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Citizenship education and learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in South Africa: A critique of post-apartheid citizenship education policy

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Nomsa Mnisi

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A thesis submitted to the Wits School of Education, Faculty of Humanities, University of the Witwatersrand in fulfilment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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2024

ABSTRACT

Citizenship education, as a knowledge branch of the philosophy of education, affirms and educates learners in schools about citizenship as a legal status, feeling of belonging and the practice of activism in preparing them for citizenship participation. Globally, citizenship education policy is segmented between liberal, communitarian and civic republican strands. Arguably, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism are apt to accrue educational benefits that foster the development of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' intellectual and adaptive functions, yielding *effective citizenship*. The study's research problem is citizenship education policy embraced upon classical liberalism, which individualises learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools. As an unintended consequence of policy, the social problem becomes the exclusion of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, who are left in the doldrums and characterised as passive citizens. The conceptual and philosophical study uses philosophical research in education as a methodology, with Frankena's three methods of enquiry serving as a methodological approach. In addressing the problem, Critical Disability Theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework are adopted as theoretical lenses which form part of the transformative paradigm to critique policy under the prime objectives of attaining social justice and human rights. The central argument of the study asserts that the implementation of post-apartheid citizenship education policy reflects a tendency to adopt and overemphasise classical liberal strands of citizenship. In the critical analysis of citizenship education policy, the liberalism explicated undermines and underemphasises the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Invariably, the theoretical contributions of social justice and human rights when educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South African schools are not supported. By shifting the pendulum between the ideals of citizenship education policy and its implementation, strategies are presented to help learners find their identity as a means of fostering agency, community involvement and responsiveness, while also balancing formal knowledge and experiential learning. In looking to the future, citizenship education in schools under communitarianism in a civic-orientated Republic of South Africa is proposed in which learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' intellectual and adaptive functions can be developed for *effective citizenship*.

Keywords: citizenship education; citizenship education policy; learners with mild-intellectual disabilities; schools; South Africa

DECLARATION

I declare that this thesis is my own unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg. It has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other University



Nomsa Mnisi

1365109

Signed on the _10th_ day of December in the year 2024.

Ethics (Protocol number): HRECNMW23/03/02

DEDICATION

True to Plato, *parents are the first and most permanent teachers of their children*.

To my parents, I consider it sacred, instilling in me an insatiable desire for knowledge and validating my confidence in challenging ideas. The sense of security that you have afforded me in pursuit of my limitless dreams, endeavours and your unwavering support have all been the greatest blessings. To be kin to you is my highest honour. I am eternally thankful for the cushioned landings.

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I give all glory to the omniscient God Almighty for carving my life's path, purposefully guiding my steps and blanketing me through this remarkable experience. True to scripture, goodness and mercy continue to follow me - all the days of my life!

To echo Nietzsche, *one repays a teacher badly if one always remains nothing but a pupil*. To my supervisor throughout my postgraduate journey, who has buoyed my growth as a researcher, thank you. I am grateful beyond words for your commitment and patience in journeying through this labyrinth of scholarship with sharp sternness and critical scrutiny decorated by a wealth of knowledge. In this lifetime and the next, I could not ask for unsurpassed mentorship.

My sincerest gratitude to the National Research Foundation for the recognition of the value of the study and the awarded partial scholarship for its duration. The opinions presented in this research and the conclusion(s) drawn from it are entirely representative of the author.

I wish to thank Professor Ian Moll and Dr Dianne Long, who served pivotal roles in arriving at this pinnacle during my undergraduate years. In equal esteem, I extend my heartfelt gratitude to Dr Tanya Bekker for her significant contribution to this study's proposal stage and continued willingness to assist in various capacities.

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In the words of Aristotle, *the best friend is the man who, in wishing me well, wishes it for my sake*. I extend my heartfelt appreciation to all the exceptional people who have rallied as my closest companions from the start of my academic journey, those encountered along the journey, and those who have come to see me through to the end.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADHD	Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder
CAPS	Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement
CSIR	Council for Scientific and Industrial Research
CSO	Civil Society Organisation
DBE	Department of Basic Education
DBST	District-Based Support Teams
DoE	Department of Education
EWP6	Education White Paper 6
ICT4RED	Information and Communication Technology for Rural Education
MINEDUC	Chile's Ministry of Education
MoE	Ministry of Education
NCSNET	National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training
NGO	Non-Governmental Organisation
OECD	Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development
PMG	Parliamentary Monitoring Group
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SAHP	South African History Project
SAHRC	South African Human Rights Commission
SASA	South African Schools Act
SASSA	South African Social Security Agency
SBST	School-Based Support Teams
SGB	School Governing Body
SIAS	Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support
SMT	Senior Management Team
UDHR	Universal Declaration of Human Rights
UN	United Nations
UNCRPD	United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation

