parimah and Opoku (2015) reveal that ethnic stereotyping, while pervasive, was rarely considered a violation of human rights. To describe different ethnicities, students used derogatory portrayals, particularly of the Ga people. Such comments included 'loud,' 'aggressive,' 'quick-tempered,' 'harsh,' 'quarrelsome,' and 'rowdy' (2015:6). Participants, who identified as Ga, described themselves in the same way. It was further found that 'the Gas were the only ethnic group that ascribed more negative stereotypes to their own group,' in contrast to the Akan, the Ewe, and the Northerners (2015:9). Despite using stereotypes, the students were conscious of its adverse effects, showing a

contradiction in their views. Given the gap in literature, these authors call for greater research into ethnic discrimination and its relationship to rights, as this is fundamental to the state-citizen relationship, which this study can respond to.

'Race' (as defined by the Constitution) and its relationship to human rights is also largely unexamined in research about Ghana. Typically, diasporic scholars of Ghanaian descent explore 'race' and its link to Blackness, rather than those living in Ghana (see Pierre, 2012; Dillard, 2020). Pierre's (2012:1) ethnographic account of her visit to Accra offers insight into the 'predicament of Blackness.' Identifying as a Black American woman with affiliation to Ghana, she speaks of the discrimination experienced during her visit upon being labelled an Obruni[15]: a colloquial term meaning 'foreigner' that 'signals a thoroughly racialised discourse in Ghana' and sustains 'whiteness and the articulations of white power and privilege' (2012:76). She adds that, 'Any Ghanaians consider diaspora Blacks to be whites' (2012:77). Such racialised discourse that is fuelling tension on who belongs, due to the legacy of colonialism, also suggests why other nationalities are positioned as 'non-citizens' (see Atuguba, Tuokuu, and Gbang, 2020). It cannot be disputed that 'race' as an identity category is increasingly problematised within liberal democratic and human rights literature. While these debates are expansive, Soudien (2019:69) crystallises these, stating that 'race at the centre' reminds us of the conditionality of what it means to be human (with the divisions and power relations that entail), and of the importance of challenging oppression.

3.2.5. For cultural diversity

Liberal democratic citizenship is also used for exercising the right to cultural diversity, and is typically linked with the right to cultural heritage. According to Logan (2009), the articulation of cultural heritage within human rights frameworks is primarily done because it serves as the basis for expressing humanity's rich cultural diversity. It is the key tool used by governments to shape the nation 'in positive ways to give a sense of community,' as much as 'in

[15] "Obroni" derives from the colloquial Twi language, part of the Akan language and location-specific to Southern Ghana. It is a corrupted expression before Europeans came to West Africa meaning 'those from the horizon,' referring to any individual not perceived to be of Ghanaian descent (Pierre, 2012:77).

less benign ways, to reshape public attitudes in line with undemocratic agendas' such as 'ethnic cleansing and genocide' — hence its recognition as a fundamental human right (2009:xiv). As per the Constitution, the Ghanaian Government claims to protect the cultural diversity of its citizens by recognising the plurality and uniqueness of all Ghanaian identities, and how citizens choose to express their cultural values. On this basis, the State is legally required to foster, as well as protect cultural heritage. The Constitution states that:

> The State shall take steps to encourage the integration of appropriate customary values into the fabric of national life through formal and informal education and the conscious introduction of cultural dimensions to relevant aspects of national planning (Ghana's Constitution of 1992, ch.6, art.39, sec.1).

One example of the Government's attempt to protect Ghana's cultural heritage is seen through their endorsement and promotion of festivals (Clarke-Ekong, 1997; Lentz, 2001; Odotei, 2002). For context, Accra hosts the Homowo Festival, as indigenous to the Ga people. While festivals are publicised as cultural, literature stresses that their role is 'multidimensional,' and have increasingly been used as political forums under the liberal democratic state (Odotei, 2002:18). By observing several festivals and interviewing chiefs and local organisers, Lentz (2001) found that the entire process, from planning to production, is an integral aspect of how Ghanaians consolidate modern-day democracy within their everyday civic life. This can be seen through the constant negotiation of relationships between 'local elites and the people, the State and the chiefs, and national and local ethnic identities' (2001:69). Continuing a previous point raised by Asante (2020a), as noted earlier in this chapter, Lentz adds that festivals are part of the informality of citizenship; an example of how indigenous expressions enhance the formal understandings of citizenship, as defined by the Government.

As per the Constitution, while the Government must protect cultural heritage, it must equally protect individuals, as well as abolish, any de-humanising cultural practices (Ghana's Constitution of 1992, ch.6, art.39, sec.2). However, research indicates that, while awareness of rights is heightening, deeply engrained traditional cultural practices continue to determine their implementation

(Atiemo, 2013; Buckler, 2018). Children are vulnerable to its effects. As Salm and Falola (2002) explain, traditional Ghanaian society values status and authority. It derives from the belief that an individual's behaviour reveals their sense of morality, as noted in Chapter 2. As social conduct reflects on the family and community image, respect for authority is key — especially from children. According to Salm and Falola (2002:149), 'Children who look elders in the eye are challenging their status and authority. Children who fail to observe these social values are considered untrained and uncultured.' The disciplining of children is perceived as necessary to sustain the community's image, but in most cases this descends into corporal punishment (MoGCSP and UNICEF, 2018b).

Corporal punishment of children is widespread in Ghana, particularly within schools (Buckler, 2018), despite the Government's efforts to counter it: being signatories of the *UN Convention on the Rights of the Child* (1989), introducing the *Children's Act 1998* (Act 560) and the *Domestic Violence Act 2007* (Act 732), and banning caning in schools in 2017 (GES Council, 2017). Importantly, rates of violence against children in Accra are the highest in the country (MoGCSP and UNICEF, 2018a). The prevalence of corporal punishment of Ghanaian children reveals a violation of human rights, but also carries wider consequences on how children understand themselves as rights-holders, as integral to liberal democratic citizenship. This discussion raises an important point on the extent to which traditional cultural norms intersect with how teachers define human rights, and is worth examining in the new curriculum, in the next chapter and in my interviews.

3.2.6. For the right to develop

Finally, liberal democratic citizenship includes the right to develop, and by virtue, the right to self-determination. This was enshrined in the 1986 UN *Declaration on the Right to Development*. The current notion of development is tied to the UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), launched in 2015 and the global response for tackling the climate crisis (UN, 2022c). Central to the purpose of these goals, the UN (2022a) defines development as:

> A multidimensional undertaking to achieve a higher quality of life for all people. Economic development, social development, and environmental

> protection are interdependent and mutually reinforcing components of sustainable development.

According to the President, ‘Ghana’s development aspirations are fully aligned with the 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development and the Sustainable Development Goals’ (SDGs) (GOG, 2019b:18). As a member of the UN, Ghana subscribes to the 17 goals and 169 targets and indicators that nations use to define and measure progress, and which serve as the roadmap and destination for nation-building. The influence of the SDGs is also seen in the new curriculum, *Ghana’s 2019 Curriculum for Change and Sustainable Development*, which is explored in the next chapter.

However, the roots of development and its practice are increasingly being critiqued. Scholars argue that Africa’s fractured journey of development is evidence of the active legacy of colonialism, placing Africa in constant catch-up to the West (Mpofu, 2018; Ngang, 2018). Since these terms are set by Western donors, it follows that Africa’s development (as developing) will always remain inferior to the West (as developed). This perpetuates a dependency mindset on aid that is hard to break so Africa’s trajectory remains set on westernised terms, exclusively serving European models of modernity. As Mpofu (2018:93) contends, these development ‘promises’ are ‘a fantastic utopia’ that infiltrate both the imagination of the African citizenry and the type of government needed to achieve this. Equally, scholarship has observed the recent agenda amongst African political leadership that acknowledges the ‘deficiency in imported development models’ (Ngang, 2018:113). While not disputing human rights abuses and corruption amongst African governments, the new African Union’s *Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want* offers potential in rebalancing domestic and global priorities. With Nkrumah as a founding member of the African Union (formerly, the Organisation of African Unity), the Agenda is rooted in his ideologies:

> A concrete manifestation of the pan-African drive for unity, self-determination, freedom, progress and collective prosperity pursued under Pan-Africanism and African Renaissance (African Union, no.date).

The Agenda is also seen as an act of political reclamation for decolonising, with potential to redefine Africa's development trajectory on African terms (Ngang, 2018; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020).

Ghana's current President Nana Akufo-Addo is active in the Union and committed to implementing the Agenda (African Union, 2020). However, his vision for aligning Ghana's development to the UN SDGs suggests a tension between global and domestic priorities. Ngang (2018:107-108) cautions that, while the African Union's pursuit of a 'home grown' model for development offers potential, the issue lies in its poor conceptualisation by African governments who still rely on 'imported paradigms' instead of self-reliance; paradoxical to their aim. This includes the imported neoliberal model of economic development for moving beyond aid. Indeed, the current Ghanaian President seeks of his nation, a '*Ghana Beyond Aid*' that is entrepreneurial and self-sufficient (GoG, 2019a), arguably orienting the state-citizen relationship with it.

Out of this, I will now explore the second theoretical model of neoliberal citizenship, as relevant to Ghana.

3.3. Neoliberal Citizenship for Ghana Beyond Aid

3.3.1. Context

Neoliberal citizenship has gained prominence for defining the inherent character of the 'modern world… as part of a supra-national governmental regime in which the international system of states plays a fundamental role' (Hindess, 2002:136). It recognises 'markets everywhere' and, with it, the increasing emphasis on the individual's relationship to the market as being more important than to the state (Babb and Kentikelenis, 2021:521). Neoliberal citizenship is arguably emerging as much as it is solidifying within current Ghanaian governmental rhetoric. The influence of the United Nations, as a supra-national organisation, in Ghanaian policy has already been noted. Equally important is that of the influence of the World Bank Group (2017; 2019), whose agendas clearly define a pathway as much as an aspiration for nation-building in Ghana, as I explore below. The

current President’s agenda for ‘citizens not spectators’ to become self-sufficient also echoes a core principle of neoliberal citizenship (cited in Asante 2020a).

This agenda is driven by the President’s motivation to discard the dependency mindset on aid. The Government’s (2019a) *Ghana Beyond Aid Charter and Strategy Document* (GhBA), as the flagship of all political developments, builds on neoliberal conditions: private sector development, entrepreneurship, and industrial capability. In the opening statement of the GhBA Strategy, the President (GOG, 2019a:8) states that:

> [We] can become a prosperous and self-confident Ghana that is in charge of her economic destiny; a transformed Ghana that is prosperous enough to be beyond needing aid and that engages competitively with the rest of the world through trade and investment… There is need for a renewed mindset and to break the cycle of dependency, especially through modernisation of agriculture and accelerated industrialisation.

This statement should be read in the context to Ghana being an aid-recipient since the 1980s, a period in which the country had severe economic collapse that led to extreme poverty. Framed through neoliberalism, structural adjustment policies (SAPs) defined by the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the World Bank were introduced and Ghana’s economy ‘grew at 1.9% per year between 1993 and 2005 and 4.5% per year after 2005’ (Geiger, Tanaka, and Nuamah, 2018). Dicklitch and Howard-Hassmann (2007) contend that Ghana was a success story in the implementation of SAPs. Contrary to this, it is claimed that the growth rate was actually a result of the World Bank and the IMF cancelling a significant proportion of the country’s debt, as campaigned for by the Global Jubilee Movement (Jones, 2016). While the economy remains relatively stable, moving Ghana into the category of a Lower Middle-Income Country, Ghana’s external debt is substantial. Debt has reached a projected total of US $58,640 million (as a percent of GDP, the debt-to-GDP ratio was 80.1) (MoFEP, 2021:xvii). This has undermined economic growth.

Furthermore, employment has not kept pace with high population rates, and poverty remains prevalent. A 2018 report shows that 45.6% of the Ghanaian

population lives in multidimensional poverty[16] (GSS, 2020:x). As already addressed, while governmental data on Accra's urban poor is limited, other research indicates its prevalence (UN-Habitat, 2008; 2009). A UN 2008 study found, for example, severe overcrowding of households in Ga Mashie with average room occupancy of 10.6 persons and inadequate sanitation and infrastructure. A contributing factor is the city's high youth unemployment rates accounting for a significant proportion of Ghana's unemployed population (7.8%) (GSS, 2021e:45). This reveals the unique context of the city, as well as the immediate challenge for teachers in preventing youth unemployment by raising aspiration of their primary-aged children, as the next generation.

Against this backdrop, scholarship asserts that Ghana's neoliberal journey is a 'paradox… of economic growth and uneven regional development' (Awanyo and Attua, 2016:1), echoing the same words used to describe Ghana's journey in liberal democracy. Arguably, this is what the President seeks to resolve in his vision for moving Ghana Beyond Aid, which depends on the principles of neoliberalism and is reorienting the state-citizen relationship with it. This further justifies my focus in this chapter.

Neoliberalism is typically associated with the mid-twentieth century works of Friedrich Hayek, an Austrian-British economist, and the American economists George Stigler and Milton Friedman. As an economic philosophy, the defining feature of neoliberalism is a preference for private over public control. This agenda gained momentum in low and middle-income economies through the 1989 Washington Consensus, 'a coordinated campaign for the global diffusion of free-market policies, organised around the resources and normative authority of international organisations, especially the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank' (Babb and Kentikelenis, 2021:523). According to Babb and Kentikelenis (2021: 526), it was also a 'bureaucratic practice… [that] became steadily more constraining on [African] governments' policy space.' Today, the lasting effects of the Washington Consensus are still seen through the conditions set out by the World Bank for African governments to secure additional financing to meet their ambitions for economic transformation (Ngang, 2018).

[16] Multidimensional poverty refers to the overlapping deprivations that poor people experience including lack of education, poor health and nutrition, insufficient housing, and unsafe water.

As with liberal democracy, tracing the historic developments of neoliberalism, as well as its role in shaping the economic policies of the World Bank and the IMF would be a vast undertaking. Instead, this thesis will outline the theoretical model of neoliberal citizenship, as relevant to Ghana, and include research on Accra to give context.

3.3.2. For individual economic freedom

Neoliberal citizenship prioritises individual economic freedom. As with liberalism, the individual (a bounded, unattached entity) needs protecting from the state. However, as Pendenza and Lamattina (2019) observe, these theoretical models of citizenship diverge in that neoliberals believe that the individual, still acting out of self-interest, is guided by competition in the market. This positions their relationship with the market as more important than the state, which, according to Ong (2006:6), justifies citizens being viewed as ‘living resources that may be managed and harnessed’ for economic gain. Generally, the market is described as an arrangement between buyers and sellers to produce and exchange goods and services with others — basically, trading. The market can also refer to domestic and local markets (confined to the boundaries of the sovereign state), as well as the global market (beyond these boundaries). As Hindess (2002) highlights, through ongoing exchange in the market, individuals are incentivised to become economically active as their productivity is rewarded through capital. This explains its appeal within poorer economies, which are predominantly in the Global South. While there are varying types of capital, human capital (referring to skills and knowledge) is a major factor in a country’s economic growth, determining its ability to produce goods and services and then compete in the global market. Human capital is thus critical to an individual’s economic freedom, and is believed to lead to a growing economy: the greater the human capital, the greater productivity and profitability accrued. As Pendenza and Lamattina (2019:103) summarise:

> For neoliberalism, the market certainly remains the only mechanism capable of guaranteeing the freedom of the individual, who remains the protagonist; at the same time; however, the State, transcending its “night watchman” role, assumes an active function of individual development. For the

> neoliberal, the State, as guarantor of welfare, must be transmuted into a handmaiden of the market.

Neoliberals also favour the private sector, to ensure that control is transferred to the individual and for 'ensuring that citizens keep up with the multiple pressures and demands of that increasingly integrated and interdependent political, economical, and social ecosystem' (Cerny, 2010:6) — although most neoliberals promote a degree of state intervention when concerning the poor in the Global South to equalise access to and participation in the market. An unregulated market prioritises profitability, leading to monopolies of power and widening economic division. One of the state's main responsibilities is therefore to make the private sector desirable through investment and promotion. In principle, as the individual gains greater economic freedom and the private sector expands, state funding can decrease. Such principles are seen in *Ghana's Private Sector Engagement Strategy for the National Adaptation Plan* (GOG, 2020a). The Government of Ghana claims to be incentivising private providers to eventually own and deliver public services.

The neoliberal narrative of individual freedom in Accra is explored in research, and in relation to citizenship (Quayson, 2014; Gillespie, 2015; Coe, 2020b). Quayson's (2014: 152) ethnographic study on Oxford Street, one of the city's most globalised, commercial district, examines the effects of the 'discourse of enchantment' from the 'IMF-inspired neoliberal reforms of the late 1980s' on the urban poor. He claims that the spread of cultural activities, masked as self-improvement, which are heavily attended by the urban poor, are instead evidence of the neoliberal disenchantment: the existence of these activities is precisely because of the marginalising effects of the market on them. With a lack of support from the Ghanaian State, Quayson asserts that individual economic freedom for the poor remains aspirational, rather than a reality. He also finds that the neoliberal narrative of commodification, including land and property, creates contradiction for the Ga people, whose identity and sense of belonging is inherently place-based. Those living in extreme poverty are vulnerable to its stratifying effects, where their land is increasingly commercialised (Gillespie, 2015).

Hindess (2002) describes how such inequalities affecting the poor substantiate the need to recognise neoliberal citizenship in post-colonial countries. He asserts that the unreliability of the modern sovereign state is causing the need for self-reliance for the poor anyway. Shifting the state's function onto maintaining quasi-market conditions would facilitate more meaningful individual economic freedom. He claims that this is central for building a more stable domestic market in poorer economies.

3.3.3. For industrial capability

Another characteristic of neoliberal citizenship is the aim to increase industrial capability. In basic terms, industrialisation moves a country from an agrarian society towards a high technological and manufacturing capacity and output. As Opoku (2010) observes, the virtues of industrialisation in Ghana have increasingly confirmed the neoliberal view that reducing state intervention matures markets, and, with this, increases the citizen's economic productivity and competitiveness in these markets. The greatest reward for the individual is to respond to those industries where the most capital can be accumulated.

However, with the roots of industrialisation lying in colonialism, its role in economies of the Global South is strongly contested (Benyera, 2021). Rashied and Bhamjee (2020:95) assert that, 'One of the most important tools of economic oppression, industrialisation, has often benefitted the Global North at the expense of the Global South through expropriation and exploitation of colonial resources.' Echoing critiques of development, it is argued that, as industrialisation is tied to European modernity, the Global South remains in a position of catch-up to Western economies. Equally, Rashied and Bhamjee argue that the emergence of the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) offers possibility for those in the Global South seeking alternatives. They propose that reframing industrial policy through Indigenous philosophies (such as Ubuntu from Southern Africa) ensure that there is no 'sacrifice of value systems, sovereignty, and diversity,' and that this 'may lead to post-developmental success and meaningful self-reliance without coloniality' (2020:107). As inscribed in African philosophies, the emphasis is on the communal model that would replace the Western model of individualism, offering a more sustainable alternative for

developing African economies. This is an interesting argument given my previous discussion of Oneness, which is rooted in Ghanaian Indigenous philosophy.

The Government of Ghana (2019a:24) aims to gear up to the 4IR by creating a digital economy that 'generates productive employment with high incomes for our educated youth, [and] provides solutions for technological leap-frogging in many areas of the economy.' However, it has been argued that setting overambitious goals for Ghana's digital services risks premature de-industrialisation (Ayelazuno, 2014). According to Diao et al., (2019), the problem with a burgeoning services sector in Ghana, including digital services, is that less labour is required. This reduces the need for unskilled labour, leading to shrinking markets with limited employment opportunities. Of concern is that youths' aspirations are found to be unrealistic, while unwilling to seek alternatives. This seems important in the context of Accra, although such research is hard to find.

The wider effects of shrinking markets on the youth can be seen in governmental data, giving some insight. In 2015, while the Greater Accra Region had the highest proportion of tertiary industries in Ghana (21.6%), it equally had one of the highest proportions of unemployed persons in the country (21.3%) (GSS, 2016:xiv). Of these persons, young people were over-represented (30 %) (2016:77). The finding reiterates the point that tertiary industries require less labour-force. Unemployment rates were exacerbated by the city's high influx of migrants in search of work (68.1%), intensifying competition for jobs (2016:102). Of the employed youths, most were in informal employment with significant economic instability. The report equally stresses that the Ghanaian economy is mostly generated outside of Accra: this illustrates the influence of the neoliberal enchantment of the city. To resolve this, the Government promotes entrepreneurship to youth to enable urban regeneration.

3.3.4. For entrepreneurship

Entrepreneurship is one of the most prominent features of neoliberal citizenship in Ghana, endorsed through the Government's (2020b) new *National Entrepreneurship and Innovation Programme* (NEIP). Framed through the idea of

citizenship for self-reliance, neoliberals favour entrepreneurship because it accrues optimum reward in the market. It demands that an individual stays abreast of market competition, adapting their skills and knowledge accordingly. This enables them to constantly generate economic opportunities. Accra is known as the 'entrepreneurial city' (Eduful, 2019:263). As the wealthiest city in Ghana, its transformation has been 'led by enterprising middle-class citizens,' seen in the rapid development of numerous shopping malls across the city (2019:272). However, research is now highlighting a rise of entrepreneurialism amongst youth in Accra, through street hawking and vendorship, in response to the 'mounting unemployment challenge' (Langevang, 2015:2). Biney's (2019) study found that the idea of an entrepreneurial citizen, as inspired by the Government's new NEIP, was a way for these youth to claim their economic rights, which they had been previously excluded from. It was a way of sustaining hope in the Government's promise to alleviate their poverty. Despite their confidence, Biney also found that the conditions for supporting these youth were mostly ineffective due to 'lack of credits, financial literacy skills and lack of managerial talents' (2019:11). While research is clear on the challenging realities of doing business in Ghana, it is claimed that such conditions are improving however (Opoku, 2018).

Of interest, there is a growing argument for enhancing urban entrepreneurship within Ghana by doing business on Indigenous terms (Chamlee-Wright, 1997). Based on an ethnographic study of women across several urban sites in Ghana, including Accra, Chamlee-Wright (1997) found that entrepreneurship flourished when local market economies were regulated by cultural traditions more attuned to how these women relate and behave. Women's market activity was operating through the Akan and Ga belief in living in duty to the community. It was seen that entrepreneurial activity 'fulfill[ed] the spiritual goal' of benefitting not only themselves, but also the community (1997:115). Chamlee-Wright (1997:113) argues for greater recognition of the 'West African capitalist ethic,' as being rooted in communal principles to enable economic development. Such research builds on a previous theme that engaging with Indigenous ways of being might offer a more meaningful understanding of self-reliance to those inscribed in neoliberalism, and to disrupt over-reliance on Western aid.

3.3.5. For economic mobility

Neoliberal citizenship also increases economic mobility. As Awanyo and Attua (2016) explain, neoliberals believe that, with enhanced human capital, individuals are compelled to seek the highest reward commensurate within domestic as well as international markets. On this basis, the function of supra-national organisations, namely the World Bank and the IMF, is to ensure that the international market flourishes through universalising conditions. Firstly, they hold states to account when any barriers to trading and to financial flows occur, and, secondly, they utilise regulatory frameworks to ensure the free movement of people across borders. According to Awanyo and Attua (2016), such ideas are further justified through the neoliberal belief in capitalism that drives market expansion, which demands a constantly widening sphere of circulation at the global level.

Economic mobility also raises an important point on brain drain, as a salient issue for Ghana. However, views on its long-term effects are conflicting. Some authors suggest that the damage is long-term (Dadson and Kato, 2016). Others maintain that, as economies develop, the benefits of brain circulation (defined as migration of skilled labour across nations) will outweigh the problems (Kone and Özden, 2017). For instance, Kone and Özden (2017) assert that brain drain should be an incentive for the Government of Ghana to better harness human capital abroad, to improve the domestic market to attract from abroad, as well as to incentivise national professionals to return. They further claim that remittances — where Ghanaian migrants send money back to their families to provide extra income — are an example of the benefits of economic mobility emerging from neoliberalism. Pellow's (2012) research shows that remittances are reducing poverty in Ghana. However, she also argues that remittances only function 'as a kind of safety valve; they prevent frustration with an ineffective public sector' (2012:76).

Economic mobility is also used to describe aspirations of moving out of poverty, another defining feature of neoliberal citizenship. When tied to the notion of class, this becomes an identity category in socio-economic terms, further defining group-based belonging to others with a similar lifestyle. Literature

asserts that Ghana's growing middle-class needs recognition, particularly in Accra (Coe, 2020b; Lentz and Noll, 2021). Lentz and Noll (2021:11) suggest that this challenges the 'popular thinking [that] Ghanaian-ness is premised on identifying with one of Ghana's constituent ethnic groups.' However, they also highlight how the making of the middle-class in Ghana is uneven: it is dominated by Southerners and exacerbates the country's regional economic divide. This consolidates a type of citizenship that speaks to the unique context of Accra as compared to the rest of Ghana.

3.3.6. For economic development

In the final part for this section, the role of neoliberal citizenship for economic development will be explored. For the President Nana Akufo-Addo, this is achieved through breaking dependence on aid and fostering self-reliance, underpinning the Government's (2019a) flagship strategy, *Ghana Beyond Aid* (GhBA). While a presidential ambition, Kumi's (2020) study found that government policymakers also had ownership of the strategy. It was seen to challenge 'aid conditionality with its associated loss of ownership in the setting of national development priorities' (2020:75). According to one respondent, 'GhBA is a clear demonstration of leadership by the President to ensure that we own our development process' (2020:80). Such views are inevitably politicised.

Unsurprisingly, the neoliberal paradigm that promotes economic development is also highly contested. As with previous arguments in section 3.2.6, neoliberalism, like liberalism, can be interpreted as a guise for maintaining the active legacy of colonialism in Africa (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020; Benyera, 2021). Equally, the current President's focus on reviving the African Personality for building the economy cannot be overlooked. To recap from Chapter 2, this was originally part of Nkrumah's rhetoric for mobilising African political unity through Oneness, being rooted in African communalism, in order to break dependence on aid. This was integral to challenging neo-colonialism. Tensions within the current President's policies have already been highlighted earlier in this chapter, but his use of Nkrumah's rhetoric suggests a desire to redefine the neoliberal agenda on African terms, and without the West. Ghana being a signatory and now trading under the African Continental Free Trade Agreement,

centred on Nkrumah's ideologies, as well as hosting the Secretariat of the African Continent Free Trade Area is one such example (African Union, 2020). Furthermore, in several speeches at two international conferences, the President challenged African States to shift their over-reliance on their European benefactors, asserting that:

> We can no longer continue to make policy for ourselves and our country in our region, in our continent on the basis of whatever support the Western world... can give us. It will not work. It has not worked. Our responsibility is to charter a path, which is about how we can develop our nation ourselves… If we change that mindset contingent on aid and charity… we will see that new African Personality that was talked about at the time of our Independence will become real and imminent in our time (The Times of Africa, 2017, 07:03-11).

The assumption that Nkrumah's ideologies are wholly embedded in the current President's position is unsubstantiated — his political affiliation to Dr. J.B Danquah, an opponent of Nkrumah, is well known within Ghana and has fed into critiques of the new curriculum. Nevertheless, Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2020) contends that there is significant potential for African governments in pursuing the goal of the African Personality for economic transformation. He asserts that, 'The African Union has not given up on the ideas and spirit of Kwame Nkrumah, and is still pushing for the rebuilding and achieving of a prosperous, united, self-defining, and peaceful Africa by 2063' (2020:87). It is worth considering whether Nkrumah's Oneness as a national symbol might help mediate the tension between domestic (non-Western) and global (Western) priorities that he originally envisioned for Ghana's future citizens.

3.4. Chapter Summary

The aim of this chapter has been to examine selected theoretical models of Ghanaian citizenship in relation to the wider political context. On the one hand, some similarities between these models have been found: they share the Western epistemic root that puts the individual above society and separates out the public/private sphere to create a dichotomous state-citizen relationship. On the other hand, these models differ in how they determine the state-citizen relationship, and what they believe citizenship is for. As such, is it important to acknowledge the paradox of Ghana's journey in pursuing both liberal democracy

and neoliberalism. There is also tension highlighted in the President's vision that appears to be seeking the undoing of Western influence in pursuit of the African Personality and the goals of the African Union for decolonising, yet is also following the Western model of industrialisation, part of the wider vision for achieving the UN Sustainable Development Goals and the underpinning principles of the World Bank and IMF. Scholarship has heavily critiqued this for tying Ghana still to the rhetoric of European modernity. This illustrates the contradictory visions of citizenship that can co-exist.

The recurrent theme across research on the 'informality of citizenship' is also worth noting: it reveals the continuity of the Indigenous ways of being and knowing that still appear to influence everyday citizenship in Accra, and has leverage. As research suggests, its expression could foster a more meaningful ownership of the Presidential ambition, strengthening democracy as it moves Ghana Beyond Aid. Considering the issues raised in this chapter, a question emerges as to how these political developments on citizenship translate into the Ghanaian educational context, and how teachers might view these various models of citizenship in relation to their learners.

Chapter 4.
Citizenship from the Curriculum to the Classroom:
A Literature Review

4.1. Introduction

Since his incumbency in early 2017, the President Nana Akufo-Addo has made redefining citizenship a national priority. Out of a vision to accelerate the nation out of poverty, and enhance democracy, he has turned to education, with the aim to better equip children for their futures. This comes with the desire to instil a new sense of identity and unity in Being Ghanaian, and renewing their commitment to build Ghana. With these goals in mind, plans for a new educational reform were announced, and, by September 2019, the new *Curriculum for Change and Sustainable Development* was implemented. Teachers are ‘recognised as a major stakeholder in the implementation of the revised curriculum’ (NaCCA, 2019g: 5).

In this chapter, I examine the Ghanaian educational context, laying the groundwork to answer my main research question and my research sub-questions. After a brief explanation of curriculum reform and the role of the teacher in this, I trace the key developments leading up to the new Ghanaian National Curriculum. I pay particular attention to government thinking on citizenship and its relationship to and with education. Next, I analyse the new curriculum. My priority is to understand which theoretical dispositions, as explored in Chapter 3, inform the ‘mandated’ curricular content on citizenship that the teachers of my study must teach about and enact (Rosiek and Clandinin, 2016:294). I also examine to what extent the ‘question of the Indigenous’ has been revisited, as outlined in Chapter 2. With this in mind, I will consider how ethnic identity and belonging are presented and any examples that allude to indigeneity. The final part of this chapter is a literature review about Ghanaian teachers’ views on citizenship, in relation to their learners, undertaken to seek themes that are worth investigating in my interviews. To reiterate, this thesis is concerned with public education (government schools and teachers), rather than private education, and at the primary-level.

4.2. Ghana’s 2019 Curriculum for Change and Sustainable Development

4.2.1. A brief explanation of curriculum reform and the role of teachers as curriculum-makers

The curriculum is a complicated concept, differing across contexts and with differing demands and interpretations from stakeholders. In its simplest form, Beyer and Liston (1996:xv) explain:

> The curriculum is the centrepiece of educational activity. It includes the formal, overt knowledge that is central to the activities of teaching, as well as more tacit, subliminal messages — transmitted through the process of acting and interacting within a particular kind of institution — that foster the inculcation of particular values, attitudes, and dispositions.

Curriculum reform is designed to review and update this knowledge and the messages underpinning it (Rosiek and Clandinin, 2016). Often, the impetus for governments when seeking to redefine citizenship through curriculum reform is borne out of a perceived crisis in society, and a need to respond to the changing priorities of citizens (McCowan and Gomez, 2012). The beginning of this process necessitates governments agreeing how they envision the ‘ideal person/ideal society’ (McCowan, 2008). This entails a rigorous examination of the nation’s current needs while predicting those of the future. For developing countries, the process includes meeting international development goals, currently the UN 2030 SDGs. Since the curriculum is a means for producing this ideal person/society, governments are tasked with the question of what matters most. Answering this question is complex, as it necessitates thinking about what must happen in the classroom to achieve the end goal.

Governments generally consider what is important in educating for citizenship, expressed in terms of the knowledge future citizens must gain about their country, including current affairs, electoral processes, and existing laws (McCowan and Gomez, 2012). Sometimes, this knowledge is packaged into a dedicated subject, known as citizenship education. Governments must also consider the educating of citizens, specific to particular skills and values. Defining the teacher’s role to enact this is part of governments’ decision-making.

Adapting the definition from McCowan and Gomez (2012:18), teachers' roles in this domain are, firstly, to transmit knowledge on citizenship to their learners; secondly, to enable learners to practice these skills; and, thirdly, to act as role-models, 'exhorting,' 'exemplifying,' and 'reflecting' any set values as prescribed in the curriculum. Once the knowledge, skills, and values are defined, the mandated curriculum is produced (Rosiek and Clandinin, 2016:293). As Rosiek and Clandinin (2016) explain, there is an important function in putting the adjective 'mandated' with the term curriculum, at this point. They argue that it recognises that the curriculum is more than simply a 'course of study prescribed through policy-making processes,' and then implemented by teachers 'with minimal modification' (2016:293). Instead, the curriculum should be viewed in multiple ways that accounts for the 'fullest range' of how teachers interpret and enact this mandated curriculum in the classroom; along with its key messages, both overt and tacit, underpinning it as set out by governments (2016:294). Needless to say, governments depend entirely on teachers to implement this new curriculum. Teachers' preparedness is key to this. Typically, this is targeted through improvements to pre-service and in-service teacher education, instruction on pedagogy, and the use of teaching and learning materials to enhance the curricular content.

Teachers also regulate the social life of the classroom. This is why, as Popkewitz (2015) proposes, curriculum reform becomes a critical project for governments in creating the social conditions in schools that prepare learners, as future citizens, for this ideal society. For teachers, the mandated curriculum defines the 'social,' 'something not naturally "there" to explain the workings of power' (2015:4). On this basis, Popkewitz (2015:4) states that any difference is represented through oppositional categories as a way of identifying 'self' and 'other,' creating implicit 'rules and standards to order, classify, and differentiate kinds of people.' However, the mandated curriculum is never neutral, and is subject to bias and indoctrination. Literature proposes paying attention to how the twin concepts of difference and diversity are portrayed in curricular content (Stein and de Oliveira Andreotti, 2016). How these concepts are represented regulates all social relationships between teacher-learner and learner-learner in the classroom, and influences how learners understand their

world and develop openness towards other people. Such representations also provide the ‘parameters’ within which teachers should work (Rosiek and Clandinin, 2016:294).

Once the curricular content and materials are distributed in schools, teachers will then put into practice the mandated curriculum on citizenship. There is a myriad of contextual factors within the everyday life of the classroom that shape what, how, and why teachers approach the curriculum and how students then receive it. While I am not exploring in my empirical research how the 2019 National Curriculum is taught and received, it is worth acknowledging here the various ways of viewing the curriculum for context:

- ‘Hidden curriculum: … the unacknowledged assumptions organising subject matter content;
- Null curriculum: the messages conveyed when the explicit school curriculum is silent on a significant topic;
- Lived curriculum: the complicated and unexpected ways a planned curriculum unfolds in a classroom;
- Experienced curriculum: the holistic learning a student takes away from the events, people, materials, institutional arrangements, social interactions and emotional climate they experience in a course of study’ (Rosiek and Clandinin, 2016:294).

Out of this, Rosiek and Clandinin (2016:297) argue that, seeing teachers as ‘curriculum makers,’ rather than curriculum implementers, is a ‘*necessity.’* This acknowledges that the process of enacting the mandated curriculum is always ambiguous and messy, instead of universal and formalised (Jung and Pinar, 2016). Despite being well positioned to speak on the curriculum in the classroom, it is argued that, Ghanaian teachers’ views on the various curriculum reforms have been relatively absent in policy-making thus far (Osei, 2009). The less well that teachers’ views are understood and considered in curriculum planning, the greater the gap between policy intention and classroom is likely to be.

While I unpack this point in my literature review, this is a helpful reminder as I turn to discuss the Ghanaian educational policy context.

4.2.2. Tracing developments towards the 2019 National Curriculum

In mid 2017, the National Council for Curriculum and Assessment (NaCCA), an independent statutory body, was tasked by the Minister of Education[17] to develop a new curriculum in Basic Education. This was with the goal of instilling a 'new sense of identity' across schools (NaCCA/MoE 2019a:iii). For clarity, Basic Education refers to compulsory and free provision of education[18] for all school-going ages from Kindergarten (4-6 years), Primary School (6-11 years old), and Junior High School (12-15 years). For this thesis, I focus on the primary level comprising Key Phase 2 (Lower Primary of B1-B3) and Key Phase 3 (Upper Primary of B4-B6). This is to explore the immediate challenge faced by primary teachers in Accra in fostering citizenship — heightened for those educating the urban poor, who frequently drop out after completing primary school in search of employment.

To accomplish the task, the NaCCA was required to examine the 'inherent challenges' of the previous 2007 reform in fostering citizenship (NaCCA/MoE, 2018:14). This reform should be examined to understand what led to these 'inherent challenges,' and why the need for change. Alongside this, the 1995 FCUBE programme is worth considering, attributed for its significant shift in government thinking on citizenship and the role of education (Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah, 2018). Before doing this, echoing Akyeampong (2010:1), 'It is instructive to remind ourselves of what Nkrumah and the policies and strategies that his government introduced to pursue his vision for education.' Examining this briefly helps to understand what laid the foundations for Ghana's current educational system.

4.2.2.1. The Education Act 1961

The *Education Act 1961* (Act 87) was enshrined soon after the new President Kwame Nkrumah took his seat in the new Legislative Assembly. The fundamental aim was to overhaul the 'clearly elitist' education system (Kosack, 2012:165)

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[17] The former Minister of Education, who commissioned this task, was Dr. Matthew Opoku Prempeh. The current Minister of Education (as of July 2022) is Dr. Yaw Osei Adutwum.
[18] Basic education now extends to Senior High School (15-18 years) and is of free provision but not compulsory.

and emancipate the nation from its colonial past, which had created divisions between ethnic groups across the country. Colonialism had also created a regional divide between Northern and Southern Ghana, primarily because Southern Ghana had greater provision of schooling due to 'convenience sake [for the colonials] as it was easy to build schools in urban centers where the existence of a large concentration of children facilitated educational development' (Mfum-Mensah, 2017:108). Northern Ghana was considered too remote. For Nkrumah, with Ghana now independent, there was risk of Balkanisation. This challenged the new nation-building project, which demanded national unity; education was central to creating social cohesion. Based on his belief in African socialism, one of Nkrumah's immediate and radical changes was offering free and universal basic education to the masses. While educational financing was limited, it has been argued that Nkrumah's ambitious plans were still feasible within the resource constraints (Akyeampong, 2010; Little, 2010). Along with a massive expansion of educational provision, the Education Act 1961 ensured that education was fee-free and that children were able to attend four years of primary schooling.

Nkrumah also envisioned of education to instil the 'African Personality' in future Ghanaian citizens, which began by fostering national unity. To achieve this, Nkrumah, and the Convention Peoples Party that he formed in 1949, sought to mobilise Ghana's commonality through its Indigenous culture by featuring this within the new curriculum. His intentions were outlined in the *Seven-year Plan for National Reconstruction and Development* (Office of the Planning Commission, 1964). However, it is difficult to locate the exact subjects that featured in this curriculum. In the wider educational context, Nkrumah appropriated 'cultural traditions and symbols in ways that were not divisive to the nation… of combining a variety of different ethnic artistic traditions in a single public display: a state-sponsored buffet of culture' (Coe, 2006:60). Specialised institutions were also established with the aim of promoting such definitions of culture in schools, 'to educate the public about Ghana's cultural heritage' (Coe, 2020a:218). It is claimed that, such efforts for cultural programming laid the foundation for Ghana's future educational system (Coe, 2020a).

Nkrumah believed that education should inculcate in children a vision for self-sufficiency, equally deemed necessary for realising the African Personality. This would build Ghana's economy, as their sovereignty was equated with monetary sovereignty, a concept central to decolonisation (Akyeampong, 2010; Mfum-Mensah, 2017). Key to this process was industrialisation, underpinning the new primary curriculum. The Seven-year Plan further stated that:

> The purpose of elementary education will no longer be to fit youths to enter white-collar occupations but to fit them for all jobs that need to be done in the economy (Office of the Planning Commission, 1964:151).

Despite Nkrumah's ambitions for education, his presidency abruptly ended in 1966, only a few years after the new Education Act was enshrined. Several decades of political instability ensued, leading to neglect in public education funding and a period of consistent educational reform, averaging every five years, that limited improvements (Little, 2010; Kosack, 2012).

4.2.2.2. The 1995 Programme, Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE)

In light of the discussion in Chapter 3, it is unsurprising that the 1992 Constitution is partly attributed to the renewal of government thinking about citizenship and education. Ushered in by the era of 'westernisation,' citizenship became tied to the narrative of human rights and democracy, while legitimating equality and diversity before the Ghanaian State for the first time (Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah, 2018:119). Children's right to basic education as a precondition of their new citizenship propelled the 1995 programme, *Free and Compulsory Universal Basic Education (FCUBE) by 2005 programme* (GOG/MoE, 1996). As part of this transformation, Ghana's basic education cycle increased to nine years, now comprising Primary (grades 1-6) and Junior Secondary School (grades 7-9) (World Bank, 1996). As per the Constitution, the newly established Ministry of Education (MoE) oversaw the reform that was implemented by the Ghanaian Education Service[19] (GES).

[19] The role of the GES was provided for under the *Ghana Education Service Act, 1995 (Act 506)* and further clarification of its role is articulated in the *Education Act, 2008 (Act 778)*.

Accelerated by the Government's efforts to meet the UNESCO Education for All goals (1990-2000) (UNESCO, 1990), education aimed at 'equipping children to become full stakeholders in and beneficiaries of development' (Tuwor, 2005:21 cited in Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah, 2018). According to Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah (2018), despite being high on the agenda, the curriculum failed to introduce children and teachers to the concept of democratic citizenship and human rights, or any of its related terms. As Nudzor (2013a; 2013b) argues, this was due to the growing influence of the World Bank and the IMF on education, with its neoliberal promise of moving Ghana out of poverty. While the FCUBE claimed to protect the most marginalised through the provision of education, the eventual rollback of the Ghanaian State contradicted this. In the process, the FCUBE's original democratic ideals of primary education, as a 'right,' and, that, 'every Ghanaian child, irrespective [of their background]… receives good-quality primary education to the best of his/her abilities,' were neutralised (Nudzor, 2013a:944). For Nudzor (2013b:198), the programme was indicative of the 'paradox' between such prominent Western donor-led agendas, conflicting in theory and in practice, as well as in their claims for what can be achieved through Ghanaian citizenship.

The curriculum, under the 1995 FCUBE reform, prioritised skills and training deemed necessary for Ghana's economic development (World Bank, 1996). This positioned the future citizen as a market-player and, with their being economically active would lead to less dependence on the State and a more prosperous economy. Environmental Studies was the main subject taught at primary that incorporated these key ideas. This is seen, for example, through the dedicated topics of developing Ghana's wealth (P5), and improving Ghana's economy (P6) (Quartey, Otu, and Forson, 2000a; 2000b). The subject's key objective was to encourage children to understand the major challenges facing their country and their role in addressing this, as future citizens.

By 2005, the FCUBE reforms had failed to deliver. Within schools, teacher absenteeism had also surged, resulting in an endemic of poor quality learning (Akyeampong, 2009). The World Bank 'judged' that teachers' resistance was a major reason that the Government failed to meet its promises (Kosack, 2012:208). Equally, this view has been strongly contested. Other research finds

that, 'the rushed preparation of teachers', decreasing teacher salaries, and schools simply unable to 'keep pace with increases in enrolment' were major contributing factors to this outcome (Little, 2010:24; 26).

4.2.2.3. Education Reform 2007

The Education Reform 2007 offered more targeted change, most notably the introduction of the notion of democratic citizenship and human rights into the new curriculum for the first time. This was despite the Government's claims that these topics were foundational to the 1995 FCUBE reform almost a decade prior. Change to the reform was also inspired by Ghana's wider commitment towards meeting the revised UNESCO Education For All goals (2000-2015) (UNESCO, 2000). According to the Government, the new education system would 'serve as a training ground for producing citizens that cherish and embrace democratic values' (Kumah, 2005:14 cited in Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah, 2018:20). The subject of Citizenship Education was introduced (refashioned from Environmental Studies in the previous reform) that, 'covers the child's role as an effective and participatory member of the democratic political community' (MoESS, 2007:ii). Children were to be taught on 'issues such as the promotion of good Governance, Democracy… Peace, and Human Rights' (ibid). Furthermore, after featuring in the 1995 reform but with little impact, learner-centred education (LCE) was re-prioritised for its democratic tendencies (Akyeampong, 2017). This had emerged from the international donor community as a panacea to the quality issue. LCE attempted to shift the teacher's role into becoming a facilitator, with the aim of deterring teacher-centric, rote-based learning still prevalent in Ghana, and undermining democratisation in schools.

However, the Government's agenda on what education could achieve for citizenship became overly 'ambitious' (Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah, 2018:120) due to the accumulation of multiple, competing global donor-led imperatives, while subjugating domestic priorities (Takyi-Amoako, 2012). The new reform was predicted to be a 'crisis of vision' for this reason (Kuyini, 2013:157). Perhaps expectedly, the reform proved difficult to pursue in practice. Government schools were left to negotiate core structural issues that affected all aspects of learning; including high student/teacher ratios,

unqualified teachers, and poor infrastructure that exacerbated the socio-economic division between the North/South and urban/rural (Akyeampong, 2010). This undermined the Government's ideals for improving democratisation. Similar to the 1995 reform, teachers were still blamed for these systemic problems (Kosack, 2012). Teachers, themselves, criticised the curriculum for being over-loaded, and for their being unprepared to teach it. According to Osei and Brock (2006), an implementation gap was inevitable, as no attempt was made to augment teachers' voices within curriculum design, implementation, or review at the local level. This was despite efforts at the time to decentralise educational services. For Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah (2018), the underlying problem throughout these reforms has been the increasing tension between Western (liberal and neoliberal/colonial) and non-Western concepts of citizenship, which is still to be reconciled.

Coe (2006; 2020a) gives attention to this issue. She explains that integrating Indigenous Knowledges in education, through cultural programming has been a delicate process for the Government of Ghana. Tracing educational policies over several decades, she finds that tension has formed over the State's limited 'ability to appropriate culture through schools… [that] goes against the logic of learning indigenous practices and knowledge, which people generally learn only after they have gained a ritual-political position in their families and towns after middle age' (2020a:229). At the same time, Coe observes that previous governments' prevailing neoliberal narratives turned culture into commodity as a resource for stimulating the economy, further creating tension within educational policy. She argues that the universalising nature of neoliberalism intrinsically detaches culture, as well as Indigenous Knowledges, from location. In the process, this neutralises any attempts from Governments to integrate culture, precisely because it is locational. Despite intentions, students remain detached from their communities. Nonetheless, Coe observes a distinct shift in belief in the Government in beginning to now promote Indigenous Knowledges as important for Ghanaians in their historical sense of nationhood and national identity. The extent to which this has continued into the new reform needs exploring, as do these neoliberal narratives.

4.2.2.4. Addressing the inherent challenges

In 2019, after conducting an extensive review of the 2007 curriculum, the NaCCA (2019a) released a public statement about the urgency for reform, with renewing citizenship as its core goal. It stated that:

> Since 2007 when we last reviewed our curriculum, a lot has changed… Unfortunately, our children have had to make do with the old syllabus, which had a few challenges, apart from it being unduly dated and out of step with global trends. These included the overload of content… The syllabus was also not focused on the national objectives of industrialisation and self-sufficiency. We did not have citizenship values baked into the curriculum, which would ensure that our young people are brought up to be useful and productive citizens who understand and accept their role in moving this nation forward.

Such ‘inherent challenges’ of the 2007 curriculum were set out in-depth in the NaCCA’s report, *National Pre-Tertiary Education Curriculum Framework* (NaCCA/MoE, 2018:14). Before outlining these challenges to understand how the curriculum defines citizenship and its purpose, it is worth gaining an understanding of Ghana’s current educational system to deepen context.

Recent data reveals a significant improvement in access to and completion of basic education. For example, net enrolment rates at Primary and Kindergarten have increased from 81.2% in 2011/12 to 91.1% in 2017, and completion rates have increased to nearly 100% in the school year of 2018 (MoE, 2018a; 2018b). However, poor learning outcomes are still of primary concern for the MoE, seen to be ‘an impediment to the development of the human capital requisite for citizen’s socio-economic success’ (NaCCA/MoE, 2018:5). The report states, ‘Only 37% of Primary school (P4) pupils showed proficiency in literacy while 22% showed proficiency in numeracy’ (2018:4). The starkest divide in these results is between the rural schools (mostly in Northern Ghana) and the urban schools (mostly in Southern Ghana). Important for this thesis, it is reported that Greater Accra ‘substantially outperforms all other regions, both in terms of the proportion of pupils achieving above-average grades (44.2%) and the proportion with below average grades (9.5%)’(MoE, 2018a:39). This high performance is further seen in the region’s high completion rates as well as in greater gender parity. Such data reflects wider global patterns in terms of urban versus rural attainment in developing countries (see Nesterova and Young, 2020).

However, basic education provision is predominantly private within the Greater Accra Region '(over 60% at Kindergarten, approximately 50% at Primary and approximately 40% at Junior High School)' (MoE, 2018a:35). In 2016, the MoE reported 844 public primary schools in contrast to 1766 private primary schools, almost double the provision (GSS, 2018:21). This arguably indicates the influence of the neoliberal reforms in Accra that promote privatisation — including of education. The report claims that the backlog of enrolment problems in public schooling does not meet demand, and that those most affected are the children in urban poverty. As already highlighted, while evidence shows that Greater Accra recorded the lowest proportion of children living in extreme poverty in Ghana (3.6%)[20] (NDPC, 2019:15), there are still areas of severe economic development in the city that affect a child's access to and participation in education (UN-Habitat, 2009:9). This should also be seen against the backdrop of the city's very young population (30% being 0-14 years old) (GSS, 2014b:106), which is largely due to children and youths migrating from rural communities because of their parents' perceptions of increased chances of education that can secure future employment (MoGCSP and UNICEF, 2018a). Governmental data indicates a distinct set of 'inherent challenges' for Accra, and reinforces the importance of the context of these teachers being interviewed for this study.

According to the MoE (2018a; 2018b), another inherent challenge to learning has been the consistent lack of language policy, affecting learning comprehension and attainment across the country. There are 11 government-sponsored languages spoken in schools in addition to English, but 80 languages in total. The MoE (2018b:63) recognises that an underlying problem has been the limited consideration from the GES of teachers' deployment 'in terms of their qualification level and mother tongue language,' resulting in the local needs of children not being met. Worth noting, teachers are recruited centrally by the GES[21] and 'posted to designated areas where their services are required' (Opoku et al., 2020:203). As Opoku et al., (2020) explain, urban schools are favoured

[20] This is compared to the Upper West in Northern Ghana, where the proportion of children living in extreme poverty is 77.7% (NDPC, 2019:15).