KEY TERMS

CITIZENSHIP

Citizenship is a complex, ambiguous, dynamic, multidisciplinary and multidimensional subject (McLaughlin, 1992) that is theorised on the privileges, rights and responsibilities that are accrued to citizens. Its central features are characterised as the subject being a status, feeling and practice (Osler, 2005). Its identifications are segmented between the classical, modern and contemporary epochs, which are expressed across the strands of liberalism, communitarianism and civic republicanism. Liberalism refers to the individual rights and freedoms to which all citizens are entitled (Locke, 1983); communitarianism refers to the shared pursuit of the common good and the shared values between members of a community that inspire group solidarity (Walzer, 1983); and civic republicanism refers to the civic virtues, duties and responsibilities of citizens to the state (Pettit, 1993).

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION

In broader terms, citizenship education refers to educating citizens of a country about the rights to which they are obliged by the state. It affirms their citizenship as a legal status (liberalism), as a feeling based on group solidarity and shared values (communitarianism) as well as the affirmation of their citizenship as a practice based on duties and responsibilities that serve the political community (civic republicanism). Accordingly, the affirmation of the criteria of rights as a legal status, sense of belonging and practice through activism yields effective citizenship accrued with tangible societal outcomes (Qualifications Curriculum Authority, 1998).

CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION POLICY

A policy is a document that declares the implementation of intent for a set of contextualised practices to be achieved politically, socially and historically (Olssen et al., 2004; Ranney, 1968). The citizenship education policy, as a socially contextualised policy, is an action framework for educating citizens about citizenship that results in the achievement of their fulfilled rights, duties and responsibilities. Unique to this study, citizenship education policy is not a reference to a single policy but rather a collective triad that supports citizenship education. Hence Citizenship Legislation (Chapter 5); Education Policy (Chapter 6); & Inclusive Policy (Chapter 7). In particular, citizenship legislation comprises the Constitution (Republic of South Africa [RSA], 1996) and the *South African Citizenship Act 88 of 1995*

(RSA, 1995); the education policy which consists of the *South African White Paper on Education and Training* (Department of Education [DoE], 1995), the *South African Schools Act (SASA)* (DoE, 1996) and the *Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS)* (Department of Basic Education [DBE], 2011). as well as the inclusive policy comprising the report by the *National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training* (DoE, 1997), *Education White Paper 6 (EWP6)* (DoE, 2001a) and the policy on *Screening, Identifications, Assessment and Support [SIAS)* (DBE, 2014).

MILD-INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES

Mind-intellectual disabilities are defined as a cognitive impairment occurring in the developmental stage that causes deficits in both intellectual and adaptive functions that work as a collective (American Psychiatric Association, 2013). The central features of the intellectual (cognitive) and adaptive functions (practical skills) are expressed as difficulties in abstract thinking (conceptual domain), communicating with others in society (social domain) and acquiring skills such as reading and writing (practical domain) (Patel et al., 2020). Encompassed under the broad umbrella of special educational needs that include profound, severe, moderate intellectual disabilities, mild-intellectual disabilities with a higher IQ range (50–70) of the four, includes impairments such as autism spectrum disorder, Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder, cerebral palsy (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development [OECD], 2012).

INCLUSION

Inclusion in education, as pronounced by the Salamanca Statement (United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation [UNESCO], 1994), is a philosophy that seeks to educate all learners together and responds to their diverse needs at the level of support they require. The central features of inclusion in relation to educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for citizenship are meaningful access, opportunities and participation. Access obligates the state to ensure that learning support is provided at all schools according to the varied levels of learner needs. Opportunities, in their equal distribution, are critical to broadening employment and social mobility to meet the demands of society. Participation should foster intellectual and adaptive functions through active critical engagement in the learning process, involvement in communal activities and bearing responsibilities.