[21] The GES is also responsible for educational management such as teacher recruitment, training and development and inspections. Although the responsibility of channelling funding, improving infrastructure, and equipping schools lie with regional educational directorates and District Education Office respectively.

over rural schools despite the financial incentives offered by the GES due to poor conditions in these rural locations. While postings are demand-based, their research further highlights that teachers ‘can manipulate the system’ by bribing GES officials (2020:204). According to the MoE, the consequences of urban schools being favoured are self-evident: data indicates that the highest proportion of untrained teachers and high teacher absenteeism are reported in rural areas. This contrasts with the Greater Accra Region, where the lowest teacher absenteeism (10%) was reported (LeClercq et al., 2017 cited in MoE 2018a:22). Such data gives insight into the possible profile of the teachers of this study.

These inherent challenges legitimised the rationale for a new curriculum that fosters a new vision for citizenship. The NaCCA/MoE review discusses challenges related to citizenship, as follows:

> Globalisation has modified the way Ghana relates to other nations in the West African sub-region and across the world. In addition, Ghanaian culture, values and national identity have all been impacted. Consequently, there is a need to confront these challenges by providing learning experiences that enable learners to appreciate Ghanaian culture and develop passion for STEM related subjects as dynamic tools for development.
>
> Essentially the educational experiences provided to Ghanaian learners should inspire them to know about and value the history and traditions of their family, community, and nation, as well as provide them with the opportunity to critically examine the history and culture of other communities and of other countries… That way the Ghanaian child will not lose his or her identity as a result of the experiences provided through the educational system (2018:18-19).

As seen in these statements, the rationale of the new curriculum is to rebalance global and national priorities. Speaking to the global agenda, the MoE is clear that the new reform adheres to the UN 2030 SDGs for economic development and in commitment to realising human rights and democracy. Ghana also adheres to UN SDG 4, which corresponds with UNESCO’s (2015) *Education 2030: Incheon Declaration and Framework for Action,* a guiding framework for governments that sets out additional education-specific targets with a focus on inclusion and equity. Interestingly, there is no reference made in the NaCCA/MoE 2018 report to the African Union’s Agenda 2063, despite the Ghanaian President’s involvement with the Union (as discussed in Chapter 3).

This implies the complex donor-recipient relationship within the development community. Furthermore, the statement suggests that forces of globalisation have threatened Ghanaian culture, history, and values in forming national identity and unity. This suggests that learners knowing about their past, especially pre-colonial history, is a central part of nation-building of present and future.

Whether this rhetoric features in the content of the new curriculum warrants attention. On the one hand, the continuity of (Western) liberal and neoliberal agendas for citizenship, as articulated in the UN SDGs, still seems influential in recent Ghanaian educational policy. On the other hand, with a focus on Ghanaian traditional culture, heritage, and values, there seems heightened interest from the current Government in 'revisiting the question of the Indigenous,' using Dei's (2016) terms. This may be the Government's attempt to mediate tension between domestic and global priorities, responding to criticism of the 2007 reform and fostering a more meaningful, located and historic future citizenship in schools.

I now turn to the new curriculum.

4.3. Content of the National Curriculum

The 2019 *Curriculum for Change and Sustainable Development* is a complete overhaul. From the outset, the MoE stresses that the curriculum is for fostering 'a new sense of identity' in learners, vital in achieving the wider Government's future vision for Ghana (NaCCA/MoE, 2019a:iii). Teachers are central to the process. Similar to other researchers, I have found it difficult to ascertain the level of teacher participation in curriculum design, however (see Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah, 2018). Aligning with Osei (2009), this raises a question on whether the new curriculum begins by meeting the actual needs of the children, in their everyday citizenship, for teachers to then foster this new sense of identity. As the curriculum is relatively new, there is no widely disseminated academic literature to date that offers a critique. My analysis below is a contribution.

While not employed systematically, I used document analysis, following a procedure of 'finding, selecting, appraising (making sense of) and synthesising' certain topics specific to citizenship (Bowen, 2009:28). I am not employing a comprehensive approach here, as my study prioritises asking teachers about their views on citizenship, in relation to their learners, without being limited to the normative educational policy discourse. Having said that, the content of the curriculum is their reference point and provides an opening for my interviews. For this reason, it is still helpful to understand what the Government of Ghana has 'intended [of the curriculum] to drive teacher curricular decisions' (Rosiek and Clandinin, 2016:294). Given the newness of my study, this exercise also serves as an important starting point by asking these teachers directly which curricular subjects, and any corresponding objectives, might be activating their views on citizenship, and, provides an opening for future research.

I selected the content for my analysis by drawing on the theoretical dispositions of liberal democratic citizenship and neoliberal citizenship, as presented in Chapter 3. I also examined how ethnicity was defined and in relation to national identity and belonging, drawing on my discussions in Chapter 2. Alongside this, I explored the construct of the nation. Finally, based on the NaCCA/MoE statement, I explored the influence of Indigenous ways of being and knowing in relation to any descriptions linked to culture, history, tradition, and values. While this task lays important groundwork for answering all of my research questions, it will help in answering specifically the last sub-research question:

> Through their views on citizenship, what are these teachers offering as praxis? What can this tell us about the relationship between teacher, curriculum, and the nation of Ghana?

I have divided the task as follows: firstly, examining what the MoE envisions for educating of citizens (i.e. skills and values) and, secondly, examining what the MoE envisions for education for citizenship (i.e. knowledge) that will be found in certain curricular subjects and corresponding topics. I also underline certain phrases or statements for emphasis.

4.3.1. Educating of citizens: Vision and competencies

4.3.1.1. The MoE's foreword

The MoE's foreword sets out the most comprehensive statement on its vision for the nation of Ghana and what it seeks from its future citizens. Within the opening statement, influences of liberal democracy and human rights as well as neoliberalism are immediately seen. These are positioned as prerequisites for Ghana's development and through this, the document sets out the parameters of the Ghanaian state-citizen relationship. The MoE states that, 'Provision of accessible quality education for all is non-negotiable if we are to meet the human capital needs of the country required for accelerated sustainable national development' (NaCCA/MoE, 2019a:iii). As seen through the emphasis on human capital, development is economic. However, it is through the reference to Ghana becoming an 'industrialised learning nation' with the aim of producing 'digitally literate citizens,' that the neoliberal agenda is pronounced (ibid). This is presumably designed to prepare citizens for the Fourth Industrial Revolution (4IR) that would accelerate Ghana's competitiveness in the global market. It is further stated that the curriculum has been tailored towards the 'right skills and attitudes,' namely the '4Rs: Reading, wRiting, aRithmetic and cReativity' to meet this goal (ibid).

Learners 'in their new sense of identity' are to become problem-solvers, to create, and critically engage with the process surrounding how to build their industrialised learning nation while gaining ownership of this (ibid). The statement evokes a sense of newness, encouraging learners to reimagine their collective futures (presumably in moving Ghana Beyond Aid) as much as promoting self-sufficiency. The concept of neoliberal citizenship is heightened, reorienting the citizen's relationship to the market and reducing dependency on the State.

The teachers' role is therefore to 'make the curriculum work for the intended purpose' (ibid). Through the use of 'we' to define the teacher-government relationship, much onus is placed on teachers to fulfil these demands. While this appears collaborative, it implies that the teachers' role is quite prescribed. For

example, claiming that 'quality education for all is non-negotiable if we are to meet the human capital needs,' implies that teachers' efforts are causal to this. Another example is the phrase, 'this journey that we have started together,' which presumes that teachers, as state-based actors, should envision the same future for their nation as the MoE.

4.3.1.2. Core competencies, values, and attitudes

After the MoE foreword, core tenets of neoliberal citizenship framed through this sense of newness are further seen in several of the core competencies, described as a 'connected body of core skills that are acquired throughout the process of teaching and learning' (2019c:vii). These are also found in the set of values, based on the MoE's 'belief in nurturing honest, creative, and responsible citizens,' and in the list of attitudes (2019a:xi). The sense of newness for inspiring neoliberal citizenship is seen in one of the core competencies of Creativity and Innovation:

> Creativity and Innovation promotes entrepreneurial skills in learners through their ability to think of new ways of solving problems and developing technologies for addressing the problem at hand. It requires ingenuity of ideas, arts, technology, and enterprise. Learners having this skill are also able to think independently and creatively (2019d:viii; underlining added).

It is apparent that this newness is aimed at fostering aptitude for entrepreneurship, a central tenet of neoliberal citizenship. Teachers are expected to instil in their learners an attitude of 'commitment: determination to contribute to Ghana's national development' (2019d:x). This choice of words places emphasis on the individual citizen as being responsible for creating this economic transformation. These ideas are found in another competency on Cultural Identity and Global Citizenship:

> This competency aims to develop learners who put country and service as foremost through an understanding of what it means to be active citizens, by inculcating in them a strong sense of social and economic awareness. Learners make use of the knowledge, skills, attitudes acquired to contribute meaningfully towards the socio-economic development of the country. They build skills to critically analyse cultural trends, identify, and contribute to the global community (2019d:viii; underlining added).

Also seen in the statement is that citizenship appears to be neither globalising nor national but both, and in balance. There is a sense of ambition in the child's future contribution to the nation, equalled by their contribution to the global community. This is reiterated in the MoE's foreword where 'graduates from Ghana's schools should be leaders with a high sense of national and global identity' (2019d:iii). The purpose of Ghanaian citizenship is to rebalance how children see themselves in relation to other countries, while being attuned to the realities of operating in the global community. This justifies the role of fostering children's critical thinking about cultural and global trends. Furthermore, this speaks to the wider movement globally towards fostering critical thinking as one of the key twenty-first century skills. While no definition of culture is given in respect to identity or the trends that inform it, one definition can be found within the curricular subjects, explored in the next section.

Critical thinking is another core competency. Teachers are to:

> Develop learners' cognitive and reasoning abilities to enable them to analyse issues and situations, leading to the <u>resolution of problems</u>. This skill enables learners to draw on and demonstrate what they have learned and from their own experiences to analyse situations and choose the most appropriate out of a <u>number of possible solutions</u>. It requires that learners <u>embrace the problem</u> at hand, persevere and take responsibility for their own learning (2019d:iii, underlining added).

With regards to citizenship, critical thinking serves several purposes. First, it is to solve problems and think creatively with others on responding to current and future needs of the country. Secondly, critical thinking is to learn about diversity, through respect and tolerance, for social cohesion. Arguably, the centrality of critical thinking in the curriculum is expected given its direct relationship with preparing citizens for liberal democracy.

Building on this theme, citizenship should promote liberal democracy — as per the 1992 Ghanaian Constitution. This is to be expected, as it corresponds with how the nation is defined with 'its institutions, laws, the culture,' as found in one of the values in the curriculum (2019c:xi). The first few points reiterate that Ghana is a state sovereignty. The idea of the nation defined as culture is of

particular interest; whether this is alluding to Ghana's pre-colonial history will be discussed in the next section.

Education remains the vehicle in fostering liberal democratic citizens and, in its very provision, is the Ghanaian State's commitment to democracy. Diversity and inclusion are seen as integral to democracy and 'at the heart' of the curriculum (2019a:i), indicating its priority for the MoE and being necessary for national development:

> Diversity: Ghana is a multicultural society in which every citizen enjoys fundamental rights and responsibilities. Learners must be taught to respect the views of all persons and to see national diversity as a powerful force for national development. The curriculum promotes social cohesion (2019a:xvi, underlining added).

The statement implies that the previous curriculum failed to fully address diversity and inclusion, leading to problems at the national level with addressing social division. Additionally, the competency speaks to the importance of recognising the right to diversity while promoting the right to non-discrimination. Teachers are instructed to model acceptance, resilience, teamwork, tolerance, and to 'respect and value the views of others,' articulating another competency of Communication and Collaboration (2019a:xv). Emphasis is also placed on 'inclusive and gender-responsive' learner-centred pedagogy (2019a:iii) to create a democratic learning environment, specifying that the 'teacher assumes position of a facilitator or coach' (2019a:xviii). This is presumably intended to deter teacher-centric learning.

4.3.2. Educating for citizenship: The curricular subjects

Curricular subjects reveal what knowledge is deemed as relevant by the Government for producing the ideal person/society (McCowan and Gomez, 2012). The new curriculum comprises 11 subjects in total[22]. Each subject has an introduction to explain key changes made to the subject content, and a learning philosophy to explain how and why it needs teaching. There are four subjects

[22] These subjects are English Language, Mathematics, Science, Creative Arts, Our World Our People, History, Ghanaian Language, Religious and Moral Education, Physical Education, French, and Computing.

worth examining that relate explicitly to citizenship, namely History, Our World, Our People, Creative Arts, and Religious and Moral Education. This thesis examines certain topics within each subject, rather than provides an analysis of the entire subject. Analysing these topics will shed more light on how identity and difference are represented, and their interplay with citizenship. It is important to acknowledge that there are approved textbooks available that might further affect how these subjects are being interpreted and received in the classroom, although analysing these is beyond the scope of this thesis.

4.3.2.1. History

After a prolonged absence in the curriculum, it is apparent that the reintroduction of History is one of the most significant changes to the reform (NaCCA/MoE, 2019c). In the opening paragraph, the goal of teaching History is for learners to ‘understand how we acquired our identity and culture’ (2019c:iv). It is claimed that the absence of History in schools has carried significant consequences, namely less appreciation for ‘traditional Ghanaian values’ and ‘the value of our own culture’ (ibid). The statement indicates that knowing history is part of self-definition in Being Ghanaian, and why tradition needs reviving. Sharing in each other’s different traditions is also for mobilising ‘national integration,’ and fostering pride in Being Ghanaian (ibid). It is claimed that ‘reference to historical knowledge’ will better situate children within contemporary Ghanaian society by developing knowledge of their ‘values, ideals, goals, principles and norms’ (ibid).

Of interest, in the learning philosophy, an emphasis is placed on national consciousness, with learners to recognise the commonality between Ghanaians and Africans in identity and in heritage. Learners are to:

a. appreciate the history of themselves, their families and communities;
c. acquire more knowledge on the history of the people of Ghana;
f. develop a sense of national consciousness and appreciate the factors that make for national unity;
g. acquire positive habits and attitudes, national identity as a Ghanaian and an African with a heritage worthy of pride, preservation and improvement (2019c:vi; underlining added).

In the subject aims, learners are also to:

1. trace Ghana’s origins and its past glories;
5. gain a sense of national consciousness, identity and appreciation of Ghanaian values in order to help instil values such as tolerance, good citizenship and national pride (ibid).

Such descriptions allude to the importance of sustaining an Indigenous way of being and knowing, drawing upon the Ghanaian tradition of relatedness and, arguably articulating Nkrumah’s vision for national consciousness.

My Country Ghana

In the first topic, My Country Ghana, it is implied that children should learn that identity is ethnic. The subject begins by teaching children about the evolution of ethnic groups and, in the process, appears to recognise indigeneity: a way of sustaining ethnic identity and difference in contemporary Ghana. While this term is not explicitly used, several examples of its meaning are found in lesson plans. One B2 lesson is dedicated to learning about ethnic groups in ‘each region in Ghana’ and their ‘characteristics’ (2019c:10). As such, central to how children can ‘differentiate’ between these groups is the idea that ethnic groups are place-based and have claims to a region (ibid). Ethnic characteristics, as a way of further identifying and differentiating, comprise ‘food, festivals, dressing, language, political institutions, social and economic activities, taboos, oaths, etc’ (ibid). These lessons in Lower Primary appear to set the conceptual thinking for learning about the history of ethnic origins for Upper Primary. Part of this process involves learning further about political institutions before the modern state that are still enacted through ‘traditional chiefs and queen-mothers,’ as found in one B3 lesson (2019c:24) as well as ‘ancestors,’ again specific to a region, as found in another B5 lesson (2019c:30).

The core aim of these lessons is for children to develop their cultural identity. In this regard, the process of learning about the characteristics of different ethnic groups and their origins, as defined through culture, becomes a symbol of national unity: they can unify in their difference. The construct of ‘nation as culture,’ when tied with tradition (specifically pre-colonial history), implies that the Government recognises, to some degree, that Ghanaians still draw upon pre-

existing ethnic affiliations to define their sense of 'national' (2019c:iv). It also seems that the Government is using this as rhetoric for enhancing national integration. The constant reiteration of the prefix of 'inter' in one B3 lesson plan shows this, 'inter-marriage,' 'inter-group relations,' 'inter-group alliances,' and 'interdependence' (2019c:16). While teaching about different ethnic groups is encouraged, there is room for bias from teachers regarding which groups are taught about that could be perpetuated by limited lesson content. The only description of ethnicity is cited in one B3 lesson; 'major ethnic groups e.g. Guan, Mole-Dagbani/Gonja, Akan, Ga/Adangbe, Ewe' (2019c:15). It is stressed, however, that, 'As learners learn the origin of the ethnic groups in Ghana, they become appreciative of the uniqueness of each ethnic group and thereby develop cultural identity, creativity and collaboration with their peers' (ibid).

Europeans in Ghana and under Colonial Rule

From as early as B1, children are introduced to the topic, Europeans in Ghana and under Colonial Rule. Key topics interspersed throughout the primary level include the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, European missionaries, and British colonial rule. Towards the Upper Primary levels (B4-B6), learners are further taught about the 1948 Demonstrations that led to Ghana's Independence in 1957. The need for critical thinking while teaching these topics is constantly emphasised, enabling children to 'assess the changes that the European presence brought to Ghana,' although this is more common within Upper Primary (2019c:40). This is illustrated in a B5 lesson where teachers must 'allow learners to discuss their opinions on the events [of the 1948 riots] (whether the riot was justified or not)' (2019c:38).

One B6 lesson also asks children to examine the 'negative effects' of the European presence on Ghanaians as much as the 'advantages and disadvantages of direct and indirect rule' and debate the 'negative effects' of European presence (2019c:40). The list of 'activities the Europeans engaged in (trade, vocational training centres, health facilities, development of local alphabet, translation of the Bible)' is not presented in any normative list of positives and negatives (ibid). Such topics suggest an opportunity for learners to engage with

representations of unequal power between Ghanaians and the Colonial Europeans, although this is dependent on the teacher's view.

For guidance, teachers are provided with a definition: 'Colonisation: a situation whereby a powerful nation establishes administrative control over a foreign territory' (2019c:47). The statement does infer that Ghana was less powerful than the 'powerful nation' of Britain. While critical thinking is encouraged during these lessons, teachers are still given boundaries as to how and when it is used. Added to this, there is limited pedagogic guidance about what critical thinking entails.

Independent Ghana

The initial aim of learners knowing about the topic, Independent Ghana is to inspire in them the same commitment as the Big Six, such as Kwame Nkrumah and J.B Danquah[23], to build the new nation. A definition of Independence is also provided: a 'situation where citizens of a particular nation exercise self-government and sovereignty over their territory' (2019c:46). This lays the foundation for the wider aim of developing learners' understanding of how Ghana became a Republic, with its government structures and processes and its leaders between 1960 and 1992 (as the most recent republic). It is noteworthy that the lesson content provides an opportunity for children to learn about their history of ethnic politics and its discriminatory effects, subsequently seen to affect Ghana's development. In one B6 lesson exemplar entitled, Military Rule, learners are to debate and 'assess the consequences of military takeovers on Ghana's development,' that includes discussing 'human rights abuse, the overthrow of constitutions and imposition of harsh rules' (ibid). This implies an opportunity for learners to engage as much as question the power differentials within their history since Independence, and its influence on Ghana's social cohesion. It also corresponds to another competency, Personal Development and

[23] It is important for context that there have been recent 'public concerns on the National Curriculum' about claims that 'the new history curriculum for primary schools is skewed towards amplifying the role of J.B Danquah… to serve a political interest' (NaCCA, 2019b, no.pagination). This refers to Danquah as granduncle to the current President, Nana Addo Danquah Akufo-Addo, and was in opposition to and political rival of Nkrumah.

leadership, for children ‘to learn from mistakes and failures of the past’ (2019c:vii).

Given the governmental vision on entrepreneurship, several topic strands are dedicated to ‘outstanding’ Ghanaian entrepreneurs, identified for their contribution to national development (2019c:12). It is assumed that the inclusion of outstanding women in the history of Ghana and their achievements serves to highlight the aims of inspiring girls and fostering gender equality. Considering the governmental priority for children to put their country first, such historic figures seem to have been selected for their ‘meaningful contribution’ to Ghana precisely because they stayed within the country (ibid). This would help diminish brain drain, a challenge for the current Government.

4.3.2.2. Our World, Our People

The curricular subject of Our World, Our People (OWOP) is the dedicated provision for citizenship education (NaCCA/MoE, 2019d; 2019e). Its content maps onto a number of theoretical constructs of citizenship, indicating what children should know as future citizens for nation-building according to the Government. To note, I present this section in themes, rather than analysing the different topics of OWOP as featured in the subject.

Basic human rights and democracy

Basic human rights, as fundamental to the 1992 Constitution, feature within OWOP. The lesson content is relatively sparse however, with limited clarity for learners on their role and function. Basic human rights are largely conceptualised as the ‘right to,’ such as the right to health, the right to education, and the right to family, as illustrated in several lessons across B4 and B5. This introduces to children the idea that all state-based institutions must adhere to the law and, with children having legal status as a Ghanaian citizen, they are entitled to an equal access of and participation in these. The presumed intention is to introduce children to being rights-holder and the Ghanaian State as the duty-holder, endorsing the Constitution.

In one B4 lesson, a definition is provided, ‘Human rights are rights that acknowledge the dignity and worth of an individual and ensure that equal right and opportunities are available to all without discrimination’ (2019e:13). However, absent from the lesson content are any parallels between the right to non-discrimination and the right to diversity; this is critical for recognising how different identities are an expression of human rights. There is also a lack of definition of democracy itself. In OWOP, the term features once in reference to the Government, although it could be postulated that democracy is intended to be discussed by teachers in the dedicated content set out in the subject of History (entitled, Ghana as a Republic, as addressed in the previous section).

Festivals are also of central focus, seemingly indicating the role of Indigenous practices in facilitating modern-day democracy. This is illustrated in one lesson exemplar for B6 that states how festivals are spaces ‘to plan for development, encourage youth participation, gender, and inclusivity, settle disputes, honour hardworking people, showcasing the culture of the people’ (2019e:52). Teachers should also explain how festivals uphold the value of chiefs. In another lesson, festivals are explained as sustaining social cohesion amongst ethnic and religious groups (Christian, Islam and African Traditional Religion) by celebrating ‘different cultures in the community’ (2019e:12).

Good citizenship

Within the topic strand of Our Nation Ghana, there is emphasis on good, moral, and responsible citizenship. Children must know about good leadership, good governance, having good manners, and making good decisions (2019d; 2019e). A binary emerges: the good/bad citizen. This takes a normative stance on the types of behaviours to distinguish between what is good and what is bad. For instance, being good ‘avoid[s] punishment’ (2019e:18), thus obeying parents and teachers is ‘a source of discipline and character formation’ (2019e:38). It implies that children are not to question their elders. Linking to their future citizenship, being good is characterised as ‘being active, an individual who contributes to the well-being of his or her community’ as exhibited through respect for any authority and power (2019e:16). Children are expected not just to respect but also to obey, suggesting a submissive, if not authoritarian undertone. This

assumes a similar approach to the teacher-learner relationship, although this is in contradiction to the idea of teacher as facilitator, described earlier. The main authority is the State who set the example of good governance, and whose vision for the nation is made possible through citizens obeying. This raises questions on what critical thinking is for in its widest sense of critiquing the political context, and its role in fostering democracy.

"I am Ghanaian"

In the topic, All About Us, there is dedicated space for exploring what Being Ghanaian means. Though brief, the topic's objective is for children to know their 'uniqueness' as individuals and celebrate their similarities and differences (2019d:20; 2019e:2, 40). Of interest, in the phrase, 'I am Ghanaian,' Black is framed as an identity. In some lesson activities, Black is a 'complexion,' situated amongst other physical features of being 'short, tall' (2019e:2). In other instances, there appears emphasis on Black as identity, as well as it being locational to Ghana: 'I am black… I'm special for who I am, how I look and where I live' (ibid). Examples are below:

> **Lesson Activities for B1-B3**
>
> Learners say things about themselves with confidence and positive self-esteem: e.g. I am tall and beautiful. I am short and strong. I am black and proud (2019d:3, underlining added).
>
> **Lesson Activities for B4-B6**
>
> Learners discuss how each person is created as unique and different from one another: some are short, tall, dull, intelligent, fair in complexion, black in complexion, etc.
>
> Learners demonstrate the uniqueness of each individual e.g. My name is Esi, I am black and beautiful, there is no one like me, I'm special for who I am, how I look and where I live. I am a Ghanaian. I am proud to be a Ghanaian (2019e:2, underlining added).

By attaching the terms ‘proud’ and ‘beautiful’ to these statements of ‘I am,’ the inferred objective is for children to reclaim their equality when relating to others as global citizens, as much as to challenge what might contradict this.

In terms of global citizenship, learners study their ‘global community’ specific to Ghana’s neighbouring countries, confined to West Africa and Africa (2019d:viii). No other continents are covered. There is a risk of teachers essentialising, however, when teaching about countries outside of Africa. This raises the question of how children are expected to define and negotiate their Black identities outside of (as much inside of) Ghana, without learning about the racial and ethnic diversity of others. This is relevant for this thesis as Accra’s inhabitants include people of non-Ghanaian nationalities. It suggests tension over how children critically engage with these cultural and global trends that include the political movement of reclaiming Blackness.

4.3.2.3. Creative Arts

Creative Arts gives the most attention to Ghanaian culture. Its content is substantive when compared to other subjects, demonstrating the significance of the role of national culture in nation-building for the Government. This suggests the Government’s commitment towards helping children understand the different cultures of local communities. Key subject aims include to:

3. Shape the individual’s sense of social and cultural identity;
4. Facilitate the recognition of the importance and value of the culture of the people; locally, nationally and globally;
5. Prepare and predisposes the learner for advance learning in the Junior and Senior High schools thus contributing to informed choices of career courses and vocations in the creative arts industry;
6. Transmit, promote and preserve the culture of a nation;
8. Embrace all domains of knowledge and life: intellectual, social, psychological, spiritual, artistic, aesthetic and physical (2019a:viii).

There is no set definition of culture. However, there are short references to culture, interspersed throughout the lessons. It is still possible to amalgamate these to create a more cohesive definition of culture:

> History and culture are the origin and migration story of the people (local community, other communities in Ghana and in Africa) in their beliefs, customs, taboos and oaths, religion, festivals, rites of passage, chieftaincy, symbols of authority. These are all infused through cultural activities of performance in music, artworks, dance and drama (particularly drumming) and dressing (adapted from 2019b:24).

The MoE is clear that Ghanaians identify (whether locally, nationally, or with other Africans) through shared cultural heritage. In other words, Ghanaian citizenship is a dynamic process between the past and the present, sustained through cultural memory. It also implies that Ghanaian citizenship is location-specific as well as transcends political borders, as fostered through their wider sense of community across Africa. Reference to the origin and migration story of the people is of significance, as it suggests that indigeneity, as a pre-colonial principle, still features within the contemporary context. This endorses that Indigenous Knowledges are place-based and specific to particular ethnic groups. For example, the Adinkra symbols, that originate from the Akan in the eighteenth century and used for transmitting relatedness, feature in one B4 lesson for inspiring ‘artworks to reflect the history and culture of the people of Ghana’ (2019b:28).

Equally, Creative Arts is seen as central to equip children in becoming entrepreneurial ‘in an ever growing industrialised and technological society’ (2019b:viii). It is apparent that children should learn to utilise any performative aspects of culture, like artwork, dance, and music, as an economic resource for inspiring entrepreneurship. This is aligned with the aim of promoting self-sufficiency, speaking to core tenets of neoliberal citizenship. Whether this creates tension for the teachers in locating their learners’ cultures, while promoting a more universal culture for economic development, warrants attention in their interviews. At the same time, it could be argued that presenting Ghana’s culture as an economic resource that is already indigenous to the nation might inspire a more meaningful understanding of self-sufficiency.

4.3.2.4. Religious and Moral Education

The final subject relevant to citizenship is Religious and Moral Education (NaCCA/MoE, 2019f). In the MoE’s rationale for the subject, the emphasis on

recognising religious diversity implies that religion continues to be a site of division in Ghana, hindering national unity. As seen in section 4.3.1.2, this reinforces the importance of putting the right to diversity at the heart of the curriculum. Christianity, Islam, and African Traditional Religion are presented as the main religions. Several subject aims include:

- develop an understanding and tolerance of other people's faiths and cultures;
- acquire the socio-cultural values inherent in the three main religions in Ghana (i.e. Christianity, Islam and African Traditional Religion) which will help them cope with the variety of moral choices they have to make in today's rapidly changing world;
- develop the spirit of teamwork, collaboration and togetherness in nation-building (2019f:vii).

Throughout the subject, equal space is given to teaching about the three religions, reflecting the Government's efforts to negate inequality in the classroom. Those who identify as non-religious are acknowledged. However, African Traditional Religion is defined as singular, creating a risk of essentialising this religion despite its plurality of expression across Ghana. While different to the subject aims, this implies that Ghanaians affiliate mainly with Christianity and, to a lesser degree, Islam, and, equally, overlooks any hybrids of these religions. In the topic entitled, God, His Creation and Attributes, it is also difficult to ascertain whether this is in reference to the God related to Christianity, Islam — or another religion, for that matter, such as Judaism. This arguably creates a homogenous understanding of God and risks misrepresentation of children's religious expression as part of their identity-formation.

4.3.3. Conclusion

My analysis of the 2019 National Curriculum has revealed key points worth considering when interviewing the teachers. As set out in the MoE foreword, there is a prevailing sense of neoliberalism defining the state-citizen relationship and giving direction to the current and future nation to develop economically. Democracy, framed through national cohesion, also achieves this goal. There appears to be a tension here, as both ideas are presented as a prerequisite for Ghana's development; on the one hand, children are expected to put the nation,

(albeit the State), above self, while on the other, children are expected to become self-sufficient and depend less on the State to move the country out of poverty. Existing literature has already revealed the same tension in both the 1995 and 2007 education reforms (Nudzor, 2013a; 2013b), questioning if this lesson has been learned from the current Government. A similar influence of neoliberalism framing culture as commodity to stimulate entrepreneurship is also seen in the subject of Creative Arts (see Coe, 2006; 2020a). However, it appears that the Government recognises, to some extent, the importance of engaging with cultural heritage for a more meaningful expression of citizenship, including for self-sufficiency.

Sitting within this agenda is the ‘question of the Indigenous’, drawing on Dei’s (2016) terms, which the Government has arguably revisited. Related themes about culture, heritage, and tradition emerge in the subjects of History and Our World, Our People. In particular, the act of learning about ethnic origins is seen to foster unity in difference. The Government also appear to recognise that pre-existing ethnic affiliations are foundational for nationalism, suggesting that ethnic and national identity are seen as equally important. While evident, ethnicity was presented as the main category of identity, part of Being Ghanaian. Religion, as featured in Religious and Moral Education, was not described as an identity category, although acknowledgement of different religions was associated with realising the right to diversity. However, representations of these religions seemed relatively homogenous, creating a risk of essentialising identities in the classroom.

Part of Being Ghanaian was also related to learners having pride in being Black — although given that Blackness is self-ascribed, I judged it important for teachers to interpret this curricular statement in my interviews. With the meaning of Blackness connected to unequal power from the colonial past, it is also crucial to explore in the teachers’ interviews, the extent to which they approach the negative and positive effects of British colonialism with their learners. At the same time, while critical thinking is central to the curriculum, the boundaries given to teachers in how and when it is used carries a risk of undermining its purpose. This could affect the ability of teachers, as well as their learners, to

name power through the racialised hierarchies imposed by colonialism, vitally implicating how their Blackness is understood.

Overall, my analysis of the mandated curriculum has certainly revealed how the Government of Ghana defines citizenship and its vision for the nation. It does appear that the curriculum is an attempt to support teachers in navigating the complex terrain of post-colonial citizenship.

Before turning to the teachers, themselves, a literature review is needed to clarify what is currently known about teachers' views on Ghanaian citizenship.

4.4. Teachers' Views on Ghanaian Citizenship and Identity and Difference

Upon enacting the new 2019 reform, the MoE stresses that 'teachers are 'recognised as a major stakeholder in the implementation of the revised curriculum' (NaCCA, 2019g: 5). Yet, the classroom already inhabits a nexus of complex and contradictory contextual and systemic factors that shape teachers' views on citizenship, in relation to their learners, as well as their perceptions of their future nation (Schweisfurth, Davies, and Harber, 2002; Osler and Starkey, 2005; McCowan and Gomez, 2012). This nexus also shapes how teachers define their learners' identities and their differences, while influencing how children construct their own identity and how they classify as well as differentiate others (Popkewitz, 2015). Added to this, the complicated power dynamics between the State and the teacher, as a state-based actor, will mould the social life of the classroom through the teacher-learner relationship. It determines how teachers perceive their sense of agency, manifesting in how they interpret the intended curriculum thus what knowledge on citizenship should be taught to children and why, as well as what values and skills they model to their learners, as raised in section 4.2.1 (McCowan and Gomez, 2012).

With a new reform, the process of curriculum implementation is even more complicated: teachers must now negotiate a different set of governmental expectations about citizenship on top of their immediate challenges. Inevitably, they carry their own beliefs and subjective realities as ordinary citizens. All

these factors combine to exert a powerful influence on the type of citizen produced in the classroom.

The literature on Ghanaian primary teachers' views on citizenship is sparse. Furthermore, there have been no widely disseminated studies specific to primary teachers in Accra. Any existing research focuses on how youth understand citizenship and the role of education, with some input from secondary school teachers, although these studies do offer some insight into the city (see Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Chege, 2012; Howard et al., 2018). Most published educational research is conducted in rural settings in Ghana, presenting another limitation to the thesis. Due to these gaps, I have widened my search criteria to review studies containing any related themes on citizenship and Ghanaian teachers from across basic education. Given that the 2019 reform is recent, the selected studies used in my literature review speak mainly of the 2007 reform, conducted over 15 years ago. Nonetheless, the available research provides an understanding of the realities of these teachers' task: rarely do teachers' views, as curriculum-makers, bear strict resemblance to the intended reform.

4.4.1. Unity in sameness and unity in difference

The most prominent theme in academic literature examines how teachers conceptualise learners' identities and manage their difference in the classroom, carrying wider consequences on national identity and unity (Dei, 2004; 2005; Howard et al., 2018; Matemba and Addai-Mununkum, 2019;). A key argument is that identity-formation in schools continues to follow the universal colonial norms that create social hierarchies and privilege unequal power. Without being challenged, any difference outside of these norms is represented as subordinate, threatening the social order that continues to regulate teachers and children. In criticism of the 1995 FCUBE reform, Dei (2005:270) attests that 'disturbingly, educational reforms in Ghana have failed to address critically questions of difference,' implicating that unequal power is embedded in the intended curriculum and manifests into the classroom, keeping any teachers' discriminatory beliefs on children relatively intact.

4.4.1.1. Ethnic difference

Ethnicity is one of the most researched forms of identity in existing studies on education in Ghana, while not disputing other sites of identity. Dei (2004:355) finds that ethnicity, as a key focus of study with secondary school teachers, 'points to the contradictory, contentious and limiting ways of evoking difference' within modern-day constructs of Ghanaian citizenship. Dei (2004; 2005) asked these teachers to define ethnic difference and how they addressed this in the classroom. Most teachers were reluctant to speak about this, out of fear of evoking superiority amongst the children that would negate their attempts to mobilise unity. Dei's research also reveals that, while teachers believed education was for 'connectedness,' failing to acknowledge ethnic difference as a site of unequal power was silencing children, paradoxical to their ideal of promoting unity (2005:279). He argues that, for these teachers, 'Difference itself was the problem' (2005:269). National identity, as a symbol of ethnic harmony, was homogenising the children's backgrounds and denying their heterogeneity. Using an anti-colonial discursive framework, he further states that Being Ghanaian was an unsettling issue for teachers considering the country's history of ethnic politics, adding that:

> Ethnicity is often silenced for fear that its evocation resurrects unnecessary divisions in the schooling community… Ethnicity is difficult knowledge because of the contestations and contentions around what is evoked exactly when educators speak of students' ethnicities (2004:355).

Ethnic difference served as an embodied memory of the conflict, and its effects that were still felt by these teachers in present-day Ghana. Firstly, teachers explained that nepotism, stemming from ethnic loyalty was still prevalent in schools, affecting career progression. Secondly, as they were poorly equipped to teach about the diverse cultures, histories, and languages of ethnic groups, the teachers were concerned about creating a fertile ground for mistrust if taught incorrectly. According to Dei, without acknowledging difference as a source of diversity, inclusivity remained merely rhetorical.

While this thesis focuses on ethnicity, a similar point has been raised on religious identity in schools. Interviewing secondary teachers, Matemba and Addai-Mununkum (2019) found that, while religious diversity was acknowledged,

teachers felt poorly equipped in teaching beyond what they knew. With most teachers affiliating as Christian, representations of Islam and African Traditional Religion were distorted that 'flattened out differences' between learners (2019:167). Research from Opoku-Asare, Takyi, and Owusu-Mensah (2015) evidences the adverse impact on learners of denying difference. Conducted in the Ashanti Region across several primary schools, this study found that children exhibited high levels of conflict and tension, with an inability to resolve problems and mediate decisions. They also struggled to negotiate differences in identity, leading to discrimination.

A final point in Dei's study was the representation of minority and majority. For the teachers studied, understandings of majority were based on numbers rather than power. One of Dei's respondents commented:

> Minority can only be understood in the local contexts in which one finds oneself. Because schools are located in communities, it is possible for a member of one of the dominant groups of Ghana (say Akan) to be classified as a minority if attending school in a predominantly non-Akan region (e.g. the Northern parts of the country) (2005:281).

The comment implies that indigeneity is a way of defining ethnic difference. While Dei does not continue with this line of thinking, the finding raises an important point on how teachers negotiate being in the minority in their schools, and its impact on children's identity-formation. It could be postulated that, if teachers are consistently outsiders without adequate preparedness on language and local knowledge, this could explain why ethnic difference is overlooked in the classroom — another issue to be interrogated in the interviews. Overall, Dei concludes that the legacy of colonial discourse in schools has perpetuated 'unity *in* sameness' instead of 'unity *in* difference' (2005:282, italics original). This has become a seminal theme throughout more recent studies, recognised as manifesting through all categories of identity rather than just ethnicity.

4.4.1.2. The Black predicament

Emerging research suggests that the concept of unity in sameness is also negating attempts to revive Pan-Africanism in Ghana (Dei, 2005; Howard et al., 2018). While not deterring the Pan-African quest for national identity and unity,

it is argued that failing to critique the enduring colonial forces risks inscribing the same rhetoric in education that silences difference. One study by Howard et al. (2018) explores this within an elite secondary school in Accra that includes an intake of disadvantaged youth, and that has a distinct Pan-African mission. They found that, despite teachers' attempts to foster Pan-African citizens with 'values, norms, and customs for their native countries,' their failure to acknowledge the socio-economic difference of their learners contributed to a culture of silencing (2018:505). Without scrutinising 'prevailing Western ideas' (2018:504), teachers unquestionably attributed success to achievement in the West thus teaching children to be 'in-service to the Western world' (2018:497). According to Howard et al., (2018), such thinking is indicative of the active legacy of colonialism, now reproduced through the neoliberal imaginary, causing youth to feel 'depersonalised and detached' (2018:508).

By keeping Europe at the centre of knowing and being, and sustaining this through racialised identities, the authors argue that these Black Ghanaian youth will always remain subordinate to whiteness through their aspiration for economic success in the Western world. Their research illustrates that, despite teachers' recognition of the adverse impact of Africa's brain drain, youths' skills were only seen as suitable for Western economies. For Howard et al., (2018:508), this is the 'Black predicament.'

It should be acknowledged that Dei, as a Ghanaian, has written extensively on what Blackness means, both within and outside of the discipline of education (see Dei, 2018; Dei and Jaimungul, 2020). His work is mostly theoretical, rather than empirical; this represents a gap in the literature that this thesis responds to. Given that the concept of being Black as part of self-definition in Being Ghanaian appears in the National Curriculum, in exploring how teachers might self-ascribe and its representations, including in relation to whiteness and the West, this thesis will open new areas for discussion.

4.4.2. The problem with teachers?

Opinions on teachers within educational literature about Ghana are relatively divided. Although the literature does not explore specifically their role as

producers of future citizens, these studies raise an important point about methodological choice. For example, studies focusing on learners' interviews will inevitably gather different data on the role of the teacher to those that interview teachers directly (this point is explored in my methodology, in Chapter 5). What underpins the author's epistemic position is their view on the legacy of colonialism in schools.

4.4.2.1. Teachers as authoritarian

A key theme across several studies is how teachers viewed their role as authoritarian, due to the prevailing norms of traditional cultures and the legacy of colonialism (Agbenyega and Deku, 2011; Agbenyega and Klibthong, 2011; Adzhalie-Mensah and Dunne, 2018). As Agbenyega and Deku (2011:15) explain, both culture and colonialism were centred on the subject-master ideology, and are 'precursors to the formation of excessive control identities and the ways in which teaching and learning are currently legitimated and practised in Ghana.' They found this to be 'ripe' in one Kindergarten classroom, as seen in the authoritarian pedagogy and autocratic approach to learning (Agbenyega and Deku, 2011:15). Control was manifested through excessive corporal punishment. As other scholars have discussed, its effects on children became apparent through a culture of silencing. Any degree of critical thinking, such as having opinions or even engaging in knowledge, was absent. Agbenyega and Klibthong (2011) explore the same controlling dynamic; in this instance, how it manifests in how teachers positioned as subordinate to the State, which creates a culture of silencing for the teachers themselves. Since knowledge was to be transmitted rather than critically engaged with, teachers perceived the intended curriculum as prescribed and 'static' (2011:406). This finding suggests that teachers in my study might approach citizenship in the new National Curriculum in the same way. Equally, it raises the point that, while teachers may view themselves as curriculum implementers, they are still implicitly making meaning of the curriculum, affecting how students receive it.

Other studies contend that the idea of the teacher as authoritarian indicates a systematic failure of the Ghanaian State to support their professional development, highlighted by teachers' lack of critical engagement on diversity

and difference and participation in any decision-making processes (Osei and Brock, 2006; Osei, 2009; Akyeampong, 2017). Osei's (2009) research examines teachers' perceptions of the 2007 reform in relation to decentralisation. He claims that the research was conducted after he discovered a clear absence of teachers' views in both policy-based and academic literature, and who 'have not been socialised enough to expect to influence policymaking' (2009:3). Interviewing teachers in Junior High Schools in Cape Coast, Southern Ghana, he observed that teachers were navigating highly centralised and bureaucratic cultures where challenging authority 'could mark the end of a teacher's career' (2009:122). He asserts that, unless power is devolved from the top-down to set an example, teachers will continue to unquestionably follow the rules (2009:128). Osei calls for a radical democratic process for listening to teachers' views within research and policy, although it is hard to ascertain if this has been responded to in the most recent reform. As this thesis focuses on teachers, Osei's call has connotations for my interviews, especially in being conscious of underlying power dynamics within schools. This will be examined in my methodology, in Chapter 5.

4.4.2.2. Teachers' unpreparedness

Another theme in the literature concerns teachers' unpreparedness for reforms, a pattern that starts in their early teaching experience and is present throughout their career. Asking teacher trainees and observing their experiences in teacher colleges, both Akyeampong (2017) and Buckler (2020) found that a key reason for these trainees' unpreparedness was because of the same silencing culture emerging from deeply entrenched hierarchical norms. In this instance, the teacher-trainer was superior. These trainers also positioned themselves as holders of legitimate knowledge, and were not to be questioned. The authors observe that, as deep learning was prevented, these trainees remained uncritical in the site of difference, leading to uncertainty in how to negotiate the complexities of identity-formation in Ghanaian children and any underlying power leading to superior thinking.

For Akyeampong (2017:200):

> This gap means that the opportunity to raise critical questions about methods and understand how classroom diversity makes the case for responsive and flexible methods, rather than authoritative prescriptive methods without questioning, is missed by teacher educators.

With regards to in-service teacher training, other studies find that there is a missed opportunity to build teachers' critical consciousness as a way of enhancing children's diversity and difference in schools (Agbenyega and Klibthong, 2011; Perry and Bevins, 2019). This emerges despite teachers' willingness to become facilitators of their professional development, and their seeking increased autonomy in critically engaging with the curriculum. It is claimed that critical consciousness enables teachers to question all historic sites of power (both cultural and colonial), and is necessary for negotiating their post-colonial classrooms. With the new 2019 reform, this research raises questions about how teachers might position the importance of cultivating a 'critical consciousness' in their learners, and whether they now view their agency as heightened so they can equally engage critically with the curriculum.

4.4.3. Making all equal: Education for human rights and democracy

The role of human rights and democracy as underpinning citizenship is prominent across educational literature. Studies are clear that any denial of a child's rights to participate in schools, including in their identity-formation and expression of difference, shows undemocratic practice. The absence of rights in Ghana is most felt by children living in poverty (Dull, 2004; 2006; Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Chege, 2012; 2013). It is argued that listening to voices within such communities reveals barriers to implementing democracy and rights as much as sources ideas for a solution. One such study is situated in Accra, deepening the context for this thesis.

4.4.3.1. Demands of the Government from the urban poor

According to Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Chege (2012; 2013), the nexus of citizenship, rights, and poverty is particularly pronounced for urban youth in

Accra. While not specific to teachers, this study examines the impact of schooling according to Ga youth, located in a Ga Indigenous settlement and defined as an urban slum. To situate the aims of their study, they explain that, due to the youths' 'precarious lives' from increasing unemployment rates and the uncertainty of state-based provision, their search for citizenship, as rights and as status, is heightened (2013, no pagination). This brings into question the fundamental purpose of education.

Interviewing 26 young Ga men and women (aged 16-25), the authors found that Ga youth were adamant that Being Ghanaian, when inscribed with rights, was for 'making them all equal' (2013, no pagination). In this regard, Being Ghanaian had a multifaceted meaning. Firstly, it served as a reminder of the obligation of the State to protect and provide their constitutional rights and welfare despite their impoverished lived experiences. Education was deemed critical for helping them acquire knowledge of these rights: of those who completed basic and post-basic schooling, most were conscious of and educated on their rights to freedoms, enabling them to 'articulate their expectations of being treated in a humane and respectful way' (2012:48). Respondents argued that education also encouraged social connectedness within their community, in which they were otherwise discriminated against because of their poverty. The level of education did not appear to affect the youth's knowledge of human rights, but did affect their confidence in exercising those rights.

Secondly, Being Ghanaian, when combined with rights, represented 'sacrifice' for the country that would contribute towards individual and national economic development (2013, no pagination). To achieve this, youths were adamant that working hard, being self-sufficient, and being financially independent would lead to their freedom from economic poverty. In other words, their individual discipline was equated with national development. Such processes would help them transcend their socio-economic status in 'becoming somebody' (2013, no pagination). In conclusion, Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Chege (2012; 2013) argue that norms for citizenship distinct to the city are unofficial to the rest of Ghana. They call for greater research in urban slums, a gap that this study aims to fill.

4.4.3.2. Democracy and discipline

A similar theme of being disciplined for development is found in Dull's research, which examines trainee teachers' views on democracy. Upon questioning, Dull (2004:312) found 'what they viewed as democratic was highly controlled.' These teachers claimed that Ghana's measure for a successful democracy was tight social control and order. Conscious of Ghana's international reputation, anything disrupting this tight order was perceived as an individual's lack of discipline and respect for authority. Democracy was thus undermined. The trainee teachers also correlated tight order with how elections should be conducted. Adversely, election fraud, corruption, rioting, and violence were perceived as 'national indiscipline' (ibid).

As Dull (2004) observes, these views transposed into reasons for supporting a form of strong discipline and tight control in the classroom to produce 'democratic' citizens. This offers one plausible explanation for the ongoing use of corporal punishment in Ghanaian Schools despite it being outlawed by the GES in 2017 (GES Council, 2017). As one survey illustrates, 63.3% of teachers still agreed on the need for corporal punishment in schools (Yeboah, 2020). Missing from the literature-base is teachers' views on the interrelatedness between children's rights and discipline, which will factor into my interviews.

While not disputing the adverse impact of teachers' views on how children understand democracy and rights, an emerging body of literature argues that these universalising behaviours are a product of Ghana's complicated relationship with the Western terms of aid and its aspirations to reduce poverty (Dull, 2006; Dei and Simmons, 2011). Summarising her additional research, Dull (2006:no pagination) elaborates that:

> On the one hand, by enforcing strict morality, 'modern' attitudes and hard work in schools, teachers appear to consent to the hegemonic terms for development that their leaders have adopted: neoliberal economics and liberal democracy… On the other hand, however, teachers warn children to be sceptical of immoral and deceptive 'white men' who underdeveloped Africa; and continue to undermine Ghana's autonomy.

She argues that activating these teachers' conversations on discipline and development unearths a vision that following Western terms will eventually enact economic independence, thus true emancipation.

4.4.4. Indigenous Knowledges in citizenship education

Discussion thus far demonstrates a tension playing out in how teachers understand citizenship in relation to their learners, and its effects on the classroom. Arguably, this educational literature-base reiterates a similar point from political studies: the paradox in Ghana's journey in attempting to implement select theoretical models of liberal democratic and neoliberal citizenship — in this instance, creating ambiguity in the classroom on what citizenship is and its underlying purpose for nation-building.

Emerging scholarship argues for reinstating Ghanaian Indigenous Knowledges and practices to enhance citizenship education (Quaynor, 2018; Coe, 2020a; Dei and Jaimungul, 2020). Framed through postcolonialism and decoloniality, the literature critiques the assumption that Western models of citizenship are the only possible trajectory for Ghana. Quaynor (2018:374) argues how these models, alongside corresponding indicators and targets, affirm a very narrow concept of what defines development and its success that 'risk[s] inscribing a narrative of deficit.' She asserts that the plurality of Indigenous Knowledges offer important expressions of 'self' and 'community' that can cultivate a more located expression of citizenship in schools.

4.4.4.1. African communalism

An initial argument is that Indigenous Knowledges are still part of the everyday conversation in Ghanaian classrooms, transmitted through folktales, proverbs, and symbols, to name a few. These are sustained between the teacher and learner because they embody the historical principle of Being Ghanaian and teach about African communalism as a means of fostering unity (Dei and Simmons, 2011; Quaynor, 2018). For example, Agbenyega, Tamakloe, and Klibthong (2017:116) evidence how sourcing local elders to teach Indigenous folklore and storytelling in schools can enhance children's understanding on the

sense of 'self,' as well as their relatedness to the community. This occurs as 'in the traditional sense, child development is situated in the collective or communal culture' (ibid). Observing a reading of Ananse[24] by local elders to Kindergarten children in Kumasi, in the Ashanti Region, storytelling was a mode for sustaining civic values, intrinsic to the Akan's indigenous expressions of democracy.

Quaynor further suggests the integration of Adinkra symbols in citizenship education for enabling democratic citizenship (2015; 2018). As discussed earlier, these originate from the Akan philosophy. Extracting one symbol, *funtunfunefu denkyemfunefu* (displaying two crocodiles with separate mouths but the same stomach), she highlights the distinct emphasis on 'relational freedom or being free *in* society, as opposed to the Western concept of a person being free *from* society, or personal freedom' (2018:367, italics added). For Quaynor, the significance of this symbol lies in teaching children to balance individual and community responsibilities. While absent in Quaynor's discussion, her point raises interest on how human rights and democracy conceived within Western knowledge as 'free *from* society,' would intersect with African communalism as 'free *in* society' (ibid). If Indigenous Knowledges offer potential, how would teachers reconcile these seemingly different philosophies for their learners? This uncertainty has sharpened the focus of my interviews.

Within the literature, there is also a call for greater integration of Ghanaian (Indigenous) languages in schools for sustaining relatedness and articulating Indigenous expressions of identity and belonging (Dei and Simmons, 2011; 2016; Owu-Ewie and Eshun, 2019). As part of a longitudinal study about views on discipline and respect for the community, Dei and Simmons (2016) found that youths still valued Indigenous languages precisely because they preserved their Indigenous Knowledges. With the curriculum's lack of recognition of the plurality of languages and their being locational, youth were concerned that they were being detached from their localised knowledge. There was also the wider risk of losing this knowledge, as it is transmitted orally. As Dei and Simmons (2016:16)

[24] This is Ghanaian folklore that, 'originates from the Akan group…[He] is a taboo-violater. He constantly breaks social rules by being self, mean, hypocritical… Ananse stories are meant to work as a safety value for the social tension and attrition created by communal restrictions' (Deandrea, 2004:2).

contend, research still needs to explore ‘the colonial imbued spaces of citizenship’ and its impact on Indigenous expressions of citizenship-making.

4.4.4.2. Culture for nationhood

While Coe examines the role of Indigenous Knowledges and cultural programming in educational policy (as discussed earlier in this chapter), she considers its role in schools. In her 2005 ethnographic research in the Akuampem Region, she simply asked teachers and elders to define culture. In doing so, a discrepancy was found. According to elders and the chieftaincy, culture was secret sacred knowledge, embodied in location and ‘not available to children and non-royals’ (2020a:222). While teachers understood this, trying to convey the meaning of culture to children as prescribed by the curriculum had become challenging. As Coe finds, this had led to the teaching of culture in schools being abstract, with ‘little concreteness of points of fixture in people’s everyday lives. [Culture] is always “out there”’ (2006:8). As teachers were usually outsiders to the local community, they endeavoured to ensure that certain cultural activities, including artwork, dancing, drumming, and music, were at least accessible to the children as a way of transmitting this authentic, locational knowledge. They also attempted to leverage their learners’ knowledge. However, with culture seen as ‘located in the past’ and sustained by the elders, Coe argues that there is risk of distancing children from their own everyday experiences, making them unable to become producers of new knowledge (2020a:224). For Coe, cultural tradition in schools can therefore be both potent and corrosive.

Nonetheless, while Indigenous Knowledges are relatively simplified in the Government’s promotion of national culture, Coe observes its ability to sustain national cohesion and peace. This is in stark contrast to neighbouring countries such as Côte d'Ivoire. She explains:

> Yet, it also seems to me that fifty years of cultural programming in schools in Ghana has been a partial success in generating a sense of nationhood which frames and contains local and ethnic loyalties. Thus, when ethnic violence breaks out, it is relatively local and small scale. The state-sponsored buffet of a variety of ethnic cultures presented in state pageantry and school cultural competitions means that the nation is not associated with one ethnic group, as happened in Côte d’Ivoire with the Akan. Thus, the fact that Ghana has not been plagued by ethnic violence since Independence speaks, at least

> in part, to Ghanaians' feeling of the legitimacy of the nation as a political entity, and school cultural programming has contributed, at least in part, to that structure of feeling. The state in Ghana has been partially successful in associating Indigenous Knowledge with the nation, reifying both culture and the nation-state, and as a result, containing potential divisions (2020a:230).

4.4.5. Remembering the past

A final theme in educational literature concerns remembering the past to provide lessons learned on negotiating national identity and unity, and its reimagining for the future (Metz McDonnell and Fine, 2011; Peterson del Mar, 2012; Dillard, 2020). It is argued that the subject of History is key to this process. The introduction of History in the 2019 National Curriculum seems a positive step toward this. While existing research is specific to either secondary school or university students, some insights emerge about the portrayal of history in Ghana and its effects on how students' perceive their pasts and imagine their futures.

4.4.5.1. Revisiting colonial history

For Peterson del Mar (2012:26), the portrayal of colonialism in Ghanaian school textbooks resulting from previous reforms 'contain the sort of histories that so many Ghanaian intellectuals have contested.' He analysed three (former) textbooks used in Junior and Senior High Schools, finding that a core issue was the pragmatic approach to European colonisation, reducing it to a list of negatives and positives; any questions on oppression, power, or subjugation were evaded. When articulated through an authoritarian tone, it was apparent that learners were not expected to critically engage with the content. This influenced young Ghanaians perceptions of their nation's power in relation to others. He argues that integral questions on the legacy of colonialism in Ghana and its role in national development were left unanswered. Equally, as a country steeped in poverty with urgency to respond to these issues, Peterson del Mar (2012:34) queries, 'How much time and attention can Ghana afford to devote to historical or other study not primarily focused on [national] unity and progress?'

Building on this point, McDonnell and Fine's (2011:138) survey of 215 university students highlight the potential therefore in creating space for students to

question power from their pasts and for fostering ‘collective memories of pride and shame, [which] when shared, contribute to a sense of citizenship and belonging.’ These authors claim that evading this important process can overlook important discussions for students about recognising the resilience of Ghanaians, particularly in their overcoming of European colonisation. This also gave opportunity for students to explore different emotions, including pain and anger, as much as pride, in relation to their past. Like many other scholars, they speak to the ‘lingering effect of Kwame Nkrumah’s teachings on Pan-Africanism’ (2011:137) that can help Ghanaians re-envision their global reputation, while acknowledging where ‘wounds are still raw’ in Africa (2011:139). This research highlights the importance of asking teachers in my study about colonial history and its effects on the current nation-building process.

4.4.5.2. Reclaiming Black African heritage

The relationship between Blackness, as an identity and heritage, and Ghana is currently emerging in literature. Dillard (2020) offers one contribution. Presenting herself as an African ascendant educator, and a Ghanaian Queen Mother, ‘with deep roots in both the U.S and Ghana,’ her study asks the question of how teachers can teach about Blackness, with its complex relationship with ‘race’ and African heritage (2020:698-99). Although she teaches in the United States of America, Dillard spoke to Ghanaian teachers about their approach. Five lessons learned for educators are then put forward that pivot on the importance of ‘(re)membering Blackness’ for ‘(re)membering home’ (2020:698). For a definition, she explains: ‘In Ghana, Blackness is the backdrop, the default foundation of children’s lives. EVERYTHING they do and be is centered in who they are and how they be’ (2020:699). Considering my analysis of the curriculum that includes on Blackness, several of these lessons are noteworthy — the first lesson being ‘we must be willing to (re)search’ (2020:704). Ghanaian teachers were adamant about un-learning the idea that Black History is of little value compared to white History. These teachers made independent and conscious efforts to complement their national curriculum, including understanding about history outside of Ghana and about the Black African diaspora. She states that teachers were prepared to ‘dig deep into the epistemological, cultural, and historical contexts of Black History from root to diaspora and back again’ (ibid).

A second lesson concerned the recognition of Ghana as home to ‘a long line of African people, starting at the roots,’ which was disrupted by the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade (2020:702). She implicitly speaks to the norms of indigeneity that transfer into the diaspora, disrupting the liberal notion of identity and belonging as purely being territorially located. By way of Ghanaian teachers reminding children of those in the African diaspora, another lesson is put forward: ‘Through this search for deep engagements with Black culture and heritage knowledge, we will begin to develop new visions and thus (re)vision what we think about Black people’ (2020:705). In recalling one moment of visiting a dungeon used for enslaved peoples, she remarks how the teachers were willing to engage in dialogue with their learners about the emotional pain evoked by the experience. Contrary to other research, Dillard suggests that these teachers were self-reflexive in recognising stereotypes and falsehoods about their pasts that had carried into their sense of identity and perceptions of Black cultures and heritages. This demonstrates a contradiction that my research must consider, while showing the subjective nature in grappling with the legacy of colonialism and its effect on Ghanaian teachers.

4.5. Chapter Summary

In tracing the developments leading up to the new 2019 National Curriculum, this chapter has highlighted the inherent challenges of the previous education system, justifying the rationale for the new vision on citizenship taught in primary schools. For Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Yeboah (2018:117), the Ghanaian policy experience illustrates the tensions that come with ‘the post-colonial dilemma’ in constructing citizenship. They argue that the potential for moving forward lies with teachers, who can offer important lessons learnt on the social inequalities that are still rife in the classroom and undermine any attempts for change. The issue appears to be teachers continuing to inculcate in learners unity in sameness rather than unity in difference — a legacy of colonialism (Dei, 2004; 2005). With teachers left uncritical and unprepared, it is claimed that unity in sameness has carried into Pan-Africanism, despite Nkrumah’s intention. This has undermined its ability for undoing colonialism in schools. Some authors assert the need for a return to Nkrumah’s work to address

the ‘Black predicament’ (Howard, et al., 2018). Literature also reflects an emerging argument for reinstating Indigenous Knowledges to enhance teachers’ views on citizenship being located and historic: this is a gap in research that needs exploring.

The 2019 National Curriculum represents the possibility of addressing such issues. However, the contradictions and tensions in the new curriculum are still significant. This might inspire teachers to add their own meanings to citizenship to mediate the post-colonial dilemma that confronts them in their everyday classrooms. As an implicit aim of this chapter, it also highlights their role as curriculum-makers, rather than simply curriculum implementers. While the new curriculum was constructed by the Government following lessons learned from previous reforms, the issue of whether there is space for these teachers to bring their own lessons learned into the classroom is a different matter altogether.

Chapter 5.
Teachers as Experts:
Research Methodology

5.1. Introduction

This chapter outlines a small-scale, qualitative research design used for learning lessons from government primary teachers about Ghanaian citizenship, in relation to their learners in three urban schools in Accra, Ghana. Although the new curriculum has renewed discussions on citizenship, my priority was to allow teachers to speak without being limited to the normative policy discourse. Given the absence of teachers' voices more broadly within educational literature on citizenship, I conducted semi-structured interviews to ensure that teachers were positioned as experts, giving meaning to the complex debates and lived realities on this topic. The aim of this chapter is to provide the rationale for these methodological choices, guided by my main research question and four sub-research questions. To ensure my themes were participant-inspired, I used 'In Vivo coding', as 'participant-generated words' (Saldaña, 2013:91), and Reflexive Thematic Analysis.

5.2. My Epistemological and Ontological Stance

In deciding how to design and conduct research, researchers are guided by core questions on their 'beliefs about how research should proceed, what can be known, who can be a knower, and how we come to know' (Leavy, 2014:3). This determines the entire research process from design to analysis. These important philosophical questions can be broken down paradigmatically ('a guiding worldview'), ontologically ('the nature of social reality and what can be known about it') (2014:3), and epistemologically ('the role of the researcher and researcher/participant relationship') (2014:5). As I am seeking to learn about teachers' social realities, my study is best suited to qualitative research. This narrows my answer and informs my choice of methodology and method.

As qualitative research involves 'building knowledge about the social world and human experience,' Leavy (2014:1) suggests that qualitative researchers instantly become 'enmeshed in their project.' The enmeshment of my relationship as a white British researcher with Ghanaian teachers of self-ascribed Black identity is inherently complex due to the legacy of colonialism (as explored in my positionality statement in the next section). The Western paradigm dominates post-colonial contexts and assumes that all research participants encounter their social world and realities in the same way (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2019). The use of Indigenous Knowledges to interpret such realities is marginalised. This is a product of the enduring colonial power relations within the academe, and particularly visible in the invention of 'race' — what I believe is wrong with the world and needs transforming. Considering this, my guiding worldview fits in the transformative paradigm. For Mertens and Cram (2016:188), this necessitates being 'cognizant of and responsive to history, culture, (in)equity, and the importance of relationships and reciprocity.' As I am socialised in the privileged Western paradigm, I have not employed an Indigenous (non-Western) paradigm, nor do I feel positioned to do so. I follow Mertens and Cram's approach instead.

Guided by the transformative paradigm, I believe that social reality is constructed on the basis of power, and is shaped by social, political, cultural, economic, religious, ethnic, gender, and disability-based values (Mertens and Cram, 2016) This is my ontological stance. As reality is contextual and subjective, there are multiple truths discoverable about the social world, instead of one absolute Truth that has already been discovered. For qualitative researchers, such views legitimise challenging the positivist paradigm that the social world follows universal rational laws (Liamputtong, 2010; 2020). To assume that the teachers of my study, as non-Western participants, experience and interpret the social world as I do is naïve, and assumes there is no power imbalance between us. Employing a methodology that keeps me critically reflexive and considers my subjectivity as a resource can help mitigate this. This is why I have selected Reflexive Thematic Analysis, a decision I explore in section 5.7.

Finally, by situating myself in the transformative paradigm, I recognise that 'knowledge is constructed within the context of power and privilege, that knowledge is relational, and the relationships of trust are needed to conduct responsive research' (Mertens and Cram, 2016:188). This is my epistemological stance. My Western way of knowing dominates the research process because I am continuing to generate and produce knowledge in and through the Western academe. I also acknowledge using qualitative research methods in this thesis that were created by Western scholars, and that my data was further interpreted and evaluated in and through the Western academe in line with the requirements of a university situated there. Aligning with the transformative paradigm, my attempt to understand Indigenous ways of knowing and being emerges from tracing the history of ethnicity in pre-colonial Ghana, as outlined in Chapter 2. This revealed the relational Akan ontology that was mobilised by Nkrumah as Oneness, as well as the role of indigeneity in contemporary Accra (drawing on Paller's (2019) study). As Paller's (2019) study informed my analysis, I return to his work later in this chapter. However, my understanding of anything 'Indigenous' will only ever be partial rather than full, due to my positionality.

5.3. A Statement of Positionality

Upon researching in a post-colonial context, a positionality statement is for confronting identities, privileges, and worldviews that reproduce power dynamics throughout the research process. To deconstruct my 'self,' I present my 'shades of positionings' (Milligan, 2016). This is an adaptation of the insider- and outsider concept that typically places a researcher's identity (defined as outsider) at opposite ends of the spectrum to the researched (defined as insider). As Milligan (2016:241) proposes, our '"shades" of positioning' can influence how participants see us as researchers, in which case our status as outsider (or insider for that matter) might fluctuate. Based on her research in schools in Kenya, she found that being white, as an identity, evoked a different interaction and response with teachers, than being a white woman, for example. I follow her approach of unpacking and interrogating my layered identities in my positionality statement below.

5.3.1. Being white

I am white. For this reason, I position myself as an outsider. By being white, I am conscious that I, in bodily and symbolic form, take up space before speaking. I have been in situations before in post-colonial countries of India, Ghana, and South Africa, where those around me assumed that I should command that space. Admittedly, I have learned that my culture, aesthetic, and wealth structure maintain the projected assumptions that people make about me. I make attempts to consider my whiteness, with its privilege and all that it embodies about 'race.' Equally, I have found that, as Liamputtong (2010:116) suggests, 'being white is not always an obstacle.' Upon reflection, the interview process appeared to serve as a reflexive opportunity for the self-ascribed Black Ghanaian teachers to deliberate on any assumptions, as well as guide me through more challenging conversations around 'racial' identity, racism, colonialism and its memory (explored further in section 5.6.6).

5.3.2. Being white British

I identify as a British citizen by birth. Being white British becomes a geopolitical identity that defines me as a citizen of the West. It signifies being rich. Economic status is a universal conversation, so I expected to find similar terms being used by the teachers in how they identified. Britain is also classified as a 'developed' economy, a signifier that reinforced my difference with the Ghanaian teachers, as they are in a 'developing' economy. I anticipated that it would enforce a hierarchy between myself, as rich, and the teachers, positioning them as poor. Also, with English as my primary language, I know that the language carries the burden of power and hierarchy. The use of English is widely seen as an ongoing tool of colonialism and Western hegemony. While the teachers spoke English, I had also assumed that they would converse in my mother tongue, as a legacy of British colonialism (as discussed in section 5.6.6.3).

5.3.3. Being a white British, middle-class woman

I am a white British, middle-class woman. I am often identified as middle-class, a form of social stratification. This places me into the upper socio-economic classification of any already wealthy country, as does my being university educated and working in a highly skilled position. I felt that the hierarchy between the teachers and myself would widen because of these differences in our geopolitical locations. Also, due to gendered, racialised, and class-based hierarchies that are entrenched in national and global systems, I am privileged over women of colour. Subsequently, it will always be unclear how my gender played a role in determining the Ghanaian teachers' responses — particularly those who identified as Black Ghanaian women (as explored in section 5.6.6.4). This further reinforces being an outsider.

5.3.4. Being a white British, middle-class woman, and a teacher and researcher

I recognise that being a teacher and a researcher about teachers was inherent to how I would introduce myself to these Ghanaian teachers. Here, I would identify as an insider. Particularly from being a teacher, including in Ghana, I have struggled at times to distance myself from my participants (as teachers) when researching. I also recognise that I have given teachers the benefit of the doubt by trying to be sensitive to their conditions. In this study, as a PhD student researching about teachers, I recognise that my bias had carried into my interviewing techniques and my analysis, where I sought to advocate for them, (my strategies to mitigate this are described in section 5.7.1.1).

The above exercise shows how bias can easily carry into the research process, exposing the types of identities that are loaded with power inequalities. I do not assume that the exercise revealed all my biases; some might still be hidden, even after having now conducted the interviews. The exercise also shows where there was risk of misrepresentation, and essentialising as much as resituating these teachers' voices through my privilege. From a methodological perspective, writing a positionality statement signifies the need for trustworthiness from the outset.

5.4. Trustworthiness

Trustworthiness is crucial when designing qualitative research (Traianou, 2014). This ensures that a researcher is upfront about any ethical dilemmas that might occur in their research and makes efforts to mitigate them. As Traianou (2014:62) suggests, the starting point should be to identify any possible harms to participants; this is 'one of the most important ethical concerns.' Identifying harms was a requirement for my ethical application, as set out by the College of Social Sciences (CoSS) Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow[25] and was approved on 01/01/2019. Before proceeding, it is important to explain that my ethical procedure was based on conducting fieldwork in Mumbai and Delhi in India and in Accra and Winneba in Ghana, as a comparative study. The full application is provided in Appendix 1 and the letter of approval from the CoSS Ethics Committee is in Appendix 2. However, COVID-19 prevented travel to India entirely and to Winneba in Ghana. I present the next few sections as per my approach to conducting research in both Accra and Winneba. However, from section 5.6 onwards, I focus exclusively on the fieldwork conducted in Accra.

If my fieldwork in India had progressed as anticipated in April 2020, the types of harms surrounding interviewing Indian teachers about citizenship would have needed more attention compared to interviewing Ghanaian teachers. In December 2019, the Government of India passed a constitutional amendment to the Citizenship Act of 1955 that now grants Indian citizenship to persons belonging to Hindu, Sikh, Buddhist, Jain, Parsi, and Christian communities from Pakistan, Afghanistan, and Bangladesh on the ground of religious persecution. Muslims are excluded. The amendments are heavily criticised for being discriminatory, if not 'shocking' and has led many to '[question] India's commitment' to secularism (Nagarwal, 2021:1). Due to the volatility of the political environment, interviewing government-employed teachers about citizenship could have inflicted serious harm on them. Other challenges might have included issues with recruitment and potential self-censorship in the responses. However, in Ghana, the nature of my research did not have the potential for inflicting the same degree of harm on participants. While the topic

[25] The full title is the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee for Non-Clinical Research involving Human Subjects, University of Glasgow.

of citizenship is political, Ghana was relatively politically stable at the time of my fieldwork. The main harm for these Ghanaian government teachers was potential 'damage to reputation or status or to relations with significant others, for example, through the disclosure of information that was previously unknown to some relevant audience' (Traianou, 2014:63).

Having identified these possible harms, I sought to then employ strategies and techniques to ensure trustworthiness and rigour of my research. Using the well-established criteria from Lincoln and Guba (1985), my approach was separated into credibility, transferability, dependability, and confirmability. I provide definitions of these below, as set out by Liamputtong:

Credibility 'scrutinises the fit between what the participants say and the representation of these viewpoints by the researcher' (2020:27).

Transferability concerns the 'generalisability of qualitative research… Transferability conveys that the theoretical knowledge obtained from qualitative research can be applied to other similar individuals, groups, or situations' (2020:28).

Dependability ensures that the processes of data design, collection, and interpretation are linked up and traceable.

Confirmability 'attempts to show that findings and the interpretations of those findings do not derive from the imagination of the researchers but are clearly linked to data' (2020:28).

While I elaborate on each of these criteria throughout the rest of this chapter, below is a summary of my research strategies and techniques I used, adapted from Tuckett (2005:31 cited in Liamputtong, 2020:32).

Criteria for Rigour	Research Strategies	Techniques to ensure rigour
Credibility	Field notes Audio recording Thematic log Positionality statement	Purposive sampling Peer-debriefing (as cultural brokers) Reflexivity
Transferability	Data display Literature review	Purposive sampling Thick description (Details on research settings, participants, and methods) Thematic map (using Reflexive Thematic Analysis)
Dependability	Field notes Thematic log	Audit trail
Confirmability	Field notes Reflexive Thematic Analysis	Audit trail Peer-debriefing (as cultural brokers) Reflexivity

Table 1. Criteria for rigour: Research strategies and techniques

(Source: Liamputtong, 2020:32-33)

5.5. Research Design

5.5.1. Semi-structured interviews

My research was best suited to conducting semi-structured interviews. This usually necessitates talking face-to-face and one-on-one with participants, giving a rationale for conducting my fieldwork in Ghana. With its roots in anthropology and sociology, interviewing is one of the most commonly used methods in qualitative research for giving voice to meaning. As Brinkmann and Kvale (2018:10) explain:

> An interview is literally an inter-view, an interchange of views between two persons conversing about a theme of common interest… The interview gives access to the manifold local narratives embodied in storytelling and opens the way for a discourse and negotiation of the meaning of the lived world.

An interview is designed to probe into a participant's intimate knowledge in his or her own words. I chose to use a more free-flowing and flexible interviewing technique, moving towards being unstructured when appropriate. Semi-structured interviews that venture into being unstructured carry some disadvantages. They are criticised because the researcher's bias is seen to influence the data, weakening its trustworthiness. On the other hand, Fontana and Prokos (2007:42) contend that the attempt to '"scientize"' interviews misses the point entirely that interviewing is 'an active emergent process,' revealing the ambivalences and complexities of how we understand our social world.

My choice for a more free-flowing approach was partly informed by previous experience of interviewing teachers in Ghana. I have found that being constrained to a set of interview questions has led to teachers wrongfully assuming that I was inspecting them. This was contrary to the reason for my visit and led to their responses becoming stunted and skewed. Similar to cautions expressed in other scholarship (Osei, 2009), I have found that the over-regulation of teachers in Ghanaian schools can impact their freedom of opinion, and the entire interview. A free-flowing approach positions the teacher as an expert within the interview, providing an opportunity for me to enquire.

5.5.2. Designing the interview questions

Typically, interview questions are prepared in advance and centred on topics related to the study's interest. To situate my study for the teachers, I designed my opening questions on the 2019 National Curriculum, starting with Our World, Our People due to its renewed emphasis on citizenship and national identity (NaCCA/MoE, 2019d; 2019e). These questions were limited to ensure that teachers would not dwell on the curriculum. My intention was to quickly unbind their views from governmental rhetoric and create space for a more authentic response. Instead of creating specific questions, I developed a few key themes

to use as prompts throughout the interview. To probe into their responses, I adjusted my interviewing technique when appropriate.

A full description of the topics used for the interviews is provided in Appendix 3. For reference, the questions were oriented on the following themes:

- The new National Curriculum, Our World, Our People
- Being a Ghanaian citizen (National identity and belonging, Being Ghanaian, and ethnic identity and belonging)
- Difference in schools and how learners identify
- Teaching about the subject of History and its relevance for primary learners in present-day Ghana (i.e. British colonialism, the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, national leaders, and the pre-colonial era)
- The role of Indigenous Knowledges in schools for fostering citizenship

The interview topics were designed to minimise teachers feeling compelled to comment on any political and religious views or philosophical beliefs. This approach helped to ensure confidentiality and anonymity. My interview questions did not seek their party affiliation or their opinion on any developments in the general elections in Ghana at the time of the interview. For a critical appraisal of my study, my supervisors reviewed the interview topics, helping me to refine my focus. This served the wider purpose of starting an audit trail, a way of tracing my decisions and the logic of my research, with the aim of ensuring dependability as part of my criteria for rigour. Such an approach is typical in a PhD study, where supervisors subsume the role of auditing at various phases of the research in 'becoming familiar with the study,' 'determining [its] strengths and weaknesses' and, 'detailing… study limitations' (Liamputtong, 2020:32). These interview topics were submitted and approved as part of my ethical application.

5.5.3. Purposeful sampling of teachers and schools

To select the teachers and schools, I employed purposeful sampling, a 'deliberate selection of specific individuals because of the crucial information they can provide' based on my specific criteria (Liamputtong, 2020:21). This also serves as a research strategy for credibility part of my rigour criteria and enables transferability. The rationale for purposeful sampling is for other

researchers to apply my approach to similar settings: this ensures a theoretical and analytical generalisability in my findings.

The participants for my study needed to be primary teachers in government schools where the 2019 National Curriculum had been introduced, as well as being located in Accra and in Winneba. In each school, I sought to interview teachers from across the primary levels, comprising of Key Phase 2 (Lower Primary of B1-B3) and Key Phase 3 (Upper Primary of B4-B6), to gain a broad spectrum of viewpoints. Their level and duration of teaching experience were not a factor. I identified the headteacher as the main gatekeeper to my accessing the teachers, as 'individuals who are in a position to grant or deny a researcher access to the research site' (Ravitch and Carl, 2021:382). While they functioned as a gatekeeper, I also included the headteachers from each of the schools in my sampling. The rationale was three-fold. Firstly, due to underlying power dynamics, it would minimise the risk of disrupting the teachers' relationship with the headteacher after I finished. Secondly, it was done out of respect for their allowing me to visit their school, disrupting the school day and for their efforts in accommodating me. Thirdly, it reflected that fact that, as educational leaders, the headteachers would offer unique insights on my topic.

I had planned for a sample size of 30 to 40 participants across three to four schools in both Winneba and in Accra, totalling, approximately 60-80 participants. However, I knew from previous experience that the exact selection of schools and their location were at the discretion of the GES — the main gatekeepers of the entire project. I acknowledge that I had to rely on those within the GES, as I had limited knowledge of the different schools in the city before I arrived.

5.6. Data Collection

5.6.1. Gaining entry for fieldwork

To gain entry into the schools for data collection, I relied upon a few professional and personal contacts, Ghanaians who effectively served as cultural brokers to my research (Liamputtong, 2010). These individuals were invaluable

in supporting most of my research process, from sounding out my interview topics to interpreting the results. Some of these cultural brokers were educational policymakers and academics with extensive knowledge of my topic. Before arriving in Accra, I had followed the necessary procedures for requesting permission to access the schools from key staff at the GES headquarters in Accra, as well as providing details about my study and contacts at the University of Glasgow, in case of a query. As this work happened remotely, I relied on a Senior Policy Advisor (a personal contact) to notify the Acting Director General of the GES on my behalf. The official letter from the GES giving the approval to visit the schools is in Appendix 4.

My fieldwork in the city of Accra took place between late-February 2020 and early-March 2020. Upon arrival, I immediately arranged an appointment with the Acting General Director. Once my application was approved, I was requested to seek further approval from the GES Regional Office in Greater Accra. Upon visiting the office, they selected three schools in respective districts, while informing each respective Director of Education of my intention to visit. I was then requested to visit each Director with the letter of approval from the Greater Accra Regional office. The act of visiting these directors was salient. On a basic level, they provided the contact information of the three headteachers to arrange my visits. More importantly, their genuine interest in my research kept me responsible for ensuring that my research informs practice, as central to the transformative paradigm I envisaged.

5.6.2. The role of cultural brokers

As part of my fieldwork, I purposefully spent time with personal and professional acquaintances to refine my knowledge of Accra and become better informed about cultural customs and expectations. This would function as a sign of respect to the teachers I planned on interviewing. There are several Ghanaian customs that influenced the interview process and helped situate my analysis, as seen in Table 2 below. As Salm and Falola (2002:147) suggest, ‘Ghanaians value interpersonal interactions... Greeting is an important custom.’

Type of Custom	Approach to my interviewing process
‘Africa time’ means the start time is not exact.	Flexibility with timings of my interviews.
A ‘let’s get to business’ approach is considered rude; rather ‘when meeting an individual, it is proper to greet them, shake their hand, and inquire about their health and the health of their family’ (2002:148).	Before interviewing teachers, seeking an opportunity to visit them in the classroom and at the start of the interview, enquire as appropriate.
Using the right hand for shaking hands, because ‘many Ghanaians consider the left hand to be dirty’ (2002:148).	Greeting teachers.
Everything is shared; this includes embracing the opportunity to eat food.	Accepting invitation to eat lunch with staff, as appropriate.

Table 2. Key customs relevant to the interviewing process

Before meeting the teachers, everyday conversations with friends were instrumental. For Thambinathan and Kinsella (2021:5), utilising cultural brokers is ‘one approach to recognising other ways of knowing… to promote understanding of alternative perspectives,’ and I found this to be the case. Some of my friends identified as Ga from Jamestown, and spoke openly about their views on indigeneity and its norms in the city, as well as the customs, histories, and traditions of the Ga people. They introduced me to Jamestown and other Ga settlements. Some of my friends who were Akan, but born in Accra, held a different view on the city entirely. Both conversations profoundly shaped my understanding of ethnic identities and belonging in the city, and how it intersects with citizenship. They taught me dialectical phrases and names of ethnic groups, helping me to improve my pronunciation for the interviews. They also spoke about Indigenous Knowledges, some of which are shared nationally. This experience enhanced the credibility of my data, as well as its dependability.

5.6.3. The interview process

The interviews were conducted in three schools, two schools within the city of Accra and one school outside of it, but still within the Greater Accra Region. My

visits to each school were arranged by calling each headteacher a few days prior. While I had intended to submit an introductory letter beforehand, similar to those sent to the Directors of Education at the District Education Offices, key points in the letter were given verbally during our telephone discussion, which each headteacher agreed to.

An overview of the location of the schools is provided in Table 3 below. I have distinguished between these schools in relation to their proximity to a Ga Indigenous settlement, drawing upon Paller's (2019) categorisations, described in Chapter 2. I provide a full description of the school and its local community in Chapter 6.

Number of School	Location	Name of district in the Greater Accra Region	Classification in relation to a Ga Indigenous Settlement
School 1	Jamestown	Accra Metropolitan District	School located in a Ga Indigenous settlement Civic life runs on ethnic lines
School 2	Gbawe	Weija-Gbawe Municipal District	School located in customary land of the Ga people Civic life runs on multi-ethnic lines
School 3	Labone	La Dade-Kotopon Municipal District	School located near a Ga Indigenous settlement, La (or Labadi) Civic life runs on ethnic lines

Table 3. Location of the schools in the city of Accra, the Greater Accra Region

As discussed, I had always intended to travel to Winneba after my interviews in Accra, as part of my original comparative study. However, shortly before I was due to begin visiting the schools in Accra, COVID-19 began to spread globally and I was advised to return to the UK as soon as possible. Due to this unprecedented circumstance, I was able to conduct 26 interviews, but not the full 40 interviews

as anticipated. I was unable to proceed with my additional fieldwork in Winneba.

5.6.4. The research participants

Once in the schools, the teachers were recruited based on the request from the headteacher. I was initially concerned that this would affect my results, with teachers feeling obliged to attend and reluctant to answer my questions. Only one teacher declined. The number of research participants per school is presented in Table 4 below. More information on the basic identifiers of the teachers and their assigned pseudonyms is outlined in Chapter 6.

<table>
<tr><th></th><th></th><th>School 1</th><th>School 2</th><th>School 3</th></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="3">Number of participants from each school</td><td>Headteacher</td><td>1</td><td>1</td><td>1</td></tr>
<tr><td>Deputy Headteacher</td><td>2</td><td>0</td><td>0</td></tr>
<tr><td>Teacher</td><td>7</td><td>7</td><td>7</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Sub-total</td><td>10</td><td>8</td><td>8</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Total of participants from all schools</td><td colspan="3">26</td></tr>
</table>

Table 4. Number of research participants per school

5.6.5. Ethical dilemmas of interviewing: Confidentiality, privacy, and anonymity

Confidentiality is central to the interviewing process, involving a need to ‘conceal the true identity of the participants’ as they reveal their private worlds (Liamputtong, 2020:36). As a typical practice for confidentiality is minimising harm to the participant, I sought informed consent when first meeting the teachers. While a written consent form was available (Appendix 5), all teachers gave their verbal consent instead. I also gave them the opportunity to read the

Participant Informant Sheet (Appendix 6). The CoSS Ethics Committee at the University of Glasgow had approved these documents. Once the teacher had given consent, I outlined key themes covered in the interview, explaining the option to stop the interview at any point or to avoid answering any specific question with no reason given. Next, I sought their consent to create an audio recording of the interview as well as explaining how the data would be used and stored after their interview. Finally, I explained to teachers how their confidentiality would be protected, including their own names and the name and location of their school. All teachers consented to being audio-recorded. One plausible explanation for this is that the headteacher's request to conduct the interview highlighted possible underlying power dynamics within the school.

Confidentiality is also seen as a 'precautionary principle' for ensuring privacy (Traianou, 2014:65). Privacy is concerned with respecting 'what is private' (ibid). While this often informs the types of interview questions asked, it can include considerations about where the interview takes place. In principle, I had planned on conducting one-to-one interviews with teachers before or after the school day, to allow for confidentiality and privacy to be retained, and for the participant to feel safe with me. In reality, I was requested by the GES not to keep the teachers out of school hours and considered it to be ethically inappropriate to contradict this.

In School 1, all the interviews were conducted in private as I had the provision of an empty classroom, and the headteacher had arranged to cover the teacher's lesson. In the other schools, the location varied between a spare classroom and the teacher's classroom, either with no children present (due to break-time) or with children present. In the latter instances, I interviewed the teacher when the children were completing independent activities. This setting did not appear to impact the duration of the interview; some of the longest interviews were conducted with the children present, as we spoke intermittently throughout the day by the teacher's request. In these instances my interviewing technique was impacted, as I was conscious of timing and of the children often needing the teacher's attention. It is reasonable to assume that the quality of data was affected, as I was unable to fully explore some of their responses.

From an ethical perspective, it is also reasonable to claim that interviewing teachers with children present (and sometimes a teaching assistant) compromised their confidentiality and privacy. It was impossible to conceal their true identity as their private worlds became public, with children overhearing their responses (Liamputtong, 2020). Upon reflection, these teachers were less critical on certain topics, particularly those concerning identity and difference and the local community. Out of ethical responsibility, I chose to refine my questions depending on who was present in the room. With this type of ethical issue, it is why confidentiality and privacy are counterparts to anonymity: to ensure that personal characteristics are removed to prevent identifying the participant. This also affects data analysis, which is explored in section 5.6.9.

5.6.6. Conducting the interviews

5.6.6.1. Teachers as experts

As with all everyday social interactions, I was anticipating problems in my interviewing process. To instil trust, I introduced myself as a former primary teacher, including working with teachers in Ghana. Given how forthcoming the teachers were, this successfully functioned to establish common ground. My PhD topic further provoked curiosity. I felt this established a rapport, enabling the teachers to feel at ease during the interview.

Shortly into starting, I was quickly reminded of the need to relinquish my control of the interview, as a researcher: these teachers were the experts about their learners, and could offer important lessons to learn about citizenship. I had to relinquish my interview topics, as their responses were entirely nuanced to the context that required listening very attentively, out of concern that I would miss something. This was initially unsettling, but the interview quickly became conversational and flowed more naturally, allowing teachers to follow or drop topics, or pursue new topics as they emerged. When mid-flow, the types of questions asked ranged from open-ended, to probing, to interpreting. The free-flow approach was also helpful for letting the teachers lead in the conversation, enabling me to make judgements specific to each participant regarding ‘what is private [and] how private it is’ (Traianou, 2014:65). This focused on respecting

privacy, ‘the ethical question of whether it is legitimate to investigate a particular topic that is seen as sensitive, in other words, a topic that touches on private matters’ (ibid). Such an approach matters in cross-cultural contexts, as there can be a discrepancy between the researcher and the participant on what ‘private’ means.

Some participants were occasionally hesitant in the interview. As Kwansah-Aidoo (2001) comments, researchers run into problems because one-to-one data gathering techniques such as interviewing are at odds with Ghanaian social expectations. As Ghana is an expressive, oral-based society, imbibing their traditional sociocultural values, Kwansah-Aidoo comments that the idea of sharing personal views with an unfamiliar researcher can be uncomfortable. To counter this, he recommends giving space for anecdotes and storytelling — an approach that I found effective. Such examples include teachers’ explanations about folklore, including the tale of Ananse, and proverbs. One memorable moment occurred when one teacher sang the full Ghanaian National Anthem to conclude her interview.

As a non-Ghanaian researcher, I found that taking a more free-flowing approach also provided the opportunity to ask for clarification on key ideas when needed.

5.6.6.2. Responding to the past

I found that my identifying, as white British, was a way of opening discussion on teachers’ views about the history of British colonial rule and corresponding events, such as the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. This led to discussions about their views on Black people, in identity and heritage, and on white people within contemporary Ghana. As seen in the curriculum analysis, such topics feature in the 2019 National Curriculum. As a researcher, it would have been irresponsible to assume that the topics would not have evoked some form of emotive reaction from the teachers. Some teachers led the discussion onto racism and the complicated relationship with the West created through aid. I was conscious that these teachers needed to exercise forms of control over the interview.

My strategy was to only probe if the teacher visibly looked comfortable or had led us into that discursive space. Sometimes, I did this clumsily. These teachers laughed, despite answering the questions. Recognising this as a nervous response, I tried to redirect the interview. Upon reflection, I had not anticipated how uncomfortable it would feel to discuss these topics. Some teachers spoke strongly on such topics and guided me through the conversation, exhibiting power in the process. These teachers were articulate in their views and appeared to be critically reflexive about what they taught, engaging in additional research about Ghanaian history and current global events to inform their understanding. Others asked me to reframe the question due to my hesitancy in saying it and rephrased my point more directly. Watching the participants' reactions was far more important than I had accounted for when preparing for the interviews.

Probing into the history of ethnic politics and its effects, as well as some of the teachers' views on ethnic stereotyping, was more difficult. For some, this topic was too personal, so I changed the question. Others were honest about its enduring problems. An ethical dilemma emerged in my need to ensure I was not overlooking such issues (despite at times, the teachers' views seeming to essentialise particular ethnic groups) while not being sympathetic because of the impoverished conditions that they taught in. Vickers (2020) suggests that researchers must be astute to the complexities of power and difference — colonial and otherwise. This extends to 'the attribution of agency,' ensuring that participants are not continually positioned in a state of 'uniform victimhood' because of location (2020:183). Vickers raises a complex, but arguably important point when research is undertaken in post-colonial contexts.

5.6.6.3. Using the English language

Being conscious of the role of English as a colonial device and assuming most spoke the dialect of Twi from the Akan language (common to Accra), I was anticipating the need to hire a translator to support me when conducting the interviews. Having enquired about the use of language with the GES, I was told to conduct the interviews in English. This was primarily due to English being the official language in schools: all teachers in my sample spoke fluent English. As

one headteacher pointed out, my suggestion on having a translator would 'look like you're favouritising certain ethnic groups over others.'

Conversing in English appeared to pose no issue for teachers, articulating their views fluently. As with any other interview context, despite the commonality in speaking English and both being fluent, the social and cultural context still meant that the participant did not always understand my question or how I responded. As heard in the audio-recordings and seen in my transcripts, I frequently had to rephrase my questions. At the same time, my lack of understanding shifted power onto the teacher. As before, they became the expert and I had to relinquish control. In the process, teachers had no problem disagreeing with me, and felt comfortable pointing out when I had misinterpreted their responses. I came to learn that directness was the cultural custom. As the interviews progressed, I became more culturally sensitive to the type of words that I used and their potential meanings. Consequently, I became bolder in asking questions, capturing insights that I would otherwise have missed.

5.6.6.4. A point on gender

Gender and its role within citizenship were rarely discussed in the interviews. Admittedly, this reflected my influence on the participants in directing the interview questions. I acknowledge that emancipatory research seeks out praxis for gendered and racialised communities, especially for Black women, due to colonial hierarchies (see Oyěwùmí, 1997). I acknowledge that gender influenced my relationship as a white British woman researcher with the Ghanaian Black teachers, who were both women and men. In particular, this perpetuated my privilege over the Black women teachers, compared to the Black men. I acknowledge that gender would have determined how women teachers responded to certain questions, in contrast to the men. Before interviewing, I had made a pragmatic decision not to pursue discussions on gender, in recognition of the fact that the complexity of gender in constructing citizenship commanded more dedicated space than I can provide in this thesis. The same applies to other categories of identity, including religion.

A few observations relating to the interview process reinforce this argument. Firstly, while the majority of teachers were women, it was the men who criticised the Government freely and spoke on their political views. This suggests that men had more political freedom to criticise power. Secondly, the few women who were opinionated on politics spoke on the value of breaking gendered stereotypes in the curriculum. Some of these points are integrated into the findings in Chapters 7 and 8, to highlight areas for future research into gendered citizenship in Ghana.

As a general observation of the interview process, some teachers were fully engaged with the interview, giving the longest interviews and being the most strongly opinionated on certain topics. With these teachers, I had the most rapport. Others gave shorter interviews due to teaching commitments. At the time, their responses seemed more abrupt and less engaged. Upon analysis, this was not the case. This became another lesson learned for me about what can emerge in the unexpectedness of the research process. The data generated from these teachers was rich, although it was a tiring process in picking up on the nuances, different to my own knowledge. I recognise Mason's (2018:116) point that 'good qualitative interviewing is hard, creative, active work… It can be highly enjoyable and is always engaging.'

5.6.7. Data storage and security

Following ethical approval, interviews were audio-recorded using iTalk software on my iPhone. The software is unique in that it automatically encrypts the files, after which a password is required to access them. At the end of each day in the schools, I then transferred the data onto my protected laptop and uploaded it onto the University of Glasgow iCloud for data security.

5.6.8. Field notes for critical reflexivity

Triangulating data, involving the use of multiple methods to complement findings and for strengthening the credibility of data, is common practice for qualitative researchers (Liamputtong, 2020). In most instances, educational

researchers conduct lesson observations along with teacher interviews as a way of verifying what the teachers imagine of their practice compared with their actual practice. It reveals the teachers' biases. I chose not to conduct lesson observations, out of concern for teachers feeling regulated and inspected, skewing my data, as well as my rationale for this research being relatively new (as discussed in Chapters 1 and 4) — although, I included the headteacher within my sampling that triangulates the data to some extent, for offering a different perspective to the teachers.

Instrumental to my interviews, I also relied on field notes: another way of ensuring credibility for rigour when scrutinising my representations. These notes created an audit trail for dependability. Having now conducted my fieldwork, I recognise how these notes were filled with observations on country and culture that were continuously refined. They were significant during my data collection, and afterwards in my analysis. I mostly took notes at the end of each day, but sometimes during a quiet interval in between the interviews.

In these notes, I reflected on dominant and emerging ideas, feelings, and general impressions of the individual interviews and the school. Some of these accounts were certainly honest and sometimes expressed out of misdirected frustration. Nevertheless, these jottings helped me; firstly, to understand my positionality, secondly, to seek clarity when I was misinterpreting the teachers' views and, thirdly, to re-examine their meanings on difference and power. These field notes kept me critically reflexive, another technique for confirmability where 'findings do not derive from the imagination of the researchers' (Liamputtong, 2020:52). It was also because of these field notes I was able to vulnerably share my thoughts with some of the teachers who were willing to challenge and correct me.

Additionally, field notes served as an active process of sense-making. This involved reflecting on the previous interviews to sound out any emerging ideas in the next one. Through this, I began to create codes based on the teachers' own words (Saldaña, 2013). Field notes thus served as analytic memos: the preliminary jottings in preparation for In Vivo coding of the data analysis. As a non-Ghanaian researcher attempting to construct meaning with the Ghanaian

participants and, given that the interview was more dialogic than for information-gathering, I follow the argument of Saldaña (2013:16) that field notes 'authored from a first-person perspective, merit codes since they both document naturalistic action and include interpretations of social life and potentially rich analytic insights.' Extracts of my field notes are provided in Appendix 7, and I return to my approach to coding in section 5.7.

5.6.9. Writing up the transcriptions

The audio recordings of teachers' interviews were transcribed verbatim. In the original transcripts, I temporarily retained the direct and indirect identifiers as omitting them too soon would have resulted in the loss of valuable meaning and difficulty in identifying themes. Once the data was fully analysed, a series of strategies were used to deploy anonymity in replacing the actual names of participants with pseudonyms. Any direct or indirect identifiers were removed. A full explanation of how I ensured anonymity is provided in my ethical procedure in Appendix 1.

Being mindful of the local contexts, the transcription included any specific words in a Ghanaian language and all of the teachers' utterances. This conveyed the fullness of the discussion, with all its stumbles, as part of the 'interactional problems in research interviews' (Roulston, 2014:277). This also highlighted any hesitancy or points of deliberation from teachers during the interviews, along with any repeated words or phrases that suggest strong opinions. An example of one of the transcriptions is found in Appendix 8. I intended to employ a professional transcriber, but the process of self-transcribing maintained closeness to the data. This necessitated listening to each audio recording at least five times.

5.7. Reflexive Thematic Analysis

Faced with how to analyse, it is unavoidable that my Western knowledge would attempt to dominate the teachers in their post-colonial contexts. Using the wrong lens aids a wrong interpretation of data: nuances are missed. Following Liamputtong's (2020) advice, I needed a flexible analytical approach that let the

teachers' voices construct their own epistemological and ontological lens on how they defined Ghanaian citizenship, in relation to their learners. Codes and themes needed to be participant-inspired rather than researcher-derived. I also needed an approach that positioned my subjectivity as strength rather than weakness. This took the form of In Vivo coding, as 'participant-generated words' (Saldaña, 2013:91). I also adopted Braun and Clarke's (2021:333-334) Reflexive Thematic Analysis:

> Reflexive Thematic Analysis captures approaches that fully embrace qualitative research values and the subjective skills the researcher brings to the process — a research team is not required or even desirable for quality. Analysis, which can be more inductive or more theoretical/deductive is a situated interpretative reflexive process. Coding is open and organic with no use of any coding framework. Themes should be the final "outcome" of data coding and iterative theme development.

Braun and Clarke maintain that RTA provides 'flexibility' that 'means it can be undertaken with quite different guiding theories (albeit constrained by qualitative… assumptions)' (2021:331). I would contend that this lends itself to my context based on my being non-Ghanaian and needing to attend to any local forms of knowledge production as and when they appeared. The description of each phase, as described below, is quoted directly from Braun and Clarke's webpage (the University of Auckland, 2021). The detail used to inform my approach within each phrase derives from their academic article (Braun and Clarke, 2021).

5.7.1. Six phases in undertaking Reflexive Thematic Analysis

> Phase 1. Familiarising yourself with the dataset: Reading and re-reading the data, to become immersed and intimately familiar with its content.

Before familiarising myself with the data, I conducted a positionality statement (presented in section 5.3). This revealed my bias and helped me to remain critically reflexive throughout the analysis, questioning when 'self' got in the way and skewed interpretation of the data. During the initial transcription of the audio recordings, field notes enabled me to become fully immersed in what the teachers were saying. I read all of the individual transcripts at least 10 times. With access to cultural brokers after my fieldwork, I was able to verify certain words and phrases in the transcripts — another strategy for ensuring credibility.

> Phase 2. Coding: Generating codes... that capture and evoke important features of the data that might be relevant to addressing the research question.

For Phase 2, I applied In Vivo coding as ‘participant-generated words’ (Saldaña, 2013:91). A code ‘is most often a word or short phrase that symbolically assigns a summative, salient, essence-capturing, and/or evocative attribute for a portion of language-based or visual data’ (2013:3). Each unit of data in a transcript is assigned a code. I had already anticipated firstly analysing data from each school separately, and then across the schools.

Starting with the data from each school, the process of generating initial codes was by no means straightforward. I decided to start with the basic question of how teachers explain the different theoretical models of citizenship, in relation to their learners. This meant deliberately seeking to assign codes based on the pre-conceptualised themes set out in Chapter 3, and as featured in the 2019 National Curriculum as identified in Chapter 4. However, the complex backdrop of teaching in Accra was immediately apparent, causing difficulties in my approach. Braun and Clarke (2021:332) caution that RTA is not about ‘finding evidence for pre-conceptualised themes.’ In this instance, indigeneity was disrupting my entire technique, demanding me to rethink the coding process.

Instead, I started by looking at how the teachers described the school’s location in proximity to a Ga Indigenous settlement, drawing on Paller’s (2019) categorisations and described in Table 3 above. As Paller discusses, there are six Indigenous settlements of the Ga people where norms of indigeneity are most pronounced. A series of participant-inspired codes soon emerged, giving life to the data.

> Phase 3. Generating initial themes: Examining the codes and collated data to develop significant broader patterns of meaning (potential themes). It then involves collating data relevant to each candidate theme, so that you can work with the data and review the viability of each candidate theme.

Following the initial code generation phase of RTA, there is ‘no *absolute* distinction between codes and themes’ (Braun and Clarke, 2021:340, italics original). The teachers’ actual language, in terms of their words and phrases,

was substantive enough to justify generating initial themes within each of their schools. This ensured that the themes were the closest possible to expressing teachers' definitions and views. In each school, I began by identifying key patterns of meaning that, when positioned against other schools, showed how indigeneity intersected with teachers' explanations on the different models of citizenship and corresponding terms to define identity and difference (ethnicity). Patterns also revealed what teachers viewed about the role of education in nurturing citizenship and their role within it, as specific to their learners' daily lives in their immediate communities as well as in the city of Accra. Through this process, initial themes emerged specific to each school. Then, any views on the curricular subjects specific to citizenship were identified.

When exploring data across the schools, I adopted a similar approach. Except, I sought to generate participant-inspired codes that revealed broader patterns of meaning in terms of all these teachers, rather than just in each school. For this reason, these codes serving as initial themes were far more frequent. Other identity categories emerged specific to being Black as a self-ascribed identity and religion, although these were less frequent.

> Phase 4. Developing and reviewing themes: Checking the candidate themes against the coded data and the entire dataset to determine that they tell a convincing story.

Capturing full meaning across the datasets was challenging because of the numerous competing and co-existing epistemological and ontological stances that underpinned teachers' views. In terms of exploring the data of each school separately, my initial observation was that indigeneity, which teachers called "knowing your roots," was the most 'central organising concept' (Braun and Clarke, 2021:342). When exploring across the schools, the notion of Oneness emerged, as another central organising concept, demonstrating how all these teachers were collectively revisiting the Indigenous. At this point, I sought clarification through peer-debriefing with several academics, acting as cultural brokers. As part of my criteria for rigour, I employed peer-debriefing to ensure credibility and confirmability as a way of allowing others to check intellectual

and personal biases. This was the most uncomfortable moment in the research process for me.