SCHOOLS

Schools are legal, social and learning institutions that provide an inclusive educational service to facilitate the personal and mental development of all individual identities (Christie, 2008). Specifically, these areas of development in relation to the citizenship of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are the taught formal knowledge and fostered civic virtues. The central features of schools are characterised in two ways. First, they serve as sites for teaching learners the skills and knowledge they need to thrive in the workplace and society. The skills and knowledge are specialised and particularly ordered across the different faculties of learning, such as literacy, arithmetic and handiwork skills. Secondly, they are institutions that facilitate social cohesion, nation-building and citizenship (Christie, 2008; Wolhuter et al., 2020). Therefore, access to school(ing) remains a cornerstone in reinforcing learners with mild-intellectual disabilities status, feelings and practices that allow them to engage in duties that benefit their long-term contributory participation in society.

CHAPTER 1: RESEARCH OVERVIEW

1.1 INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

The study pursued a philosophical method approach to research, which involved conceptual underpinnings, theoretical argumentation and text analysis. In creating new knowledge, conclusions are established to address ethical (enquiries on human actions), epistemological (the nature of knowledge) and metaphysical (the nature of reality) questions. In that context, the study offers an objective enquiry emphasising the role of the researcher to show impartiality and lack of bias. However, the research study also took a critical stance by endorsing that contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism offer more weighted benefits to the education of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools. Contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism represent a holistic approach to learning that facilitates cultivating intellectual and adaptive functions to spearhead the effective citizenship of these learners.

In context, the 1994 post-apartheid South African democratic policy reforms centred themselves on redress, redistribution and restoration for previously disenfranchised cohorts, including those with special educational needs, such as mild-intellectual disabilities. Accordingly, the reforms embraced the invitation for the collapsing of hegemonic structures that stifled political participation, social representation and possession of agency. The post-apartheid South African citizenship education policy is aligned with the ideals of the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) (United Nations [UN], 1948), the *Salamanca Statement* (UNESCO, 1994) and the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (UNCRPD) (UN, 2006) as global agreements that inform citizenship education policy globally. Thus, educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarian and civic republican citizenship necessitates educators' professional best practices as well as resolute political steadfastness to cultivate their intellectual and adaptive functions.

Global agreements on citizenship education, global goals[1] and national projects[2] provide affirmation of citizenship as a legal status to influence the development of the conceptual

[1] These refer to the acclaimed Sustainable Development Goals.
[2] These refer to the Schooling 2025 vision and the National Development Plan 2030.

domain to sharpen these learners' political literacy. In addition, the affirmation of citizenship as a feeling influences the development of the social domain to engage in political deliberations. Furthermore, the affirmation of citizenship as a practice is relevant to developing the practical domain for undertaking civic duties. Implicitly, post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship education policy[3] is mandated to mould the diversified learner population in accordance with, among other things, human rights, inclusive values and equality to espouse human rights and socially just governance most effectively.

Against this ideal articulated in global agreements, intercontinental and regional citizenship education policy, scholarly debates focus on the overlapping agreements that citizenship education policy in schools is substantially implemented under classical liberalism. Detrimentally, the individualising practices in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities position them as docile citizens (conceptual domain), render them under social atomisation (social domain) and reinforce their lifelong dependency, low-social economic status and passivity (practical domain)[4]. On this basis, the central argument of this study took the position that the implementation of post-apartheid citizenship education policy reflects a tendency to adopt and overemphasise classical liberal strands of citizenship. Its justification is found in the fact that classical liberalism undermines the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism (group solidarity) and civic republicanism (duties and responsibilities). Therein, it not only impedes the cultivation of the intellectual and adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools but also the cultivation of a politically active citizen. On this accord, social justice and human rights find relevance as prime objectives of the adopted theoretical framework for undertaking the central argument and critique of post-apartheid South African citizenship education policy. The scholarly contribution of the study to the subject field presents citizenship education under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA as the overarching panacea for shifting the pendulum swing between the ideals of citizenship education policy and its achievement.

[3] As aforementioned, the study expresses citizenship education policy in post-apartheid South African schools as a collective between citizenship legislation, education and inclusive policies. Therefore, the study articulating them under the collective term "citizenship education policy" should not be understood as a novel policy being proposed to exist in post-apartheid South African schools.

[4] In this respect, in creating the context of these domains, their consequence of being uncultivated is the learner's abstract thinking superseded by docility (conceptual domain), the social atomisation and isolation more imminent than them communicating with others in society (social domain) and passivity in their actions instead of refining and acquiring skills such as reading and writing (practical domain).