During our discussions, I was confronted with an ethical dilemma that reminded me of ‘the good, the bad, and the ugly’ that comes when researching in post-colonial contexts (Dillard, 2020:704). As already mentioned in my interview process, my epistemic position about difference and power conflicted with the tendency to essentialise and ahistoricise, as Vickers (2020) cautions. As pointed out by one of my peers, I was unconsciously positioning these teachers in victimhood, due to location. This most likely derived from discomfort in talking about British colonial history and the legacy of colonialism, as well as related topics such as talking about racism and their views on being Black. I would argue that making a judgement on teachers who viewed colonialism positively will always pose an ethical dilemma. This is why confirmability is important. My peer told me bluntly:

> It is easy for the African to think that if we are not developing in the way we thought then it is probably the fault of colonialism. But again, it is important for anyone [gesturing at me as the researcher] who wants to generalise or conclude without delving into the matter, either in the form of research or in a form of observation… to try to know where the challenge of power is actually coming from.

It was a humbling moment, encouraging me to check with myself about whose opinion mattered. The example highlights the significance of the reflexive when conducting a thematic analysis. As Thambinathan and Kinsella (2021:4) claim, ‘Reflexivity primes us to recognise that we often view answers as a desired knowledge production “outcome” and the goal of research, and that important knowledge can arise by dwelling with questions.’ I was kept uncomfortable by way of questioning what I needed to be critical of, and to whose notions of criticality I was referring to.

I realised that the legacy of colonialism is part of the complexity of power stretching from the pre-colonial moment through to the post-colonial moment. Data showed that power and difference existed between the teachers, and, was influenced by indigeneity. Taking a cautionary approach in the analysis allowed the teachers to tell me about how they defined power and difference — colonial and otherwise.

> Phase 5. Refining, defining and naming themes: Developing a detailed analysis of each theme, working out the scope and focus of each theme, determining the 'story' of each.

For this phase of analysis, I used the teachers' actual words and phrases to define and name themes based on their own African terms, rather than imposing this on them and narrowing their epistemological lens one way or another. As part of RTA, researchers must continue to seek from those defined as the experts. Resending the teachers their transcripts and allowing them to sense-check these themes was part of my ethical procedure, but was too difficult to action due to the severe disruption caused by COVID-19. During mid-2020, I attempted to contact each of the three headteachers to retrieve contact information for the teachers to forward on my transcripts, but I had no response. This was presumably due to the closure of schools. Instead, I relied on peer-debriefing, a process in which 'someone who knows a great deal about the substantive area of the inquiry and the method of thematic analysis, [can]… help expose the researcher to aspects of the research that might otherwise have remain unspoken' (Nowell et al., 2017:10).

I sent the key themes from my findings to these peers in advance of each virtual meeting. These peers were two Ghanaian educational academics and one Ghanaian educational policymaker. My rationale for choosing these individuals was because I valued their criticality and rigour in interrogating my ideas, given their expertise. It was a 'way of keeping [me] honest' while giving me an opportunity to confer, question, and reaffirm my findings as appropriate (Liamputtong, 2020:31). As a result, it consolidated the story of each theme, reflecting the data, and enabled me to begin ordering the themes to create an overarching analytic narrative. I also provide my finalised thematic maps from analysing the data in each school in Appendix 9, and from across the schools in Appendix 10.

> Phase 6. Writing up: Weaving together the analytic narrative and data extracts, and contextualising the analysis in relation to existing literature.

The final phase of RTA concerns writing up responsibly. As already discussed, I made the deliberate decision to divide the findings into each school (Chapter 7)

and then across the schools (Chapter 8), presenting these as separate chapters that are still organised thematically. I used ‘thick description’ throughout to ‘write in detail about the research settings, the participants and the methods and processes of undertaking research… [so] readers are enabled to make decisions about transferability’ (Liamputtong, 2020:29). This helped mitigate any inappropriate contextualisation and over-generalisation of my findings, which is important for transferability. To do this, in Chapter 7, I incorporated teachers’ own descriptions of their schools and local communities and using these in relation to the various themes. I also chose to present my subjective description of the schools: the contrasts between my descriptions and the teachers’ are apparent. In Chapters 7 and 8, I highlighted possible causal inferences where necessary.

In Chapter 9, I presented a series of lessons learned from these teachers that formed my overarching analytic narrative, as well as one possible conceptual framework on Ghanaian citizenship inspired by these teachers’ actual words. This articulated what citizenship is and what citizenship should be, and offered one way of enhancing ownership of the 2019 curriculum distinct to the city of Accra. The framework illustrates the interrelatedness of these themes. I also wove the existing literature (as reviewed in Chapters 2, 3, and 4) into this overarching analytic narrative.

5.8. Embodying Transformative Praxis

When situated within the transformative paradigm, researchers must seek to ‘embody transformative praxis’ (Thambinathan and Kinsella, 2021:6). This ensures that research contributes to actionable change. Transformative praxis demands that researchers challenge the epistemic legacy of colonialism. This is why I framed my overarching analysis as a series of lessons learned according to these teachers, as inspired by their actual words. As one of my own lessons learned, as being white British, the entire research process demanded constant reflexivity to interrogate where Western knowledge dominated over the Indigenous Knowledges, as well as learning how to recognise when this was happening. The Ghanaian teachers, as the experts of their social realities, along with my peers, who acted as cultural brokers, helped me navigate this process.

Arguably, such an approach offers the type of transformative praxis that is fully ‘cognisant of and responsive to history, culture (in)equity, and the importance of relationships and reciprocity’ (Mertens and Cram, 2016:188).

As stated in my ethical form, and mindful of the disruption of the global pandemic COVID-19, I still anticipate initiating and identifying the following opportunities based on my research:

- Feeding into Ghanaian educational policy dialogue on the 2019 National Curriculum that seeks to increase the role of the teacher and their value in fostering citizenship. Drawing on existing contacts, this could involve developing some recommendations through interim policy reports to serve as a resource for local and regional policymakers. This could also involve initiating teacher-based workshops within the Greater Accra Region.
- Writing online blogs that target academic and practitioner platforms. To maximise public reach, this involves featuring soundbites of my research. The aim is to contribute to the growing dialogue within Ghana about citizenship and education.
- Enhancing knowledge-exchange with Ghanaian scholars to facilitate cross-disciplinary approaches on citizenship, democracy, and the role of African Indigenous Knowledges. This includes producing peer-reviewed publications and promoting my findings by presenting at conferences within the UK and in Ghana, or another African country.
- Identifying opportunities with some Ghanaian educational NGOs about teacher education, allowing for my research to feed into teacher education training and resources and capacity-building of practitioners.
- Responding to the recent challenge in the field of Comparative and International Education by identifying active colonial legacies in our scholarship (in terms of methodology and theoretical positions) and sharing experiences for future research collaborations for South-South and North-South dialogue.

5.9. Chapter Summary

As a white British, middle-class woman, and a teacher and researcher, I would question if I can ever be erased from these teachers' narratives in this thesis or any other research that I go on to produce. I felt that my whiteness still confronted and monopolised meaning and dominated the knowledge produced in the research process, from design to analysis. Despite ensuring my research was as trustworthy as possible, I can still never be sure whether teachers' responses were based on what they thought I wanted to hear. At the same time, I am conscious that, irrespective of our differences, these teachers were still strongly opinionated on certain topics: this was seen through their speech and emotions when I was in the room, where their agency of voice was apparent. Before turning to the teachers' interviews in Chapters 7 and 8, I now present the context of the three schools in Accra in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6.
Connecting the Teachers:
The Context of the Three Schools in Accra, Ghana

6.1. Introduction

This chapter describes each context of the three different schools (where the teachers of my study are based), and their local communities (where their learners are located). This sheds light on some of the possible contextual factors that are shaping teachers' views on citizenship, in relation to their learners and what they envision for their futures. I also discuss the school's location in relation to their proximity to one of the six Ga Indigenous settlements. This is primarily to enhance my analysis in Chapter 7, where I examine the schools separately in order to explore the extent to which indigeneity is shaping the teachers' views. Finally, I undertake a profiling of the basic characteristics of the teachers to identify any similarities and differences between them, within the schools and then across the schools. To ensure anonymity, any direct identifiers that could reveal the schools, as well as the teachers associated with them have been removed. I have also excluded any characteristics unique to the local context (which equally applies to my own descriptions of the schools in Chapter 7).

As mentioned in Chapter 3, gaining an accurate profile of certain areas within the respective districts of the Greater Accra Region (where the three schools are located) is difficult. The 2021 census provides some key information of the basic demographic. However, most governmental data at the district level, including of the 2021 census and anything earlier, makes generalisations that mask the socio-economic deprivation of the schools' local communities. Subsequently, I draw mostly on independent empirical research.

6.2. The Three Schools

The three schools were located in specific districts[26] from across the Greater Accra Region. As seen in Figure 3 below, the two districts of Accra Metropolitan (or Accra) where School 1 was located, and La Dade-Kotopon Municipal, where School 3 was located, make up the city of Accra. Weija-Gbawe Municipal[27], where School 2 was located, lies west of the city while sharing boundaries with it (formerly making up part of the Ga South Municipality, as featured on the map).

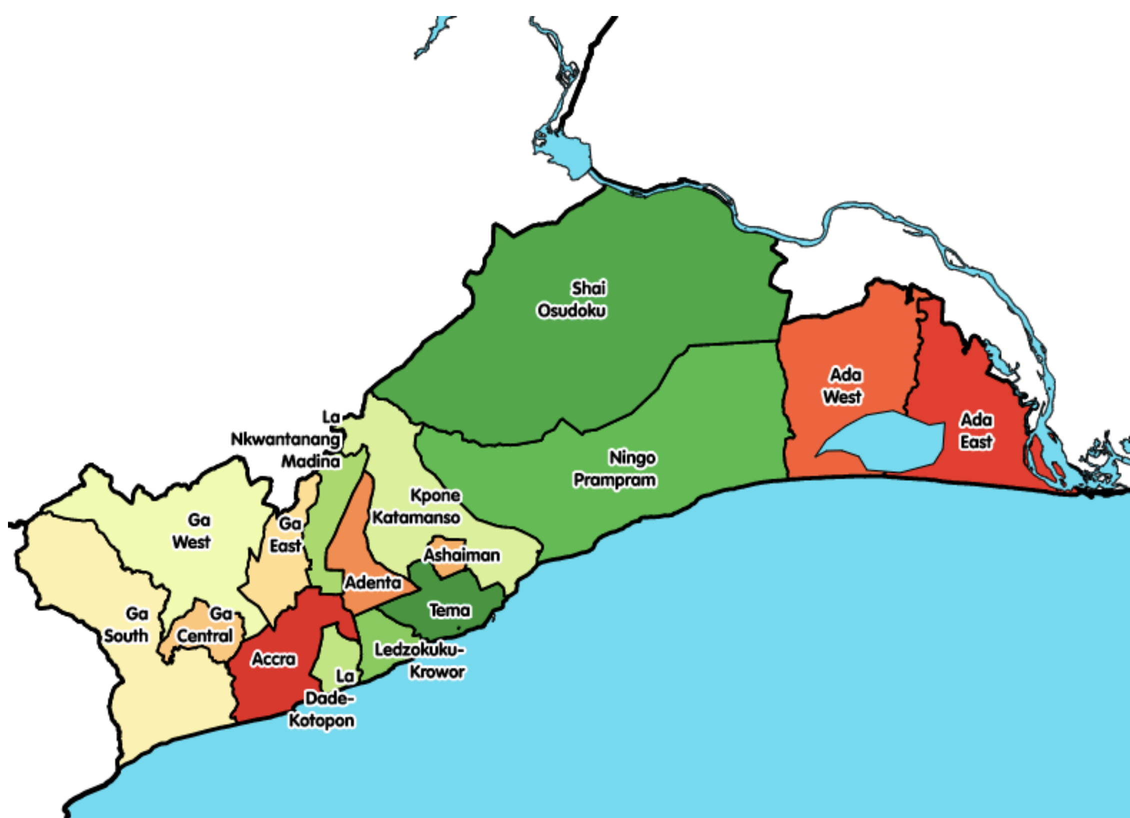

Figure 3. A political map of the districts of the Greater Accra Region (Source: Wikimedia Commons).

While in close proximity, these districts varied in terms of population and landmass. This would have impacted each school's physical infrastructure as well as the living conditions of the children within their local areas (such as

[26] Under the Greater Accra Regional Coordinating Council, there are 29 districts (Metropolitan, Municipal, and Districts).
[27] The Weija-Gbawe Municipal District, where School 2 is located, was formed in 2018. Previously, the school was located in the Ga South Municipal District. It was difficult to find a recent political map of the Greater Accra Region that reflects this change. While the map in Figure 3 is out-dated (2012), it still usefully shows the school's location, and the other schools' locations in their respective districts, for that matter.

density of housing, and access of and participation to state-based provision). In contrast to the other two districts, La Dade-Kotopon (School 3) had the smallest population (140,264) and the smallest landmass (36 km^2) (GSS, 2021a:43). It was created as a new district in 2012, after being part of the Accra Metropolitan District (School 1). In contrast, Accra Metropolitan was one of the oldest districts, having been established in 1898, and still with the largest and most dense population (284,124), but with a small landmass of 60 km^2 (GSS, 2021a:42). Weija-Gbawe (School 2), while having the largest landmass (502.31 km^2), was the least densely populated (213,674) (GSS, 2021a:42). Each district had a political administrative capital, and typically where the District Education Office was located, which manages each respective school. I provide an overview of the educational data comparing the three districts and in relation to the Greater Accra Region in Appendix 11.

I now turn to the schools and their local communities. To recap, I focus on the primary teachers within these schools that comprise Key Phase 2 (Lower Primary of B1-B3) and Key Phase 3 (Upper Primary of B4-B6).

As ethnicity was the main category of identity raised in the interviews, an overview of the ethnic composition of each district would have helped deepen the context. This was not provided in the 2010 Census, or the reports currently available based on the 2021 Census. However, the 2010 census provides data on migration to the city that identifies the main regions where these migrants are from (e.g. migrated from the Eastern Region). This gives some indication of the specific ethnic groups from being typically associated with that region. While I have attempted to name the different ethnic groups on this basis, it cannot be assumed that these are the only ethnic groups that have migrated to one of the three respective districts. Nonetheless, such information helps me to locate the teachers' ethnic identities, as part of their profiling, set out in section 6.3. The headteachers also provided some data on their schools. To ensure anonymity, I present this data as approximate.

I also draw on Paller's (2019) study to describe the school's proximity to one of the six Ga Indigenous Settlements. For clarity, these specific settlements are Ga Mashie (School 1 in Jamestown within Ga Mashie) and La (near to School 3, but

located in Labone), as well as Osu, Teshie, Nungua, and Temi. School 2 was located in Gbawe: while this is still customary land vested to the Indigenous Ga, it was not located in one of these six Ga settlements. I explore its relationship to these settlements below.

6.2.1. School 1: Jamestown

School 1 was located in Jamestown, along the coastline, and in the most southern part of the city. Jamestown is one of two areas within Ga Mashie, the oldest community within Accra Metropolitan District, and known as the first, original Indigenous settlement of the Ga people: 'Ga Mashie meaning indigenous Gas' (GSS, 2014a:3). The community also has cultural significance, including Fort James, where the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade operated from and used for the imprisonment of the Big Six after the 1948 riots (see page 30). As the original settlement of the Ga people, Jamestown hosts the traditional palaces of the Ga kings and the sacred stool, as well as the annual Homowo festival, amongst others (Odotei, 1991).

In terms of ethnic profiling, the only acknowledgement in governmental data of 2010 is that the Ga people are 'the present inhabitants of James Town [and] were believed to have migrated from Nigeria… and first settled at James Town' (GSS, 2014a:3). In terms of migration, the data states that, '47% were migrants (born elsewhere in the Greater Accra Region or other regions outside Ghana)' (2014a:20). This reaffirms that that those of different ethnicities (not of the Ga, as the indigene) are classified as migrants. Of the district's population, 27.8% migrated from the Eastern Region (possibly including the ethnic groups of the Akan, the Guan, and the Krobo) and 1.2% migrated from the Upper West (possibly including the ethnic groups of the Mole Dagbon, and the Grusi). 91.2% of the population were defined as Ghanaian by birth and 'those who have naturalised constitute 1.3% and the non-Ghanaian population is about 4%' (2014a:x). However, it is difficult to ascertain how this translates in context to Jamestown, as data is given for the entire district.

School 1 admitted children from the immediate locality. At the time of my data collection, approximately 530 children were registered, as the school provided

for Kindergarten, Primary, and Junior High School. The most noteworthy aspect of this school's intake was the children's extreme poverty from living in an urban slum (UN-Habitat, 2008; 2009). With Jamestown being densely populated with approximately 1103 people per hectare over 90.9 hectares of land, these children typically came from households subject to severe overcrowding (UN-Habitat, 2008:9). The average room occupancy was 10.6 persons and there was inadequate sanitation and infrastructure (ibid). In the school, there were no toilets for the children's use, although drinking water was provided (GSS, 2018:543). While the school compound was dense in relation to the other two schools, classes were medium-sized, with approximately 40 children for every one teacher and a pupil-to-seating place ratio of 1.2 (2018:621).

To be expected, the parent's low education levels correlated with low adult employability, exacerbating these children's extreme poverty: '53.5% of residents have education levels of up to Junior High School' (UN-Habitat, 2008:116). Only 10% of the adult population had a permanent source of income. As a coastal location, most economic occupations were based around fishery and fish mongering, abattoir work, market trading such as small shops, as well as dressmakers and shoemakers. These occupations were characterised as low skilled or semi-skilled (GSS, 2014a).

6.2.2. School 2: Gbawe

School 2 was located in the area of Gbawe within the Weija-Gbawe Municipal District. It had a large compound with a registration of approximately 1000 children. Before proceeding, it is important to note that the most recent disaggregated data on this district from the 2021 census is yet to be released. The Weija-Gbawe Municipal District is also relatively new, having been formed in 2018. Before this, School 2 would have been located in the Ga South Municipal. While out-dated, I use governmental data from 2010 on the Ga South Municipal that still provides some indication of the school's local community (GSS, 2014b).

School 2 was situated within an urban area of the municipality, in contrast to most government schools in the same municipality, which were located in rural areas. Similar to School 1, School 2 had provision for most levels of Basic

Education, from Kindergarten to Junior High. In contrast to School 1, class-sizes were larger, ranging between 60 to 90 children, with a high pupil-to-seating-place ratio of 9.6 (GSS, 2018:622). According to the Government, the school was located in a 'traditional area' of the Ga people, where customary land is still vested to these indigenous communities. The report also states that 'the main ethnic group is… the Gas' (2014b:3). However, drawing on Paller's (2019) study, this area was not distinguished as one of the six Ga Indigenous settlements. Deploying Paller's (2019:79-80) categorisations, it is claimed that this area would follow 'civic life on multi-ethnic lines [that is] often complementary.'

In the 2010 data, the Ga South Municipality reported the largest number of migrants in the Greater Accra Region, suggesting a more ethnically diverse population than School 1. Approximately 68% of the district's population were migrants from the Central Region (possibly, Fante of the Akan ethnic group), the Eastern Region (as noted above), and the Volta Region (possibly, the Ewe ethnic group) (GSS, 2014b:20). The report states that high migration had resulted in pressure to provide basic socio-economic infrastructure such as schools, water, and sanitation facilities. However, School 2 had good sanitation compared to School 1, including access to toilets and drinking water that was disproportionate to the rest of the district (in which 29% of schools had these facilities) (GSS, 2018:544).

Some children from School 2 came from the nearby mature urban slum, which had high tenability (i.e. was more habitable). The density of population in relation to landmass was less within this district than in School 1. For example, the average room occupancy was 5.4, and 9.1% of households had 10 or more members occupying single rooms (GSS, 2014b:xi). Generally, the children's socio-economic status was higher than those in School 1. In this district, 71.1% of the adult population were economically active, working in formal employment in services and sales (34.1%) that demanded higher-skilled labour, followed by craft and related trades (23.12%) (2014b:34). In contrast to School 1, literacy levels of the adult population were much higher (87.9%) (2014b:29), suggesting a greater level of parental support for learning outside of school.

6.2.3. School 3: Labone

Situated in the relatively new municipal district of La Dade-Kotopon, created in 2012, School 3 was located close to the Central Business District (CBD) of Accra and the wealthy residential area of Labone. Labone and the neighbouring Cantonments remain the wealthiest areas in the city and largely account for the district's population of non-Ghanaian nationals (2.9%) (2014c:x). While School 3 was located in Labone, the school's intake was mostly from La (or Labadi), one of the six Indigenous settlements of the Ga people. In contrast to the children of La, children from the area of Labone typically attended private schools. In terms of ethnic profiling, the Government report states, 'Other ethnic groups can be found in the Municipality due to the warm hospitality of the [Ga] indigenes' (2014c:2), suggesting ethnic diversity. Of the district's population, 40% were defined as migrants born elsewhere in the Greater Accra Region, of which 27.4% were from the Eastern Region (2014c:ix).

Despite being unable to aggregate the data, it is apparent that the economic deprivation in La was masked by the economic wealth of Labone. On the one hand, the governmental data indicates a high level of economic activity (70.3%), with its population working in service and sales (34.8%) and craft and related trades (18.8%), with 94% of the population literate (2014c:x). However, other empirical research classifies La as an urban slum, an 'impoverished and overcrowded informal settlement… now surrounded by opulent developments' (Gillespie, 2015:71). Due to the expansion of the CBD from privatisation, the landmass of La has reduced significantly: it occupies less than three square miles. Governmental data acknowledges that some 'overcrowding' had intensified poverty, with 18.1% of households having 10 or more members occupy a single room, and had increased demand for basic state-based infrastructure and facilities (GSS, 2014c:52).

While the distinction between Labone and La is socio-economic, the district, and subsequently the school, would have benefitted from the wealth generated from the CBD. The CBD includes the international tourist hub of Oxford Street, and gains extensive property taxes from wealthy residents. Since La Dade-Kotopon generates high levels of funding, and this is distributed to state-based resources

accordingly, School 3 was better resourced. This was reflected in lower teacher-pupil ratios and teaching assistants, and all children having access to toilets on site, along with clean water. With a registered intake of approximately 400 children, School 3 had on average 30-40 children to every one teacher (as well as a teaching assistant) and a pupil-to-seating ratio of 1.3 (GSS, 2018:622).

6.3. Profiling of the Teachers

26 teachers were interviewed in total. To identify the teachers in my analysis, I provide some basic characteristics in Tables 5-7. Knowing the teachers' level of teaching experience provides context on how they viewed the new curriculum in comparison to previous educational reforms. I also include self-ascribed information on gender and ethnicity, and any additional information that teachers used to further differentiate their ethnicity. With my research questions in mind, I did not delve into personal information about the teachers, as I was concerned with their professional identities as state-based actors rather than framing them as ordinary citizens. Finally, I considered the year group taught, which is important when some teachers spoke about certain curricular topics about citizenship, as relevant to their primary level.

In these tables, I also identify the teachers' pseudonyms, as part of my ethical procedure. I chose to assign these, rather than asking the participants to do so. This was an error. After conducting my fieldwork, I now recognise that 'the significance attached to names and naming in Ghanaians society is remarkable; it is strikingly different from what obtains in Euro-American cultures' (Abarry, 1991:157). Ghanaian naming is entrenched in tradition, a link to ethnic origins that acknowledges ancestral heritage and the social and cultural values, ethics, and behaviours of families and their religion. Names can also be linked to days of the week. I acknowledge that there would have been underlying connotations to my assigning English names exclusively, as the English language carries a colonial legacy. I am now astute to the politics of naming when conducting research in post-colonial contexts. To assign the pseudonyms, I have attempted to correspond these to either an English or Ghanaian derivative based on the teachers' actual names, but acknowledge any inaccuracies in my doing so.

Pseudonym	Numbered interview	Ethnic group	Additional information	Gender	Teaching experience	Year group taught
Elizabeth	1.1	Akan	Eastern Region	F	30 years	Head teacher
Eric	1.2	Krobo	Eastern Region	M	10 years	B6
Ameyo	1.3	Guan	Volta Region	F	14 years	B3 Deputy
Blessing	1.4	Ewe	Volta Region	F	5 years	B1
Victoria	1.5	Akan	Eastern Region	F	11 years	B6
Linda	1.6	Ga	La, Accra	F	20 years	B5
Isaac	1.7	Akan		M	25 years	B5
Akua	1.8	Akan	Volta Region, but born in Accra	F	7 years	B2
Samuel	1.9	Akan	Volta Region	M	12 years Masters in Education	Deputy
Ibrahim	1.10	Akan	Volta Region	M	35 years	B3

Table 5. Profiling of teachers in School 1

Pseudonym	Numbered interview	Ethnic group	Additional information	Gender	Teaching experience	Year group taught
Eunice	2.1	Fante	Akan	F	25 years	B1
Joy	2.2	Akan	Dual heritage, from the Volta Region and the Central Region	F	8 years	B2
Mary	2.3	Akan		F	30 years	Head teacher
Jennifer	2.4	Akuapem	Mother, an Akan from the Eastern Region. Father, an Ewe from the Volta Region.	F	11 years Masters in Education	B6
Eve	2.5	Ewe		F	14 years	B4
Augustina	2.6	Ashanti	(Akan)	F	17 years	Creative Arts
Vincent	2.7	Abron	Twi-speaking and Brong-speaking (Akan)	M	10 years Masters in Education	B6
Comfort	2.8	Akan. Born in Accra	Twi-speaking	F	3 years	B3

Table 6. Profiling of teachers in School 2

Pseudonym	Numbered interview	Ethnic group	Additiona l informati on	Gender	Teaching experience	Year group taught
Ruth	3.1	Akan		F	34 years	B1
Jessica	3.2	Ashanti	Central Region	F	14 years	B3
Esther	3.3	Akuapem		F	12 years	B5
Amba	3.4	Akan	Lived in Accra all of her life	F	7 years	Comp-uting
Abena	3.5	Akan		F	19 years	Head teacher
Emmanuel	3.6	Fante	Central Region	M	30 years	B5
Grace	3.7	Fante		F	6 years	B4
Ayisha	3.8	Dagomba	Northern Region	F	10 years Masters in Education	B2

Table 7. Profiling of teachers in School 3

6.4. Overview of Teachers' Characteristics

While this is a qualitative study, it is helpful to quantify key characteristics of the teachers, giving background to any possible inferences in the findings. These are presented first, within each school, then across the schools. Regarding teaching experience, I created categories to classify the teachers into early experience (0-9 years), mid-term experience (10-20 years), and long-term experience (21 years and over).

6.4.1. In each school

School 1 (10 teachers in total):

- Just over half of the teachers were from the Akan ethnic group (6 teachers).
- Four teachers were from other ethnic groups (2 of whom affiliated with the Ga-Dangme ethnolinguistic group[28]).
- Just over half of the teachers were female (6 female and 4 male teachers).
- Teachers' experience was wide-ranging. 5 teachers had mid-term experience, 2 teachers were early career, and 2 teachers and the headteacher had taught for over 21 years.
- There was an even distribution of teaching across the primary levels. 4 teachers taught in Lower Primary and 5 teachers taught in Upper Primary (2 of whom were deputy headteachers). There was 1 headteacher.

School 2 (8 teachers in total):

- The majority identified with the Akan ethnic group, with the exception of 1 teacher who identified as Ewe.
- Most teachers were female (7 out of 8).
- There was a wide-ranging mix of teaching experience. 2 teachers had early teaching experience. 4 teachers had mid-term experience (2 of whom had studied for a Masters degree in Education). 1 teacher and the headteacher had taught for over 21 years.
- There was an even distribution of teachers from across the primary levels. 3 teachers taught in Lower Primary and 3 teachers taught in Upper Primary. There was 1 Creative Arts teacher and 1 headteacher.

School 3 (8 teachers in total):

- Most teachers identified with the Akan ethnic group (7 teachers).

[28] The Krobo people are the largest of the Dangme-speaking peoples. The Ga people are also grouped with the Dangme people, who make up the Ga-Dangme ethnolinguistic group. The relationship between the Krobo and the Ga people is language.

- 1 teacher identified with an ethnic group from Northern Ghana (the Dagomba people).
- The majority of teachers were female (1 male teacher).
- Most of these teachers were mid-career (4 teachers), 2 teachers had over 21 years experience and 2 teachers had early experience.
- There was an equal distribution of teachers from across the age-groups. 3 teachers were in Lower Primary and 3 teachers were in Upper Primary. There was also 1 Computing teacher and 1 headteacher.

6.4.2. Across the schools

Key characteristics across the whole sample of the 26 teachers are as follows:

- The majority of teachers identified within the wider Akan ethnic group (76%).
- Of the remainder:
    - Two teachers identified as an Ewe (8%);
    - One teacher identified as a Dagomba (4%);
    - One teacher identified as a Guan (4%);
    - Two teachers affiliated with the Ga-Dangme ethnolinguistic group (Krobo and Ga) (8%) and both from School 1.
- The largest sample proportion of teachers was female (76%), with a smaller proportion as male (24%).
- Teachers were evenly distributed across the primary key phases, with the exception of the headteachers and subject-specific teachers (Computing or Creative Arts):
    - Lower Primary (38%);
    - Upper Primary (38%);
    - Headteachers (12%);
    - Subject-specific (12%).
- In terms of teaching experience, most teachers had mid-term teaching experience (50%), in contrast with the smallest proportion of those with early career experience (23%). The remainder were senior teachers (27%), including two headteachers. Most of these teachers with mid-term experience were Upper Primary teachers.

- 3 teachers held a postgraduate qualification: 2 from School 2 and 1 from School 3.

6.5. Chapter Summary

This chapter highlights that Accra is a highly complex, diverse backdrop for these teachers in fostering citizenship. The next two chapters are influenced by some key observations from this exercise. Firstly, it has been a reminder of the significance of indigeneity. School 1 was located in Jamestown, as the first Ga Indigenous settlement, and School 3 was in near proximity to another Ga settlement, La. It has also been distinguished that School 2 was located on Ga customary land that is not classified as one of the six Ga Indigenous settlements. Secondly, while all schools had an intake from impoverished communities, poverty was most extreme in School 1's local community, Jamestown. In contrast, parents' employment status and literacy levels were marginally higher in School 2 and School 3. Thirdly, the school resources and sanitation available to teachers and children varied. School 3, located in the relatively new district of La Dade-Kotopon, appeared to benefit most from the district's high economic activity. I assume that this would have had a greater impact on the children's well-being as part of their educational development compared to other schools. Fourthly, all schools drew from ethnically diverse communities.

All of these contextual factors may offer some causal inferences behind teachers' views on citizenship and what they envision for their learners' futures, and their role in nation-building.

I now move on to analyse the teachers' interviews.

Chapter 7.
'Knowing Your Roots:'
Presentation of Findings in each School

7.1. Introduction

The aim of this chapter is to present the findings in each school. These findings reveal that defining and enacting citizenship in Accra was a complicated process for these teachers, due to the norms of indigeneity, articulated as 'knowing your roots.' While these schools were in close proximity to each other, their specific location was significant in shaping how these teachers explained the different theoretical models of liberal democratic and neoliberal citizenship, as well as how they defined their learners' identity and difference. It also shaped what these teachers viewed for the purpose of education in fostering and teaching about citizenship, and of their role within it.

As my priority in this chapter is to explore indigeneity in the city, I start each section with my description of the school to illustrate how they compared with the teachers'. Also worth noting, the headings are teachers' actual words and phrases, as participant-inspired, and, for ease of reference, I use pseudonyms when presenting their quotes.

7.2. Findings from School 1

7.2.1. My description of School 1

Seeing the different architecture on my drive to School 1 reminded me that Accra is a historical site. I passed the iconic Black Star Arch, commissioned by Kwame Nkrumah, and inscribed with the national motto of 'Freedom and Justice,' overlooking Independence Square, and is symbolic of Ghana's freedom from British colonisation. However, upon approaching the school, I was starkly reminded of their colonial past, particularly when passing the Jamestown colonial lighthouse and the dilapidated Fort James, used for the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, as well as the imprisonment of the Big Six in their struggle for

Ghana's Independence. These buildings overlooked the overpopulated beach, filled with fishermen and slum-dwellers in makeshift shelters, as well as numerous children out of school. The neighbouring streets had heavy traffic with open sewers running alongside them, clogged up with litter and populated by free-roaming animals. Situated a short distance from the beach, densely surrounded by multi-storey slum-dwellings, was School 1.

I was greeted at the school gates by a number of children shouting 'Obroni, Obruni, take me home with you!' (for definition, see section 3.2.4). While all children wore school uniform, the majority had ripped and stained clothing and were noticeably malnourished. They led me to the headteacher's office through a small, dusty playground, passing several classrooms built from wooden cladding with corrugated roofs and metal bars for the windows. After meeting Elizabeth, the headteacher, I was led around the premises and introduced to the teachers. Inside these small classes were approximately 40-60 children. Resources were sparse; typically, each classroom contained one blackboard and had several children crammed together on each bench to share a textbook.

7.2.2. 'Knowing exactly where you are from'

For teachers in School 1, Ghanaian citizenship was assigned simultaneously with ethnic as well as national identity and belonging: both were of equal importance. For some teachers, ethnicity referred to a main ethnic group, such as Ga, Akan, or Ewe. More commonly, tribe was used, a far more nuanced term to express group-based identity. It was apparent that teachers acknowledged learners' ethnic diversity, highlighting one theoretical concept within liberal democratic citizenship. Across these interviews, all teachers then immediately explained ethnicity in relation to an exact place in Ghana, to historically locate where group-based identity had originated from and was being sustained. This alluded to indigeneity on a nationwide level, frequently described as 'knowing your roots.' As Blessing, a B1 teacher, remarked:

> Knowing exactly where you come from in terms of ethnicity and your roots is as important as knowing where you come from in terms of nationwide, with Ghana as your roots. I think it is as important for a child to know they

> are Ghanaian as important as knowing I am a Ga, or I am an Asante, or I am an Ewe. This means which part of Ghana are you from.

Through this shared understanding of group-based ethnic identity and belonging, national identity and belonging were also being forged. This was defined within a cohesive narrative of Being Ghanaian. Any sense of national identity and nation appeared to have a distinct ethnic sentiment to it, helping cultivate in learners a 'sense of belongingness,' as Isaac, a B5 teacher, commented. While these teachers sought to foster attachment to the modern state in their learners, it was apparent that the Ghanaian State was not at the centre of their definitions of national identity. Instead, their idea of the nation had multiple centres, with no sense of being fixed. Their consistent reference to 'roots' linked to place and ancestry suggests a sentiment toward each other that precedes the modern state — although ethnicity had, to some extent, a political dimension to it.

With its content focusing on both ethnic and national identity, the new national curricular subject, Our World, Our People, was welcomed by the teachers. Victoria, a B6 teacher, described how, 'citizenship, it's about a country that you belong to, Ghana… but you know, knowing about ethnicity, it's the same… Our World, Our People covers now about who you are.' For the same reason, the subject History was esteemed, although predominantly for teaching about their ethnic origins. Eric, a B6 teacher and with 10 years of teaching experience, added that 'due to the new curriculum, it has infused History into the ideas of citizenship and… it helps the learner to know more about our origins, local dialects, where we originate from, it helps them to know their ancestors, so I think that OWOP is one of the best subjects.'

7.2.3. 'The Ga dominates'

Given the intricacy of how ethnic and national identity and difference worked in practice, the teachers immediately contextualised their discussions by referring to Jamestown, the school's local community. Samuel, one of the deputy headteachers, described the area as a 'typical, typical settlement' of the Ga people. These teachers further compared Jamestown to the rest of Accra and the Greater Accra Region, in order to identify that the area belonged to the

'pure Ga' and who 'dominates, we are in a true Ga community,' as Samuel further explained. There were also differences between the Ga people in Accra, presumably helping to distinguish between the different Ga settlements within the city. An illustration of this came through one teacher, Linda, who identified as a Ga but positioned herself differently because she came from La in the district of La Dade-Kotopon, a short distance from School 1, and coincidentally near to where School 3 was located. She applied the same view to her learners, stating, 'You cannot compare a child from Jamestown from where I come from.' Such comments indicate the influence of indigeneity on identifying differences within an ethnic group. It is worth mentioning that, out of the sample, only School 1 had one teacher who identified as Ga (Linda, who also spoke the Ga language). The rest of the teachers affiliated with other ethnic groups.

According to these teachers, ethnic difference was based on who lived and who belonged in Jamestown, reflecting the significance of indigeneity. While other ethnic groups inhabited the area, a few teachers stressed that these children 'don't belong to those here,' as Victoria claimed. This was despite being born in the locality or having lived there for most of their childhood. One teacher, Akua, a B2 teacher and an Akan, used her personal experience to further illustrate how this worked:

> Like some of these children, I, for instance, was born in Accra. But, you see, I identify with them in my village back in the Ashanti Region. I'm not of them here. You see, I know my roots from way back.

While the distinction of living and belonging did not appear to complicate how these teachers viewed their role in fostering identity and sense of belonging in their learners, a few citations contradict this. Blessing's interview is one example:

> I have an Ewe [of the Volta Region] in my class… She was born here but it seems that she can't even speak her language… In their house they may have been told, "You are an Ewe," but she doesn't know exactly where in the Volta Region she is from because she speaks a lot of Ga. They see all that the Ga people do around them so she is learning more of the Ga culture than that of her own.

With Blessing similarly affiliating as an Ewe from the Volta Region, this comment reveals where indigeneity might carry an exclusionary effect on learners of other

ethnicities, locating them differently. In this instance, the child was 'learning more of the Ga culture than that of her own' and appeared to be disadvantaged in her identity formation.

Upon speaking about the Ga children in Jamestown, reference to the 'pure Ga' did not appear to be discriminatory to the teachers: it was to distinguish the Ga children from other Ga Indigenous settlements. However, ethnic stereotypes did emerge in their interviews, and seemed relatively unchallenged. This is seen in Elizabeth's comments as the headteacher, an Akan from the Eastern Region, who characterised these Ga learners as 'tough people,' 'violent people' who 'like to fight,' living a 'lifestyle of zero discipline.' She noted their 'love of boxing,' referring to famous Ga boxers originating from the area. Importantly, no other ethnic stereotyping emerged in relation to other ethnic groups. Stereotyping also carried into some teachers' views on the reason behind the Ga peoples' extreme poverty, which I unpack later. While these teachers acknowledged ethnic diversity, their discriminatory views reveal tension in how some teachers understood the right to diversity, as much as the right to non-discrimination and its enactment in the classroom. In contradiction, all teachers were strongly opinionated on the importance of national cohesion. This primarily involved teaching learners to relate within and between ethnic groups, and to challenge ethnic division. Such views related to the lasting effects of tribalism.

7.2.4. 'Living in harmony'

All teachers aspired to teach 'living in harmony with other ethnic groups from parts of Ghana,' as Samuel articulated, core to their learners' everyday citizenship, as well as their futures. Education was the vehicle to achieve this, tied to the underlying goal, as Isaac expressed, of 'doing away with that tribalism.' As an older teacher, Isaac spoke on this at length. Tribalism was described as power and division based on an affiliation with a tribe that manifested in different ways — such as in national and local politics, where 'resources go to people based on your tribe.' Tribalism also manifested through nepotism in the workplace. Having taught for 12 years, Samuel was particularly opinionated about preventing any lingering attitude in his learners, suggesting its prevalence within the local community. The example suggests that teachers

aspired to implement the right to non-discrimination as part of their definitions of democracy. Relating this to the local community, Samuel, as an Akan from the Volta Region, further stated:

> When I see a Ga, I really see them in myself and that I have to treat now a Ga very well. You see formerly, when I see a Ga, I was told that I don't see him to be part of me, although we are all Ghanaians.

Ameyo, another of the deputy headteachers, summarised these views by explaining that the teacher's role was to foster 'Oneness' amongst their learners. In fact, Oneness was a central theme in explaining Ghanaian citizenship, as well as being integral for achieving the nation-building project, found across all of these schools. Given its significance, I dedicate Chapter 8 to this. In the context of School 1, Oneness was associated with teaching about various Indigenous Knowledges to find a commonality between the ethnic groups. Chosen for their 'moral lesson of being one,' Victoria, an Akan from the Eastern Region, spoke on how she integrated folktales, proverbs, storytelling, and wise sayings into her pedagogy. She commented:

> At the end of the day, it is about teaching moral lessons in schools… You tell them a proverb and then you explain to them… We have a proverb like the bundle of the broom… If you should want to break it, you can take one of the sides and it is easily broken… but if you are together, it cannot… It is about togetherness and no one can harm you… we say it in Twi… So they know that every time it is always good for us to always be together.

For Eric, teaching about certain Indigenous Knowledges, seen as locational to different parts of Ghana would expose the Ga children in particular to 'different ways of living, because in the Jamestown community, they don't want to travel' (because they are already located in their Indigenous settlement). For these teachers, it seemed that using Indigenous Knowledges would enhance inclusion in the classroom, as this currently appeared to be a challenge. As Blessing remarked, 'Mostly the kids have come from Jamestown. They only know of their culture in Jamestown and so the other tribes they don't know.' Linda, upon speaking about her B5 class, further commented, 'I read to them… The title is "We are one people"… We talk about a boy… where the parents have been transferred from one region to another and they were all treated unfairly… I talk on how to accept, adapt, and about the matter of "We are one."'

Equally, teachers spoke on the importance of integrating Indigenous Knowledges specific to the Ga children into their everyday teaching. However, teachers' inability to speak the Ga language (except for Linda, as a Ga) was seen to be a profound problem. For example, Samuel discussed how he was unsure about 'those things in the local [Ga] language,' referring to 'proverbs and stories.' In context, all teachers taught their learners in the local dialect of Twi from the Akan-speaking branch (which is common across Accra), and in English — although it was strongly inferred that English was not necessarily more important than any other language. With the lack of a shared language, the concern for teachers involved relating to their learners and encouraging them to relate to each other. This was seen as hindering the teachers' aim of fostering a sense of belonging and unity amongst their learners. However, a lack of language was also seen to affect learning comprehension, although this was less of an issue. Samuel commented:

> I don't speak Ga, the way they [the children and adults] treat you is quite different from someone who can speak Ga… I am not a Ga teacher and I can't explain to them and I will use English but all they do is nod their heads… So if I am to speak the language that is a plus, that makes me a whole… and they will value you because they can identify you or else they won't if you aren't speaking their language. Language is the most important unifier.

7.2.5. 'Maintenance of our cultures'

Another defining feature of these teachers' views on citizenship of their learners was what Eric explained as 'maintenance of our cultures.' Most teachers used the term cultures as plural, and distinct to different ethnic groups across Ghana, although they did speak about the importance of national culture, but to a lesser extent. Jamestown was used to contextualise how this worked in practice. Ameyo, who identified as a Guan coming from the Volta Region, and having taught for almost 14 years, commented:

> This is the Ga community, Jamestown, is Ga. Then we have the Akans, like in Kumasi. And each tribe has its own culture and a way of doing things, the way they dress, our food, then our dances and those things. So when it comes to the Ga, they are in Accra, their way of doing things is then different from the Akans in the Volta Region. You see, the Akans, in the Volta Region, they are doing things different than those in Kumasi [who are also Akans].

Culture, depicted as being specific to ethnic groups, was a way of recognising difference. This reinforces why a number of teachers compared their own cultural 'way of doing things' to the Ga community. Ibrahim, an Akan and a B3 teacher, remarked:

> We have different cultures… Where I come from, the Volta Region, in the tribe, the parents will try to make sure that they put their culture of their tribe in the kids… Maybe you will not go to your hometown directly but there are one or two things that you will need to know.

Teachers also constantly located their learners' culture in relation to a different region in Ghana, because of indigeneity. It was noticeable how comparisons were typically made between the Ga community of Jamestown and a different region outside of Accra: the city was rarely spoken about. This finding highlights the absence of discussion about the city amongst the teachers in School 1. It suggests that the norms of indigeneity in Jamestown (as belonging to the Ga people) were particularly pronounced, influencing these teachers' sense of belonging to their own specific settlement outside of the Greater Accra Region. References to observing the Ga customs, including the Homowo festival in Jamestown, seemed to reinforce this. For example, Eric, a Krobo, (who still identified as part of the Ga-Dangme ethnolinguistic group with whom the Ga people also affiliate), explained:

> In this locality, when there is a festival, there is a whole month of no drumming. We [in the school] don't drum. So if you are an Akan or an Ashanti or Krobo, we have to respond to their culture because you really are a visitor to their culture.

As the citation illustrates, teachers alluded to the importance of teaching as much as modelling to their learners the need to observe cultural diversity as a human right and in respect of cultural heritage and values. Eric's comment on being a 'visitor' to the Ga people's community, despite his affiliation, is also significant, suggesting an exclusionary effect of indigeneity for teachers as well as for learners who identify differently within their wider ethnic group. Within the everyday classroom, such norms might implicate how cultural diversity is taught. This suggests why observing different cultures was mediated through national integration, and speaking to the broader aim of liberal democracy. It

could also be speculated that deployment, as a condition for working for the GES, was contributing to this sentiment.

Teachers used the same characteristics to describe the different cultures of ethnic groups. Finding commonality between cultures was important in forging national unity. To foster this in schools, learners firstly needed to know about the cultures of different ethnic groups in order to find similarities with their own. Upon discussing about what to teach, teachers' definitions shifted here, placing emphasis on cultural activities that could be performed. As Victoria stated, 'In schools, we teach about culture… the way they dress, our food, then our dances, our festivals.' However, teachers criticised the lack of content and conceptual clarity on different cultures of ethnic groups in Our World, Our People. Most teachers acknowledged that their lack of subject knowledge was impacting their teaching, with Linda highlighting that 'even as an adult there are many cultures in our nation which I don't know about.' What could be understood is that these teachers are at risk of essentialising cultures in the classroom and learners' ethnic identities in the process, if they were not doing so already.

Nonetheless, culture was a starting point for teachers in fostering respect in their learners. This again alludes to the right for cultural diversity and heritage within their definitions of Ghanaian citizenship, and observed in Eric's comment:

> In the sense you see someone differently it doesn't mean they are different from you, it starts with their culture so we need to learn to respect… I try to socialise all of them using their backgrounds to educate them on other people's backgrounds and then they can relate easily inside the classroom and then outside of the classroom… When we try to teach socialisation and about these ethnic groups in Ghana, we try to teach them to come to the conclusion that even though we have different people from different backgrounds, we must all come together so we try to take away that differentiation from them to put them back together again in the classroom so they learn about what it means to be different and through this, in being one.

Essentially, culture was a means of beginning to foster unity in difference for their learners.

7.2.6. 'Human rights are doing the right thing to behave'

Culture also intersected with teaching about human rights, as well as entwined with their ideas on good citizenship, defining another tenet of Ghanaian citizenship. How these connect is seen in Samuel's comment: 'I believe a 'good' citizen is one who is supposed to defend this country… uphold the laws to know their rights and their culture.' However, while many comments alluded to liberal democracy, it was not explicitly mentioned in these teachers' interviews. Instead, the main topic was human rights. Most teachers spoke about the importance of human rights in challenging their traditional cultural background in the context of discipline. In this instance, teachers' definitions appeared to be speaking to the right to cultural diversity that protects children from any traditional cultural practices that undermine their wellbeing as per the 1992 Ghanaian Constitution. Upon further questioning, Samuel elaborated:

> There is a change because of knowing human rights… This set up helps elderly people to then learn to discipline you when you are wrong, but also with children to say out loud when they are wrong. You see previously when I was a child… You see my parents would always try to keep their image tight, firm… Every child in the community would be community property. Now, it's individual. This is human rights.

Teachers claimed that, due to increased knowledge of human rights, children were beginning to identify wrong and right behaviour. Put differently, rights were providing a reporting mechanism to do this. According to Elizabeth, children needed to know about the right to 'saying no' and the right to 'having a say.' However, teachers still seemed to infuse this definition of human rights into the traditional belief in morality. As such, an individual's behaviour exhibited their sense of morality, and reflected on the community accordingly. This is best illustrated through Ibrahim's explanation of rights. Ibrahim was the oldest teacher in School 1. He stated that, 'Rights are for the right way to behave… Do you get me? … The way you behave will tell somebody the culture of your background.' Another way of describing this is that modern human rights, as part of good citizenship, were translated into exhibiting the right behaviours thus 'conforming to the norm,' as Elizabeth explained. Ameyo's interview also revealed this, stating that 'Being Ghanaian… doing the right thing to behave, so when you don't conform to the norm, you are not being a good Ghanaian… We should know its value and our rights.'

Contradictions emerged in these discussions. While teachers criticised the traditional cultural practice of silencing children, human rights were criticised for overprotecting the child, 'allow[ing] children to talk back,' as Samuel commented. This was described as leading to 'appalling discipline in the school.' The key issue was perceived as a lack of respect in children that undermined the teachers' ability to discipline and weakened their authority. Added to the situation was the parents' disregard for discipline, primarily amongst the Gas. Ameyo commented: 'I mean if someone were to offend me, I should have the right to solve these issues… but they don't respect… If you are not the child's parents, that child will not respect you.' Resurfacing in these views, mostly from the two deputy headteachers and the headteacher (notably, all in positions of authority), was ethnic stereotyping of the Ga children in Jamestown, building on the earlier point that the Ga were seen to be a 'violent people'. Elizabeth remarked how 'discipline is very important for them… It is not easy here, like I told you, they are seen as a tough people.' This perceived attitude of the Ga people towards this lack of disciplining was generally entwined with the teachers' views that the Ga people did not regard community as important. Thus it was implied that they did not have respect for traditional Ghanaian culture like other ethnic groups, where individual behaviour reflects on the community and their sense of morality. This explains why teachers compared the Ga to their own ethnic group. Samuel remarked:

> [Discipline] is a very important part in our culture and systems to be a citizen. You see in Accra, here, I mean the idea that disciplining is done as a whole tribe, it's not common, but when you go to other places, we all understand its value.

What these findings infer is that the norms of indigeneity, such as in Jamestown as a Ga settlement, created a pronounced sense of ethnic difference that carried into these teachers' normative stance on the purpose of community. For Samuel, this factored into the problem of Accra having 'a mixed breed of tribes.' Such normative views seemed to redirect teachers back to their own located experience of community according to their ethnic group. Arguably, this also reveals ethnic stereotyping underpinning their views, and carrying unquestionably into how some of these teachers defined Ghanaian traditional culture and what they expected of their learners. Anything outside of this

normative stance appeared to sit at odds with their views on community and, subsequently, being a ‘good’ Ghanaian. These findings highlight a tension between human rights designed to protect the child’s individual freedom and traditional norms of authority still prevalent in these teachers’ beliefs that influence how they viewed their role.

Equally, as seen in the teachers’ views, human rights were still articulated as a pragmatic expression of liberal democratic citizenship. This was in terms of children’s ‘right to’ as a legal entitlement afforded by claiming from the Ghanaian State. For all teachers, the State was the provider of basic resources, hence learners needed to know about their right to education, shelter, food, and water. Their role as teachers was to educate learners on their rights, safeguard them, and help them exercise these rights as citizens. These discussions were raised in relation to their learners’ extreme poverty.