1.2 RATIONALE

The critique of citizenship education policy, alongside the complementary literature, will analyse the demographics of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools, which include all sexes, socioeconomic statuses, ethnicities and religions. The literature and citizenship education policy to be analysed are those which incorporate and are specifically relevant to learner cohorts' ranging in age from 7–9 (Foundation Phase), 10–12 (Intermediate Phase) and 13–16 (Senior Phase). Accordingly, the primary and high schools as institutional sites in which the central argument is made are regular and ordinary public schools, which are intended to serve the majority of the learner population of post-apartheid South Africa. These include learners identified with mild-intellectual disabilities, as part of the state's obligations to drive inclusive education. Essentially, regular and ordinary public schools are relevant sites to analyse the interplay between the strands of liberalism, communitarianism and civic republicanism in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in practice. The conceptual study distinguishes itself from a medical study that is typified by compelling arguments directed at healthcare interventions, such as trials and diagnostics that go beyond educator and school parameters.

1.3 PROBLEM STATEMENT

Before defining the problem statement, I find it important to shed light on the statistical facts contextualising post-apartheid South Africa's basic education system. According to the DBE's statistical publication (2024), the education system in 2023 had 24 836 ordinary public[5] and independent schools, with the learner population being 13 439 683, who were served by 454 749 educators. The national average learner-educator ratio in ordinary schools in the country was 30.8:1 (DBE, 2024). The teaching of citizenship education is expressed in all citizenship education policies as a vital component for youth to sustain a growing South African democracy (DBE, 2001a). Accordingly, citizenship education is not exclusively directed at honing learners with mild-intellectual disabilities but is influential in the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions. In addition, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in ordinary public post-apartheid schools are supported by statutory

[5] Although not the foci of the study, these include Early Childhood Development centres, full-service schools, special schools, schools of skills and technical schools (DBE, 2010c).

provisions through the various citizenship, education and inclusive policies, as well as supporting (personnel) mechanisms, such as school-based support teams (SBSTs) and district-based support teams (DBSTs). Complementary to citizenship education policy, implementation guidelines[6] are in place to assist educators with the pedagogical strategies required to differentiate curricula.

The research problem addressed is that citizenship education policy, grounded in classical liberalism, leads to the individualisation of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools. The implementation of post-apartheid citizenship education policy under classical liberalism has learners with mild-intellectual disabilities enduring challenges of limited exposure to essential civic knowledge (Arendse & Smith, 2019); apathy extended to their identities, with more challenges emerging from the reality of a lack of placements in schools for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities (Mpu & Adu, 2021; Pillay et al., 2022); discrimination (Mabaso, 2024); educators' limitation in providing learning support (Phala & Hugo, 2022) and educator perceptions underpinning medical model regimes that resist adapting pedagogies (Materechera, 2020; Zulu et al., 2019) leading to their individualisation. Herein, in critically analysing citizenship education policy, it is reflected that the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are undermined and underemphasised in post-apartheid South African schools. Contrarily, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism provide educational benefits to these learners, such as strengthening group solidarity (social domain) and civic republicanism in citizens who contribute to their duties and responsibilities (practical domain) in a democratic society as active citizens (conceptual domain). Therefore, there is a need to critically analyse the essence of citizenship as a universal subject to maximise the best approaches to promoting inclusive education tailored to their developmental needs for improved outcomes, civic engagement and effective policy practices rooted in social justice. Moreover, contextualising global citizenship education policies allows for broader perspectives on the strands of citizenship that are dominantly adopted. Essentially, it contributes to the reconceptualisation of classical liberal-based policies and practices in affirming human rights in education.

[6] These include the *Draft guidelines for inclusive learning programmes* (DoE, 2005) and *Guidelines for responding to learner diversity in the classroom through curriculum and assessment policy statements* (DBE, 2011).

The social problem, as an unintended consequence of policy, becomes the fortified exclusion of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, who are left in the doldrums and characterised as passive citizens. Specifically, their prospects include lifelong dependency, social atomisation, under-representation and passivity in their political participation. By inference, education in post-apartheid South Africa is failing to serve its purpose as a catalyst for social inclusion and alleviation towards improving the socioeconomic conditions of these learners. In shifting the pendulum swing, the knowledge contribution of the study considers the alternatives on an individual level as well as the community and state education level, sharing the responsibility for policy implementation under contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism towards citizenship education of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

1.4 CENTRAL ARGUMENT

The implementation of post-apartheid citizenship education policy reflects a tendency to adopt and overemphasise classical liberal strands of citizenship, which emphasise an individualised approach. Classical liberalism undermines and underemphasises the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism when educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South African schools.

In taking into consideration that this study is a critique of policy, I propose the following loose, overlapping sub-arguments as criterion for evaluating and analysing post-apartheid citizenship education policy:

- Citizenship and, by implication, citizenship education constitute a single, acceptable and universal subject.
- The classical liberal strand of citizenship is reflected in the intercontinental and regional citizenship education policies evidenced by the challenging accommodations learners with mild-intellectual disabilities face in South African schools.
- The adoption of critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework would enhance the ideal and practice of the citizenship education policy, ensuring it is guided by social justice and human rights as prime objectives.

- In using the respective tenets of the theoretical framework, the critical analysis of the citizenship education policy in post-apartheid South African schools shows that it undermines and underemphasises the educational benefits of contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands of citizenship.
- The argument demonstrates contemporary communitarianism as a starting point, which leads us to contemporary civic republicanism, refining the concept of active citizenship among learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. They are involved in their community and carry out their rights and responsibilities in society through the educational benefits it fosters for the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions.
- The knowledge contribution of this study shows a way forward at the community and state-education level, being responsible for policy implementation and how the contemporary communitarian and civic republicanism strands of citizenship can be realised in schools, communities and society towards the citizenship education of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

Critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework are adopted as the theoretical framework to analyse citizenship education policy and address the central argument and the overlapping questions. The theoretical framework adopted is influenced by contemporary citizenship, with more emphasis on communitarian and civic republican strands and less on liberalism. Accordingly, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism align with critical disability theory in propagating inclusion and group solidarity as vital to the pursuit of social justice. Similarly, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism align with Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework in propagating collective responsibility and equality as vital for human rights.

Contribution to the subject field

Citizenship education in schools for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA as the overarching panacea is found in the central objectives of social justice and human rights. In this sense, it represents a shift away from where we are (policy not cultivating intellectual and adaptive functions) to where we ought to be (intellectual and adaptive functions fully maximised).

1.5 AIM OF THE STUDY

The study aims to critique post-apartheid citizenship education policy as a vehicle for citizenship education for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in South African schools.

In consideration of the aim, the arguments presented in this research could serve a myriad of purposes, including extending valuable insight to all education stakeholders regarding the implications of educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for liberalism. Thus, the aim of the research also broadens the corpus of scholarship on the awareness of the excluded voices of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities due to poor policy implementation and practice.

1.6 METHODOLOGY

Methodology refers to the approach in which the research is undertaken in consideration of the relationships of paradigms and theories to the aim and problem to be addressed in the study (Blaikie, 2007). The conceptual and philosophical study uses philosophical research in education as a methodology, with Frankena's three methods of enquiry serving as a methodological approach to addressing those above.

PHILOSOPHICAL RESEARCH IN EDUCATION

Nyirenda and Ishumi (2002) define philosophical research in education as:

> the application of the meaning and methods of philosophy in order to clarify issues and problems in education. Educational philosophers are interested in the individual human being that comes to the learning situation … the study of the philosophy of education aims at helping current and future educators bring to the fore the question of the meaning and purpose of education in society. (p. 17)

In addition to Nyirenda and Ishumi's (2002) conceptualisation as a central characteristic of philosophical research that relates to the practices in education, Siegel (2009) describes philosophical research in education as one that "addresses philosophical questions around the nature, aims and [philosophical] problems of education" (p. 3). Correspondingly,

Nyirenda and Ishumi's (2002) and Siegel's (2009) descriptions of philosophical research in education infer that philosophical research through inquiry guides the manner in which knowledge is produced. Empirical research, as a scientific inquiry, relies on the gathering of data or evidence to support conclusions (findings), whereas philosophical research in education relies on logic to analyse, make theoretical contributions and address epistemological and metaphysical questions. Albeit the differences between philosophical research in education and empirical research, both methodologies converge to conclusively create new knowledge through systematic explanations of phenomena. By implication, incorporating philosophical research in education as a methodology for this study presented a platform for addressing and offering strategies to the central argument that classical liberalism is overemphasised at the expense of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism, which are underemphasised. Accordingly, as a researcher I have exercised my independence and freedom of opting for the central argument route – as opposed to posing a central question which is typically what empirical studies traditionally follow.