7.2.7. ‘A source of income’

Building on this, citizenship was also for economic development, an overarching goal for the learners’ futures. This development was expressed in economic terms, and where tenets of neoliberal citizenship were most pronounced within these teachers’ discussions. It was apparent that the learners’ everyday realities of living in the Jamestown community were a challenge for teachers for achieving this. With all learners living in extreme poverty, these teachers’ priority for their future citizenship was to gain an income. Blessing stated that, ‘My hope is that the children will have a source of income… to grow up where they can fend for themselves at least earn something for themselves.’ Linda added that education ‘should help you to get work in the future.’ Knowledge and skills were tied to the ability to earn, seemingly for acquiring human capital.

Given the realities of severe economic deprivation faced by these children, individual development for becoming economically active was prioritised by these teachers above putting nation above self (or national development), as set out in the National Curriculum. This may also explain why there was a sense of immediacy in these teachers’ discussions. Furthermore, it seemed that framing

the citizen, as a market-player was a pragmatic response to the absence of state-based provision. A number of teachers who had worked in the school for several years spoke about the detrimental effect of poverty on the Jamestown community. Due to high dropout rates, including from teenage pregnancy, high illiteracy was prevalent, limiting job prospects to trades such as fisherman, petty trader, and seamstress. At its worst, this resulted in youth unemployment.

Such examples show that these learners' identities were defined in socio-economic terms, and, arguably, were pronounced because they were living in stark contrast to 'rich Accra,' as Isaac commented. The neoliberal norms of land-as-commodity and its impact on the urban poor in Jamestown are further seen through Elizabeth's descriptions of the 'place as densely populated… They struggle over everything… where you are to sleep, where you are to eat, it's a whole lot… Poverty here is very hard.' Lack of space had intensified access to basic resources and infrastructure, impacting the children's ability, or indeed, their parents to claim these basic rights. Again, an ethnic stereotype of the Ga people emerged in these discussions. Dropout rates after primary school was associated with the parents' poor attitude to schooling. Victoria, a B6 teacher, was particularly concerned that '[The parents] don't value education.' This was perceived to be mimicked by her Ga children, creating problems with inspiring her learners to go onto secondary school.

Relating this to the everyday classroom, discipline was important for nurturing in their learners an attitude for schooling that would prepare them for future work. In this regard, teachers appeared to place emphasis on self-sufficiency, another tenet of neoliberal citizenship. While the association between poverty and ethnic stereotyping in terms of poor attitude to jobs was relatively unchallenged, it seemed that, for some teachers, the neoliberal view of separating the child from the community was a way of raising job aspirations. These findings suggest that neoliberal citizenship provided a narrative for incentivising their learners to seek jobs that accrue optimum economic reward, irrespective of their impoverished background. This seemed, quite paradoxically, to challenge ethnic stereotyping of the Ga people for having a poor attitude towards work. However, this does raise questions about how this

manifests when ethnic stereotypes are left unchallenged, as well as broader consequences in claiming economic rights.

Linda, a B5 teacher, and sharing a similar concern to the B6 teachers, commented on her learners' potential academic abilities; some of whom were 'very intelligent.' She also emphasised the importance of educating learners about different jobs so they were no longer 'confined to what they know.' Having role models was a central part of the children's schooling experience, raising their aspirations irrespective of socio-economic background. Teachers included themselves as role models to inspire these children. Linda's views show the problems and possibilities in these learners' future citizenship in Jamestown:

> "Fisherman, I want to be a seamstress, I want to be a hairdresser"… I've been telling them that your parents maybe ended up a fisherman, maybe the person did not have access to education… So you should focus, aim higher "I want to be a teacher, I want to be a nurse, a doctor, a banker… You can't just come to school and tell me, "To be a fisherman… you don't need a pen and paper, you just get your rod and you go"… The problem in our area… everything is centred around them, their culture, they don't want to go beyond what they know… They have never seen role models… You see plenty of children who are just roaming, so the government can help with that… I mean let's enrol them… and then we might able to achieve something.

7.3. Findings from School 2

7.3.1. My description of School 2

Visiting School 2 led me to the outskirts of the centre of Accra. The further I journeyed out, the more spaced out the buildings became. In stark contrast to School 1, the area surrounding School 2 had much cleaner public streets, typically lined with commercial properties, rather than people's residences, and fixed stalls. There were fewer free-roaming market traders and, consequently, fewer people on the streets. Most residences were situated behind these commercial buildings, and were relatively established and durable, although temporary shelters were still interspersed between them. Arriving at the school, no children approached me — although I was noticed. Compared to School 1, the differences in these children's appearances were noticeable, with the majority

in full school uniform and more neatly presented. Some children still looked impoverished, however, being small in stature compared to their peers. As I walked to the headteacher's office, the school compound was more spacious and well maintained, and was a quieter environment than School 1 due to it being set back from the public streets.

After being greeted by Mary, the headteacher, I was invited to walk around the compound with her. She was keen to describe the life of the school, including their extra-curricular activities of dancing, and talking drums,[29] and a human rights club, and to show me some of the subject-specialist classrooms, including for Creative Arts. As a single-storey sturdy building with a wrap-around veranda, each classroom was larger in size than School 1, though they still accommodated typically 60-90 children crammed onto any available chairs and benches. Generally, classrooms had more school materials, including pencils, textbooks, and learning resources such as maths cubes and reading books. A few teaching posters and whiteboards were on the walls. When meeting the different teachers, I was also introduced to their teaching assistants, which was typical in most primary classrooms in School 2.

7.3.2. 'Culture. We are all seeking to understand'

In School 2, citizenship was about evolving culture. While these teachers recognised different cultures of ethnic groups, they also recognised culture at the national level. National culture was to find commonality, and, in doing so, underpinned the shared narrative in Being Ghanaian. Comfort, a B3 teacher, summarised these teachers' definitions by articulating that, 'Being Ghanaian, well, I suppose it has everything to do with Ghana. The culture… Every ethnic group has a specific way of living… But we are all seeking to understand.' Importantly, indigeneity still featured within these teachers' meanings of culture.

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[29] As Ushe (2015:110; 112) explains, talking drums are 'traditional communication…used in villages and rural areas to enhance grassroots mobilisation,' and 'mimic languages by closely imitating the rhythms and intonations of the spoken words.'

As in School 1, culture was associated with place, where ethnic group-based identity (and their culture) was constituted and sustained. Equally, the term tribe was used more frequently to create nuance. Indigeneity was also described in the same way as 'knowing their roots,' as Eunice, a B1 teacher, explained. This finding reaffirms the significance of indigeneity. As the teachers were of multiple ethnicities and from different regions, although the majority identified within the Akan ethnic group, the findings suggest that indigeneity was being expressed more at a nationwide level. It was still distinct to Accra, however, which I unpack later. Vincent, identifying as an Abron, summarised teachers' definitions, while illustrating how language intersected with tribe, creating another layer of identity and difference, albeit one that followed the same historical pattern:

> Because in Ghana, we have demarcations, "Which part of Ghana are you from?"… So it's like, I'm not actually from Ghana but the tribe and then even more, which part of the tribe are you from. We have different cultures even within that tribe and then our languages are even different in those tribes and across Ghana. Just as much as my father is an Abron, we speak a different Twi as compared to the Ashantis but it falls within the Akan community so in as much as I speak Brong… you understand me? … We have a different accent and the way we pronounce certain words is different too.

For these teachers, different cultures needed to evolve; as Vincent articulated, 'so in as much as we have our differences ... we consolidate and evolve our culture universally.' This framed most teachers' aspirations for the learners' everyday, as well as future citizenship, as it signified the ability of Ghanaians to co-exist.

While indigeneity was still important for sustaining different cultures as part of their ethnic heritage, Jennifer, a B6 teacher, asserted that the 'essentialising of cultures' should be challenged, especially when it fuelled a sense of superiority of one ethnic group above another. The comment seems pertinent given Jennifer's dual ethnic heritage: she had an Akan mother from the Eastern Region and an Ewe father from the Volta Region. Eunice's definition of citizenship, as expressed below, reiterates Jennifer's point. She had over 25 years of teaching experience in different regions of Ghana, which can be assumed was framing her definition of citizenship:

> It is culture that unites us. Though we are having different cultural backgrounds, for us we become one nation, one people… Be you Ashante, Fante, Ewe, Dagomba… It means everybody is involved… No ethnic group above another. It doesn't belong to just one ethnic group… National, it means all are involved… So, we all see ourselves as one people under one nation… Me, my neighbour, even my Government. That is a national citizen. Because under the old normal way of thinking about culture we have ethnic groups and their cultures but when it comes to the national, we are learning, no matter your background. It means you must overcome your background and become all one people. Because we are living as national now, we teach different cultures and we all believe in being one people. That is our national identity. You don't impose that somebody's culture is better than the other. We teach them about the rich cultures to understand the nation.

Similar to School 1, these teachers' concept of the nation appeared to draw upon pre-existing ethnic affiliations, as much as absorb the modern state within it. In a similar manner, their sense of belonging to the nation had multiple centres that included attachment to the State, although the State was not at the centre. However, for these teachers, incorporating culture into definitions of 'nation' seemed to symbolise a dynamic process involving both sharing cultural memory distinct to ethnicities and the opening of cultural borders to evolve.

7.3.3. 'Citizenship is about the pupil in their local community'

One possible factor shaping teachers' views on their learners' everyday citizenship is that School 2 was not located in one of the 'typical typical settlement of Accra, like Teshie, Labadi, Osu, and Jamestown,' as Comfort explained. The norms of indigeneity appeared weaker within the school's local community (although the school was still located on customary land of the Ga people). While Comfort was born in Accra but identifying as an Akan with her 'home village' in the Asante Region, it is assumed that she was referring to the specific original settlements of the Ga people. She was also differentiating between these local populations. In Gbawe, the Ga people were perceived as 'not dominating.' In this school, the extent to which indigeneity influenced learners' identity-formation and belonging was being challenged. This contrasts with School 1. Of interest, only the headteacher, Mary, identifying as an Akan, and, with 30 years of teaching experience across the Greater Accra Region, articulated the distinction between living and belonging, inferring indigeneity of the Ga people. She stated:

> To be precise you have to learn the ethnicity of where you live because you do not belong here if you are not their ethnicity. You live here only but you do not belong here.

In contrast, some of the younger teachers sought to challenge such views. For instance, Vincent contested that the Ga peoples ‘are not the only people occupying Accra now,’ although the reasons for this were not explored. Considering responses from teachers in School 1, it is speculated that indigeneity was being challenged for carrying an exclusionary effect on identity and belonging. Instead, the city belonged to all its inhabitants, including their learners.

The rest of the teachers acknowledged the Ga people as indigenous to the city, while believing that the local community belonged to all its inhabitants on equal terms. It can be presumed that this attitude was projected onto their learners. Augustina, an Akan from the Ashanti Region, commented that, ‘Citizenship is about the… pupil in their environment and how the child reacts in their local community… it is about reacting with whatever you have around.’ The term ‘local community’ conveyed its multi-ethnic composition, and civic life appeared to be complementary to this. This was reinforced by Comfort, who specified that learners ‘come from all over’ Accra, travelling into the school. According to Eunice, the Ga language was rarely spoken by the children as ‘most of them don’t really understand the Ga, except for those who are from Accra [but] most of them though, they can’t speak it well.’ Instead, all teachers spoke Twi, and often English. However, the lack of any unifying language in classrooms was seen to create issues for teachers upon seeking to relate to their learners.

7.3.4. ‘You must respect the views of others’

Another characteristic of citizenship was about instilling respect for difference in learners. As Jennifer stated, ‘One thing we always tell them to keep in mind, that is quite a challenge is that, “You must respect the views of others.”’ Similar to School 1, this served to challenge the lasting effects of tribalism. According to Eve, a B4 teacher, ‘Here in Ghana, they like their tribalism. You know they are always thinking, “Oh you are not from my tribe”… Looking down on other

cultures.' Distinct to this school, while naming difference was for fostering respect, it was also for naming unequal power, which these teachers seemed more astute to in terms of how it manifested in the classroom. For example, Eunice, identifying as a Fante, stated that, 'You don't impose that somebody's culture is better than the other.' Supporting this, Jennifer noted that, 'We are trying to encourage people not to look down on other cultures.' This explains why teachers sought to evolve culture universally that would challenge any views in their learners of one ethnic group being superior to another. In doing so, teachers stressed the importance of fostering Oneness for inter-ethnic cohesion in their learners. Tackling this within the everyday classroom, Jennifer added:

> To prevent conflict we let the children understand that we are one people… It's not about keeping the same ideas going… "This is my culture…this is it"… No, no, no…[It's] not about being trapped by your culture… Any essentialist thinking. The idea is that we are removing these parallel cultures… You know relating everything to your culture and that's it… We are trying to encourage people not to look down on other cultures and, you know we have different ideologies about different cultures.

Due to the improved content about ethnic groups and cultures, the new curriculum, specifically the subject of Our World, Our People (OWOP), was seen as a significant change. It was through teaching about different cultures, especially those performed such as dressing, art, and dancing, that their learners would respect each other, thus challenging underlying essentialist thinking. This arguably draws on aspects of liberal democratic citizenship. It is interesting that Augustina, the Creative Arts teacher, believed that the subject provided a greater opportunity for fostering citizenship than OWOP, stating that:

> Creative Arts retains their cultures so others know… "It's our culture, our dressing"… so when they talk about the Ga, the children know how they dress, so when it is about showing their culture, others know… they get to know more about their culture and these are the things infused in citizenship and these are the things that the children must know so that any time they travel outside they do not forget their backgrounds. But it's not just about preserving cultural heritage. It is about learning.

7.3.5. 'You want them to know, they are all equal'

Speaking about future citizenship, the teachers aspired for greater acceptance of ethnic, as well as religious diversity. Human rights provided the rhetoric for this. In achieving this in the classroom, their role as teachers was to model and teach that both categories are of equal importance for identity-formation in Ghana, as well as to recognise where discrimination existed. When asked directly, teachers used these exact terms, seemingly inspired by the universal human rights frameworks that are central to liberal democratic citizenship. Along with the right to diversity and non-discrimination, the idea of freedoms emerged. In terms of religion, a few teachers (namely Eve, (B4), Joy (B2) and Comfort (B3)) spoke about this, indicating its focus across the primary school. Joy was opinionated that, 'Ghana is not one religious state so we just have to give room for everyone… like freedom of association… "Don't talk about mine… I'll also not talk about yours." Some people will downplay yours… "Let me practice mine and you, yours… You are not the judge."' Her argument demonstrates the tension between awareness and implementation of the right to diversity pertaining to religion in Ghanaian society: this had led to discrimination amongst her learners. A primary influence in perpetuating this attitude was parents and grandparents. Eve spoke to this, stating:

> You see sometimes there is still discrimination… You see at times when they are playing… the children will say, "You are not from my tribe, I won't play with you." Or, "Because you go to this church, where you are a Christian or where you go to a mosque, and you are from Islam." So… you always want them to know that they are all equal. We are all one… And, at times, it comes from their backgrounds or their homes and how their parents relate… But if you carry that idea from the house into the school, so when they come into school, we have the permission to change it so that we try to send the message from the school back to the home.

Comfort felt that the subject of Religious and Moral Education helped to challenge this thinking, nurturing in learners a collective sense of 'right and wrong… so they remind themselves. They say "Eh, madam taught us about this," so they help each other between their cultures. They correct.' Joy also spoke about the need to learn about those who believe in African Traditional Religion, who were seen as the most discriminated against. This was 'out of respect' to the 'great heritage of Africa,' and because it was practised 'especially when you go outside of Accra.'

As in School 1, while teachers were conscious of discrimination, ethnic and religious stereotyping surfaced in their interviews. This exposes contradictions in their views, as seen in Eve's citation below. On the one hand, Eve seemed unaware of how she described African Traditional Religion, but then, corrected herself, naming discrimination against those believers:

> Well, we've always had three religions as to not discriminate. It is a long standing tradition you see… You see if you want to be a Christian, if you want to be a Muslim, or African Traditional Religion, that is what you want… I think that the traditional religion is still there because you know, in Africa here, it is a way of saying what the Africans believed in the past before the white people came and introduced us to Christianity and they brought the Bible. This is what our forefathers were worshipping before we saw the light and most of us are now Christians, or Muslims. But then… you know I was discussing with my husband, "Why is it that, if someone tries to worship those things we see them as evil"… If someone said I am a Traditionalist person, people will think that you're evil but even if you think about it, Christians, there are still bad Christians. They are still doing bad things.

An illustration of ethnic stereotyping was also seen in Vincent's comments, though he was conscious of doing this. Upon questioning, he justified his response by way of helping his learners to distinguish when conflict is 'fun' and when it 'triggers,' using it as a learning opportunity to 'reconcile.' He stated:

> When you come here, you take the coastal people to be so loud because we've integrated, to the fact that, because of the sea, they needed to shout for people to understand them so we make fun of them and I feel like, I make a little comment, "How do you see people from the Volta?" "Well people from the Volta, they are used to juju[30], those kind of rituals," and, "How do you see the people in Ashanti?" "They are used to cursing and all of that kind of stuff." But it's the way we make fun of which has never been a natural conflict… We have all come to the fact that, we make fun of our tribes and we take it lightly. Even at a point in time, we even made fun of our religion, but we've gotten to understand that these things are things that could either evoke war or these are things that could trigger conflict, but, yet, we have a way of dealing with ourselves.

This raises an important point about what this means for learners in forming their own ethnic identities, and the wider implications for forging national identity and unity.

[30] Cbanga (2009, no.pagination) explains that, 'Juju [is] an object that that has been deliberately infused with magical power or the magical power itself. It can also refer to the belief system involving the use of juju.'

To challenge discrimination in the classroom, teachers claimed that it was important to observe the traditions of the Ga people in Accra. However, these teachers put more emphasis on the value of a learner's diversity as a resource in itself, when teaching. Like in School 1, this was seen to benefit the Ga children. As Eunice commented, 'They have to know other people's cultures too, not just the Ga because it is a Ga community.' Other teaching strategies to challenge discrimination included, for Vincent, 'teaching the facts on each other,' for Joy, 'balancing views,' and for Jennifer, 'teaching in a way that you don't end up siding with one ethnic group and then overlooking the other.' They claimed that this would help their learners to socialise in a way that accounted for their differences.

7.3.6. 'With rights, you have responsibility attached'

As a related theme, human rights were to claim from the Ghanaian State, articulated by these teachers as the 'right to': the core tenet of liberal democratic citizenship, as a legal status, and found in Our World, Our People, appearing to inform their views. To give a definition, Mary, explained:

Mary: Human rights, yes… We have a human rights club. There are some things that you cannot force the children to do. This is their rights. Whatever you teach them of their rights, it matters for the children, here, in this community. This is what matters for them right here. So this is the specific community. Like what the children know of human rights outside of here is not the same.

Researcher: It is not the same? Can you explain what you mean?

Mary: You see some children… like here in this community, they need to know that you need shelter, you need education, you need… you can speak. This is what matters for the children here. You get from the Government what you need.

In School 2, teachers spoke about their learners needing to know about the 'law,' presumably referring to the 1992 Constitution: again, this draws on Our World, Our People. Democracy and its role in fostering citizenship were also spoken about, in contrast to School 1. Jennifer spoke at length on the topic, most likely because the content was covered in her B6 syllabus. No definition

was given, but it was clearly related to political processes and administration and designed to demarcate the public/private sphere, as a core characteristic of liberal democracy. While evident, her comment shows the continuity of traditional political structures within modern-day democracy:

> I relate it to the school setting. We go through the ranks, so we have the headteacher, like the Government, and, then, a council of elders, and the chief at the lower levels, then the district before the regional municipal. So when we talk about national citizenship, it's like belonging to that nation like we belong in the school.

Human rights appeared to help demarcate the child within their community, creating a boundary to the child, as 'I' rather than 'we,' and a way for them to articulate 'what matters' to them within that community, as Vincent commented. As central to liberal democratic citizenship, these views seemed to articulate the value of individualism for creating a sense of autonomy, as well as for giving voice to the child. For other teachers, like Vincent and Jennifer (both B6 teachers), demarcating the child as an individual challenged certain cultural traditions in society when these impinged on their individual freedom. For this reason, these teachers were clear that progress was needed on the implementation of human rights in Ghana, because, as Jennifer explained, human rights 'were still being abused.' They often spoke about personal experiences, which arguably informed what they hoped would change for their learners. Vincent provided an example:

> On the face of it, we are all moving towards more individual independence and human rights, but our culture still plays a role in that… What society sees to be wrong is forever wrong… It's a memory of society… Your big bad sister and brother watching that keep you in check… We train the children to… be able to reason, to know what is right and wrong, so that is what we seek for.

Also seen in the quote, and like School 1, human rights were used for defining 'right and wrong' behaviours. Comfort echoed this, stating that 'rights are doing the right thing at the right time to follow. If you know what is bad, you don't follow.' However, it seems that these teachers were trying to challenge the current normative societal view on right and wrong.

Community still mattered. The teachers' comments suggest some continuity of African communalism in modern-day Ghana, described as a deeply relational

way of being and part of Oneness. To achieve this, Jennifer spoke about teaching the children that, with human rights, there is a 'responsibility' for each other, stating, 'We tell the children that rights are about knowing that as much as you have the right to everything, you also have a responsibility attached.' Rights appeared to enable expressions of critique and to evolve their Indigenous ways of knowing and being, as part of their self-definition in Being Ghanaian, and where the community takes precedence over the individual. In principle, this would enact the constitutional right to cultural heritage. Equally, when connected to the right to diversity, it provides space to challenge when an individual's identity and subsequently their rights are prioritised at the expense of their well-being.

In further discussions about community, Accra was frequently compared to the rest of Ghana. After talking about his concern with culture and rights, Vincent went on to describe the city as 'more flexible… You can identify so many people with different cultures and nobody seems to be worried about what each other is doing.' As such, the city, with its different cultures, was seen as a key resource for the children, and its flexibility was its most positive attribute. These comments clearly contrast with those from School 1. For Joy, who identified as having a dual ethnic heritage, as an Ewe from the Volta Region and an Akan from the Central Region, 'The city is with everyone from all over the country… all walks of life, every tribe' and with 'foreigners… with different cultures.' She added how the city was 'stretching our understanding of things, sharing ideas' in a way that had become a resource in the classroom for fostering a greater degree of acceptance and respect for multiple ethnic heritages.

7.3.7. 'To become your own madam and master'

Finally, citizenship was for economic development, revealing a similar influence of the neoliberal agenda, like in School 1. Development was seen in economic terms, describing what these teachers envisioned for their learners' roles in the nation-building project. Commitment to this notion of development was a way of exhibiting good citizenship, justifying the need to inculcate 'discipline, punctuality, and consistency,' in learners to prepare them from the workplace, as Eunice stated. Interestingly, these teachers spoke more on the need for

teaching children to put nation above self: self-sufficiency was attributed to the national level than at the individual level (or, national development was put above individual development).

One possible factor shaping their views was the children's marginally higher socio-economic backgrounds compared to the children in School 1, creating, to an extent, a higher degree of economic stability in their futures. According to Jennifer, most parents were characterised as 'middle-class'. Notably, these teachers had a less sense of urgency to equip their learners with sufficient skills in case of early dropout. Of course, the notion of 'middle-class' is relative to Ghana being a lower middle-income country. Jennifer's comment alludes to the influence of neoliberalism on classifying society in the city in terms of describing a similar lifestyle and common social networks. As Eunice remarked:

> This location is changing… If you look at the distribution, it's unlikely you'll get someone from a poor background here… We try to study the backgrounds of the children who are poor so we know that when we see those [children] who are poor, we can assist them.

Education was to foster entrepreneurial skills in their learners, to meet their overarching vision for economic development. For Augustina, the Creative Arts teacher, it was to 'benefit the individual,' but also to 'benefit Ghanaians, and then it will benefit the whole world.' This framing of entrepreneurialism through 'benefitting' at the individual, national, and global levels is of interest as neoliberal citizenship is overtly individualistic. Augustina might be redefining entrepreneurship on Indigenous terms, where the individual is still attached to the community than separate from it and, with this, bears economic responsibilities. It echoes a similar idea to her peers about human rights, where rights come with responsibility attached to the community. In this instance, it seems that entrepreneurship comes with responsibility attached.

Both Augustina and Joy spoke fervently on this topic. For Joy, the priority was for her learners to become 'self-sufficient' and 'independent' so 'you'll be your own madam or your own master.' These teachers were clear on the challenge of youth unemployment within their region, one cause of which was the youths' unrealistic job aspirations. Having taught in the local community for 17 years,

Augustina had witnessed the effects of this phenomenon. This arguably shaped her aspirations for her learners:

> I tell them, "You are not supposed to wait for the Government to consume you. A lot of people have finished university and are at home, doing nothing because they think they have a certificate. So if the Government is not able to employ you, you can learn certain skills, you develop them and earn something for yourself." The government and its certificates… "With a certificate, you are waiting for employment or an appointment." I ask [the children], "What will you do with your life?"… We make sure that we tackle the children's needs.

Furthermore, Augustina spoke in neoliberal terms about using certain cultural activities for stimulating entrepreneurship. This seemed a logical response to help her learners become equipped for their futures, by starting with what they know. Creative Arts was perceived as highly effective in nurturing these necessary skills: 'Creativity is about thinking on their own, thinking for themselves and thinking independently.' This fostered the type of skills that could be used for trading in the market. Augustina believed that she was a role model to her learners, owning several businesses in addition to being a teacher.

For these teachers, entrepreneurship appeared to represent a relatively liberating option for their learners' futures — although these learners were already economically advantaged in accessing the market compared to those of School 1. Neoliberal citizenship elevates the middle-class above others based on socio-economic capital and networks. This enables them to accrue greater rewards and, arguably, greater access to the economic opportunities of the city. Nonetheless, there was a sense of realism amongst these teachers in what becoming an entrepreneur demanded, due to poor economic conditions and structural inequalities in the city. For Eve, it was a message she regularly endorsed to her learners:

> We tell them, "Not all the hand that feeds you is equal… There will be business people, traders, whatever you do [with your job], try your best… so when you grow, you become a good citizen and everyone can benefit from you."

7.4. Findings from School 3

7.4.1. My description of School 3

Located only a short distance from the bustling city centre, School 3 was situated amongst wealthy residences that were spacious, secure, and set back from the street. Of the children coming out from these houses, the majority wore uniforms from the local private schools rather than wearing the usual government school colours of yellow and brown. After following a road between the houses, I arrived at School 3. The school compound was relatively spacious, well maintained, and quiet, being surrounded only by residences. The double-storeyed school building with a metal veranda overlooked onto the paved courtyard that served as a communal area, in addition to a dusty playground. This is where the whole school was congregated for their morning assembly.

As I approached, I was beckoned over by the headteacher, Abena, to be formally welcomed. This was an opportunity to introduce myself to all the teachers and children. For several minutes, I engaged with the children, asking questions about their school, Accra, and Ghana, and gave space for them to enquire about the UK. After the assembly, I was also able to meet all the teachers and briefly explain my research to them. The headteacher was keen to show me around first, as well as to discuss her ethos for holistic education and the school's achievements. The noise of drums and singing was heard from the playground, with children practising their performance for the 6th March Independence Day parade. Classrooms were vibrant, with children's work on the walls, and filled with teaching and learning resources such as reading books, arts and craft materials, maps, maths equipment, and whiteboards for the teachers. Classrooms accommodated 40-50 children, either sharing workbenches or sitting on individual chairs.

7.4.2. 'Citizenship is associating with the native of the land'

For the teachers in School 3, citizenship was explained mainly through the core tenets of liberal democracy. Various references were given to citizenship as membership of the country, nationality, legal status, and the acquisition of a

passport. This extended to the legal procedure of naturalisation, for those not born Ghanaian or for those of Ghanaian descent as based on the *jus sanguinis* (by blood) principle. Any sense of identity and belonging was still national, as well as ethnic and tribe-based, and described as being tied to a region of Ghana. Reinforcing findings from Schools 1 and 2, indigeneity underpinned these teachers' explanations, both distinct to the city (as unpacked later), and nationwide, as substantiated by the ethnic diversity of all of these teachers coming from different regions of Ghana. With the exception of one teacher as a Dagomba (a Northerner), most teachers identified their ethnicity from within the Akan group. Yet, unique to School 3, these teachers spoke on how principles of indigeneity, still placed-based and historic, worked within the Ghanaian sovereign state. It seemed that, for Emmanuel, Ghanaian citizenship, as defined through the *jus sanguinis* principle, was actually serving as a legal construct for indigeneity. As a Fante from the Central Region with 30 years of teaching experience, his descriptions of 'forefathers' as 'the native of the land,' conveys the notion of being indigenous to Ghana in its pre-colonial sense:

> Citizenship, well for me, it has to do with… knowing that you are associating with your village because they are the native of the land. You are born and bred in the land. I would take it that your parents or your forefathers are Ghanaians then you are a Ghanaian citizen. Then you can also apply by registration if you are not born in Ghana. You have been here for some years you would go to the court or the law, and they will also register you with the state so it's like you then belong to the state.

He further argued for the importance of these ideas when teaching about everyday citizenship as 'even the children recognise about the need to know their roots.' However, indigeneity still had its complexities in the outworkings of Ghanaian citizenship, particularly in placing those of non-Ghanaian descent. This revealed the relative newness of the construct. The tension was most pronounced in my conversation with Amba. On the one hand, she was adamant that learners should have equal sense of belonging to Accra, while on the other hand she seemed unsure how to position those of non-Ghanaian descent. This also touches on an emerging issue concerning the inclusivity of learners of different nationalities in the classroom, and how teachers understand and accommodate their identity-formation:

Researcher: What does Ghanaian citizenship mean to you?

Amba: You can be a citizen when you are born in Ghana or your parents are born in Ghana then you can acquire citizenship through registration too, maybe you are a different nationality but you want to be a Ghanaian, you can go through the administration to belong to Ghana as the nation state.

Researcher: Ok, so when I speak to you about citizenship, as you've just explained, and then about ethnicity is that the same thing in your view, as part of your concept of citizenship?

Amba: Oh yes, yes… it is all part of it… being part of your tribe makes you a Ghanaian… you know when you go to someone and say "I'm a Ghanaian," they will immediately ask you, "Which tribe are you?"… If you don't belong to any of those tribes, you would have to explain something that you would only be through registration and that seems foreign to us… so the idea of being in a tribe contributes a lot to whether someone is called a Ghanaian or not… even still, I'm not sure how much they'd see you as belonging to Ghana really.

Unlike School 1 and School 2, what seemed to be intersecting with these teachers' definitions of indigeneity was the school's multi-ethnic and multi-national composition, with learners coming mainly from Nigeria, South Africa, and Togo (although these were lower in proportion to children born within Ghana). Another possible contributing factor was the school's surrounding neighbourhood having a multi-national composition, and being in short proximity to the heavily populated international tourist areas of Accra. Findings suggest that, by negotiating their multi-ethnic and multi-national classrooms, these teachers were confronting and redefining their views on who is legally a Ghanaian citizen, and on what terms. This may help explain why citizenship was articulated more in liberal democratic terms, in School 3.

7.4.3. 'Human rights give room for the child'

Given the centrality of liberal democratic citizenship, teaching about human rights and democracy was integral to fostering learners' future citizenship. On this basis, Our World, Our People was criticised for presenting a definition of citizenship different to theirs. Grace, a younger teacher with six years of teaching experience, stated:

> Well, what we know citizenship is… it should talk about the history of our past events and mostly of the political aspects of our country, our currency, our economy, our presidency and our rights… what law and order looks like… But it cuts into a little bit of geography, a little bit of science and RME. It gets confusing being across too many subjects.

The findings also reveal that Grace's ideas on citizenship were political and legal in their expression. Situating her views in contrast to other schools shows a discrepancy, as other teachers welcomed OWOP's focus on ethnic identity and belonging and its origins, as part of Ghanaian citizenship.

Most opinionated on the topic of democracy was Esther, a B5 teacher, assumedly because, while it lacked definition in the curriculum, corresponding topics were deemed relevant to her learners. Democracy was the ideal for her children's everyday contexts and for their futures. Against the country's broader context, Esther argued for the necessity of democracy in curtailing ethnic politics that had created division, although its implementation had been gradual. In her view, democracy demanded dialogue with others for maintaining peace and was linked to the role of the National Government, its power, and politics:

> In Ghana, we have so many tribes here but one thing is that it's all about understanding… Gradually people are getting to understand the word democracy… and they are getting to know that even if I don't share the same thoughts with you, that doesn't mean that I should fight with you… We Ghanaians, we have come a long way. We have come to understand that everything is through dialogue, not through fighting… You need to dialogue with the person and you have to learn that first… We are learning that we cannot have disputes and tensions between ethnicities just because you don't agree… so those that are fighting amongst themselves… they like saying that, "Even if I don't share the same ideology as you… the way that you are ruling the nation is not to my liking"… I still have to do certain things across the tribes that will warm the hearts of the people that are all voting and then I can come to power to implement those as well as my own… I just hope that the peace that we are enjoying in Ghana will continue.

Essentially, children needed to know about the role of a democratic government as much as the processes for civic participation. Esther's point about 'gradually getting to understand the word' also infers the newness of liberal democracy in Ghana, introduced only a few decades prior by the 1992 Constitution. Adding to the discussion, for Ayisha, rights were useful for teaching her learners about the accountability of the State — and, being a B2 teacher, emphasises its importance across the primary school. She used the example of South Africa in contrast to

Ghana, where South African citizens had ‘to stand for their rights’ — presumably in reference to undemocratic practice.

For educating about liberal democratic citizenship, Ruth, a B1 teacher, explained that learners needed to know about the ‘laws that govern the country,’ and their pragmatic expressions, namely the 1992 Constitution and human rights. These needed to be obeyed. Unlike the other schools, there was limited discussion from these teachers on their learners needing to know about the ‘right to,’ in terms of claiming basic state-based provision. A possible factor is due to the parent’s higher socio-economic status, in contrast to School 1 (but not to School 2), inferring greater access to basic welfare provision than those living in extreme poverty. As Amba remarked, human rights now ‘give room for the child,’ characterised by a freedom to express views and voice opinions. She argued that the introduction of human rights had brought ‘vast improvement’ in teachers’ and parents’ attitudes to children. Generally, in contrast to Schools 1 and 2, these teachers were more critical of the traditional cultural beliefs and their effects on their learners. What this meant for their roles as teachers, in terms of their level of authority in the classroom, was not explored however.

Similar across the schools was the view that responsibility needed to be attached to human rights, alluding to the African value of the individual as part of the community than separate from it. There was a sense from these teachers that rights also enabled relational freedom than individual freedom: overt individualism would not achieve national goals. According to Amba:

> We have aspects in the curriculum to teach human rights… We have a space to teach what the children are supposed to gain from their parents and what society is supposed to give them and then what they themselves have to do to be responsible as children, what you are supposed to do and what they are not supposed to do.

As with Schools 1 and 2, the teachers connected human rights (in terms of exhibiting right behaviour) to their traditional belief in showing their morality. As Abena, the headteacher, explained, children needed to become good citizens through ‘doing the right thing,’ hence human rights were still vital for showing ‘wrong and right’ behaviour to others. For these teachers, children’s dismissal of civic responsibility, perceived as wrong behaviour, reflected a wider societal

attitude where human rights fostered individual thinking at the expense of the community. Commenting on her B4 learners, Grace stated: ‘They choose not to care… because after all in Ghana, all people think, is “what can I gain?”’ In School 3, there was greater focus, however, on being a good citizen for political development. For Ruth, an older teacher, this exhibited ‘love for the country,’ which was necessary for eradicating tribalism. Her response emerged from witnessing nepotism throughout her teaching career — like Isaac, an older teacher in School 1. Their comments give an indication of how entrenched tribalism had been. In this instance, it had carried into the schooling environment.

The importance of child rights continued into how teachers viewed their role, inferring the implementation of learner-centred pedagogy. For example, the headteacher’s ethos was based on ‘seeing the child in a holistic way’ with a focus on ‘character than exams,’ and would ‘link the child to society.’ Abena further criticised the previous curriculum, stating that, ‘Education… shouldn’t just be academic work and so you are lazy if you are not performing. But maybe it could be that the child you think is lazy, could do something, has a skill to be tapped into.’ In the classroom, practical examples provided by others included listening to each other’s views, learning to share, and waiting your turn. This illustrated a democratic approach to learning.

7.4.4. ‘Let us look at our differences’

Building on this theme, the teachers’ aspirations for their learners’ future citizenship was to ‘co-exist in being Ghanaian,’ as articulated by Abena. These discussions surfaced upon talking about learners’ differences, and with the intention to forge unity through them. Ayisha added:

> We have different, different ethnicities. We speak different languages… We are different people and we are here to build our nation. We have a country to defend. That is Ghana, so let us come together. Let us look at our differences and what we can bring together.

Teachers' visions about Being Ghanaian were based on fostering unity in difference, which came through the significance of Oneness, consolidating another key finding of Chapter 7.

To achieve this vision within the classroom, it was apparent that naming difference was used to name unequal power and, specifically, to identify the grounds for discrimination. This echoes a finding from School 2. The actual language of human rights was used in these teachers' constructions of citizenship, suggesting an aim of achieving the wider ideal of liberal democracy. Talking about her school ethos, Abena stressed that:

> [The learner's] difference is real, it's very real, so we can't behave as if it's not there, brush over them. I have to set my vision on what and who these children are… We [as teachers] have to recognise that national identity is to counter discrimination.

Her response differed in many ways from those of the other headteachers, where some stereotypes surfaced. The only difference between Abena and the other headteachers (Elizabeth in School 1 and Mary in School 2) was that she was younger — although she had taught for 19 years.

Most teachers spoke about their learners' socio-economic differences compared to the rest of the city, alluding to the disparities caused by urbanisation that was creating discrimination against them. They spoke about the impact on the Ga people, as indigenous to the city. Amba spoke extensively on this issue, most likely from having lived in the city for a while. Her concern was the 'inequalities of planning' in Accra, with its stratifying effects on the school's children who were mostly living in poverty. Referring to the school's immediate community, she contrasted the 'well-endowed' Labone, with 'very big houses [of] rich international people,' with the nearby Ga Indigenous settlement of La, 'a typical, typical settlement from way back' where some of the children came from and were typically 'poor.' Arguably, she was critiquing the prevailing neoliberal agenda that turned land into a commodity and marginalised the Ga people, because 'the place is theirs.'

Amba's comment implies that the norms of indigeneity needed observing, as much as preserving, to counter the neoliberal effects on planning within the

local community. Without this, the marginalisation of the Ga children already living in poverty would deepen. This signifies the importance of the right to non-discrimination for these children in the city. Amba further remarked on the inequality that continued into the planning of public and private schools, presumably in reference to space. Due to neoliberal reforms, the rise of private schools was serving purely the 'elite, the Akan as they can afford [it]' while public schools were a 'mop-up of those that can't afford to be with them.' She was concerned that this was widening the division between ethnic groups, because of the effect of tribalism.

Following on from this conversation, Amba claimed that education should aim to foster 'inter-tribe relationships.' Several teachers commented on how the 'mixture in the classroom,' as Ayisha suggested, was already a key resource for beginning conversations about ethnic difference — and, in doing so, countering discrimination. Due to her ethnic identity as a Dagomba in the Northern Region, Ayisha spoke quite passionately about this: being the only teacher from the Northern Region in the entire sample of teachers. Her vision for change was rooted in her personal experience of ethnic discrimination from her learners' parents: 'They look down upon me, which is wrong… I don't know why there is a divide and the parents… they see me as a teacher and yet I see the Southerners saying to me that I don't have the skill to educate their child.' For Esther, an Akuampem from Southern Ghana, her priority was to challenge any belief in her learners that ethnic stereotyping was harmless. She seems to offer a counter-response to Vincent's comment, from School 2.

> Because you know, there are certain stigmatisations that we are tied to with some tribes in Ghana… and in Accra still. For instance… "Oh, as for this tribe like the Ga…well they like fighting… oh the Akan, they are so clever"… Do you get me?… If somebody is, let's say doing something contrary to yours, you shouldn't attack the whole tribe and generalise like… "Oh for this tribe, that is what you do." Because maybe instead, it's the person's character and not that of the tribe… so you see things are changing and people are getting to understand that we are all one.

While a minor finding, the headteacher, Abena spoke about religious discrimination. To begin challenging it, she claimed that the curricular subject of Religious and Moral Education was 'very important because knowledge is power… They should be educated about them all [Christianity, Islam, and African

Traditional Religion] and know the causes of each so that when they make their choices they can abide.'

7.4.5. 'Standing on their own'

Another key feature of citizenship, as articulated by Emmanuel, a B5 teacher, was for learners to become 'positive contributors for national development.' This notion of development was equally economic: these teachers' visions for the future nation showed the influence of neoliberal citizenship. With this finding being consistent across all the schools, greater attention is needed on economic development in Chapter 8. Entrepreneurship was also part of their vision for the children's futures, as Jessica, a B3 teacher explained: 'They should not depend on the Government. They must be standing on their own.' Her comment seems to prioritise the individual's relationship to the market as more important than the State. Furthermore, it demonstrates the influence of the 2019 National Curriculum, suggesting that these teachers accepted the Government's neoliberal terms for the nation-building project.

While critical of the neoliberal effects on the city, a tension surfaced in these teachers' views, however, where entrepreneurship was also for economic mobility. The nearby hubs of Oxford Street and the CBD near to the children's community were associated with economic opportunities for their futures. Having taught in the city for almost 10 years, Ayisha commented on the parents' occupations of 'petty traders and hawkers. The money they get goes on feeding the children. The income is low.' Unlike in Schools 1 and 2, for these teachers the city was a source of job aspiration for the children — even if they criticised its socio-economic inequalities.

As future citizens, children needed to be equipped with the right skills for the right industry. Markedly, it was in School 3 that the notion of industrial capability appeared, highlighting its absence in discussions in the other schools. However, it was only Ayisha who commented on this. She described the importance of preparing their learners to work in any job, exhibiting an attitude of commitment that put the nation above self. Teaching about all jobs and their equal importance for building the economy would shift the fixation on the

highest professions as the most valued. This would foster a more realistic expectation of jobs to reduce youth unemployment. According to Ayisha, it could also reduce Ghana's brain drain:

> I mean, how many industries do we have to absorb those? So that was causing the brain drain. So we acquired the skill but there was no job… It's high time that we tell our minds to develop a country. It's not bookish knowledge. It's practical as well and the people who can develop our nation are those that have the skills.

Amba spoke further on the need for their children to learn digital skills to be prepared for future jobs. This reiterated a curricular objective for digital capability. As the Computing teacher, she was conscious of her role influencing her ideas, but was realistic about the unreliability of technology in the school, as well as the issue that, 'Most [children] don't have access to the Internet at home. They have to hear from somebody.' However, some learners had access to smartphones and/or televisions. This finding demonstrates another discussion that was absent across Schools 1 and 2, suggesting that the vision for digitally literate citizens set out in the National Curriculum is over-ambitious, given the current resource constraint in schools.

Other teachers, namely Abena, the headteacher and Amba, appeared to strongly critique the idea of neoliberal citizenship and its influence on the current curriculum. Abena was conscious of the effects of this on the school children, while recognising its tension in what she wanted for their future citizenship: 'Education, and its role in producing citizens, is about more than getting a job, you have to affect society.' Equally, she acknowledged that 'performing' was part of these children's reality, as they 'have to compete with international students at certain levels' in order to be economically competitive.

7.4.6. 'Contributing to the outside world'

As described by Esther, citizenship was for 'contributing to the outside world,' the final theme explored in this chapter. Being near the global hub of the city, it is reasonable to assume that the school's location influenced teachers' views and may explain why they had a more global outlook. The city's diverse ethnic and multi-national composition, and the growing demographic of 'whites and

Blacks,' according to Esther, was already exposing these children diffusively to the 'outside world.' As Emmanuel described, '[We] infuse this into citizenship. You get to know the other cultures and others that are different, to then know what unites us as one.' Perhaps expectedly, the definition of culture, in relation to Ghana, was specific to an ethnic group and tied to place, like Schools 1 and 2. This also signified the importance of the right to cultural diversity.

To provide a definition of this phrase, Jessica, an Ashanti from the Central Region, explained that, 'Culture is said to be about the way a tribe lives.' All teachers claimed that their learners needed to learn about different cultures, as central to their cohesive identity in Being Ghanaian. However, distinct from the other schools, Grace explained further that children needed to know about the city's culture to help them relate to 'global people.' Her comments on what her learners should know of the city, as a Fante [an ethnic group originating west of Accra], contrast to Linda's comments —identifying as Ga and from School 1, where culture referred to her learners needing to relate to their immediate community. Grace noted that, 'Knowing about their culture is in relation to being global. You just don't know who you might meet in the future. Accra is full of global people.'

Esther proposed that, due to the unique mix of cultures emerging from globalisation, Accra was producing its own culture, one that her learners needed to know about:

> You see in Accra… let's see… we think the culture is good… the tribes here come together to form one nation… do you get me?... and then we are living in a global world so the more that you get to know about not only about your culture but that of others… it will really help you… do you get me… It's all about how you relate to other people… whether the person is from this tribe or that tribe… whether he is white or Black…it is just the way that you interact… It's like universal… so that one paves the way for so many things… Accra is like a global village.

Teaching against the backdrop of a global city, Abena remarked on an improvement to Our World, Our People that 'centred on us as Ghanaians but now, [the curricular subject] has gone further outside and thinking about global issues.' Most teachers sought for their learners to engage with global affairs and to form an opinion. Also distinct to this school was the idea that Indigenous

Knowledges were part of helping them relate across ethnicities, and with people described as ‘foreign.’ From her experience of teaching the subject of Creative Arts, Ayisha spoke on using the Adinkra symbols, indigenous to the Akan, in her teaching practice. She explained that these were used for their representation of fostering relatedness and helping her learners to negotiate everyday citizenship in their global city:

> In the Creative Arts, we have some arts… that you should learn for the outside. They are artefacts that they… because you can’t limit your ideas, as for the Adinkra symbols, it teaches you an exchange between going outward and inward. So they also get a picture that it is not just my locality, it is not just my area… But as for what entails in that bigger world is yet for them to discover.

Teachers still stressed that change to the curriculum was important for the Ga children because, as discussed previously, they rarely travelled outside of their typical settlement. According to Esther, the example of the global city could be used to inspire these learners. She claimed that, ‘The Ga are proud of their roots… they don’t explore physically but they explore in books to find what is happening.’ Absent across these interviews was a discussion of the need for observing Ga customs or traditions: this was relevant as some of their children came from La, a Ga typical settlement. This is not to suggest its insignificance for these teachers. Rather, it is to emphasise a different context for these teachers in fostering citizenship in their learners against the backdrop of Accra as a rapidly globalising city — with its opportunities as much as its problems this brings.

7.5. Chapter Summary

By separating out the schools, this chapter has indicated that indigeneity, defined as ‘knowing your roots,’ was integral to how teachers viewed their learners’ everyday citizenship within the city of Accra. These norms were most pronounced in ‘typical typical settlements,’ to distinguish where the Ga people dominated. All teachers positioned their schools on this basis, recognising the influence of indigeneity on who lives and who belongs to the city. This redirected their learners’ ethnic identity to a different region of Ghana accordingly. Indigeneity was also for defining ethnic difference.

Equally, my findings suggest that indigeneity was understood at the national level, as part of self-definition in Being Ghanaian. The teachers' construct of the nation seemed to draw on pre-existing ethnic affiliations but was also evolving — this is seen in how these teachers absorbed the relatively new Ghanaian State into their definitions. As such, Being Ghanaian was a cohesive narrative for placing ethnic and national identity and belonging at equal importance. The new 2019 National Curriculum, namely the dedicated subject for citizenship of Our World, Our People, was generally welcomed as being more aligned to teachers' definitions of citizenship.

By virtue of being located in schools in Accra, 'knowing your roots' clearly shaped how teachers explained the different models of Ghanaian citizenship in relation to their learners, specific to liberal democratic and neoliberal citizenship. While teachers shared similar visions for their learners' futures (first, for inter-ethnic cohesion, and second, for becoming self-sufficient through entrepreneurship), their explanations differed based on location. As part of civic life in Accra, indigeneity also created tensions and contradictions in their explanations on these formal theoretical models. These were further shaped by key contextual factors, namely the socio-economic context of the locality, the headteachers' ethos, the school's resources, and the community's demographic. Finally, knowing your roots was intersecting with Oneness. For these teachers, Oneness was central to their views on Ghanaian citizenship and was pivotal to the nation-building project.

In the next chapter, I explore the meanings that teachers gave to Oneness and related themes.

Chapter 8.
‘Oneness: We are One:’
Presentation of Findings from across the Schools

8.1. Introduction

In their discussions on Ghanaian citizenship, teachers were constantly moving back and forth between the past, present, and future. In doing so, the significance of Oneness emerged. At its heart, teachers were revisiting the question of the Indigenous in their negotiations of what citizenship is and what citizenship should be for, as Dei (2016) suggests. For these teachers, Oneness also served the underlying purpose for education and their own role within it.

In this chapter, findings are presented across the schools to explore the full meaning of Oneness and its related themes. I also explore other common themes that emerged, such as British colonial history, its legacy in their self-ascribed Black identities, and, what this means for questions about power and difference — in these discussions, the importance of the curricular subject of History arose. Finally, as experts on their learners, I asked teachers what they imagined for their learners’ future nation, and their ideas on how education could achieve this. For reference, the teachers’ quotes are numbered in the format of 1.1 (denoting which school they came from, such as School 1, and then the order of their interview). As with Chapter 7, the headings are participant-inspired.

8.2. ‘A Native Structure of our Very Being’

8.2.1. ‘This Oneness has stayed with us’

The most recurring theme across the interviews was that of ‘Oneness’ (3.8), perceived as inherent to learners’ identity and sense of belonging in both what Ghanaian citizenship is and what it should be. The term was used interchangeably with ‘being one’ (2.1), ‘we are one’ (1.6), and ‘togetherness’ (2.4). Defining this term, Ayisha stated that, ‘It is a native structure of our very being and how we existed before the colonial masters came’ (3.8). This

demonstrates that Oneness was considered indigenous, originating from their pre-colonial history, and has continuity in contemporary Ghana. Synthesising the teachers' views, Elizabeth explained:

> How I understand it… is like Oneness is that all African countries will come together and we have the common goal… Leave us alone and we shall maintain it as one people and we will do all things in common as one people. Because colonialism came and divided us up so we like to stick together.
>
> (1.1)

The majority of teachers stressed that Oneness was pronounced and leveraged by Kwame Nkrumah, their first President, reiterating my discussion in Chapter 2. Inspired by his words, the idea of being one was symbolic of Ghana's historic ability to overcome struggle, predominantly relating to British colonial rule. Ayisha gave a coherent explanation while setting out key concepts that will be unpacked throughout this chapter:

> Ayisha: The culture of the entire Ghanaian community is made up of, right from our forefathers, even before Ghana became a colonised nation, and that togetherness… was one of the reasons why, during the era of colonisation, they never easily gave up or even gave into the oppression from the colonial masters. … That has been part of the native structure of our very being…and so you enter into some communities and you may be very new but they are willing to easily relate… It is where someone will actually be able to say, "Oh you are the son of this person from right back." So that is how it has been.
>
> Researcher: Is that kinship?
>
> Ayisha: No, no no… It is the way we are interlocked… It is the native structure of our very being. How we existed before our colonial masters came. Going into the history of Ghana you realise that… little did the tribes know that the colonial masters had different intentions so the people realised that we had to be more united… Until you are united, you can't kick the colonial masters out and take hold of what and who we are again. It is why Kwame Nkrumah leveraged our Oneness, rallied support to redeem the nation from the foreigners who… were bringing division. This Oneness has stayed with us.
>
> (3.8)

The findings suggest that these teachers were articulating Oneness by speaking to (Black) African consciousness, while adapting this to the contemporary

context of their learners. This took place on multiple levels, confined to the political borders of Ghana in terms of the state-citizen relationship, while viewing these borders as relatively porous. Firstly, Oneness was interpreted at the ethnic level, 'because being one is very common among the ethnic groups' (1.9). Depending on the definition used, some teachers viewed Oneness as embedded within 'part of their tribe and their tribe as a whole' (3.6). It was not said to be distinct to any ethnic group, but what was common between them. While a minor finding, religion featured within some definitions of Oneness, but significantly less so compared to ethnicity. According to Ameyo:

> In Ghana, we have three types of religion. We have Islamic Religion, you have Christianity and African Traditional Religion… that is why it's being taught in Our World Our People, as a kind of truce so that there will be Oneness and uniqueness, there will be respect… People should not be thinking, "Because you are Muslim… You are not seen as the same as one being… Because you are Christian, you are not the same."
>
> (1.3)

Secondly, Oneness was interpreted as national consciousness, defined as 'seeing part of me in you' (2.2) between ethnic groups. It appeared to serve as common rhetoric for overcoming their everyday challenges: in this instance, eradicating tribalism and moving out of poverty. Thirdly, for a few teachers, Oneness transcended across their political borders to include neighbouring countries in West Africa, while for others, it stretched across the African continent and the African diaspora. It was apparent that the teachers' definition of Oneness was inherent to being Black Ghanaian and, subsequently, being Black African — this is explored more fully later in this chapter. Oneness therefore was ethnic, national, and (Black) African consciousness, absorbed into their vast definition of Ghanaian citizenship. It had meaning both inside the nation's political borders and outside of them. This appeared to depict the meaning of Being Ghanaian that learners needed to know as part of their identity-formation and sense of belonging to each other, suggesting a deeply rooted unity between Ghanaians, as much as Africans.

While the idea has been explored in Chapter 7, it is worth reiterating that a way of grounding their Oneness, through their constant negotiations of ethnic, national, and (Black) African consciousness, was from 'knowing your roots' (3.6) that I now define as Rootedness. Succinctly, Oneness was symbiotic with

Rootedness, a way of grounding the teachers' multi-faceted sense of identity and belonging. As already discussed, Rootedness was related to place: the site where ethnic group-based identity is constituted and sustained (where are you from?). When infused into Oneness, it also appeared to evoke a shared memory on ancestry (who are you from?).

As with Oneness, Rootedness was understood at multiple levels. For instance, Rootedness was seen at the ethnic level, as Akua stated: 'Being a citizen of Ghana… [children] should be able to identify themselves, where they come from, their ancestors, how their ethnic groups came into being' (1.8). For others, Rootedness was seen in relation to Ghana in the nationwide sense of roots, or put differently, the land as roots. According to Esther: '[Ghanaian] citizenship is to know your roots because if you know your roots then you know where you are coming from to then know where you are going… do you get me?' (3.4).

These findings suggest that the notion of Rootedness was also evolving and being adapted to the modern state. It was central to how many teachers viewed their learners' current and future citizenship. Furthermore, Rootedness was applied to those of the Black African diaspora, serving as a memory of the disruption from the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Akua related such ideas to recent efforts in 2019, instigated by the Ghanaian President, to offer citizenship to those of Ghanaian heritage. She approved of this because, 'It's very good that they [diasporan Africans] know their roots… where this Government helped to bring back these Blacks'[31] (1.8). Joy also spoke about sustaining connections with the Black African diaspora for inspiring in her learners the changes experienced by Black people outside of Africa:

> So we would still see ourselves as inferior beings but things are changing. What you people did to us in the past was bad, but in another way it has helped us. I mean if we think about Black Americans, like the Black American man who became president over there… so, changing.
>
> (2.2)

[31] The Year of Return in 2019 was a government initiative to encourage African diasporans to settle and invest in Ghana or obtain dual citizenship. It commemorated 400 years since the first enslaved Africans landed in Jamestown in the United States of America.

As seen in the citation, this change was identified through the symbol of a Black president in the United States of America, in reference to Barack Obama as a former President, which arguably represents racial equality in power, position and success.

8.2.2. ‘A way of how you relate’

The teachers further defined Oneness in stating that it was ‘a way of how you relate to others, and others in different communities, and then how you relate to other people in other societies’ (1.1). Oneness was thus a relational ontology for evoking a shared sense of being. In fact, upon defining their ideas, the philosophy on African communalism was mentioned as a way of instilling a collective sense of responsibility in learners. The discussion was raised principally by the headteachers, who spoke on how they had embedded African communalism into their school ethos in order to foster unity between their learners and to prepare them for their future citizenship. The headteachers also sought to foster the same ethos within the teachers to model this for the children, inferring that African communalism was perceived as inherent to how all Ghanaians should live. Abena commented:

> I am working on the teachers. I have been able to bring all of the teachers together so we are one. That, you see, when the children are able to see that togetherness, that Oneness amongst the teachers, it transcends into the classroom. So even when there are issues bothering them, they could even come here and say, “Madam this happened in the classroom, this happened, that person did that.” So this is the kind of family I am looking at building… We know our strengths and our weaknesses of all and that creates the family… African living is communal. It’s communal living. It’s not about an individual… It’s like we are living in a family. Even if you don’t know the person, you are a family. As far as you are Ghanaian, we are all one.
> (3.5)

As Abena discusses, African communalism was entwined with the analogy of Africa as a universal family, espoused alongside African humanism. While Abena’s ethos was aimed at the school level, some teachers used the analogy of the family within their definitions of citizenship as a way of educating their learners to relate to other Ghanaians as their ‘brothers and sisters’ (2.5), and to other Africans as ‘cousins, like in West Africa’ (1.6). According to Samuel, the

idea of relating together across Africa as a universal family such as 'those even in Southern Africa, is a form of citizenship at the highest level' (1.9).

Within the everyday classroom, teachers described how speaking the local language was central to their relatedness to their children as much as fostering relatedness between them. As Eve remarked:

> Because here in Ghana, they like that tribalism… Even the way someone is talking to you… Once they consider you as 'one' and find you can speak the same language, you can form one community. They don't care whether you are from the same womb or not, they don't care. Once we speak the same language then you are my brother or my sister. But if another person speaks another language… they would not offer the same help to that one.
>
> (2.5)

These teachers also spoke about the challenge of potentially being deployed anywhere in the country due to the conditions of GES, without much (if any) consideration for the languages they spoke and the consequences of this for their learners. While all teachers spoke more than one language, including English, the challenge of teaching against the backdrop of a multi-linguistic state was readily apparent. Ayisha, who came from Northern Ghana and was unfamiliar with any languages in Southern Ghana, commented that:

> It's very hard… you see in GES they move you where your service is needed. But they don't consider language… They should make sure that the language that you learn, you are posted there… But it's hard to relate to the children when they aren't from where I am from.
>
> (3.8)

However, in the wider societal context, having too many different languages was also seen as a challenge, preventing any unity in 'being Ghanaian' (1.7). Having witnessed much nepotism in his teaching career, Isaac argued:

> We have other languages within one ethnic group, and then we have more than ninety in total across Ghana… so if you can just imagine the number of languages we have here… and the different languages, the number of languages… they do more damage than good. One language unifies… If I speak a similar language, I will see part of you in me. Sometimes you may not even be all that qualified but I will give you the job, even if there is a better person… Nepotism.
>
> (1.7)

Consequently, Isaac, amongst others, believed that the Government needed consistency in its language policy to better prepare teachers, and with the wider aim of preventing division. It was not explored with Isaac which language he was referring to however, whether the English language being the official language, or one of 11 additional government-sponsored languages that can be regional.

The primary goal of fostering Oneness in their learners was related to these teachers' overarching vision for national unity, aimed at eradicating the lasting effects of tribalism. To achieve this, some teachers believed that the curriculum was an 'educational expression' of Oneness (3.7) in the way it 'focused on belonging to each other' (2.5). Their role, as a teacher, was to model the common values of Being Ghanaian. As a result, Oneness was highly values-driven and, notably, was aligned to the values typically associated with liberal democratic citizenship. According to Amba:

> Some people years ago, used to think, "When you belong to that tribe, this is what makes you a Ghanaian"… but for me, I don't think like that at all… If you don't take in the Ghanaian values and live like that, you are not Ghanaian… And this is what I teach the children… You know all values matter for all tribes… There are common values that you have to accept and live with above your tribal values because if you say you are a Ghanaian and don't live by the common values, you are not.
>
> (3.4)

Consistent throughout the interviews, equality and respect were the key values that teachers should aim to model, and reiterating those in the National Curriculum. Such values were also seen to be underpinning the reason behind recent governmental reforms which, according to Amba, was 'the Government finally trying… to break in us, "This is where I come from, this is where I belong and it justifies no change"… We learn to see ourselves as Ghanaians and all as one… We are one… so that gap is closing now' (3.4).

8.2.3. 'Being part of the community'

Another defining feature of Oneness related to being part of the community. As Vincent stated: 'It's not really about the individual here but about what you transfer… as being part of the community… It's about family… It's funny to talk about 'I'm an individual, on my own' (2.7). While Oneness was embedded in

communalism, being an individual, associated with individualism, was not regarded as a threat to Oneness. Several teachers claimed that the notion of the individual was positive for challenging the norms of cultures that keep you 'pulled into your family' (2.7). It was in these discussions that universal human rights arose, because they demarcated as much as protected the individual from within the community — this was seen as one of 'the positives… from the Europeans' (3.3). The teachers' positioning of human rights in this way shows that they were not perceived as indigenous to Ghana. As regards to their learners, rights were seen to empower the child as an individual — but within their community, rather than separate from it. Education was for training 'children to be logical thinkers… so they have the power to decide' (2.7).

Relating back to these conversations in Chapter 7, these findings may explain why conceiving human rights as an entitlement of an individual, in terms of having the 'right to,' was problematic for teachers in School 1. They claimed that it came at the expense of losing community. It suggests why rights were seen to disrupt the communal means of discipline, shedding light on the following quote from Samuel in School 1:

> Now there is a change because of knowing human rights… You see previously when I was a child… every child in the community would be community property. So you didn't belong to your parents alone, even your parents will tell you that. So when you mess up outside, everyone would know. Anyone would teach you to behave. Now it's individual. This is because of human rights… There should be a collective way of upbringing so the child is well disciplined.
>
> (1.9)

'Becoming so individual' (1.7) was only to be challenged when the individual privileged themselves over others' welfare. Oneness was portrayed as helping educate about mutual reciprocity, as part of their African communal way of being. Several teachers raised concerns about the increasing mentality of 'what can I gain?' (3.7) and 'failing to think about my neighbour' (3.4), as opposed to thinking about how to 'benefit other Ghanaians' (2.2). They argued that this individualistic thinking, exacerbated by political leadership, had weakened the idea of being one nation. Some teachers held strong opinions that politicians had successively prioritised themselves above the nation, accumulating individual wealth from outside of Ghana. In turn, the gap between the rich and poor had

enlarged, resulting in an unequal distribution of resources and affecting access to and the quality of basic education. Isaac argued: 'Everything is politics, politics, politics [rather than] the nation, number one' (1.7). These views suggest why there has been a consistent lack of attention in educational reforms toward democratising education, and the lack of support given to teachers in this process.

These teachers indicate a problem in Ghana's transition to democratic governance. Isaac and Samuel from School 1 spoke the most freely on politics; the absence of discussion on the topic with women teachers alludes to a gender imbalance in having agency to critique power. As Isaac argued, 'African leadership is not setting a good example for the younger ones to emulate' (1.7). Due to the shortcomings of the Government, Samuel believed that the Ghanaian people had led most of the nation's transformation, arguing that 'nationalism is basically at the grass-roots' (1.9). A disjuncture seems to exist between what these teachers envision for their nation compared to their Government. The teachers' construction of Oneness as their native structure could be sitting at odds with the Government's alleged Western expression of democracy, creating tension in schools.

8.3. 'Standing on our Past'

8.3 1. 'Citizenship is about the future, so they learn from our past'

Symbolic of their historic ability to overcome, Oneness aimed for learners to 'stand upon [the past] and make changes… so we can all build the nation together' (1.2). The teachers' goal was to consciously teach their learners about the nation's 'mistakes' (1.7) that fractured Oneness, emerging from division. According to these teachers, the key mistake was tribalism, which hindered the nation in moving out of poverty. Isaac was opinionated that, 'Citizenship is about what could happen in the future… so I believe teaching of the history, history, history in particular, [the children] will learn from our mistakes. In the future, they may do better than our generation' (1.7). On this basis, all teachers

agreed that the curricular subject of History was the most significant for nurturing citizenship — as opposed to OWOP, which was the dedicated subject.

Whether from the Lower or Upper Primary levels, all teachers esteemed the introduction of History and remarked on their learners' enjoyment of the subject. Furthermore, teachers criticised previous governments for the subject's prolonged absence in primary schools, which they argued had contributed to a lack of national identity and unity. Emmanuel, who had extensive teaching experience and had observed several educational reforms, witnessed its effects on the children:

> Formerly, I think back to when we were in school, we… know a lot about history… and we build, build, build… but in time they [the Government] took it off and the modern children who come, they don't know anything about their history. Their identity, lost. So we talk about it… in fact, they've [the Government] only just realised the need to move closer by looking back in the distance.
>
> (3.6)

Several Upper Primary teachers further criticised the treatment of History in the former subject of Citizenship Education [from the 2007 reform], noting the failure to 'relate it to our life' (2.4) as it 'wasn't in the detail… and there was no place to be critical… not able to participate… or even care' (3.3).

When teaching the subject of History, the aim was 'to talk about the truth… what really happened' (1.2). According to Samuel, this involved children knowing about 'the good sides and the bad sides' of Ghanaian history to make a 'full judgement' (1.9). Most teachers agreed on what these good and bad aspects were, showing how these value judgements permeated much of the discussion. While views on history are highly subjective, findings indicate that these teachers' views aligned with the new curricular learning expectations of History, and the topics covered within it.

8.3.2. 'Our British colonial history: We talk about the good and bad'

The subject of British colonialism surfaced in the teachers' discussions. Out of the interview sample of 26 teachers, 20 spoke about this, highlighting its

significance. Out of this specific sample of 20 teachers, only three teachers viewed colonialism as entirely positive. This included Ibrahim, who claimed this was because of 'all of the facilities they brought' (1.10). 14 teachers of the sample were of the opinion that colonialism had both its positives of introducing a formal educational system, hospitals, and Christianity, and its negatives of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade, and the cause of Ghana's underdevelopment. The remaining three teachers of the sample, namely Samuel (1.9), Jennifer (2.4), and Ayisha (3.8), expressed colonialism as being entirely negative, with Samuel arguing that 'white people denied us from a lot' (1.9). Despite this significant variation in views, it was agreed that children needed to know about their British colonial history to understand its effects on nation-building — for ensuring children could 'defend ourselves now' (1.2) to sustain their Oneness, as symbolic of their Independence. A quote from Vincent summarises these teachers' views:

> Colonialism, or the past, it has its own mask in us…Without disputing that fact, history is history, and we build on the past to see to the future so in order not to go back to the past. As our forefathers always said, "Forward ever, backwards never"[32]. It's what we obtain to achieve at the end… that we have gained Independence. We shouldn't go back to the era of slavery or colonialism but we should move forward as a self-governed country to be able to produce and manage our own affairs… We [the teacher and children] discuss both the good and bad side of it… then later we look at the way forward and how to deal with it together.
>
> (2.7)

It is important that these 17 teachers, out of the sample of 20, agreed that colonialism had finished, marked by Ghana having 'gained Independence [in 1957 and] gained our freedom' (1.4). However, all 20 teachers spoke on the pervasive 'mentality' in their learners who 'wish to be with the whites' (3.5), which is further explored in section 8.4. In relation to this section, the same three teachers who viewed colonialism as negative, Samuel (1.9), Jennifer (2.4), and Ayisha (3.8), explicitly asserted that this mentality was 'individual colonisation still happening' (2.4). The additional 14 teachers, seeing both the positives and negatives of colonialism, held a similar view, but without articulating it in this way. As Victoria argued:

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[32] The phrase, 'Forward ever, backwards never' was used by Kwame Nkrumah, as the motto of his Convention People's Party in 1959.

> That mentality, I don't think it's good to have it there. They [the children] see you [me, as the researcher] as… like you are superior. They still have that thing because you were rulers once… You see later on we had our independence but they still see the white as our god.
>
> (1.5)

These findings indicate a tension between viewing colonialism as a historic event that helped to confine the positives and the negatives, but, with the exception of the three teachers, this led to a difficulty, if not confusion, in explaining the lasting effect of this colonial mentality.

One related minor finding was that a few teachers held contradictory views on colonialism in relation to religion, and what this meant within existing processes for learners' identity-formation. These views surfaced when discussing African Traditional Religion, suggesting that difference in religion is where exclusion was still occurring most in primary schools. For example, Elizabeth was conscious not to deny the impact of European colonialism on religion, but, on the other hand, did not acknowledge her own discriminatory beliefs surrounding those with different religious affiliations:

> Elizabeth: African Traditional Religion is still important… You have some people who are still traditional followers…
>
> Researcher: So talking about history now…
>
> Elizabeth: Oh colonialism… They brought Christianity… We were formally in the traditional religion and Christianity helped us because these days we now know that other religions were full of lies.
>
> (1.1)

8.3.3. 'We have a role of encouragement'

Regardless of age group, British colonial history was seen as a vital part of their new curriculum because it was an opportunity for developing critical thinking on the topic. There was a spectrum of views presented, however, about how this manifested in the classroom. The age of the child was seen as a key factor. Across the spectrum of views, only one teacher, Linda, a B6 teacher, felt there was 'no need to talk about the [negative aspects]… as the positive outweighs the negative so I don't take my time to show them that' (1.6). This infers a lack of critical engagement in her teaching since being critical, in its simplest form, is

the process of exploring points of view on a subject both positively and negatively. It further implies that Linda’s approach to teaching History was rooted in factual memorisation. Blessing, a B1 teacher, shared the same view, raising no issue on only partially teaching on colonial history. She suggested that it was inappropriate to confront her learners on anything emotive due to their young age: ‘I am not supposed to tell the child, they did us wrong… Though I know a lot about it, it is not for me to teach the child’ (1.4).

On the other end of the spectrum, the process of critical thinking about history was to encourage their learners to make a values-judgement on the negatives and positives of colonialism. These teachers claimed that their learners needed to formulate their own opinion on what happened by ‘choosing’ and ‘deciding for themselves,’ and, as Samuel articulated, ‘to test whatever [the British] did, whether it is good or bad and then think, “It’s up to me as the individual to pick the good ones out of what is left with the bad ones and move on with it”’ (1.9). These same teachers then described a pedagogic approach for fostering critical thinking, starting by ‘feeling it with them’ (2.2), followed by helping their learners to develop ‘empathy with their ancestors’ (3.3). Next, learners were allowed to ‘raise questions’ (1.5), and, finally, teachers needed to make their history relevant to their learners’ everyday realities by helping them to ‘move forward’ (1.9). Teachers also explained how the historical landmarks of Accra were a major resource to make history more relevant.

According to some teachers, the lack of detail in the curriculum also affected their teaching, with some feeling restricted despite wanting to elaborate with the children. Eve explained: ‘There are negatives [in colonial history], but sadly what the curriculum permits me to teach, that is what I’ve taught’ (2.5). Other teachers were aware of the constraints in modelling critical thinking, mainly lack of subject knowledge, paucity of resources, time pressures, and having to ‘reteach what…[parents] have said’ (2.4).

For the Upper Primary teachers, fostering critical thinking seemed most challenging when teaching about the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade and the struggles for Independence, such as the imprisonment of the Big Six and the 1948 Accra riots. While being willing to teach these topics, some teachers

expressed uncertainty on how to teach the emotive topics out of an underlying concern about fuelling racism against white people. Victoria stated, ‘I can’t teach on Black and white and about race because then [the children] might start hating the whites’ (1.5). The consequence of this was avoidance. Others seemed more confident in knowing how to teach this difficult subject and how to respond to their learners’ reactions. Arguably, they seemed to approach the curriculum and their own role as a teacher with a higher level of professional autonomy than others. For example, Jennifer remarked:

> Telling them about the slave trade, it brings some sort of pain… [the children say] “Why would they have to take us through all of this pain,” and “Can we trust them again?” I had that question which was a very difficult one. But the facts are straight, we can’t hide it from them… If we don’t give it to them, they will get it anyway. So we have to teach them to understand that… I mean, yes, we do have traces of racism in others… but, it’s no longer that the Slave Trade exists… It’s cut off. But they are the next generation, right?... So we [as teachers] have a role of encouragement and to let them understand that it did happen… but if you really want [racism] to change then it starts with you… that is how I get them to overcome that pain.
> (2.4)

To some degree, these varied responses demonstrate the inconsistency in teaching British colonial history across these schools. This shapes how children understand their pasts as much as their ability to critically grapple with sites of power. Equally, these teachers stipulated that critical thinking on the colonial past would enable their children to learn from it in order to construct their own narratives on nation-building. As Isaac remarked, ‘By learning history and knowing our mistakes, [the children] will be able to know much about their civic responsibilities’ (1.7). Fostering critical thinking also ensured that the past was not romanticised.

8.3.4. ‘Festivals are for dealing with ourselves’

Within the same theme of standing on our past, all teachers spoke about traditional festivals as a ‘living expression’ (3.2) of Oneness at the ethnic and national level. The festivals were still held in an ethnic group’s Indigenous settlement as a means of constituting and sustaining ethnic identity and belonging, as well as ‘as a way of respecting what our forefathers taught us’ (1.9). Attendance was expected throughout the year, where possible. Within

contemporary Ghana, the purpose of these festivals was also for promoting national identity and belonging. Eunice explained, ‘because we are living as national now… we expose them to festivals… so we sustain our ways so the children will know what is happening in different areas because we all believe in being one people’ (2.1). For Jessica, it seemed that festivals were inherently for performing Ghanaian identity thus mutually implicative, exemplified in the following discussion:

> Researcher: Do you think in Ghana people have a stronger identity with their ethnicity or with their country, or both?
>
> Jessica: Well in Ghana, I would say it is all based on maintaining their festivals… It brings us together. It brings families together.
>
> (3.2)

Even the process of participating in festivals different to your own was a way of evolving Oneness, as Vincent stated:

> These festivals are open irrespective of where you come from…you can just walk in and be part of that community with no restriction… So we integrate through these festivals and you no longer see the discrimination… When you look at the syllabus, we are promoting that festivals are the things that promote national unity in being one.
>
> (2.7)

These findings suggest that participating in traditional festivals, as part of the informal civic life of Ghanaians, was subsequently used for sustaining liberal democracy, if not demonstrating an indigenous expression of it. According to Grace, ‘Festivals are a way of dealing with ourselves’ (3.7), demonstrating both a cultural and a political purpose. A number of citations illustrate how festivals were used for ‘governance’ (1.9), to ‘settle a dispute,’ and ‘for keeping mutual understanding’ (2.5), ‘to bring peace,’ and ‘put people at loggerheads together’ (3.2). Summarising views, Samuel explained:

> What our forefathers taught us was that the most important reasons for festivals are… one, is to reinforce the cultural traditions and governance. Two, is to unite as a people of a particular tribe. Three, is to unite as a family and settle disputes in the family level, to the tribal level and to the ethnic level… It is basically finding resolution… Reconciling is in our cultural heritage.
>
> (1.9)

As this quote suggests, there are many indigenous expressions about democracy that can easily be overlooked by an overt focus on the formal processes of liberal democracy — such as cooperation, conflict resolution, unified sense of identity — which are all embedded into the participatory process of festivals as ‘a standard of bringing us together’ (2.7). Despite their significance, it seemed that these teachers’ explanations of festivals, with an indigenous democratic function, were sitting at odds with the prevailing westernised discourse on democracy, as articulated in the new 2019 National Curriculum. At the same time, there appears to be a possibility for enhancing the relationship between traditional and modern expressions of democracy through Oneness, consolidating the state-citizen relationship.

Given their central role in festivals, learners also needed to know about chieftaincy and customary law — although this type of governance was a ‘rare thing’ in Accra except for the Ga chieftaincy in Jamestown (1.9). While a minor point in the interviews, this does suggest that the National Government carried greater weighting within the Greater Accra Region, as Abena, an Akan, explained:

> So it seems like the Government has a vision but it only seems to work in the southern region of Ghana, because most of the Ghanaian villages… like the Asante Region… we have a king… It’s a completely different leadership. (3.5)

What is implied is that these teachers, who were mainly of ethnicities other than Ga, saw a difference in governance distinct to the Greater Accra Region, as specific to the national Government. This was compared to the rest of Ghana, where chieftaincy is more common. It raises an important point on the extent to which the Ga children, as indigenous to Accra, are taught to observe their own chieftaincy as being hosted in Jamestown.

8.4. 'Their Pre-Conditioned Mindset'

8.4 1. 'They wish to be with the whites'

By remembering the past, teachers aspired for their learners' future citizenship to be 'persuaded' from the deeply embedded mentality of 'wishing to be with the whites' (3.4). Education was 'trying to persuade them from that thinking' (2.2). These teachers seemed conscious of unequal power between Ghanaians as Black people and white people, as an enduring effect of colonialism. Speaking about Blackness, teachers ascribed the term 'Black' as an identity when differentiating the Ghanaian children from people outside of Africa. Such people were exclusively perceived as white people, and being located in the West, used interchangeably with reference to North America and the United Kingdom (and sometimes the continent of Europe as a whole).

Teachers described Africans as, 'Black' (1.6), 'the Blacks' (2.6), 'these Blacks' (1.8), and, 'being Black' (3.3). The same language applied to white people, such as 'the whites' (2.4), 'white people' (1.9), and 'being white' (3.1). However these terms were used, findings suggest that their meanings were similar — that white people, as identified through their skin colour, embodied privilege that was sustained through the perception of the West as 'perfect,' constituted through its wealth (1.7). Most of these teachers sought to challenge the perception that Black people (specifically Black Ghanaians) were inferior, constituted through the image of Ghana as 'not perfect' because of its poverty (1.7).

Teachers in School 1, located in a community of extreme poverty, spoke prolifically on the power inequality between Black and white people because of the complex relationship of 'the development agencies from the whites providing materials in their community' (1.2). Such comments came primarily from the B5 and B6 teachers, who expressed significant concern about its impact on their learners' perceptions of self. Victoria added: 'We have Black people coming to donate but when you come here, the way they receive you is different' (1.5). Samuel was critical of this problem in Jamestown, which had

perpetuated a mentality of inferiority on the basis of being Black. This is shown in the following dialogue:

Samuel: You see when they see people of foreign breed they want to just try and emulate… speak and blend with them… For them they are seeing that… basically everything that the Europeans do and what the whites do is 100% good. They see no problem with that… But I am not seeing it the same as the kids. Kids are also like photocopy, they see what the others are doing it and copy it…

Researcher: Ok, so, being white, what would I represent to them for example?

Samuel: You represent a whole lot of culture, all money like everything… scientifically proving in their minds that the white people can do more where everything is in order… to have all these things that we don't have. You are superior.

Researcher: So, of what you have seen of post-colonial Ghana and a country not under British rule any more, and also what you are saying about the West, do you see a Ghana you'd hope for?

Samuel: Basically, we are not independent, not yet.

(1.9)

8.4.2. 'You should be proud of where you are from'

These teachers seemed conscious of an ongoing struggle for their learners' futures that was more than a problem with constructing citizenship, rather an internalised mentality that oriented their mindsets onto the West than Ghana. This needed to change. Of the sample of 20 teachers who spoke about colonialism, three teachers, Esther (3.3), Eve (2.5), and Ibrahim (1.10) made no reference to this mentality, and who also spoke positively about colonialism. Interestingly, both Esther and Eve had spoken previously on the issue of ethnic and religious discrimination and were critical of power imbalances in Ghanaian society. Yet, they believed that colonialism had brought economic stability to Ghana. Eve stated that:

> In my opinion… we withdrew the British people too early. We should have allowed them to stay because if you look at other countries where the white people left later, some of the developments in those countries are better.
>
> (2.5)

Comparisons were further made between Ghana and South Africa, a country where the colonialists stayed longer: ‘You can see that they are more up… and they have established their status’ (3.3). These teachers did not acknowledge South Africa’s struggle with racism and the country’s violent past and present, however. For Ibrahim, the idea of ‘catching up with the West’ (3.3) was a way of defining and measuring how Ghana was ‘developing,’ as reflected in the conversation below:

> Ibrahim: The other countries are more advanced than here
>
> Researcher: Ok, what do you mean by advanced?
>
> Ibrahim: Well in terms of their schools, their way of life, the country itself that they live in is more perfect and all the facilities that Ghana has not got… We’ve not reached there yet… I don’t know when we will reach.
>
> (1.10)

However, the remaining 17 teachers articulated significant concerns with this type of mentality. According to Blessing, this mentality came from a longstanding societal belief that ‘the only place to seek is outside of Ghana, especially the West’ (1.4). This had created a ‘pre-conditioned mindset’ in Ghanaian society (2.5), inculcating children with the idea that ‘when I go to the West and get those dollars, things will be ok for me’ (3.8). A number of teachers explained that: ‘[The children] have the notion that white are rich, everything at their disposal’ (1.2); ‘It’s like a dream… having those things… good living… lavish lifestyle… the only thing that comes into their mind is money’ (2.4); ‘It is more perfect and all the facilities that Ghana has not got’ (1.10); and ‘It’s rosy out there’ (3.8). These teachers were clear that this mentality had profoundly influenced their learners’ aspirations. Eric was vocal about this topic, observing its effects in his own learners:

> If you ask them what they want to become in the future, they will tell you the only thing is that they want to be working outside of the country, “So why not Ghana?” They want to be with the whites.
>
> (1.2)

Failure to correct this mentality in wider society had led to a depletion of patriotism and nationalism, influencing their learners’ disregard for Ghana and

what they believed of its future. This was seen as a problem of politics, that, ‘here in Africa, leadership has failed us’ (1.7). This is illustrated in the following discussion with Blessing:

> Researcher: Do you think children are proud to be Ghanaian?
>
> Blessing: I would say that it is still something we are trying to teach them, because even as adults, you see… most people wish they are not Ghanaians, even as adults.
>
> Researcher: Why is that?
>
> Blessing: I don’t know how to put it but that is the mentality. If someone wants to seek for greener pastures, the only place that I can seek is outside of Ghana and especially from the West. I don’t think that should be. I don’t know but sometimes we tend to blame it on our leaders based on how they handle the nation. Most of the children see the white people and they wish they are like them. This shouldn’t be so. I think we should be proud of who you are and where you are from. (1.4)

Blessing’s criticism was that politicians constantly gained from outside of Ghana, namely the West. As mentioned before, Samuel and Isaac from School 1 spoke fervently on these issues. Samuel asserted: ‘They send their children outside to go and have basic education, but why, there are a lot of good schools here’ (1.9). He believed that this compounded the message inside of Ghana that ‘basically the politician does not value whatever is in Ghana… so everybody thinks what politicians do… is 100% correct.’ For Isaac, this had created an image of deficit between the West ‘with the haves,’ and Ghana, ‘with the have-nots’ (1.7), as much as it divided the Government from its citizenry. Samuel further argued, ‘why must I struggle in my own country?’ (1.9). A distinction was also made between anti-colonial leaders, namely Kwame Nkrumah, compared to recent politicians. Nkrumah was applauded for his commitment to building inside the nation in contrast to politicians who sought to gain from outside the nation. He exhibited Oneness by prioritising other Ghanaians above himself.

Four teachers of this sample explicitly stated that this mentality was ‘individual colonisation still happening’ (2.4). As Jennifer explained:

> The funny thing is that as individuals, we are allowing ourselves to be colonised where we still believe that the things from the West are better

> than from Africa. So its individual colonisation still happening.
> (2.4)

There were some correlating characteristics between these specific individuals: Jennifer (2.4), Samuel (1.9), Vincent (2.7), and Ayisha (3.8). These teachers were all mid-career, had travelled outside of Ghana, and had post-graduate qualifications. Those most opinionated on colonialism had previously taught in Junior High School and Senior High School, inferring that the subject of Social Studies (citizenship education) had supported their teaching knowledge and helped them learn how to grapple with these issues, now as primary teachers and, with such topics implemented in the new curriculum.

8.4.3. 'We can and we should develop'

While Oneness was seen for mobilising unity to accelerate economic development, most teachers were opinionated that, 'We do not need Western influence to achieve this' (3.6). The comment reiterates how their Oneness signified the ability to overcome: in this instance, poverty. Jennifer asserted that, 'We can and we should develop' (2.4) — this embodies the right to develop, another tenet of liberal democratic citizenship. Equally, Jennifer's comments, with those of some other teachers, allude to the right to self-determination as integral to the right to develop. Put differently, as a sovereign nation-state, Ghana had the right to develop without Western-based aid. It appeared that these teachers were attempting to redefine the terms of both liberal democratic and neoliberal agendas, while reimagining a different trajectory for the future nation. Unsurprisingly, being financially independent was interlinked with Ghana being more politically independent, as Ameyo explained:

> Ameyo: So to be an African, to be a Ghanaian, we have our own freedom… No one is going to rule and to dictate to you… Being African we are about being independent, don't depend on anyone… No one dictates to you… That is our freedom.
>
> Researcher: So when you say not being dependent?
>
> Ameyo: Well you see, financially, no one is an island so we depend on each other, but I mean when it comes to restricting, we have

> our plans and national goals, so no one will tell you, “Do this and do that.”
>
> (1.3)

Jennifer spoke further about the complex relationship between Ghana and the West that had exacerbated a mindset of dependence on aid. As seen in the comment below, she alludes to the racialised hierarchies of power within political systems as a legacy of colonialism. This offers a more in-depth understanding of the issue raised by teachers in School 1 in the previous section:

> We still have children who… wouldn’t want to associate with a white because… I will be straight… they see them as bad people. Our politics is not helping…So they will say “Oh these white people went through the politicians, the whites have something to hide. That’s why they went through the politicians…because we don’t even trust them”… so the channels of politics are bad… The thing that hurts the most is that we still see our colonial masters developing and we see ourselves as if we are under-developed. So we feel that they took our resources, forgetting that our resources are still here. I mean we see ourselves as exploited, but we are not… still waiting for [the white people] to bring us machinery and technology and everything to work out… and we still sit here as saddened and embittered which is wrong. We could also develop. We can and we should. But we still look up to them and say, “They are getting better.” You know… they take our gold, but we have the resources so we should learn to exploit [these resources]. They can get from us.
>
> (2.4)

While it can be inferred that Jennifer advocates deploying the model of industrialisation for Ghana’s economic development, she appears to challenge the terms that Ghana needs the Global North to develop in the process. It is the other way round. Aysiha went further, arguing for an entirely different trajectory for Ghana and Africa that no longer involved competing with the West: ‘For me, it is about understanding why we should be together, why we shouldn’t see borders as racial borders, border in terms of colour, border in terms of knowledge, border in terms of economic stability, and then we remove all forms of competition. The West is not competing with Africa’ (3.8). Jennifer, amongst others, argued that the purpose of education was to challenge in their learners’ ‘thinking [that] we will just get it’ (2.4), in relation to dependence on aid. However, it was understood that achieving this would be a gradual process and ‘hard to challenge’ (1.2).

As a starting point, children needed to recognise their individual role in building the economy, as Ayisha argued, ‘It’s high time that they know, “You have no other place than here” […] Yes, it will be a sacrifice but you will enjoy’ (3.8). Children needed to learn how to become ‘self-sufficient citizens… standing on their own’ (3.2). Another key idea concerned learners relating their ‘sacrificial’ efforts to their anti-colonial leaders, having set an example to stay and build Ghana’s economy. As the country’s first President, Kwame Nkrumah was the most cited leader that their learners should emulate, primarily for his articulating and leveraging Oneness (as identified at the start of this chapter). However, he was not idolised: his leadership was regarded as symbolic of sacrificing oneself for the nation. This is why some teachers still remembered Nkrumah’s efforts in contrast to other politicians, as illustrated in the below quote from Isaac:

> Nowadays, we are becoming so individual, thinking about ourselves… but the love for the nation, as it were previously in those days, it is no longer there… So when you hear the narrative… the things he faced then, the stage of where Kwame Nkrumah took us too. If only that place had continued up until now, in Ghana… It would have been a very beautiful place for everybody.
>
> (1.7)

Nkrumah, along with other anti-colonial leaders, was applauded for his commitment to stay in the country in order to create and, eventually provide opportunities for others. Ayisha was enthused about the importance of motivating her learners to think about their own future sacrifices for Ghana’s development:

> “What am I to do?” We are now asking ourselves this question. Not, “What my country is to do for me?” […] Because, if you look at our past and what we were enjoying… people died. The 6th March, we are going to celebrate our Independence. People sacrificed for me… So with that spirit in this young age, you should let them know, “What are you going do to for your country?”
>
> (3.8)

As incorporated into the curricular subjects of OWOP and History, teachers spoke about using examples of ‘sacrificial’ leaders from their past to inspire learners as a way of possibility that could be achieved irrespective of background. As Eunice explained, ‘We encourage them. We motivate them. I

even tell them, “No matter where you are coming from, some presidents came up from the remote areas and they are now president. So no matter where you have come from and you pull your weight…and you learn, you go and you obtain”’ (2.1). Other names of iconic leaders were given: for Akua, these were predominantly women like Esther Afua Ocloo, Efua Sutherland, Theodosia Okoh, and Yaa Astentwaa, who were deemed to be ‘outstanding females who have contributed to our history, to our nation’ (1.8) and would inspire her learners.

8.5. ‘Bringing their Minds Back to their Country’

8.5.1. ‘Everything Ghana’

In response to discussions about the status of the nation, in its past and present, all teachers envisioned for their learners’ futures to refocus onto ‘everything Ghana’ (1.9). Generally, ‘everything about Ghana’ was described in terms of knowing and valuing ‘what is our own’ (1.3), and, ‘things they should know inside of Ghana’ (3.1). Teachers believed this would reinforce the message that, ‘It’s not about being outside of the country to take you where you want to be… You try to bring their mind back to their country’ (1.2), and encourage ‘children to stay’ in their futures (3.6). The overarching vision for education was for nurturing creativity and innovative thinking in order to ‘understand the needs of the nation and try to solve problems in that nation, to try and help improve it’ (2.4): finding Ghanaian solutions to Ghanaian problems. Children needed to be inspired to value their country as much as reimagine ‘how they see [Ghana] and how they wish it will be’ (1.9). Many teachers put forward their ideas on how to implement their vision in schools, and their role within this. Overall, their views seemed to articulate a challenge to the legacy of colonialism, with education as a ‘powerful tool’ to this end (1.9).

As Joy commented, ‘It starts with us as Ghanaians and then moves to outside of them’ (2.2). Specifically, these ideas were related to knowledge. Outside knowledge was seen to be Western, so inside knowledge, being Indigenous Knowledges, was Ghanaian and/or African (these terms were sometimes used interchangeably). Such comments arose after critiques of the previous education system for being too Western: ‘In the past, Western education really really

really influenced Africans' (3.5). What these findings infer is that knowledge in schools was a site of struggle for fostering national pride by valuing anything Western rather than that which was Ghanaian. This is exemplified in Samuel's argument:

> They are not proud. Everybody wants to leave… I believe that our education system is let's say, about 200% cause of this. Basically, I think children from the lower classes should rather be taught basically about things concerning Ghana. Everything Ghana… Citizenship is about them… Their way of thinking that everything outside is perfect is wrong… They need to stay and build their country.
>
> (1.9)

All teachers agreed that outside knowledge in schools was not perceived as wrong. Rather, the problem had been a lack of value placed on inside knowledge (meaning what was indigenous to Ghana). The new curriculum was gradually addressing the problem. Concerning the everyday classroom, Abena added: 'We are blending, combining so many aspects of the good and bad of all to decide what this means for us as Ghanaians' (3.5), articulating several other teachers' views. These findings also suggest that teachers were keen to exercise more control in what knowledge was transmitted in schools. According to Blessing:

> I think it would be very very important if the child would know about their African culture… I believe it is important to learn about our culture… Not saying that anything from the Westerners is bad. There are certain things we can learn from the West. We shouldn't just concentrate on the Western… not also just concentrate on our own either. I think blending them together will help.
>
> (1.4)

8.5.2. 'We add that outside knowledge'

Education was concerned with finding a balance between valuing what was Ghanaian and comparing it with the 'outside world' (3.8). Comfort explained this: 'I won't say that we compare but we add that outside knowledge to what we know, like the West or wherever really, and as we add on to it, it will improve whatever we know' (2.8). The notion of global citizenship surfaced here, being discussed by more than half of the teachers and seen as important because 'the world is coming closer' (2.1). Emmanuel stated that, 'One of the aims of global citizenship is… so that we would see the needs to also see the

things that outside is doing, that is making us more creative so we also try to develop our country and those things so that we make our children stay in their locality' (3.6). Such comparisons were for their learners to recognise the strengths and weaknesses of 'all other countries in addition to yours. It is everything outside of you. Not only Africa' (1.9), and, challenge the view that anything outside of Ghana is perfect. Then children could learn 'how to change the system' (1.8), and '[understand] our needs' (2.4).

Lack of resources was a primary constraint on teaching about the outside world that limited learners' conceptions of global citizenship, as 'they don't have access to the things that will broaden their understanding' (3.4). The objectives of Our World, Our People on global citizenship were regarded as too ambitious. Firstly, limited access to the Internet in schools was a problem, seen as a major source for 'moving knowledge' (3.6) and for 'communication' (1.3). As discussed in Chapter 7, this would determine the digital capability of learners, a key objective of the National Curriculum. However, these teachers did not correlate the use of the Internet with digital capability. Rather, the Internet was for enhancing global citizenship. Secondly, most of their learners had not travelled outside of Ghana due to their poverty so 'little do they know of other places' (3.4). Thirdly, some of the school population were Ga, indigenous to Accra, so did not travel outside of the city as part of their tradition. From living in the city for several years, Jennifer remarked:

> So being global, it's not gone so popular in our setting… It's coming gradually but they hardly have the opportunity to meet [foreigners] unless they are on TV or they read or something. But in cases of schools, where they have different cultures, like Ghana International School, they get to interact with them. So for us, we are just doing the theoretical aspects of telling them, reading with them and hearing about them.
>
> (2.4)

Practical issues like these were disadvantaging the children in forming global citizenship as much as the wider issue of the lack of interaction with 'foreigners,' despite being part of the city.

8.5.3. 'Globally means "Being One"'

Consolidating the theme of Oneness, global citizenship 'means becoming one' (1.3). According to Esther, learners needed to 'relate' in order to be 'a citizen of the world,' and know 'our universal values… because wherever you go, it's the same' (3.3). As Oneness was values-driven, some teachers perceived that the same values, rooted in egalitarianism and humanism, were being actualised on a global scale through human rights. What this further highlights is that human rights, according to these teachers, were seemingly re-appropriated through the Indigenous ontology of Oneness even globally, consolidating the idea that human rights were perceived as relational. Mirroring my discussion in Chapter 7, human rights were described as a universal tool for deciphering between good and bad, including fostering racial equality, because, 'it's not about me being Black and you being white, there should be no difference' (3.3). Despite this, when speaking about global citizenship, teachers sometimes spoke about white people as a homogenous category, applying the term to all people in North America and Europe. Linda's comment that, 'they need to know about the white citizen' (1.6), reflects this belief, which was also evidenced in the comments directed at me for being an 'Obroni.' Upon enquiring, Eric remarked that, 'When [the children] see white people in their school they are always happy to see you around. You see they call you, "Oh Obroni, oh Obroni, oh obroni"' (1.2). It appeared that Obroni was an essentialising designation of all those perceived as non-Ghanaian, in this instance, of those with the physical attribute of white skin.

These teachers' Oneness was therefore global, applying to all people, and was being accelerated by globalisation. According to Elizabeth, Oneness was still fractured between Black and white people, however. She explained: 'These days, the word globalisation is good… I mean a time will come when we will all become one and one people. It is just that your colour is different from my colour but we are all one people' (1.1). Her point, amongst others, was that it was necessary to identify where relations were still unequal between Black and white peoples, if not articulating the need to challenge racism. Blessing further asserted:

> I believe having a sense of belonging wherever you find yourself… that is global citizenship. Thinking that I am human just as much a person with white skin. We should see ourselves as though we are like any other human being… Fitting into every corner we find ourselves… We can't see ourselves as divided, globally, we should be one people across the world, whether we are white or Black, we are one people.
>
> (1.4)

Given the context for these teachers, with their learners in extreme poverty and confronting their differences with white people on a daily basis, it seems that Oneness was positioned as a way of cutting through identity-based barriers to foster unity.

Although an emerging point, Oneness with an emphasis on equality appeared to offer one possible solution to 'moving ahead' from colonialism (2.7). A few practical suggestions were made. It was to help learners engage critically with colonial history and correct any assumptions that Ghana was absent of knowledge before European colonialism. This is illustrated in the dialogue with Vincent, as below:

> Vincent: Are we going to live in the past and know that we were once colonised by these people, based on that should we treat them differently? No. We are heading towards the fact that "Yes it happened, but how do we move ahead of that?"
>
> Researcher: Yes, I actually want to touch on a point in your lesson….
>
> Vincent: Oh yes, the child said, "Europeans brought us civilisation," and my reaction was, "Actually, that's suggesting that Africans didn't have knowledge before colonialism."
>
> (2.7)

Another suggestion was to base teaching on Nkrumah's Pan-African philosophy, because 'all these things…still matter' (1.7). It was described as 'an intellectual movement and cuts across Africa and in the diaspora… [It] started from… those who attending outside… so, the re-awakening… and how we will and should come together and help to liberate ourselves from the shadow of colonialism' (1.7). For Samuel, this was his personal teaching philosophy, illustrated through his efforts to use teaching resources contextualised to Ghana as well as Africa, because 'those fictions are more different to the foreign. They relate to the

local. They use the local names in writing and they use the local jargon compared to the West' (1.9). By re-orienting learners' minds back onto Ghana, some teachers strongly inferred that this would re-centre their identity as being equal to others.

8.6. Chapter Summary

This chapter presented findings across the three schools to explore the significance of Oneness, perceived by teachers as a 'native structure of our very being.' This was principally espoused together with African communalism for sustaining their learners' sense of relatedness, and was central to their learners' everyday and future citizenship. According to these teachers, Oneness also served as the underlying purposes of education and their role as teachers. The subject of History in the new curriculum was activating these conversations. When intersecting with Rootedness (in itself a memory serving who and where you are from), Oneness revealed the vast definition of Being Ghanaian, at the ethnic, national, and (Black) African level. Such findings indicate that, while Oneness symbolised the historic ability to overcome by sustaining memory of Ghana's nationhood before colonialism, it was evolving. The introduction of westernised constructs, namely of human rights and democracy, then absorbed into their Oneness, was a way of demarcating the individual from the community, and, subsequently, for enhancing their learners' sense of agency in the community.

Oneness, as an evolving concept, had also led teachers to grapple with profound underlying questions on power and difference in key sites of identity — ethnicity and Blackness as well as religion — and to explore what this means for forging national identity and unity. Out of this, tensions and contradictions surfaced in their views, carrying implications for their learners' understandings of 'self' and 'other.' To an extent, such issues seemed systemic due to the lack of appropriate language for articulating colonialism beyond just an historic event. This was primarily seen through its lingering effect in their (Black) Ghanaian learners' mentalities where they aspired to be with white people in the West. The majority of these teachers were still trying, however fledgling, to name these racialised hierarchies of power, while seeking a different trajectory for

their learners by being proud of Being Ghanaian, as much as its Indigenous heritage. Their willingness to engage with critical thinking offers possibility. For the future, Oneness appeared to serve as a unifying rhetoric for inspiring learners to collectively move out of poverty — specifically, through entrepreneurship. This finding implies that teachers were drawing on the westernised construct of neoliberal citizenship, but without seeking Western influence. This was critical for re-centring learners' mindsets back onto Ghana to build the economy and for them to begin re-imagining a different trajectory for Ghana with their learners and on their own African terms.

Upon analysing the findings in each school and across the schools, these teachers had clearly learned their own lessons about Ghanaian citizenship. I now turn to my final analytical chapter to present these.

Chapter 9.
Lessons Learned from Teachers about Ghanaian Citizenship(s)

9.1. Introduction

Upon analysis of the findings in each school and across the schools, these government primary teachers in the city of Accra, Ghana presented a series of lessons learned about Ghanaian citizenship, in relation to their learners. For an overarching narrative of these lessons learned, I start this chapter by presenting one possible conceptual model on Ghanaian citizenship(s) to depict its vast, overlapping, and interdependent definition, inspired by the teachers' actual language. This is to answer my main research question:

> What lessons can be learned from government primary teachers in three urban schools in Accra, Ghana, about Ghanaian citizenship, in relation to their learners?

I then explore the different aspects of the model to give frame to these lessons learned, to answer my sub-research questions. Through this process, the tensions and contradictions within these teachers' views are revealed, adding to these lessons learned by exploring how these views might implicate their learners' understandings of identity and difference — both now and as future citizens. It is through their messy views on citizenship that these teachers offered praxis, while emphasising their implicit roles as curriculum-maker. This reveals the relationship between the teacher, the curriculum, and the nation of Ghana, as well as the possibility of enhancing teacher ownership of the new 2019 National Curriculum, in particular, answering my last research sub-question.

In this chapter, I also weave in existing research from Chapters 2, 3, and 4, while highlighting where my research advances this vital conversation.

9.2. Lesson Learned #1: Ghanaian citizenship(s) is Oneness, Rootedness, and Critical Consciousness

The overarching lesson learned from these teachers was that Ghanaian citizenship of their learners was defined as 'Oneness,' a deep-rooted sense of unity that underpins multiple identities and belongings in being ethnic, national, and (Black) African. Drawing on the words of Kwame Nkrumah, Oneness conveyed these teachers' sense of consciousness at different levels, both within and outside of contemporary Ghana. These teachers wanted to renegotiate Oneness because of its symbolism for 'our historical past, our culture, our common experience and our aspiration' (Nkrumah,1973:206). It became common rhetoric for instilling in learners a shared way of being that was indigenous to Ghana and drew upon the traditional principles of African communalism.

For the same reason, Oneness was grounded in 'Rootedness' (indigeneity), also part of their pre-colonial Ghanaian heritage. Rootedness was a way of defining learners' identities and differences. It was the means for these teachers to locate their learners actually and metaphorically in terms of the site (where are you from?) and source (who are you from?), adding to their meanings around citizenship. While Oneness and Rootedness were traditions indigenous to Ghana, they were evolving. In doing so, they created space for new meanings of citizenship, and the interplay it had with identity and difference. This is seen in how specific tenets of the theoretical models of liberal democratic and neoliberal citizenship were absorbed into these teachers' views, as explained later. However, the singular notion of citizenship, as defined through the Ghanaian liberal democratic state, seemed overly limited. Rather, these teachers' views on citizenship were plural, as citizenship(s), to depict the vast, overlapping, and interdependent definition of Being Ghanaian.