Philosophical research in education is divided between analytical and normative philosophy. As the traditional philosophy, analytical philosophy focuses on undertaking a systematic process of conceptual analysis with the intention of drawing distinctions between key concepts. As an objective of its inquiry, it seeks to create logic and locate the geography between the concepts being studied (Standish, 2007), with analytical philosophers of education tasked with analysing arguments and establishing rigorous arguments. However, it should be noted that its tendency to embrace empirical approaches to inquiry poses limitations in its adoption for this study. The normative philosophy of education looks into questioning that leads to making evaluative statements about what distinguishes the roles and expectations of each educational stakeholder in terms of what they are to do and are not expected to do. In tandem, it determines what the outcomes of the aims, content and methods of education should or should not be (Frankena, 1966). In essence, this branch of philosophy establishes the standards upon which to engage in decision-making processes.

FRANKENA'S THREE METHODS OF ENQUIRY (1973)

In a conceptual study, all research contains (or should contain) a review of literature and locate empirical research within the relevant theory or a theoretical framework. Therefore,

Frankena's three methods of enquiry, serving as methodological approach include a descriptive enquiry, an analytical enquiry and a normative enquiry. According to Siegel (2009), these methods of enquiry are used to draw conceptual clarity, provide substantive arguments and establish an informed valuation in assuming the role of a philosopher of education.

In introducing the descriptive enquiry, the researcher presents a historiography of citizenship strands, a review of the literature and the theoretical framework (Frankena, 1973). Emerging from Chapter 2, the main contribution of the historiography of citizenship (liberalism, communitarianism and civic republicanism) is to clearly identify the conceptions of citizenship, citizenship education and citizenship education for persons with intellectual disabilities across the different strands. In brief, the chapter secures a fundamental foundation for subsequent chapters in the thesis on the strands and epochs that policy implementation emulates. The global review profiling the trends of global citizenship education policy and debates in literature in Chapter 3 will direct attention to scholarly arguments in relation to policy idealisations of citizenship and their potential implications for educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Accordingly, it will also foreground the challenging experiences of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, as derived from scholarly evidence that can contrast the theory outlined in policy idealisations. Herein, a critical appraisal will be established by situating the strands of citizenship pronounced in Chapter 2 in juxtaposition with emergent trends and debates. Chapter 4 unveils the critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework as the adopted theoretical framework. The chapter will argue, defend and justify both critical disability theory and the 4-A Scheme Framework as a collective in forming the theoretical framework of this study, citing their origins, history, nature, criticisms and virtues. Principally, the tenets of critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework will be used as a lens to analyse post-apartheid citizenship education policy in Chapters 5 to 7. In that respect, the contribution of the theoretical framework serves to solve the tension between policy ideals and their achievement under the guidance of the prime objectives of social justice and human rights.

The analytical method of enquiry employed in Chapters 5 to 7 facilitates the critical analysis of the post-apartheid South African citizenship education policy with a view to establishing an evaluative and theoretical analysis. The evaluative analysis underpinned by the respective

tenets of critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework analyses policy idealisation and its potential implications on citizenship as a status, feeling and practice in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. The theoretical analysis underpinned by the respective tenets of the theoretical framework situates through the areas of agreement provisioned in policy idealisations that are congruent with achievements, areas of contestation provisioned in policy idealisations that are questionable to achievements, and areas of disagreement provisioned in policy idealisations and achievements. The citizenship education policy serves as a vehicle for citizenship education and is a triad collective between the citizenship legislation, the education policy and the inclusive policy. Accordingly, the citizenship legislation includes the *Constitution* (RSA, 1996) and the *South African Citizenship Act 88 of 1995* (RSA, 1995). The education policy includes the *South African White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995), the *South African Schools Act* (DoE, 1996), and the *Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements* (DoE, 2011). The inclusive policy includes the report by the *National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training* (DoE, 1997), *EWP6* (DoE, 2001a) and the policy on *Screening, Identifications, Assessment and Support (SIAS)* (DBE, 2014). The critical analysis provides clear insights into the study's central argument, which is that the implementation of post-apartheid citizenship education policy reflects a tendency to adopt and overemphasise classical liberal strands of citizenship, as supported by the lenses of the theoretical framework.

The normative method of enquiry is employed in Chapter 8 offers argumentative rigour in making a compelling argument underpinned by offering theoretical contributions. I note the overemphasis on classical liberalism (individualism) emulated in policy implementation at the expense of the underemphasis of contemporary communitarianism (group solidarity) and civic republicanism (duties and responsibilities) that does not underscore social justice and human rights. The compelling argument is supported by strategies that look to recast schools as institutions that educate learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. The intention is to foreground that these two strands offer more educational benefits and cultivate their intellectual and adaptive functions in shifting the pendulum swing. In concluding the chapter, I discuss the future of the citizenship education policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South African schools, as well as suggesting future research to be pursued.

1.7 OUTLINE OF CHAPTERS

The thesis is divided into nine chapters across three different parts.

Chapter 1: Research Overview – In setting the scene, a brief introduction and background to the study are presented, which offer context, the central argument and the contribution to knowledge made by the study. In sequence, the rationale, the problem statement, the aim of the study, the central argument and accompanying overlapping questions to probe its enquiry are pronounced. Lastly, the research methodology found between philosophical research in education, as well as Frankena's three methods of enquiry is provided.

Part 1 begins the focus on the descriptive analysis. It includes the different conceptions of citizenship, a global review of literature and the theoretical framework for the study.

Chapter 2: Citizenship and its Implications on Citizenship Education: Origin, History and Development. The key strands of citizenship underpinning the study across the epochs, informed by the perspectives of various philosophers, are introduced in ascertaining the different conceptions of citizenship. As a starting point, the chapter illustrates that the concept of liberalism underpinned by individualism is incompatible with propelling effective citizenship for persons with mild-intellectual disabilities.

Chapter 3: Citizenship Education Policies for Learners with Mild-intellectual Disabilities in Schools: A Global Review of Literature. The chapter reviews the global citizenship education policy idealised to promote contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. The chapter commences by directing attention to the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) (UN, 1948), the *Salamanca Statement* (UNESCO, 1994) and the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (UNCPRD) (UN, 2006) as global agreements informing citizenship education policy idealised upon human rights, inclusive values and equality. The chapter also reviews respective citizenship education policies intercontinentally, regionally and locally, based on the same criteria. Against global agreements for citizenship education policy ideals of human rights and inclusion, the intercontinental and regional review under scholarly considerations highlights limitations and strengths for policy achievements to be minimal in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. The

chapter contributes to the study by revealing that classical liberalism obstructs the achievement of policy ideals in schools by not fostering the actualisation of effective citizenship of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

Chapter 4: Citizenship Education and Learners with Mild-Intellectual Disabilities: Theoretical Lens. The chapter enunciates the respective origins, history, nature, tenets, criticisms and virtues of critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework, which together constitute the theoretical framework for the study. In concert with contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism, the tenets of critical disability theory communicate that group solidarity and fair distribution are vital to the pursuit of social justice. In an equal vein, the tenets of Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework communicate collective responsibility and non-domination as freedom indispensable for human rights. The contribution made by the theoretical framework provides a compass to use in identifying human rights and social justice as prime objectives to analyse citizenship education policy and provide subsequent strategies based on key areas of concern found in policy analysis.

Part 2 begins the focus on the analytical analysis. It includes the critical analysis for the citizenship, education and inclusive policies of citizenship education in post-apartheid South Africa.

Chapter 5: Citizenship Education and Learners with Mild-Intellectual Disabilities in Post-Apartheid South African Schools: A Critical Analysis of Citizenship Legislation. The chapter commences with respective evaluative analyses of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) and the South African Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 under the lens of the theoretical framework to affirm citizenship as a status, feeling and practice. Following this is a theoretical analysis of citizenship education based on the ideals mined from the evaluative analysis and scholarly evidence of achievement in implementation. Accordingly, feeding into the study's central argument, it asserts contributing knowledge that post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship legislation is characterised by ambiguity in determining the extent of political participation that schools can easily adopt as a clear benchmark to implement policy. Essentially, achievement intertwined with grand attachment to classical liberalism holds trivial promise in effecting effective citizenship for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. Therein, the approach which policy is implemented defies the criteria of the theoretical

framework, with the prime objectives of social justice and human rights remaining unfulfilled.