To capture these teachers' responses, I present one possible conceptual model of Ghanaian citizenship(s), embedded in Oneness for ethnic, national, and (Black) African consciousness, and grounded by Rootedness, as seen in Figure 4. Given that these teachers were highly aware of the nuances of location, it is important to identify that the model is contextual to their urban schools in the capital city of Accra.

For praxis in the classroom, I also infuse 'critical' into this conceptual model, relating to the prevalence of critical thinking throughout these teachers' discussions. While there was some uncertainty in knowing how to model critical thinking to their learners, as well as knowing the extent to which they could enact the change, most teachers spoke on its importance for fostering in their learners' unity in difference (Oneness being unity in difference, not unity in sameness). As such, understanding Oneness through an Indigenous lens shows that being one was not intended to homogenise all Ghanaians. Drawing inspiration from Nkrumah's philosophy, my findings suggest that these teachers spoke of a critical ethnic, national, and (Black) African consciousness[33] that was entirely locational to Ghana. This highlights one of the first lessons learned from these teachers, and suggesting ownership of a core competency in the new 2019 curriculum that promotes critical thinking for 'building character, nurturing values and raising literate, confident, and engaged citizens who can think critically' (NaCCA/MoE, 2019g:8). Arguably, infusing critical thinking into the existing processes might also support the teachers in becoming the change they are seeking for their learners.

[33] I acknowledge that the meaning of 'critical consciousness' in education is typically associated with the work of Brazilian theorist Paolo Freire, in *Education for Critical Consciousness* (1974).

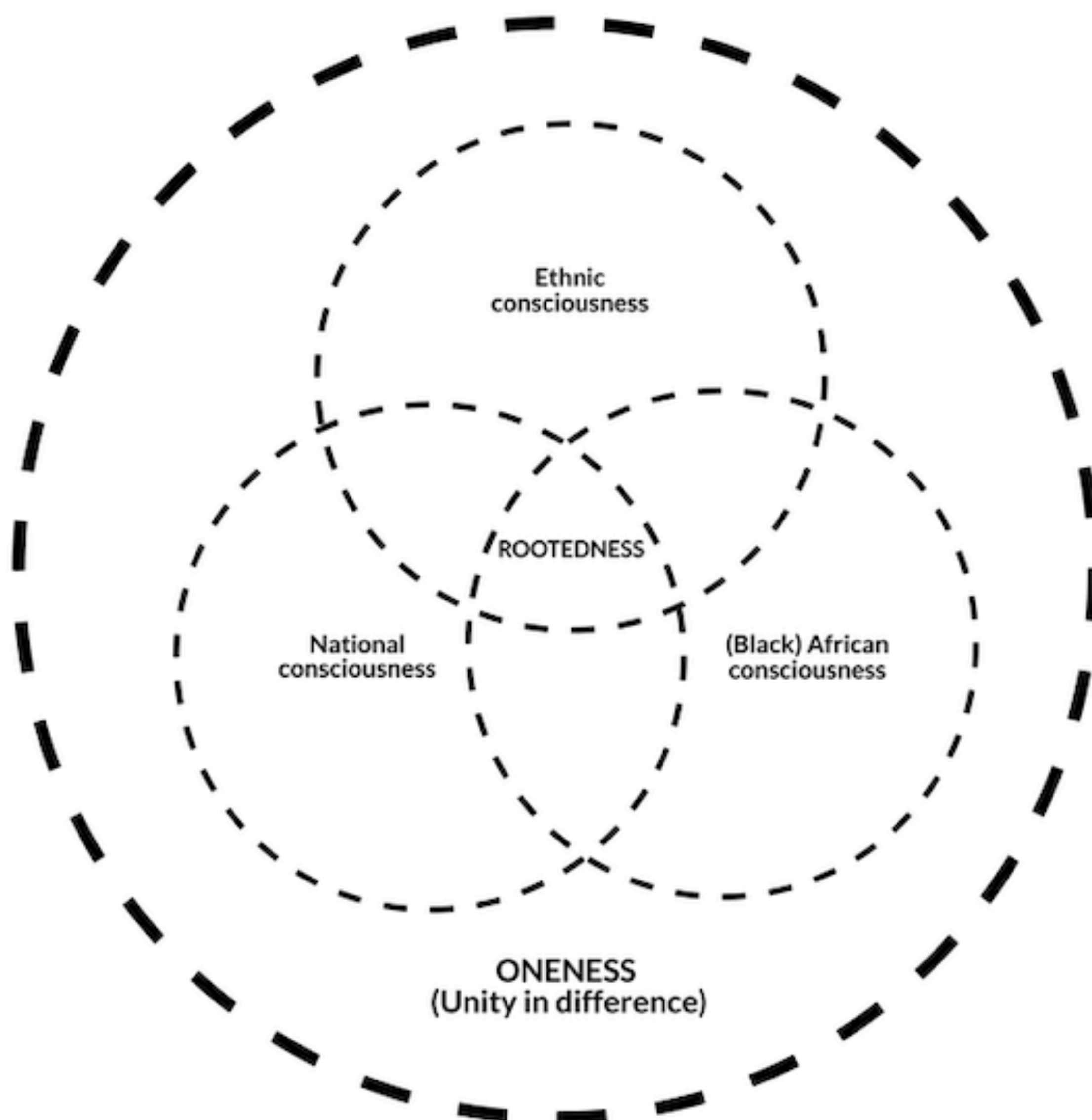

Figure 4. One possible conceptual model of Ghanaian citizenship(s) for learners in urban schools in Accra, Ghana

With teachers' views on citizenship(s) centred on Oneness and Rootedness, it is possible to now explore how they play out at the different levels — starting with ethnic, then, national, and finally, (Black) African consciousness. At each level, I also frame these lessons learned as offered by these teachers. Firstly, I focus on what citizenship is in relation to their learners' everyday experiences in Accra, and what this means for the purpose of education now. Secondly, I focus on what citizenship should be, in terms of their aspiration for their learners' futures and the nation-building project, as well as what they imagine of education in the future.

9.3. Lesson Learned #2: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) is Ethnic Consciousness

As a starting point, Ghanaian citizenship(s) is ethnic consciousness. Ethnicity was the most common identification of how teachers defined their learners, reinforcing other literature (Dei 2004; 2005; Asante 2020b; 2020c). Upon giving meaning to ethnicity, teachers illustrated their complex, intricate identities and sense of belongings in Ghana. Similar to Keese (2015:47), I found that 'the grounds for giving a clear definition of concepts of [ethnicity] are extremely shaky.' His working definition seems appropriate to my research: for these teachers, ethnicity is defined in terms of 'self-declared communities whose spokesmen define them as groups with a common history and traditions' (2015:48). Equally, the consistent iteration of tribe suggests that the term is a way of describing identity and belonging in Ghana, still part of their 'social reality,' as Sangmpam (2017:91) proposes. Tribe did not always convey a political dimension that had the modern state as its centre, but was a sentiment to their deeply historic roots. This suggests why ethnic (as well as tribe) and national identities were seen as equally important in Being Ghanaian.

While a colonial invention, these teachers seemed to redefine the meaning of tribe on their own African terms, describing the continuity of their identity from before the colonial state. Arguably, these teachers appeared to not just be 'putting the history back into ethnicity,' as Nugent (2008:920) contends, but had been keeping their history in contemporary meanings of ethnicity. The subject of History, and specifically the topic, My Country Ghana, with its focus on ethnic origins and characteristics, seemed to activate these discussions. Perceived as a more historically authentic, located expression of their citizenship(s), these teachers stressed that history was necessary for their learners in negotiating their everyday lives in Accra.

Within their urban classrooms, ethnicity was also intersecting with Rootedness as a way of articulating the influence of indigeneity, echoing Paller's (2019) research within the field of politics. This demonstrates the unique contribution of my study in light of existing educational literature. Similar to Paller, I observed that the Ga peoples were unequivocally the original claimants of the city and, in relation to their settlements, were even differentiated on the basis

of who settled first. Through teachers constantly positioning their schools in relation to one of the six ‘typical, typical settlements’ (2.8), an integral part of this lesson learned is that these informal norms of indigeneity within the civic life of the city were spilling into the classroom, as formal institutions of the modern state. Rootedness was also shaping teachers’ responses on how they identified ethnic groups based on their location. It appeared that Rootedness was a way of preventing the homogenising of Ghana’s multiple ethnic groups based on sharing similar characteristics, even among those who shared the same ethnic name, such as Akan, Ewe, or Ga.

Instead, Rootedness, as the site (where you are from?) and the source (who you are from?), was creating highly nuanced identities within these ethnic groups. It was also the source for Oneness, the relational ontology within and between these groups. Rootedness gave meaning to what was being located (e.g. histories, origins, language, culture, where their ethnic self-declared communities live), why they choose to locate their learners there (identity and difference both within and outside of their Indigenous communities) and with whom they were locating (tribe, and further related to forefathers and/or ancestors).

The teachers were conscious of not positioning their Indigenous ontology in opposition or contrast to anyone or anything, as in the case of colonial settler communities: they were concerned with organising ontologies between themselves. This could be because Ghanaians are ‘Indigenous’ to their land. I would contend that this adds a richer definition to indigeneity that does not fall into a model that assumes place as home or a spiritual site of origin, an approach that is more specific to settler colonies like in Canada, and New Zealand. For Ghanaians, their land is not contested. In doing so, I would concur with Dei (2016:307) that these teachers were articulating that ‘Africans knew who they were before the coming of the Europeans.’

When illustrating the Rootedness of the Ga people in Accra, a key part of this lesson learned is that teachers used it to define ethnic difference by way of who lived and who belonged to the city. Consequently, these informal norms of Rootedness were shaping how formal liberal democratic citizenship was viewed,

principally through the right to diversity that enabled equal identity and status. To some extent, this highlights teachers' ownership of one of the curriculum's core competencies, 'promoting diversity,' inspired by the high ethnically diverse backdrop of Accra that was used as a source for their teaching (NaCCA/MoE, 2019a:i). While all schools had a multi-ethnic composition, the norms of Rootedness appeared to create an entirely different context for fostering in learners an equal sense of belonging to their immediate community. This would arguably influence these learners' understandings of civic participation as future adults, supporting what Paller (2019) finds in his study of the political community.

In the case of School 2, where the norms of Rootedness seemed weaker, and 'civic life develops along multi-ethnic lines' (2019:20), their locality was more conducive to fostering an equal sense of belonging. On the other hand, with norms of Rootedness more pronounced, promoting an equal sense of belonging amongst learners seemed far more complex, as was the case of School 1. In the case of School 3, teachers were negotiating a different process altogether, where Rootedness was intersecting with the globalising norms of the city. What these teachers shared across their locations was a constant negotiation of 'the indigenous core of a city' in their classrooms, supporting Paller's (2019:205) main finding. Specific to education, I found that this had left teachers questioning what this meant for learners' everyday citizenship, and what it meant to belong.

Another important part of this lesson learned is that Rootedness appeared to carry an exclusionary effect. The narrative of who belongs to the city appeared to complicate the identity-formation of their learners of different ethnicities than Ga. This might also implicate these learners' understandings of liberal democratic citizenship, specific to equal status within their immediate community and access to and participation in state-based provision. However, while recognising the importance of observing Rootedness of the Ga children, they were subject to exclusion for both negative and positive reasons. Although this point is explored in detail in the next section, ethnic stereotyping of the Ga children (specifically across Schools 1 and 2), as a form of discrimination, is significant, highlighting a need for future educational research.

The Ga children were also being excluded because teachers were unable to speak the Ga language, especially in the case of School 1. On this point, it must be acknowledged here, that the use of English in schools would have further created an exclusionary effect for the Ga children but for different reasons (and for children of different ethnicities for that matter). The role of English language as a colonial device in identity-formation is noted in existing literature (Owu-Ewie, 2006; Edu-Buandoh, 2016), although was not explored with these teachers. This needs greater exploration in future research, and, given that English appeared to serve as the unifier in how these teachers were articulating this Oneness. This could otherwise counter their efforts of promoting unity as well as its possibility for revisiting the Indigenous. Having said that, I acknowledge that I interviewed these teachers in English, and question how this Oneness might have been expressed in a Ghanaian language — another point of consideration for future study.

Offering a way forward, these teachers recognised that speaking Ga would enable them to relate to the Ga children, integral to their role in fostering Oneness but also for preserving the heritage of the Ga people. These teachers' views offer insight into the most recent argument from the Ga Traditional Council that teachers in the Greater Accra Region should be supported to learn the Ga language (Graphic Online, 2021). Equally, the teachers were still conscious of being ineffective in responding to the wider call for speaking Indigenous languages in schools and what this meant for inclusivity of all children in their ethnically diverse classrooms. This echoes a key point in the literature review in Chapter 4 (Dei and Simmons, 2011; 2016; Owu-Ewie and Eshun, 2019).

Importantly, what these teachers articulated was another lesson learned in recognising their own unpreparedness for this new reform, similar to another theme in the existing literature (Osei, 2009; Agbenyega and Klibthong, 2011; Perry and Bevins, 2019). Their unpreparedness carried into their lack of knowledge of the diverse cultures, histories, and languages across Ghana. Yet, this was where Rootedness appeared to carry an inclusionary effect, and with leverage in the urban classroom. It seemed that the act of teaching about

Rootedness, as a way of accentuating difference between the ethnic groups, was sustaining their Oneness, as a way of fostering inclusion. The teachers' willingness to incorporate aspects of Indigenous Knowledges into their teaching including of the Ga people should also be acknowledged. Arguably the potential of these teachers, as non-Indigenous to their immediate locality (due to the conditions of deployment under the GES) but seeking to learn from their learners, cannot be underestimated: this represents another area for future study.

9.4. Lesson Learned #3: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) should be for Revisiting Ethnic Difference

Another lesson learned is that Ghanaian citizenship(s) should be used for revisiting ethnic difference, framing these teachers' visions for their learners' futures. These findings indicate a gradual shift within these teachers' views due to this reform, in contrast to previous reforms, which were criticised for having 'disturbingly… failed to address critically questions of difference' (Dei, 2005:270). As previous research has found, this had led to teachers evading the topic of difference, since 'difference itself was the problem' (2005:269). My research indicates otherwise. In the new curriculum, the subject of Our World, Our People and its topics exploring ethnicity served as an invitation to these teachers to engage with ethnic difference, partly because of its positioning as equal to national identity. Furthermore, OWOP presented an opportunity for these teachers to begin naming ethnic difference and its relationship to underlying power inequalities, as well as to challenge the lasting effects of tribalism that was perpetuating superior thinking in their learners.

The causes of tribalism were not explored with the teachers, a point for future research. What could be solicited is that tribalism was not attributed to the legacy of colonialism. However, they were conscious of the need for unity from all Ghanaians to overcome British colonial rule. As part of this lesson learned, there was a distinct lack of words, if not conceptualisation on how to name what colonialism was and its legacy of inter-ethnic division. Arguably, this would affect their learners' understandings of how they engage with and form an opinion on their history. Nevertheless, these teachers' willingness to engage

with the subject of History, specifically with the topics of Europeans in Ghana and under Colonial Rule, and Independent Ghana, speaks to the importance of critical thinking.

Some teachers were also educating themselves on Ghanaian history to enhance their teaching. This reiterates a key finding of Dillard's (2020:704) study where her respondents, as teachers, expressed a desire 'to dig deep into the epistemological, cultural, and historical contexts of Black History.' My finding suggests the possibility of these teachers engaging in History thus beginning to question the underlying roots of power differentials between ethnic groups, however fledgling this might be. However, my analysis of these topics in section 4.3 that indicated boundaries placed around what and when teachers should use critical thinking, begs the question of how far teachers can engage with histories of ethnic groups. It also raises a question about the extent to which the same boundaries are placed around their learners.

Some teachers were still pushing these boundaries by incorporating religion into how they defined difference, as well as recognising that it can be a site of discrimination. In doing so, learners' intersectional identities were heightened. This arguably highlights the role of Religious and Moral Education in initiating these discussions, with its core subject aim to 'develop an understanding and tolerance of other people's faiths and cultures' (NaCCA/MoE, 2019f:vii). Equally, it is important to acknowledge that, while teachers spoke about different religions, discriminatory views on African Traditional Religion were visible as an active legacy of colonialism in schools as much as wider society. This is further evidenced through the fact that Christianity was assumed to be the dominant religion, its role in modernising Ghana being emphasised. As Matemba and Addai-Mununkum (2019:156) found in their research with teachers, there is an equal risk of teachers 'misrepresenting religions instead of promoting them,' as much as overlooking any hybridities. More importantly, there is a risk of silencing learners' identities thus maintaining hierarchies of power. On the one hand, the subject of RME, infused with the promotion of diversity, offers possibilities for enhancing teachers' understandings of religious identities in their classrooms. On the other hand, the ambiguity about different religions that

I found in my analysis of the subject indicates another lesson learned on religious representation, and reveals another area for future research.

While Rootedness appeared to complicate how religious identities and differences were understood (as this was principally ethnic), when inscribed into Oneness, a way forward was offered. At its heart, Oneness intersected with modern-day human rights, justifying reason for evolving their concepts of the right to diversity as much as the right to non-discrimination (ethnic, religious and otherwise). While I unpack this point in the next section, human rights, pertaining to the right to diversity as central to the aim of the new curriculum, seemed to give teachers the language for naming the grounds on which learners were being discriminated against in terms of identity. This echoes a range of educational literature that advocates the necessity of supporting teachers to understand the relationship between rights and citizenship, and their role in schools more broadly (Dull, 2004; 2006; Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Chege, 2012; 2013). These teachers also seemed to name the broader consequences of this for fostering national unity.

In sum, the underlying lesson learned is that critical ethnic consciousness is a way of enabling these primary teachers to engage with all historic sites of power, colonial and otherwise. This builds on what Agbenyega and Deku (2011) suggested for teachers in the Kindergarten classroom, arguing that critical consciousness is a way of considering multiple identities, as central to children's difference and diversity, and enhancing these for challenging superior thinking. This creates social change. Within these urban classrooms, it seems that Oneness and Rootedness, in and through ethnic consciousness, are beginning to create space for and equalise other intersectional identities as a way of reconciling relationships fractured by colonialism. In the process, these teachers' definitions on Ghanaian citizenship(s) appear to be evolving.

9.5. Lesson Learned #4: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) is National Consciousness

Another lesson learned from these teachers is that Ghanaian citizenship(s) is national consciousness. This implies ownership of a core aim of History for developing in learners 'a sense of national consciousness and appreciate factors

that make for national unity' (NaCCA/MoE, 2019c:v). These teachers' explanations of anything 'national' seemed, to an extent, to orient around Smith's (2005:25) concept of ethno-symbolism where Being Ghanaian and the construct of Ghana was 'a myth of common ancestry,' 'shared historical elements of common culture,' and 'a link with a historic territory of 'homeland.' However, aligning with Zajda (2009:4), these teachers reveal limitation to Smith's 'Western model of an "ethnic" perception of the nation and national identity.' Instead, my research suggests that Rootedness, as a symbol of their historic, ethnic foundations, underpinned these attributes. Thus anything Ghanaian embodied memory of their non-Western nationhood: this was also the starting point for learners beginning to appreciate their heritage and learn about unity, as their new curriculum seeks for them to do.

Given the diverse ethnic profile of these teachers from different regions of Ghana, Rootedness was also inherent to Being Ghanaian at the national level. As such, it was applicable for all learners in locating themselves, both inside and outside of Accra. It was apparent that these teachers' definitions were being adapted to the boundaries of the liberal democratic state. While Ghanaian citizenship(s) was articulated in liberal democratic terms, emphasising the role of the 1992 Constitution, its enactment was still through Rootedness, in terms of *jus sanguinis* (of Ghanaian descent). This defined their contemporary sense of belonging to the modern state: with Accra being a globalising city, some teachers struggled to identify learners of non-Ghanaian descent. What this means for promoting diversity in the urban classroom is part of this lesson learned, especially for it being a central objective of the new curriculum.

When this intersected with Oneness, embodying memory of their non-Western nationhood, the Ghanaian State was then absorbed into the teachers' definitions. For them, this was a way of promoting nationalism within and between their learners, in spite of the failings of previous governments that had carried into the educational system. As seen in Asante's (2020b:93) research, the paradox for these teachers was that 'the very act of the inauthenticity of the Ghanaian State, as '"something on a piece of paper" inspire[d] stronger attachment to it in spite of its many failures.' It was the durability of these pre-existing ethnic affiliations that appeared to be sustaining nationalism for the

Government, and how these teachers viewed their role within this. As such, these teachers' commitment to fostering nationalism from the grassroots is another lesson learned about the role as well as the value of these Ghanaian teachers for nation-building.

Also part of this lesson learned was that national culture that reified Indigenous Knowledges, such as folklore, Adinkra symbols, proverbs, and songs, promoted national consciousness. These were integrated into the teachers' pedagogies. In this regard, the teachers appeared to embrace the Government's efforts to begin revisiting the question of the Indigenous, infused within the subject of History where learners are to 'understand how we acquired our identity and culture' (NaCCA/MoE, 2019c:iv). Echoing Coe's (2006; 2020a) study that asked teachers about culture, my research indicates that, while articulated in multiple ways, culture still signified for these teachers the resilience of Ghanaians to historically overcome while simultaneously seeking to evolve universally. This was the teachers' attempt to eradicate tribalism.

While Rootedness was used for performing and constituting identities of ethnic communities, Oneness, being deeply relational thus shared between Ghanaians, was used for renewing these paths of (Indigenous) knowledge-gathering within and between ethnic communities. Similar to what Coe (2006) concludes, I would contend that the potential for national culture lies in it not belonging to one particular ethnic group above another. Building on Coe's research, conducted 15 years ago, my research suggests that Oneness underpinned definitions of national culture as well as sustaining it, serving as a memory of their non-Western nationhood. These teachers' national culture was therefore understood as a participatory process within civic life aimed at peacekeeping, and, now for consolidating modern-day democracy. Given the increase in migration to cities like Accra, the act of teaching about these festivals to their learners created a 'sense of extended community' through an 'urban-rural connection' (Clarke-Ekong, 1997:51). This was important for sustaining Rootedness in learners who were able to attend their ethnic-specific festivals elsewhere, but also for those who were unable to attend due to their poverty. Furthermore, the increasing openness of these festivals to other ethnic groups seemed to play a role in consolidating democracy nationwide, as well as developing national identity and

unity. This suggests that inscribing democracy into the learners' sense of Rootedness is expanding the nation's understanding of what it means to belong as a Ghanaian.

With Oneness now embodying a political dimension, it appeared to express a blended rhetoric of African communalism, defined as relatedness, with Western liberal democracy, enhancing Ghanaian citizenship(s) in learners. This returns to a key theme in educational literature that seeks to re-instate Indigenous Knowledges for this exact reason (Quaynor, 2018; Coe, 2020a; Dei and Jaimungul, 2020). By drawing on their Indigenous ontology, teachers articulated that Ghanaian citizenship(s) focused on 'we' rather than 'I.' They sought to promote to their learners a narrative of welfare and responsibility to each other that included the State with a responsibility to its people. However, as discussed, these teachers were pragmatic regarding the shortcomings of the Government's attempts at nation-building since their Independence. Emerging research from within African literature argues that, the act of conceptualising universal human rights through the African relational ontology can help negotiate these multiple genealogies of knowledge and in recognition of their multiple geographies (Waghid and Davids, 2018): this carries potential for the African classroom. It also de-centres the West as the epistemic centre.

With human rights as a minimum standard and universally applied, teachers' voices illustrate what might come through a relational ontology in citizenship as 'we' and for reconceptualising global universalism. Drawing on Barreto (2012:26), these teachers demonstrate the possibilities that emerge when interrogating the 'hermeneutics of provincialising human rights [that] leads to a dialogue between local conceptions, both those coming from what was the centre, as well as those emerging from places that customarily had been reckoned to occupy the margins.' The key lesson learned is that human rights were not conceived as the individual free from the community. Instead, human rights were conceived as the individual free in the community, to ensure children learned responsibility to each other. This solidified the importance of living in duty to the community.

There was also an important lesson learned about the value of 'I' in Ghanaian citizenship(s). Drawing on a Western ontology that is rooted in individualism, some teachers were clear on the value of human rights for protecting their learners' well-being from within the community. However, there was a lack of association between protecting learners' well-being (as a Ghanaian constitutional right) and the importance of discipline in the community and the classroom. Specifically, the post-colonial dilemma for these teachers involved resolving the tension between universal human rights that highlighted the agency and voice of the child, and the traditional Ghanaian culture of unquestioningly obeying authority.

In the same way that Dull (2004:312) found that, 'what [teachers] viewed as democratic was highly controlled,' I found to be the case with these teachers in how they viewed human rights: rights were seen as helping maintain a tight social order. When embedded in the traditional belief of morality for doing the wrong and right thing, and with the repercussion of reflecting on a community's image, disciplining children in schools was justified. While I did not probe into how teachers viewed their role regarding discipline, and their perceptions of authority, future research is needed — particularly in relation to the prevailing issue of corporal punishment in schools (Yeboah, 2020). My research indicates that the inconsistencies in their knowledge of human rights deserves scrutiny, and the implications for the lack of conceptual clarity on rights in the curriculum specific to Our World, Our People, as highlighted in my analysis. There are also wider implications for how teachers perceive 'good citizenship' when their role is deemed as 'a source of discipline and character formation' by the Government (NaCCA/ MoE, 2019e:38).

9.6. Lesson Learned #5: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) should be for Re-centring Mindsets Back onto Ghana

Another key lesson learned was that Ghanaian citizenship(s) should be used for mobilising national consciousness to accelerate economic development. According to these teachers, this would be achieved by re-centring learners' mindsets back onto Ghana rather than the West, instilling a commitment to stay and build the economy. This began with teaching about self-sufficiency through

entrepreneurship, as a core tenet of neoliberal citizenship. These teachers' everyday realities of working with their learners living in extreme poverty were evidently underpinning their views as much as fuelling the immediate need to equip their learners to become active in the market because of the risk of early dropout. This should be seen against the backdrop of Accra's significant issue of youth unemployment. Neoliberal citizenship was primarily seen for moving out of poverty and inspiring their learners to access the economic possibilities of Accra. This would nurture a sense of belonging to the city (some of whom were indigenous to it).

The finding aligns with an emerging literature that argues that Ghana's growing middle-class needs recognition, particularly in Accra (Coe, 2020b; Lentz and Noll, 2021). On the one hand, similar to Arnot, Casely-Hayford, and Chege's (2012; 2013) research with Ga youth, Being Ghanaian was a constant reminder for these teachers of the State's obligation and commitment toward their learners' economic freedom. On the other hand, placing emphasis on the market-citizen relationship rather than the state-citizen relationship seemed to be a pragmatic response in the absence of the Ghanaian State, an attempt to empower their marginalised learners.

While the teachers were generally accepting of the Government's neoliberal terms for inspiring self-sufficiency in their learners, they were clear that this was on the basis of their developing without Western influence, deemed necessary for moving *Ghana Beyond Aid* (GOG, 2019a), and for how they viewed their role as teachers. This indicates a shift in these teachers' thinking compared with Dull's (2006) research with teachers. In contrast to the teachers in Dull's study, who accepted 'the terms for development set by the international aid community' for economic freedom (2006:1), these teachers were beginning to seek a different trajectory. Aligning with Quaynor's (2018:374) theoretical discussion, my research indicates that the teachers were starting to critique how Western models of citizenship affirmed a very narrow concept of what defined Ghanaian development. These models were 'inscribing a narrative of deficit' (ibid), which most of these teachers critiqued as it positioned Ghana as 'not perfect' (1.7).

The act of re-centring learners' mindsets back onto Ghana for building the economy also evoked a process of naming the enduring colonising forces that had kept Europe at the centre since their Independence. According to these teachers, this had kept Ghanaians 'in-service to the Western world' (Howard, et al., 2018:497). However, this begs the question of how such views reconcile with teachers still seeking self-sufficiency, as central to the neoliberal imaginary, and with its vision being tied to European modernity. Despite the teachers' vision for re-centring as much as re-locating children's citizenship back onto Ghana, the neoliberal agenda risks further making them 'depersonalised and detached,' as Howard et al., (2018:508) caution, based on their own research.

At the same time, scholarship claims that there is a way forward in seeking to redefine neoliberalism on African indigenous terms (Chamlee-Wright, 1997; Rashied and Bhamjee, 2020). Rashied and Bhamjee (2020:107) suggest that Indigenous philosophies (in this instance, Oneness, conceived in West African philosophy) have the potential for stimulating 'meaningful self-reliance without coloniality.' It also puts emphasis on mutual reciprocity and welfare, rather than 'individual gain and uniformity' (2020:95). Arguably, Oneness could therefore foster a more located expression of neoliberal citizenship.

An example of this is seen through some teachers seeking a balance between citizenship(s) as 'we' with citizenship(s) as 'I' when discussing entrepreneurship. Similar to human rights, entrepreneurship was not to be achieved at the expense of individual economic freedom from the community. Instead, the individual was seen to have economic freedom in the community to benefit self and others. This might foster authenticity for their learners in meeting the curriculum's core competency of Cultural Identity and Global Citizenship, where knowledges, skills and attitudes must be 'acquired [by learners] to contribute meaningfully towards the socio-economic development of the country' (MoE, 2019d:viii). While scholarship has critiqued the neoliberal tendency for turning culture into a commodity (see Coe, 2006), pragmatic consideration is needed of the everyday realities for teachers working with their learners living in extreme poverty. For these teachers, starting with their existing cultural resources such as music, art, and dance, for example, as set out in the subject Creative Arts, was a realistic way of beginning to inspire their learners.

Part of this lesson learned was that education should be used for cultivating African solutions to African problems. These teachers appeared to be inspired mostly by the competency of Creativity and Innovation that 'promotes entrepreneurial skills in learners through their ability to think of new ways of solving problems' (NaCCA/MoE, 2019d:viii). In the process, they were echoing the words of Nkrumah:

> We must seek an African view to the problems of Africa. This does not mean that Western techniques and methods are not applicable to Africa. It does mean however that in Ghana we must look at every problem from the African point of view (cited in McWilliam and Kwamena-Poh, 1975:94).

In light of the point raised in Chapter 3 on Nkrumah's African Personality, which informs the vision of the current President Nana Akufo-Addo, it seems that these teachers offered praxis, by beginning to seek a 'home grown' model for economic development (Ngang, 2018). For some teachers, they were even interpreting the Government's terms, as set in the new curriculum, as an invitation to seek an alternative economic trajectory for Ghana. For Ngang (2018), this has potential to accelerate the journey of Africa's right to develop as a condition of the right to self-determination, which is long overdue for African states.

9.7. Lesson Learned #6: Ghanaian Citizenship(s) is and should be for Reclaiming (Black) African Consciousness

The final lesson learned is that Ghanaian citizenship(s) is and should be used for reclaiming (Black) African consciousness; a challenging and incomplete yet vital part of these teachers' journeys in fostering citizenship in their urban classrooms. In their constant back and forth between the past, the present, and the future, these teachers appeared to be iterating something similar to how Zeleza (2006:19) self-identifies as an African:

> Africa and African identities [are] both as states of being and of becoming. They are dynamic historical processes, messy spatio-temporal configurations of agency, structure and contextuality that are subject to change, which is not always easy to perceive or predict.

The introduction of the subject, History of Ghana, now covering pre-colonial, colonial, and Independent Ghana, was integral for these teachers to begin enunciating their historic sites of identity and difference and its intimate relationship to power, and to learn from it. This new subject responds to criticisms of its absence in the previous primary curriculum, and the fuelling of inaccurate perceptions of Ghanaian history that this engendered (Metz McDonnell and Fine, 2011; Peterson del Mar, 2012), fracturing teachers' attempts to foster unity.

Generally, these teachers embraced teaching about all of their histories, including emotive topics around the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade. Views on the effects of British colonial history and its legacy in present-day Ghana varied. With most teachers seeking to talk about British colonial history, the issue seemed to lie in the boundaries placed around their critical thinking, as seen in my analysis of the curriculum in section 4.3. This had created ambiguity in modelling critical thinking in the classroom that, at its worst, led to avoidance of teaching about this important topic, despite willingness on the part of the teacher. Part of the lesson learned is that teachers struggled to know how to locate themselves away from the State, as the centre of authority, and knowing how to enact change.

Equally, it seems that teachers seeking to exercise agency over this knowledge offers possibilities in opening conversations about these legacies of power from their colonial history and their impact on identity as well as the mindset in Being Ghanaian. Building on Reyes' (2019:4) argument, fostering Oneness within classrooms as resistance to colonialism might offer one way of activating these teachers' agentive process in teaching about their British colonial history along with 'race.' Furthermore, it enables them to 'refuse, reject, rethink, reimagine and, recreate' with their learners, which extends to conversations about being Black, as part of fostering (Black) African critical consciousness (ibid).

A key lesson learned is that, through the act of remembering, the 'predicament of Blackness' was surfacing in these teachers' discussions (Pierre, 2012; Dei, 2018; Howard et al., 2018; Dillard, 2020; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020). It was clear

that the meanings that teachers gave to being Black, in relation to their learners, were spoken of only when in opposition to whiteness. To their learners, whiteness embodied privilege and was sustained through the false perception of the West as perfect. My own skin colour evidently provoked these discussions. However articulated in their everyday language, these teachers were still astute to the racialised hierarchies of power in their learners' 'pre-conditioned mindsets' (2.5). In the process, they were seeking to reaffirm Blackness for their learners, and on their own African terms. To an extent, Accra, in becoming a globalising city, was disrupting and provoking this vital conversation on Blackness, again revealing highly nuanced definitions of citizenship specific to the city. This illustrates the importance of the Government providing space for teachers to discuss being Black, as part of self-definition in Being Ghanaian, as featured in the topic, 'I am Ghanaian' in Our World, Our People *(*NaCCA/MoE, 2019d:20).

In seeking a renegotiation of their Oneness, in the final part of this lesson, these teachers had learned that (Black) African consciousness should be, in the words of Nkrumah (1973:206), 'a re-awakening of consciousness among Africans' for bridging tradition with newness. These teachers argued for the importance of history and heritage in reviving 'national identity as a Ghanaian and an African with a heritage worthy of pride, preservation and improvement' (NaCCA/MoE, 2019c:vi). How these teachers viewed Rootedness, as a site (where you are from?) along with it being a source (who you are from?), was a way of reinstating their ethnic, national, and (Black) African identities sustained through Oneness.

With Rootedness linked to their ancestry, it suggests that this is why, for some teachers, their (Black) African consciousness stretched to the diaspora as much as preserving collective memory of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: their consciousness was by no means confined to political and geographic boundaries. In some regards, this dynamic, messy process seemed an act of political reclamation from these Ghanaian teachers, aimed at improving their learners' futures by reclaiming Blackness. In doing so, they seemed to be simultaneously reclaiming Africanness to enact a different trajectory, both economically and politically, for their learners' futures, to not repeat the past. For Ndlovu-Gatsheni (2020), this is where the significance of Nkrumah's rhetoric on Oneness

as a symbol for Ghana's transformation cannot be understated. Whether explicit or implicit, it was a guiding force for these teachers:

> Because the contested definition of being African is a subset of the broader problem of blackness on a world scale, turning over a new leaf entails a deepening of pan-Africanism and the promotion of transatlantic coalitions and indeed solidarities with the rest of the Global South. When Nkrumah posited that Africa was born in him, he was taking charge of the definition of Africa and Africanness. It is on the shoulders of this giant that Africa must stand and claim its place under the sun (2020:87).

Given that Oneness was these teachers' rhetoric for mobilising transformation, it seems that Nkrumah's words still carry a possibility in mediating the post-colonial dilemma of Ghanaian citizenship(s) in these urban classrooms in Accra, Ghana.

9.8. Chapter Summary

In conclusion, my research indicates that teachers' views on Ghanaian citizenship(s), in relation to their learners, is embedded in Oneness and Rootedness. When infused together, they gave an opportunity for teachers to remember with their learners in order to reimagine their futures. The capital city of Accra, Ghana, as a symbolic site of their pre-colonial, colonial, and post-colonial histories and heritages, evoked this. As my research reinforces, the project of disrupting the legacy of colonialism is far from over, but these teachers were beginning to reclaim the meaning of Being Ghanaian on their own African terms as well as seeking to equalise Indigenous and Western ways of being and knowing. However, upon seeking to 'revisit the question of the Indigenous,' using Dei's (2016) terms, these teachers were by no means seeking a return to any romanticised past. They were pragmatic about their learners' realities of living in urban poverty. Absorbing Western models of citizenship into their definitions of Oneness was therefore an attempt to foster a more located expression of citizenship that was arguably more realistic to their learners' impoverished livelihoods, including those indigenous to their city.

While their meanings on citizenship(s) were messy, filled with contradictions, tensions, and possibilities, these teachers were already articulating, if not

enacting, praxis in their classrooms for sourcing African solutions to African problems. In doing so, this reveals how they were repurposing the curriculum to negotiate their highly complex post-colonial classrooms. Asking teachers about Ghanaian citizenship(s) in relation to their learners serves as an important reminder that they too have important lessons to offer.

Chapter 10.
Conclusion

10.1. Introduction

This thesis set out to learn lessons from government primary teachers in three urban schools in the city of Accra, Ghana, focusing on Ghanaian citizenship, in relation to their learners. To achieve this aim, I conducted 26 semi-structured interviews. Situated within a transformative paradigm and using Reflexive Thematic Analysis, a series of lessons learned emerged. Inspired by these teachers' actual words and phrases, I synthesised these lessons into one possible conceptual model of Oneness for critical ethnic, national, and (Black) African consciousness, and grounded by Rootedness (indigeneity). The model offers possible praxis for fostering Ghanaian citizenship(s) in urban classrooms of Accra and enhancing the role of primary teachers. It was also apparent among the complex backdrop of the city that these teachers were seeking to rearticulate their roles as curriculum-makers than simply curriculum implementers, repurposing the new 2019 National Curriculum in the process. On this basis, the model also offers possibility for promoting greater ownership of the curriculum. With a clear gap in existing educational literature on teachers and citizenship in Ghana, as well as in Accra specifically, my study advances this vital discussion. Considering this, there are a number of directions that can be explored in future theory and practice. These are outlined in this chapter, alongside some of the limitations of this thesis.

10.2. Implications for Future Theory

Firstly, this thesis has demonstrated the possibilities of what can come from challenging the prevailing western narratives of citizenship in post-colonial countries, and, instead, actively seeking indigenous expressions of citizenship. Ghana has served as a poignant case study for this purpose. Through these teachers' voices on the indigenous, the limitations of western theoretical models of liberal democratic and neoliberal citizenship are seen. For this reason, I propose that my conceptual model of Ghanaian citizenship(s) is one contribution

that can be tested in and applied to research in other post-colonial contexts and across other disciplines beyond education. This could be seen as part of wider efforts to decolonise, seeking to de-centre western modes of citizenship-making, and, in this instance, seeking to re-centre African models of citizenship, that are located, historic, and, articulated on African terms.

Secondly, I propose greater exploration into how Rootedness and Oneness intersect, according to teachers. There is scope for continuing to explore these pre-colonial historic principles in other teachers' views on citizenship across the city. Aligning with a growing body of scholarship on Accra (Quayson, 2014; Paller, 2019), my research challenges how we understand the city as a colonial invention. Instead, my research suggests that the city is still understood through its pre-colonial heritage. Its growth does not seem to be tied to Eurocentric modernity. Reinterpreting the city on Indigenous terms shows that its growth was expressing discretely and explicitly alternative modes of citizenship-making. This reveals the key sites of power in all histories, colonial and otherwise, and the consequences of this for the enactment of democracy in contemporary Accra. Understanding the extent to which Rootedness (indigeneity) and Oneness might be shaping other African cities through the lens of teachers could be a fascinating topic for future research. This could provide valuable insight into urban educational settings, and, what this means for expressing cultural diversity and heritage in their post-colonial classrooms.

Thirdly, I propose further investigation into how the new 2019 curriculum, specific to Ghanaian citizenship(s), is interpreted and enacted in the classroom. Aligning with Rosiek and Clandinin (2016:297, italics original), my research has demonstrated the '*necessity*' in seeing the teachers as curriculum-makers, who are 'in the best position to see the full range of curricula that students experience at school and to gauge their effects.' Out of this, future educational research could involve conducting focus groups and/or interviews with teachers, as well as lesson observations that would reveal the 'fullest range' of how the new curriculum is manifesting (such as hidden, null, lived, and experienced) in the classroom, and its effects on producing the future citizens of Ghana (2016:294). This would also deepen understanding on the role of teacher agency

in curriculum-making in light of the new reform, providing important recommendations for future educational practice.

Fourthly, there are other categories of identity worth exploring with teachers, alongside difference and its interplay with Ghanaian citizenship(s). I focused primarily on ethnicity. Based on my findings, some teachers had already begun to absorb religious identities into their concept of Oneness and, arguably, Rootedness, as part of their efforts towards undoing colonialism. I suggest that examining the identity categories of religion as well as gender would offer a significant contribution to this discussion. There is also much scope for exploring how teachers' personal identities influence their definitions and, what this means for fostering relatedness with their learners, as part of Oneness.

Fifthly, it would be interesting for educationists to explore in-depth how Nkrumah conceptualised Oneness — especially relevant for his writings in *Consciencism* (1964a) that included ideas on (Black) African consciousness — and how he related this to his vision for education. I believe that there is a link between his philosophy and modern-day African politics that is still influencing educational reforms. This thesis has demonstrated that his ideas are resurfacing in debates around citizenship(s) in Ghana and were re-emerging within these teachers' definitions. His centrality as a founding father of (Black) African consciousness cannot be understated. Discussing the influence of Nkrumah and his vision for re-awakening African consciousness with current educational policymakers could be another extension of this project.

Lastly, I would propose that my conceptual model could be modified to include Oneness and Rootedness for (Black) African consciousness that stretches to the diaspora. My findings suggest that this could be one way of how teachers define global citizenship, and, with the potential of reclaiming Blackness and Africanness (Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020). This could be researched in numerous educational contexts where the African diaspora is pronounced. The resurgence of Nkrumah's philosophy in contemporary African literature for decolonising and, even for offering decolonial rhetoric for African citizenship is significant (see Henaku, 2019; Ndlovu-Gatsheni, 2020). In this instance, his ideas carry a symbolic role for these teachers seeking change.

10.3. Implications for Future Practice

In exploring implications for educational practice, my research revealed, firstly, how these teachers are seeking to re-centre their learners' minds back onto Ghana. These teachers put forward a number of ideas for pedagogy to better situate their learners: these included greater use of African writers and thinkers in their curriculum and, greater integration of Indigenous Knowledges such as folk tales, proverbs, and oral histories. With these teachers revisiting the question of the Indigenous, this questioning could further be explored by conducting a focus group of these same teachers interviewed about how they make meaning together on citizenship(s) and generate possible approaches for pedagogy in their urban classrooms. Part of this could entail facilitating discussion on their processes of fostering critical thinking in learners, as some teachers stated their uncertainty about how to achieve this.

Furthermore, an epistemic community of teachers could provide an important space for articulating, negotiating, and redefining their understanding of the active legacy of colonialism within the curriculum. Such legacies are still perceived as pervasive in their learners' mindsets, impacting ethnic and Black identities and their learners' sense of heritage. This could be a poignant moment for these Ghanaian teachers in offering other teachers globally their lessons learned about reclaiming meanings of Blackness, and its enactment through pedagogy as well as teaching on emotive and painful topics like the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade.

On a pragmatic note, this study has observed that teacher deployment is understudied in the existing literature on Ghana. To advance understandings on this, my research has revealed that Rootedness can carry both an exclusionary and inclusionary effect for teachers, themselves. This was exemplified in how these teachers (as outsiders) were trying to relate as much as reconcile with different communities (as insiders) in 'doing away with that tribalism' (1.7). As explained by these teachers, there was a gap in resources for preparing teachers for this predicament; there is a need to equip them with language skills, as well as understanding of knowledge, cultures, and traditions appropriate to the

community that they are serving. With language specifically being key to teachers' sense of relatedness with their learners and it being symbolic of Ghanaian identities based on indigeneity, their request for greater consideration in language as a condition of deployment seems justified.

10.4. Limitations to the Study

I acknowledge limitations to my study. The inability to complete the full interview schedule in each of the schools due to the rapid spread of COVID-19 was the main limitation. Added to this, my ethical responsibility as a researcher was to send teachers their transcripts and ask them to speak back on my interpretation of the interview. This was not possible due to issues with communication. As part of my transformative praxis, I am still seeking to disseminate the findings as planned.

Furthermore, I did not explore how gender influenced their responses to me, as a white British woman. As highlighted in Chapter 6, most teachers of my sample were women and this did appear to self-regulate their responses at times. This was most apparent with the three men in the sample who spoke openly about their opinions on previous governments. Upon reflection, greater interrogation of gender relations as an important dynamic shaping the interview process was needed. This is one of my own lessons learned that I will carry into any other research that I go on to produce.

Finally, upon reflection on my choice of methodology, I would suggest that lesson observations would have enhanced my data. It would have been interesting to analyse how teachers sought to enact these definitions of citizenship in their classrooms. This may have revealed the difference between their imagined and actual practice. It would also have been interesting to have asked the children in the same schools their views on citizenship, comparing and contrasting these with the teachers. This would have shown sites of inclusion and exclusion in the classroom, and show what this means in moving toward a sense of Oneness that begins with the relationship between the teacher and their learners.

10.5. New Lessons Learned?

To conclude this thesis, I propose that the concept of Oneness and Rootedness, infused into these teachers' views on Ghanaian citizenship(s), can offer praxis for the way teachers relate to their learners. It enhances how they define and shape learners' identity and difference, as well as find and forge unity in their urban classrooms in Accra, Ghana. It also bridges tradition and newness for re-balancing Western and Indigenous Knowledges as part of self-definition in Being Ghanaian. As my study prioritised teachers' voices, it seems more appropriate to end with one of these teachers' comments.

According to Augustina:

> Researcher: So what is your vision for Ghana?
>
> Augustina: It's the national anthem. This is what the forefathers told us…
>
> God bless our homeland of Ghana
> And make our nation great and strong
> Bold to defend forever
> The cause of Freedom and of Right
> Fill our hearts with true humility
> Make us cherish fearless honesty
> And help us to resist oppressor's rule
> With all our will and might for evermore
> And help us to resist oppressor's rule
> With all our will and might forevermore.
>
> (2.6)

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Appendix 1.

Postgraduate Research Application Form

Some of the wording of this ethics application form has been removed when deemed as not applicable to my study – primarily the guidance from the CoSS on how to complete the form, any personal sensitive data, or questions on method that were not relevant to my application.

College of Social Sciences

1. Applicant Details

Postgraduate Research Project ☒
Project Title: Examining teachers' views on citizenship in the postcolonial classroom in India and Ghana
Name of Applicant Amy Smail
School: College of Social Sciences, School of Education
Student: –
Programme Title: PhD Education

2. Ethical Risks

<u>Introduction</u>
The fieldwork for this PhD study involves conducting semi-structured interviews with teachers and headteachers in primary schools in Delhi and Mumbai, India and Accra and Winneba, Ghana. The research aim is to explore how teachers define citizenship, of themselves as citizens, and of their learners, and how they view the purpose of education in this during the context of educational reform. The teacher will now be referred to as the participant.

The project is generally deemed to be low risk for participants. The following types of risks, and how they will be mitigated, are listed below:

A. Risks in Research Design: (Low Risk)

Possible topics and other sub-topics that may arise in the interview:
- Associated political views on the Government;
- Philosophical and religious beliefs;
- Discrimination, intolerance in reference to class, race, culture, gender or religion may arise.

Mitigating the risks:
- Interview themes will be reviewed as part of this ethical procedure;
- Any personal data that could be classified as special category will not be used in the write-up;
- In advance, participant can query the themes and respond at any point before the interview;
- All participants, including those approached on student's arrival, are provided with the on-going option to opt-out of the interview and, during the interview process, to opt-out of answering a question or can actively stop the interview at any time.

B. Risks in Confidentiality and Anonymity (Medium Risk):
- Anonymity of participants from different schools in documents may be breached;
- Small sample size of participants;
- Anonymity of participants from the same schools in documents may be breached;
- Participants disclose sensitive information during the interview.

Mitigating the risks:
- As specified on Participant Information Sheet and during the interview, participant is made aware of how confidentiality and anonymity is maintained throughout the project including:
- Personal data anonymised, on-going option to agree or disagree with data storage, intended use for data, personal data and personal contact details disposed of after the completion of the PhD of the specified date (i.e. 12/2022)
- Due to sample size, the student cannot guarantee confidentiality.
- Inform participant on types of disclosed sensitive information- to be erased on the transcription in discussion with the participant and will not be included in the write-up.

After the Interview:
- The participant will be sent an executive summary of the thesis. If the participant believes that anonymity has been breached at the time of write-up of the thesis or, later in a journal article, they can appeal by contacting the CoSS Ethics Officer, the Principal Supervisor and student.
- It will be made clear that the participant has the opportunity to have any supplied data destroyed on request up to a specified date.

C. Risks in Informed Consent (Low Risk):

- Participant believes that they were coerced by the gatekeeper and research participation is not voluntary;
- Participant does not feel adequately informed on what they are consenting to;
- Participant wishes for retroactive withdrawal of their contributed data during the write-up of the thesis.

Mitigating the risks:

- All participants receive a consent form either in advance of student's arrival or upon arrival, containing the research process, what consent means for this research project and wider benefits as a result of their involvement.
- Of participants wishing to withdraw during the write-up stage, a telephone discussion will be arranged between student, primary supervisor and the participant to explain the costs of this to the project, to discuss whether some of the data could be kept and how anonymisation has been ensured.
- If no agreement is made, student has an ethical duty of care to withdraw the participant's comments.

D. Risks in Location (Safety and Privacy) (Medium Risk):

- At the school, issues on privacy for the participant in conducting the interview where other staff members will recognise the participant.

Mitigating the risks:

- Find a room in the school building, as agreed with by the headteacher, that is sufficiently private and allows for other staff to be accessible if needed.
- Identify a back-up location within walking distance of the primary school and where the interview can occur during school hours.

E. Risks of lone-working (specific to Ghana and India) (Medium Risk)

- Conducting interviews with some possible sensitive topics (namely political views and religious beliefs);
- Unfamiliarity with some locations of the city (new schools visited) and access arrangements.

Mitigating the risks:

- Student discusses with headteachers in advance to arrange when and how to access the premises during working hours;
- Risk assessment is reviewed on arrival and mid-way through each trip, or if something occurs e.g. accident or incident

5. Project Details

Start date for data collection: 01/07/2019
Proposed end date of research project: 01/12/2022

6. Justification for the Research

Significance of my research to the wider community
My study will:

- Feed findings into national policy consultations that are seeking to increase the role of the teacher and their value in fostering citizenship, engaging with local and national policymakers and multi-lateral agencies.
- Enhance knowledge-exchange between international and national scholars by developing the emerging framework on postcolonial citizenship that critically questions dominant and Indigenous Knowledges alike and their role in enhancing democratic citizenship in post-colonial contexts.
- Enhance the evidence-base for Teacher Education Agencies and NGOs to support online teacher education training and resources and greater capacity building of practitioners.
- Respond to the recent challenge in the field of Comparative and International Education by identifying active colonial legacies in our scholarship (of our methodology and theoretical positions) and sharing experiences for future research collaborations and greater South-South and North-South dialogue.
- Build on the rapidly growing public dialogue in both India and Ghana on democratic citizenship and maximise public outreach.
- Formulate nuanced, practical recommendations to some of the key social challenges that teachers face in the classroom for systemic change by asking teachers directly to reimagine citizenship and the future trajectory of education.

Impact on my practice:
My study will:

- Enhance my reflexivity as an early-career researcher (advancing in qualitative studies) – a chapter is included in my PhD thesis that interrogates my subjectivity and objectivity in relation to post-colonial theory and the implications of 'Self' and 'Other' in the interview process.
- Challenge my own unconscious and conscious bias that supports my future research in post-colonial countries.
- Develop and refine my interviewing technique – e.g. reviewing questioning techniques, unconscious verbal cues (e.g. interrupting, repetitively agreeing), misleading questions.

Impact on practice of others
My study will:

- Feed into the University of Glasgow PhD network, 'Global South Researchers,' for mutual learning alongside other PhD students' and staff experiences such as on practicalities, working with gatekeepers, ensuring impact and sustainability.
- Provide practical examples to post-graduate students when teaching on qualitative research methods as a Graduate Teaching Assistant and, as an early-career researcher.
- Stimulate collaboration with national scholars to develop a practical framework that builds on the emerging notion of postcolonial citizenship and its intersection with indigenous knowledge.

- Engage specifically with scholars in the field of Comparative Education to explore a culturally relevant research methodology, and potential theory, that speaks to the counter-narratives that teachers may reveal.
- Article journal written on interrogating my positionality as a Global North researcher and possible research methodology

7. Research Methodology and Data Collection

7a. Method of data collection

Face to face or telephone interview	☒
Audio or video-recording of interviewees, focus groups or events	☒

7b. Research Methods

Context to the Selection of Research Methods
The interviews for this PhD study will explore the participant’s views on citizenship as a comparative study during the context of educational reform. Such interview themes will engage with their views on their respective Government’s approach to citizenship and educational reform. It is acknowledged that this data contains personal information, as understood in compliance with the *EU GDPR 2018, the UoG Code of Conduct of Good Practice in Research and procedures on ‘Information Security,’* where confidentiality and anonymity must be demonstrated. The participants are also not vulnerable participants.

Sampling Strategy:

- The selected participants are teachers and headteachers, because of their direct role in working with children to implement educational policy on citizenship, the primary focus of this PhD thesis.
- While the power dynamic between the teacher and the headteacher is acknowledged, headteachers are included in the sampling. Given they are gatekeepers, their inclusion ensures that the relationship between teacher and headteacher is not disrupted after my research is completed.
- District Education Officers are also gatekeepers. However, their relationship to schools is often politicised. I have excluded them from my sampling.
- The cities of Delhi and Mumbai, India and Accra and Winneba, Ghana are included because:
  (1) The state governments of each metropolitan city are either of the absolute majority, of the elected governments at central-level (Mumbai and Accra) or they are of absolute majority of the party opposition (Delhi and Winneba). The teachers will hold diverse political views and values in the two cities of that country.

(2) Various political ideologies on localisation and globalisation can be found in these cities that currently feature in educational policy on citizenship. They are also former British colonial gateways. I expect to see these ideologies most represented in the sampled schools, shaping the teachers' views on citizenship.

Methods of Confidentiality

- List of all contact details will be kept on secure UoG email account accessed only by researcher (with notification if attempts to access account other than me have been made).
- Gain approval from headteachers of schools for their contact details to be forwarded (email address, school address and telephone number) to Principle Supervisor.

Face-to- face semi-structured Interviews:

- Allow for greater social interaction between the participant and the researcher;
- Providing the participant with a pre-determined interview guide based on themes allows for modification in the interview as needed;
- Inappropriate questions for a participant can be omitted or additional ones followed up;
- Allow for non-verbal indicators to evaluate validity of answers to the researcher;
- Explore specific cultural nuances/references with the participant during the interview.

Methods for Confidentiality:

- Conducting an individual-based interview allows for confidentiality and anonymity to be retained and, for the participant to feel safe with the researcher;
- Explain that audio recordings are uploaded to encrypted, private cloud service, accessible only to the researcher.

3. Time Commitment of Participant:

Interviews will last no longer than 1 hour, most likely to be held in the afternoon after the children depart or very early in the morning before the children arrive.

4. Data Analysis

A. Transcripts are produced for thematic analysis. There are two stages of transcripts produced for analysis: 'Original' Transcript and the 'Anonymised' Transcript for the following reasons:

- Given the sample size, removing any direct or indirect identifiers too soon can result in valuable meaning from the interviews being lost and difficulty in identifying themes in findings of one school compared to another school. This impacts the quality of this research.
- Using the 'Original Transcript' during the write-up enables me to understand the hidden' meanings that are otherwise overlooked in data

that will become too generalised from anonymisation, missing local and cultural nuances.
- Temporarily retaining direct and indirect identifiers (personal data) during the write-up stage helps me to analyse the diverse views of teachers on citizenship comparatively (within and between schools of the same area specifically).

B. Allowing participants to view a written summary of the thesis is necessary for the following reasons:
- Ensures that the consent process is on-going and anonymity and privacy are respected
- Clarifies any unclear cultural sayings/definitions (e.g. particularly where Indians transverse between Hindi and English and Ghanaians transverse between Ga, Akan and English)

Methods of Confidentiality:
- All interviews will be audio recorded by the researcher using iTalk software (encrypted files) on a password protected laptop and uploaded immediately after the interview as a securely, encrypted file or within the same day to UoG 'OneDrive' and 'OwnCloud' (back up);
- Upon completion of fieldwork in Ghana, audio recording will be sent by the researcher using my UoG email address to 'TypeOut';
- Researcher notified of completion of each transcript and sent hyperlink to access the secure account from 'TypeOut'. Original transcriptions downloaded onto the UoG OneDrive and 'OwnCloud' and stored separately from audio recordings (files are end-to-end encrypted);
- Researcher will anonymise all transcriptions (**see section 8 for full description)* and save anonymised transcripts separately from original transcripts on UoG OneDrive and OwnCloud and from audio recordings.
- All first line information is replaced by pseudonyms in 'original transcriptions', used solely by the researcher;
- Process will be repeated for my fieldwork in India.

8. Confidentiality and Data Handling

8a. Will the Research Involve:

DEGREE OF ANONYMITY	Teacher Interviews	Head Teacher Interview
De-identified samples or data	☒	☒
USE OF NAMES		
Subject being referred to by pseudonym in any publication arising from the research?	☒	☒

<u>Additional Information:</u> <u>Anonymity of Participants in Thesis and Journal Articles:</u> • Name of participant will be pseudonym (retaining actual names is prohibited in this study as there is more than one participant from each school and increases risk for those wishing to remain anonymous). • Name of the city and country will be identified • School named as 'School 1' • School will be located in terms of city, approximate area (e.g. southern region of Delhi or western region of Greater Accra), and socio-economic characteristics • School characteristics will be identified by number of staff and number of children and as a public school • Gender and age of teacher within age range will be revealed <u>Criteria for anonymised transcriptions (*as above with guidance from UK Data Service, 2019)*</u> • Disclosed information is omitted • Use of pseudonyms • Any direct or indirect identifiers removed • Replacements in texts are clear (e.g brackets used) • Any statements that increase risk of harm or disclosure are removed	☐	☐
Participants being made aware that confidentiality may be impossible to guarantee	☒	☒
Participants being made aware that confidentiality may be impossible to guarantee	☒	☒
Participants being made aware that data may be shared/archived or re-used in accordance with Data Sharing Guidance provided on Participant Information Sheet	☒	☒

8b. Which of the following methods of assuring confidentiality of data will be implemented?

Electronic Access to computer files to be available by password only	☒
Any other method of securing confidentiality of data in storage: *(*Also see section 7b for full details)* After PhD completion, the researcher will erase the original transcripts and the audio recordings that contain personal data on the UoG OneDrive and OwnCloud Anonymised transcripts will be retained on the UoG OneDrive and OwnCloud All anonymised transcripts will be made available to the 'University Institutional Data Repository – Enlighten: Research Data' along with the PhD thesis and, in due course, any journal articles	☐

8c. Access to Data

Access by named researchers and, where applicable, supervisors, examiners, research assistants, transcribers ☒

8d. Retention and Disposal of Personal Data

<u>Justification for Retention of 'Original' Transcript and Audio Recordings containing personal data:</u>

- Direct Identifiers will be replaced by pseudonyms on the original transcript;
- As per the reasons provided in Section 7b, the original qualitative data for this PhD, containing direct and indirect identifiers, is focused on understanding the local ideologies and values of teachers that are found in schooling environments. Identifying similarities and differences within the school between teaching staff and across schools within the same city can only be done through the research containing personal data. Without this personal data included, analysis of the research is harder if not limiting analysis entirely. This jeopardises the full meaning of the teachers' interviews and devalues the purpose of collecting the data as well as suitability of employing interviewing as a research method and as a qualitative, interpretivist approach.

<u>Justification for Disposal of 'Original' Transcript containing personal data:</u>

- Personal data will be erased on December 2022 after PhD completion.
- Preferred contact details collected from the participant to forward my executive summary via my UoG email address or any correspondence will be permanently erased on this data
- All personal data will have been anonymised to complete the PhD and used for journal articles. Any personal data will have no use after this

specified date. It is anticipated that the anonymised transcripts will be sufficient for future usage as per below and in requirements of the UoG Data Management policy.

8e. Retention and Disposal of Research Data

Justification for Retention and Curation of Research Data (as Anonymised Transcriptions)

- To assist in the investigation of research misconduct allegations
- To enable other researchers to use the data since it is unique to its field of Comparative and International Education.
- To enable the write-up of a minimum of three journal articles with separate themes that are not part of the PhD write-up/data analysis.
- To store the data with other publications from the researcher

9. Dissemination of Results

9a. Results will be made available to participants as:

Written summary of results to all if requested	☐
Copy of final manuscript presented if requested (e.g. thesis, article)	☐
Verbal presentation to all (e.g. information session, debriefing)	☐
Presentation to representative participants (e.g. CEO, School Principal)	☐
None of the Above Plain-wording written summary of PhD findings to all participants is sent to headteacher and the teacher. There could be practical implications of sending the manuscript to all of the participants given that they are all based outside of the UK and, where their participation relies on snowballing. I will gather their email after the interview or, minimally, send this to the headteacher electronically.	☒

9b. Results will be made available to peers and/or colleagues as:

Thesis (e.g. PhD)	☒
Journal Articles	☒
Conference Papers	☒
Written summary of results to all if requested	☒

9c. Datasets suitable for future re-use will be:

Openly available via a data repository (eg. UKDA, Enlighten, Research Data)	☒

10. Participants

- Headteacher and teachers located in primary schools in Accra and Winneba, Ghana and Mumbai and Delhi, India will be aged between 22 years to 60 years. Participants widely speak English so translation is not required.
- For recruitment, I rely on gatekeepers, while I am in the UK and then on snowballing while in-country to select and agree access to primary schools. These contacts come from my professional and personal contacts.

The following recruitment procedures will be applied:

In Ghana:

Before the fieldwork:

a. Contact officers of the Ghana Education Service and building contact with members of the Metropolitan Education Directorates (for Accra and Winneba) to seek advice on names of schools in specific areas of the district and seek advice on the application process;
b. Contact the Director(s) of Metropolitan Education Directorate with number of schools to access and area, number of participants, UoG letter-head ethical clearance details (signed by Principle Supervisor and myself), sample of interview themes, approximate schedule and my professional contact details;
c. An assigned District Education Officer (of the school's area) will be in contact with me who will provide email details of head-teachers
d. As appropriate, contact headteacher with interview themes, approximate schedule, professional contact details, number of participants needed, participant information sheet (including research purpose and risks) and consent form that will be distributed to teachers;
e. Specific details of schools will need to be forwarded to the Director(s)
f. I am replying on the headteacher to recruit participants with the given information or, the headteacher can forward me contact details of the teacher;
g. Of participants willing to take part in the interview, the participant can email me with their consent or the headteacher will email me with names of teachers willing to take part;
h. Of headteachers who have approved for my visit in advance but no participant details are provided where a snowballing approach is acceptable, I will confirm the visit and be prepared with necessary documents of the consent sheet and the participant information sheet on the day.

During the fieldwork in-country:

i. Participants must give their consent and sign the consent form on arrival.
j. It is courtesy to visit the DEOs of both the Greater Accra Region and of the Central Region in Winneba on arrival.
k. If I have a limited number of schools, with the accompaniment of the DEO or with proof of overarching approval from the Directors, I can visit any recommended schools with the DEO on their daily school visits to recruit participants.

In India:

Before the fieldwork and during the fieldwork:

a. Contact the Director in Department of School Education in the Maharashtra State and New Delhi with number of schools to access and area, number of participants, UoG letter-head ethical clearance details (signed by Principle Supervisor and myself), sample of interview themes approximate schedule and my professional contact details;
b. The approval and permission letter is sent onwards to the District and Block Education Officers (DEO) of Mumbai and Mumbai Suburban/ and of Municipal Schools, New Delhi.
c. Upon permission granted from the DEO, contact details of headteachers are provided
d. Similar procedure, as specified above in steps e-k.

10b. Target Participant Group

Adults (over 18 years old and competent to give consent)

10c. Incentives

Incentives are not appropriate in the cultural contexts of these schools.

10d. Number of Participants

Approximately 40-48 participants in total (3-4 schools in each city and 3-4 participants per school including 1 Head-teacher)

10e. Dependent Relationship

Yes ☐
No ☒

10f. Location of Research

Outside Location This fieldwork comprises of two separate trips overseas. 1. The first trip is to the city of Accra, Greater Accra, Ghana and Winneba, the Central Region. I anticipate visiting 3-4 schools during July/August 2019. 2. The second trip is to the city of Mumbai, Maharashtra, and Delhi, New Delhi, India. I anticipate visiting 3-4 schools during September/October 2019. Each trip will last for approximately 15-18 days.	

11. Permission to Access Participants

11a. Permissions/Access

Is this permission required to gain access to research participants within an organisation?

Yes ☒

If evidence of permission is not provided in this application, please explain why.

The letters of approval (electronically sent) from the Director of the State Department of Education in Mumbai and of the Metropolitan Directorate of Delhi as well as from the Deputy Director of the Ghana Education Service in Accra and of the Central Region, Winneba can only be provided after the ethical procedure from University of Glasgow is complete. This is standard procedure. A letter with the University's header and address is required first before approval granted. This application process takes a further 6-8 weeks.

12. Informed Consent

12a. Have you attached your Participant Information Sheet for participants?

Yes ☒

12d. How will informed consent by individual participants or guardians be evidenced?

Signed Consent Form	
Recorded Verbal Consent	

13. Monitoring

Monitoring before fieldwork:

- Monthly Skype meetings with Principle Supervisor and Second Supervisor

Fieldwork in Ghana, anticipated June/July 2019 (over 2-3 week period), and India Sept/Oct 2019 (over 2-3 week period)

- End of week 1 and 2: Skype meeting with Principle Supervisor (and where possible Second Supervisor)

Monitoring in between fieldwork periods:

- Monthly Skype meetings (as part of supervision) with Principle Supervisor and Second Supervisor
- Any necessary follow up with CoSS Ethics Officer (e.g. incidents during interview, unforeseen issues

After fieldwork (Nov/Dec 2019)

- Within two months of fieldwork, face-to-face visit to University of Glasgow for extended supervisory meeting with Principle Supervisor

14. Health and Safety

Potential issues of personal safety

- In India and Ghana, white females can receive unwanted attention including within professional working environments and in research contexts, (this could potentially be an issue when interviewing any male teachers;
- Participant discloses distressing personal information (issues of 'race', culture, gender and poverty in particular);
- Researcher is accused of an incident (e.g. misleading the participant in the conversation, misconstruing non-verbal clues).

Managing risks:

- Being aware of another member of staff and/or headteacher nearby when conducting interviews;
- If the incident is serious, follow an action plan (agreed with headteacher), immediate discussion with the UoG supervisor and CoSS Ethics Officer is required if researcher is of emotional distress and may result in discontinuing the fieldwork (arrangements on changing flights if needed to return);
- Seeking appropriate advice on cultural norms, gender dynamics of interactions;
- Establishing support before, during and after the fieldwork with aim to debrief, reflect on the experiences and raise any difficulties encountered with UoG Supervisor.

15. Risk

15a. Does the activity involve lone fieldwork, lone working or travel to unfamiliar places?

Yes ☒
No ☐

Minimising the Risks (in reference to the UoG Risk Guidance and FCO travel websites):

NB: Authorisation from the Head of College is not required to travel to Mumbai and Delhi, India and Accra and Winneba, Ghana. The FCO advises tourists to remain vigilant at this time in India but specify that most visits are trouble free (dated Feb 2019).

Before Travel:

- Copies of passport, visas, accommodation details and schedule of fieldwork including named field contacts forwarded to a named relative and primary supervisor as appropriate
- Application for travel insurance, University of Glasgow approved

- Any additional Medical and Travel Insurance purchased that is not covered by the UoG
- Ensure letters of approval from government officials to undertake research are available on arrival through customs

In-country:

- All signed letters of approval to be readily available throughout the research trip with named contacts (including out of hours)
- Inform first in-country local contacts of fieldwork schedule with details of schools and hotels
- All valuable documents stored safely and copies of passports, flight details and Indian and Ghanaian visa kept separately from originals when travelling
- Notify all named contacts of any changes during fieldwork
- Comply with local dress codes
- Meet all participants and gatekeepers within school working hours
- Laptop is insured, requiring Two-Factor Authentication for access, and, as a Standard Staff Desktop (SSD) user, data is stored first on the UoG 'OneDrive' home 'H' Drive and also backed up on the central 'OwnCloud' service as a private cloud service that can both be accessed remotely. At no point is the data stored on the H Drive of the laptop.

15b. How will you ensure that you minimise any possible distress caused to participants by the research process?

Strategies to minimise possible distress:

Emotional Distress

- Interviews are sent in advance of interview;
- Option to opt-out before, during and after the interview is clearly stated to participant;
- Option to stop audio recording themselves;
- Monitoring of participant's behaviours during the interview;
- Offer an intermittent break during the interview;
- Signposting to support services (although specific information is not available to me);
- Email follow-up with participant to allow time to reflect on interview and to remove any sensitive data as requested;
- Seek advice from my supervisors and College of Ethics Officer and, if needed, from the UoG Research Data Management Service. Refer to GDPR 2018 on legal and ethical procedures for duty of care.

Economic Distress

- Limited disruption to participant's working day (e.g. to not interfere with salary pay);
- Interviews to be no longer than one hour (only with consent can the interview last longer);
- No monetary incentivisation is provided.

Social Distress

- Not to probe unnecessarily and unwarranted into any topics that could otherwise disrupt the social life of the school;
- Anonymisation and confidentiality employed — no religious, philosophical beliefs or political opinions are disclosed with any other participant (including the headteacher) or could be identified as belonging to the participant in any public communication.

15c. What procedures are in place for the appropriate referral of a study participant who discloses an emotional, psychological, health, education or other issue during the course of the research or is identified by the researcher to have such a need?

For any whistleblowing, information on poor practice or unmet health or social care needs, confidentiality cannot be guaranteed out of duty of care.

Prior to the interview:

- If such needs are disclosed prior to the interview, an inclusive space will be provided as much as possible, further influencing how the research interview is conducted.
- Upon initial contact with participant, include contact details
- As appropriate, contact the participant directly in order to: provide the participant the option to proceed with the interview or to opt-out and enquire on the specific need.

If the participant would like to proceed with the interview:

- Make adjustments to either the accessibility of the physical research space, allow for additional time for certain activities (such as extra time for people with language proficiency or an educational need, adjusting speed of reading interview questions, providing suitable refreshment of water for participant), accommodating for a support person (where the participant may be hard of hearing), and/or allow for intermittent break;
- Explain limits to confidentiality with such a disclosure – (the headteacher of the school may have to be informed in order to ensure my personal safety or it may be suggested that the participant is not fit for being interviewed)

If the participant does not want to proceed with the interview, I will find a new participant.

If the researcher identifies that the disclosure is to increase potential personal risk, seek guidance from Principal supervisor to discuss whether to proceed with the interview and how to manage this.

During the interview:
Upon disclosure of such issues during the interview:

- Stop the audio recording;
- Explain limits to confidentiality with such a disclosure;
- Ensure that my response through all verbal and written information about the research is clear to the participant and that the participant demonstrates that they have understood;
- Being based in different schools for each interview, signpost the participant to reach support services without providing specific

information to them as I will not have appropriate locally-based information;
- Contact my Principal Supervisor after the interview.

15d. Does this research involve any sensitive topics or vulnerable groups?

No ☒

This data collection does not involve vulnerable groups.

In compliance with GDPR 2018, the possibility of discussion on special category personal data about political opinions and religious or philosophical beliefs may arise. In satisfaction with the conditions for processing this special category of personal data, this information will not be used. The researcher will control the data, in relation to the procedures of the original transcript that will be erased on the specified date.

To minimise risks, the following arrangements are in place:
- The researcher will make clear to the participant that the use of special category personal data is prohibited in the write-up of this report. It will be processed initially with the interview but any such data in the transcript will be erased.
- The researcher will provide the participant with the option to opt-out of the interview or prohibit the use of their data at any time, before, during, and after the interview.
- The participant will be provided with contacts of the CoSS Ethics Officer and the Principle Supervisor to pursue a complaint from the outset.
- The personal data is safeguarded including encryption, two-way authentication and in its use will be pseudonymised and anoymised as specified in section 7.
- The interview questions will approve the CoSS Ethics Officer and the Principle Supervisor.
- As above, the researcher will follow a 'Protocol': (1) Participant behaviours suggest that the interview is too sensitive (2) Respond by stopping the interview and audio recording (3) Review the interview to see if participant would like to resume the interview, miss out that specific question or to stop entirely (4) Follow up participant with courtesy email (if participant consents
- Ensure all incidents are reported immediately to Principle Supervisor.

16. Insurance

Does this research come under the exclusions to the University insurance cover for research?

No ☒

18. GDPR

Have you made yourself familiar with the requirements of the General Data Protection Regulation (May 2018) this replaces the Data Protection Act (1998)?

Yes ☒

19. Declarations by Researcher(s) and Supervisor(s)

The information contained herein is, to the best of my knowledge and belief, accurate.

I have read the University's current human ethics guidelines, and accept responsibility for the conduct of the procedures set out in the attached application in accordance with the guidelines, the University's Code of Conduct for Research and any other condition laid down by the University of Glasgow Ethics Committee and the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee.

I and my co-researcher(s) or supporting staff have the appropriate qualifications, experience and facilities to conduct the research set out in the attached application and to deal effectively with any emergencies and contingencies related to the research that may arise.

I understand that no research work involving human participants or data collection can commence until I have been granted full ethical approval by the College of Social Sciences Ethics Committee.

	Signature	Date
Researcher	Amy Smail	
Principal Supervisor	Michele Schweisfurth	

Appendix 2.

Letter of Approval from the College of Social Sciences Research Committee, University of Glasgow

College of Social Sciences

06/03/2019

Dear Amy Smail
Project Title: Examining teachers' views on citizenship in the postcolonial classroom in India and Ghana

The College Research Ethics Committee has reviewed your application and has agreed that there is no objection on ethical grounds to the proposed study. It is happy therefore to approve the project, subject to the following conditions:

- Start date of ethical approval: 01/07/2019
- Project end date: 01/12/2022

- Any outstanding permissions needed from third parties in order to recruit research participants or to access facilities or venues for research purposes must be obtained in writing and submitted to the CoSS Research Ethics Administrator before research commences. Permissions you must provide are shown in the *College Ethics Review Feedback* document sent to you.

- The data should be held securely for a period of ten years after the completion of the research project, or for longer if specified by the research funder or sponsor, in accordance with the University's Code of Good Practice in Research

- The research should be carried out only on the sites, and/or with the groups and using the methods defined in the application.

- Any proposed changes in the protocol should be submitted for reassessment as an amendment to the original application. The *Request for Amendments to an Approved Application* form should be used.

Appendix 3.

Interview Topics

1. **Definitions on citizenship**
    a. How do you explain citizenship, in relation to your learners? (what about national identity and unity?)
    b. How would you define your learners' identity and difference?
    c. What do you think pupils should know about 'Being Ghanaian' when they leave school?
    d. In the new National Curriculum, what are the most important subjects and topics for teaching citizenship? Why? (e.g. human rights, democracy)
    e. What do children need to know about being a 'good' citizen?
    f. And, what about being a 'global' citizen?

2. **Teaching about history in fostering citizenship**
    g. What is your view on teaching children about cultural heritage and histories and its role in fostering citizenship? What do you think should be taught?
    h. Would you agree that it is important to teach children about British colonial history (and any emotive topics like the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade)?
        i. What are your reasons?
        ii. What is your approach to teach these topics?
        iii. What challenges might you face with this?
    i. What is your view on the role of (African) Indigenous Knowledges in schools, like proverbs, stories, and folklore? Have they still a place in contemporary Ghana?

3. **Being a teacher in educating about and fostering citizenship**
    a. What is the purpose of education in fostering citizenship? For what reasons?
    b. What is the role of teachers in fostering citizenship? For what reasons?
    c. What is your vision for your learners' futures, and for the nation of Ghana? How do you see the wider role of education in this?

Appendix 5.

Consent Form

College of Social Sciences

Title of Project: Examining teachers' views on citizenship in the postcolonial classroom in India and Ghana

Name of Researcher: Amy Smail

- I confirm that I have read and understood the Participant Information Sheet for the above study and have had the opportunity to ask questions.
- I understand that my participation is voluntary and that I am free to withdraw before or during my interview.
- I consent to my interview being audio recorded and that the recording along with my original transcription containing all personal information will be treated confidentially.
- I consent/ do not consent to my audio recording sent securely to a UK Professional Transcriber.
- I acknowledge that a pseudonym is used for my name and my remaining information is anonymised including my school and its local area.
- I acknowledge that I can withdraw my audio recording.
- I consent to the safe and secure use and storage of my data including for a PhD study, journal publications and conference presentations and, of which my anonymised transcription is viewed by the researcher and the Principal Researcher.
- I acknowledge that I, or the Head-teacher of my school, will receive a written summary so that I can check how I have been quoted in the paper and I can respond if I believe that my anonymity has been breached.
- I consent to storage of anonymised data for 10 years at the 'University Institutional Data Repository – Enlighten: Research Data' for access for re-use.
- I acknowledge that I can withdraw my data without prejudice and without giving reason until approximately August 2020. After which, I cannot withdraw my data as it will affect the write-up of the PhD including major findings, conclusions and recommendations.

- I, the participant, agree to waive my copyright to any data collected as part of this project.

I agree to take part in this research study ☐

I do not agree to take part in this research study ☐

Name of Participant ……………………………………………..

Signature ……………………………………………………..

Date:

Name of Researcher: Amy Smail Signature

Date:

Appendix 6.

Participant Information Sheet

College of Social Sciences

Dear Teacher/Head-teacher,

My name is Amy Smail, a PhD researcher from the University of Glasgow, Scotland. You are being invited to take part in a research study on teachers' views on citizenship in primary schools in India and Ghana.

Before you decide to take part, it is important for you to understand what the research is about, why the research is being done, and what it will involve. It is also important that you understand how your personal information and the interview will be kept safe and secure.

Please read the following information. You can contact me via email if you would like more information. Take the time to decide whether or not you wish to take part.

Please also take the time to read the Interview Topics that will be used which are attached to the end of this Participation Information Sheet. This will help to inform your consent. There is also a consent form attached for you to read.

If you decide to take part, there are different options to confirm your consent. You can:

- Email me directly
- Tell your head-teacher and they will email me
- Tell me on my arrival at your school

You must sign a consent form, which I will give to you at the school.

The University of Glasgow College Research Ethics Committee has approved this project.

Kind Regards,

Amy Smail, PhD Student

1. Introducing the Research

Research Title
Examining teachers' views on citizenship in the postcolonial classroom in India and Ghana

Description of the Research
The research explores how primary school teachers define citizenship of their learners and the role of education in developing sense of belonging and national identity in schools.

Purpose of the Research
I am collecting teachers' interviews from government schools and from two post-colonial countries of India and Ghana. The findings will:

- Support teacher education agencies and NGOs to develop online teacher education training and resources.
- Contribute towards policy discussions on the role of the teacher and citizenship
- Develop future research on postcolonial citizenship in schools.

2. Taking Part in the Interview

- The individual interview will last 1 hour at your school and will be recorded.
- During the interview, I will ask you questions based on certain topics.
- Your participation is voluntary.
- The benefits of this research will not be immediate for you. Even so, it is intended that this interview is an opportunity to voice your opinions on citizenship and your role as a teacher.
- All research has some risks. In this instance, there may be questions asked or possible discussions that are too sensitive. You can choose what we discuss. Please let me know.

3. Assuring your Confidentiality and Anonymity

- Your privacy is important throughout the study. This will happen in the following ways:
    - You can choose a pseudonym for your name, please let me know.
    - Your school's name is not described, only the area and the city
    - Your audio recording and transcription containing all of your personal information will never be shared.

Confidentiality will be respected unless there are strong reasons for this to be breached. If this were the case where you may have disclosed sensitive information, I would inform you of any decisions that might limit your confidentiality.

4. Withdrawing from the Interview

- You can opt out of answering questions by emailing me or explaining during the interview.

- You can choose to stop the interview and audio recording at any time.

- You have the right to withdraw from this research up until August 2021, without prejudice and without providing a reason. This is when the write-up of the PhD thesis will be near finalised so withdrawing your data will affect the findings, conclusion and recommendations.

3. Using and Storing the Interview Data

- Your audio recording will be stored securely and safely on the University of Glasgow online services that are encrypted and only I have access to.

- Your audio recording will be professionally transcribed. You can refuse this and I will transcribe the interview instead. Please let me know.

- Myself and the Principle Supervisor of this PhD thesis will have secure, safe access to your anonymised transcript during the write-up of my PhD.

- Direct quotes will be used in all write-up (with use of pseudonyms as above).

- A summary of the PhD final write-up along with my findings will be emailed to you, or your head-teacher. I will collect your email to do this, with your consent.

- Upon completion of the PhD, your original interview and audio recording will be permanently erased along with your personal contact information, by December 2021.

- Your anonymised interview will then be stored in the 'University of Glasgow Institutional Data Repository- Enlighten: Research Data' for ten years.

8. Contact Information

If you have any concerns or a complaint, please contact:

7. Interview Themes

- The new National Curriculum
- Being a citizen (National identity and belonging, cultural identity and the role of ethnicity)
- Difference in schools and how learners identify
- Teaching about the subject of History and its relevance for primary learners today (i.e. British colonialism, national leaders, and the pre-colonial era)
- The role of Indigenous Knowledges in schools for fostering citizenship

Appendix 7.

Extract of Field Notes

Africa and global not the same thing.

You cut me – blood.

5 interviews
HT.
x 4 teachers.

* Being 'one'
I cut you – blood.

* NGOs – Western. see
– No pride for country, / being 'White'

Colonial history – is just factual.

socio-Economic ~~development~~ means freedom

* Cultural stereotypes
– violent
– uncivilised.

↑ Human rights & democracy ↓

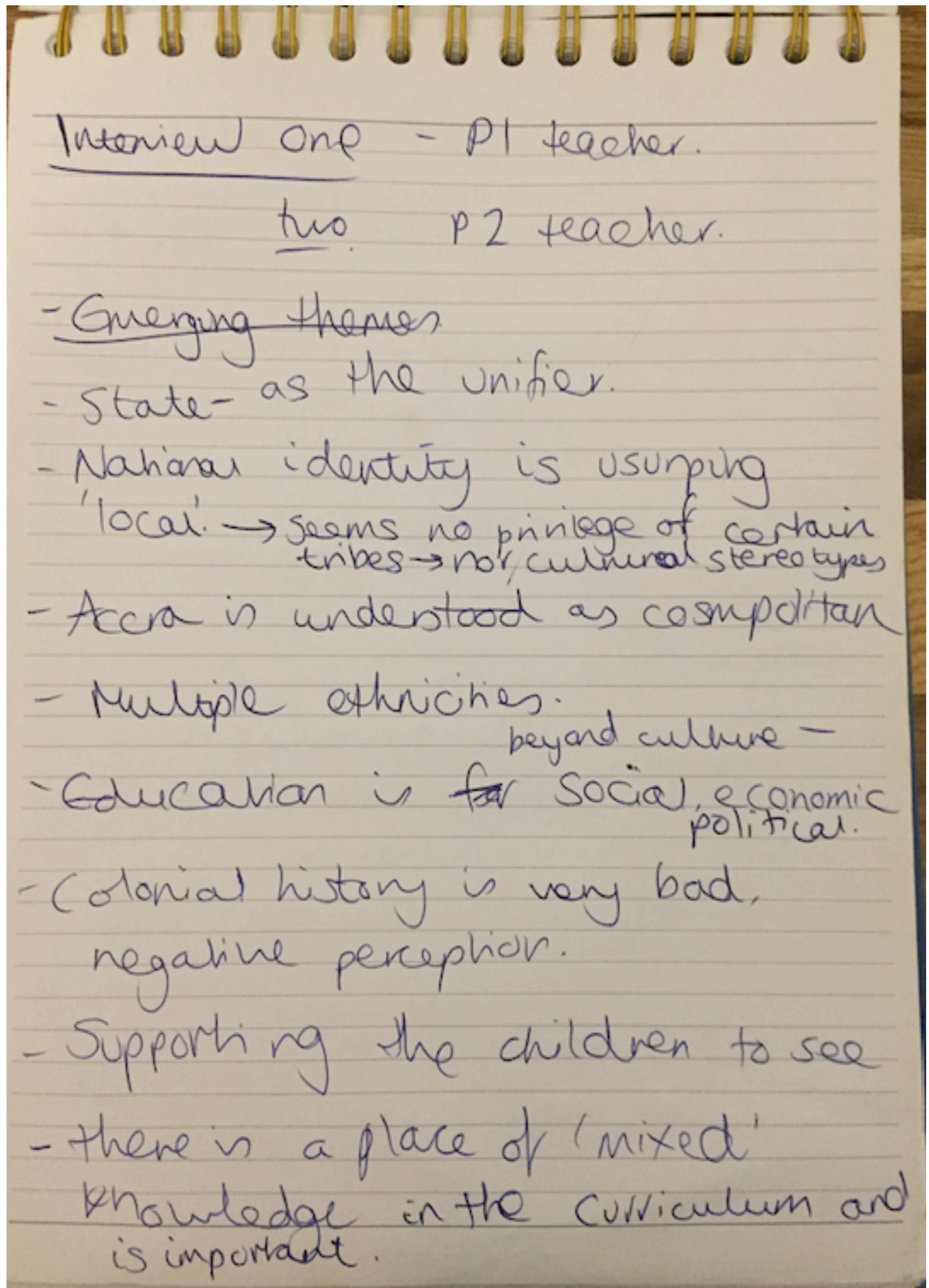
'Active' – cleanliness
– sanitation

– Not Being dependent – wealth
– ('good jobs')

~~[illegible]~~ citizenship + discipline are intrinsic intrinsically connected to education.

Being 'local' means uncivilised
\ sense of 'discipline' ↓
British benefit[illegible]

Figure 7. Field notes of visit to School 1



Interview one - P1 teacher.

two P2 teacher.

- Emerging themes
- State - as the unifier.
- National identity is usurping 'local' → seems no privilege of certain tribes → no, cultural stereotypes
- Accra is understood as cosmopolitan
- Multiple ethnicities.
- Education is ~~for~~ beyond culture - social, economic, political.
- Colonial history is very bad, negative perception.
- Supporting the children to see
- there is a place of 'mixed' knowledge in the curriculum and is important.

Figure 8. Field notes of visit to School 2

standardisation exams

* citizenship is political composition → born → belong to the state
* sharing universal values across the globe
* Education is holistic → society as a whole
* eradicating tribal discrimination + prejudice

global village

* International competitiveness → Make Ghana more productive

understanding democracy — not to fight with you.

* Critical thinking needed — negative + positive impact
* OWOP lack of definition now

blend of all African indigenous knowledges

— fragmented
— national unifier.

we are up … the way they have raised

* More than a job.

— culture (second) — accept as an indicator of benefits of colonialism
→ serving

active participatory thinking

* Accra — 'to know your roots so you know

Figure 9. Field notes of visit to School 3

Appendix 8.

Example of Transcription (2.4)

Researcher: It seems from reading the curriculum, there are topics now in History about British colonial history… What is your opinion about that… teaching about colonial history? How do you as a teacher approach it?

Jennifer: Hmm…that's a difficult one… I should say that when I started teaching it… the children somewhat failed and bit it… and… um… their reactions towards the Westerners were quite cold… but then you'd have to be innovative and try to relate to how, coming back to global citizenship, how things have changed over the years. Now, telling them about the slave trade, it brings some sort of pain… [the children say] "Why would they have to take us through all of this pain," and "Can we trust them again?" I had that question which was a very difficult one. But the facts are straight. We can't hide it from them… If we don't give it to them, they will get it anyway. So we have to teach them to understand that… I mean, yes, we do have traces of racism in others… but, it's no longer that the Slave Trade exists… It's cut off. But they are the next generation, right?... So we [as teachers] have a role of encouragement and to let them understand that it did happen… but "if you really want [racism] to change then it starts with you"… That is how I get them to overcome that pain.

Researcher: So… just talking… again, I guess…. and as I know that you and I were discussing about your Masters yesterday and what you'd covered…. You know… you'd said about this idea about postcolonialism and what this means in Ghana…there is a lot of literature about overcoming this…you know… dealing with the collective memory of colonialism….

Jennifer: The memory of it… of course.

Researcher: And like you say, it is the pain. Is it still necessary for this generation to know? To still say, "Yes, this happened" and like you say…to acknowledge these emotions?' Or is that, with the new generation coming through… they just remember it but there's no need to do anything with it? I'm just thinking how, in primary curriculum in the UK we still teach the Holocaust, which is a similar example in respect that it was war. It was traumatic. It was ethnic cleansing...We have to speak about the memory, but it isn't easy…

Jennifer: I'm getting you… I get it…Well its suffering…as you said earlier, we still have people that lived in that time with us and they have clear memories of it. And they tend to tell the generation that is coming up about what they experienced…

It will take a long time for it to fade out… but history is history and we can't do away with it. So what we are trying to encourage them to understand is that it happened then. So we tend to work to get ourselves out of it and not to go back to that.

Researcher: Yes…

Jennifer: But the funny aspect is that as individuals, we are allowing ourselves to be colonised where we still believe that the things from the West are better than things from Africa. So its individual colonisation still happening… So…um… it won't be easy… I must confess. It will take time. We still have children who… wouldn't want to associate with a white because… I will be straight… they see them as bad people. Our politics is not helping… So, they will say, "Oh these white people went through the politicians, the whites have something to hide. That's why they went through the politicians… because we don't even trust them"… so the channels of politics are bad… So the channels are bad… It's what aid and all that development chat is about….

Researcher: You know… do you talk about that sort of discussion with the children… you know about international aid. Ok, do you even talk about that with the children?

Jennifer: Yes, I treat an aspect where I talk about NGOs and the support they gave over the years and what they do and all that… but most are politicised now, so we can't get that clear distinction between the aid and the political attachment to the aid. So that's the challenge we have now. You see, helping them understand is like… everything comes with some political backing…and we don't really see anything that comes from the West as aid… we only see it as…. well… you have to be neutral. And to teach void of that. It's hard. The thing that hurts the most is that we still see our colonial masters developing and we see ourselves as if we are under-developed. So we feel that they took our resources, forgetting that our resources are still here. I mean we see ourselves as exploited, but we are not… still waiting for [the white people] to bring us machinery and technology and everything to work out… and we still sit here as saddened and embittered which is wrong. We could also develop. We can and we should. But we still look up to them and say, "They are getting better." You know… "They take our gold," but we have the resources so we should learn to exploit [these resources]. They can get from us.

Appendix 9.

Finalised Thematic Map demonstrating Themes in each School

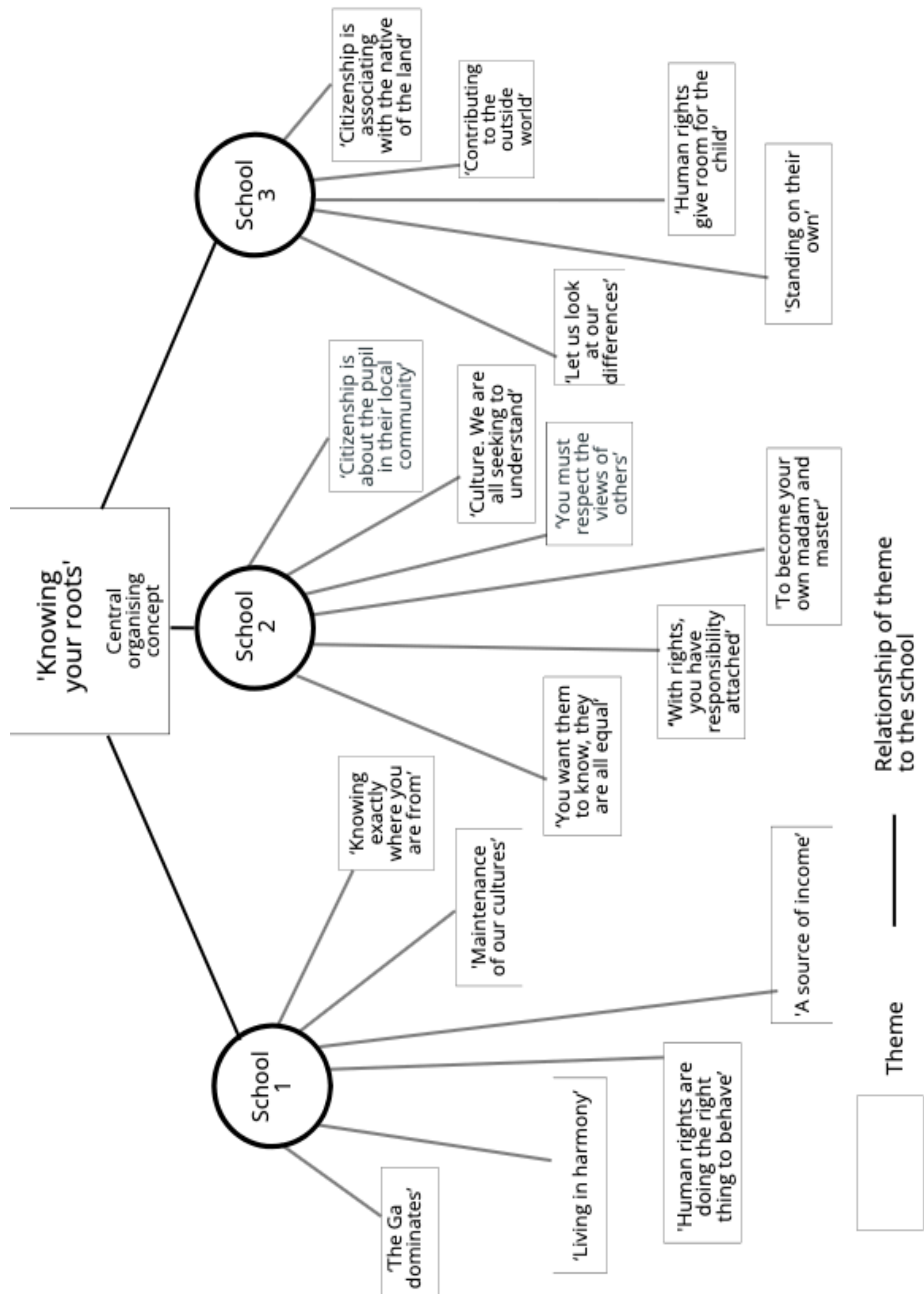


Figure 10. A finalised thematic map demonstrating themes in each school

Appendix 10.

Finalised Thematic Map demonstrating Themes across the Schools

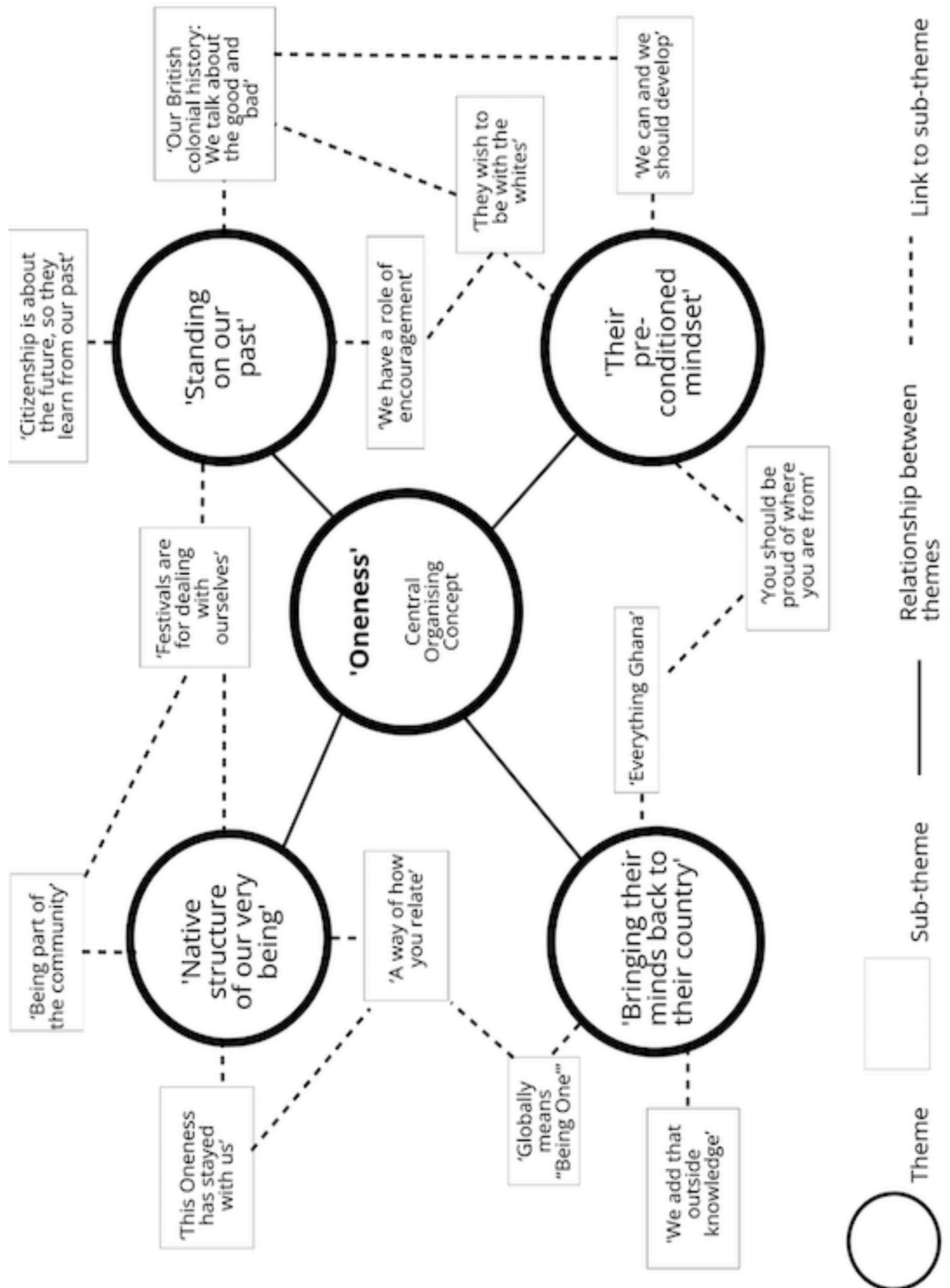


Figure 11. A finalised thematic map demonstrating themes across the schools

Appendix 11.

Educational Data for each District and across the Greater Accra Region

While data on each school is limited, data exists for each district (GSS, 2018). Several observations can be made to highlight the similarities and differences between the districts, where the schools are located, respectively (see Table 8 below). As mentioned in Chapter 6, School 2 was located in the Ga South Municipality, at the time of this data collection by the GSS. The school is now located in the Weija-Gbawe Municipality.

- Net Enrolment Rates are the highest in La Dade-Kotopon, compared with the two other districts.
- Completion rates are uneven across the districts. Again, La Dade-Kotopon has the highest completion rates particularly in contrast to Ga South Municipality, and with a low completion rate for females.
- The majority of teachers employed in schools are trained formally.
- Educational resources are evenly distributed across the districts. Although, access to water and toilets is lowest in the Ga South Municipality.
- Pupil-to-seating ratio is highest in Ga South Municipality, indicating over-crowding in the classrooms.

<table>
<tr><th colspan="2">Educational indicator</th><th colspan="2">Regional level</th><th colspan="6">District level</th></tr>
<tr><th colspan="2"></th><th colspan="2">Greater Accra Region</th><th colspan="2">School 1 (Accra Metropolitan District)</th><th colspan="2">School 2 (formerly located in Ga South Municipal)</th><th colspan="2">School 3 (La Dade-Kotopon Municipal)</th></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">No. of public primary schools</td><td colspan="2">844</td><td colspan="2">204</td><td colspan="2">82</td><td colspan="2">35</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Net enrolment rates (%)</td><td>M
80.7</td><td>F
82.5</td><td>M
42.2</td><td>F
44.7</td><td>M
49.7</td><td>F
45.3</td><td>M
69.1</td><td>F
73.6</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Completion rates (%)</td><td>M
99.1</td><td>F
98.4</td><td>M
54.9</td><td>F
60</td><td>M
62.8</td><td>F
37.9</td><td>M
86.8</td><td>F
90.3</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">No. of teachers engaged</td><td colspan="2">7531</td><td colspan="2">1769</td><td colspan="2">567</td><td colspan="2">382</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">No. of trained teachers engaged</td><td colspan="2">6956</td><td colspan="2">1742</td><td colspan="2">508</td><td colspan="2">362</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Pupil-teacher ratio</td><td colspan="2">35.7</td><td colspan="2">38.2</td><td colspan="2">38.4</td><td colspan="2">31.9</td></tr>
<tr><td rowspan="2">Average no. of pupil to textbook</td><td>English</td><td colspan="2">2.6</td><td colspan="2">2.3</td><td colspan="2">2.8</td><td colspan="2">2.5</td></tr>
<tr><td>Maths</td><td colspan="2">2.6</td><td colspan="2">2.4</td><td colspan="2">3.4</td><td colspan="2">2.8</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">% of primary schools with access to drinking water</td><td colspan="2">29.4</td><td colspan="2">38.7</td><td colspan="2">22.2</td><td colspan="2">40.2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">% of primary schools with access to toilet</td><td colspan="2">31.9</td><td colspan="2">34.2</td><td colspan="2">29.9</td><td colspan="2">39.2</td></tr>
<tr><td colspan="2">Pupil-to-seating place ratio</td><td colspan="2">1.7</td><td colspan="2">1.2</td><td colspan="2">9.6</td><td colspan="2">1.3</td></tr>
</table>

Table 8. Educational data for each district respective to the three schools