Chapter 6: Citizenship Education and Learners with Mild-Intellectual Disabilities in Post-Apartheid South African Schools: A Critical Analysis of Education Policy. The chapter unfolds with evaluative analyses of the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), SASA (DoE, 1996) and CAPS (DoE, 2011) respectively, under the lens of the theoretical framework to affirm citizenship as a status, feeling and practice. Adjacently, there is a theoretical analysis of citizenship education based on the ideals mined from the evaluative analysis and scholarly evidence of achievement in implementation. Correspondingly, it contributes knowledge to the study's central argument that the education policy is too constrained in formal education in primary schools. Regrettably, this comes with no equal efforts in practices that advance the civic skills of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in these formative years from the Foundation Phase. Therefore, the education policy is overemphasised in classical liberalism's elitism (meritocracy), atomisation, reductionism, reason and rationality. Thus, this chapter illustrates is that the approach which policy has implemented defies the criteria of the theoretical framework, with the prime objectives of social justice and human rights being poorly fostered.

Chapter 7: Citizenship Education and Learners with Mild-Intellectual Disabilities in Post-Apartheid South African Schools: A Critical Analysis of Inclusive Policy. The chapter confers with respective evaluative analyses of the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (DoE, 1997) report, EWP6 (DoE, 2001a) and the policy on Screening, Identifications, Assessment and Support (SIAS) (DBE, 2014) under the lens of the theoretical framework to affirm citizenship as a status, feeling and practice. Therefore, a theoretical analysis of citizenship education is based on the ideals mined from the evaluative analysis and scholarly evidence of implementation. In tandem, it contributes knowledge to the study's central argument that the inclusive policy exemplifies a paradox between community involvement (shared values that affirm their sense of identity under collectivism notions) and the supremacy of justice (to govern said communities). Moreover, there is a lack of monitoring of research-based strategies considering the contextual challenges faced in the post-apartheid education system. Essentially, the inclusive policy is overemphasised in classical liberal practices of meritocracy, neoliberalism and limited state involvement, which consequently leads to individualisation. Regrettably, educating for contemporary

communitarianism and civic republicanism is underemphasised. Thus, the approach implemented defies the criteria of the theoretical framework, with the prime objectives of social justice and human rights not being advanced.

Part 3 begins the focus on the normative analysis. It includes the philosophical panacea that will be used to address the challenges presented in the critical analysis of citizenship education policy.

Chapter 8: A Pendulum Shift to Educating Learners with Mild-Intellectual Disabilities in Post-Apartheid South African Schools. In this chapter, post-apartheid citizenship education policy, characterised by the tension between its idealisation and achievement in South African schools, is contextualised based on the central argument, aim and Chapters 5 to 7. The chapter also reconciles these areas of concern contextualised by using the theoretical framework to form a theoretical contribution. It is then followed by strategies underpinned by the theoretical framework that shift the pendulum from where we are to where we ought to be in the implementation of citizenship education policy. The chapter concludes by presenting a viewpoint on the future of citizenship education in schools for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA, as the overarching panacea is found in the central objectives of social justice and human rights. The chapter contributes to the overall thesis by addressing the central argument and problem statement, directing us towards a future uncharacterised by classical liberalism and the effective citizenship of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South African schools, communities and society.

Chapter 9: Conclusion – The final chapter provides a summary of the philosophical thesis. In post-apartheid South African schools, the citizenship education policy is idealised upon contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Contrarily, its implementations are characterised by the predominance of classical liberalism. Thus, the emanating problem has been that the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism are undermined in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In addressing this problem, education under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA is seen as the overarching panacea.

CHAPTER 2: CITIZENSHIP AND ITS IMPLICATIONS ON CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION: ORIGIN, HISTORY AND DEVELOPMENT

2.1 INTRODUCTION

The earliest origins of citizenship provide context for how the concept has been studied in literature over the last 2600 years. The development of the concept marks critical turning points in the various strands of citizenship and, by implication, citizenship education. The liberal, communitarian and civic republican strands of citizenship served as the primary foci of this philosophical study (PhD) in spearheading citizenship education and education policy across the segmented epochs. As part of the descriptive method of enquiry, the purpose of the chapter is to introduce the origins, history and development of citizenship through historiography by providing an accurate timeline of historical events. The historiography is valuable in highlighting the development of the key features of citizenship and, by implication, citizenship education. Accordingly, the chapter has a single aim: to present the origins, history and development of the respective epochs (classical, modern and contemporary), as well as the dominant strands of each in identifying the knowledge gap.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 enquires into classical citizenship and its perspectives throughout the classical antiquity epoch (8th century BCE–5th century CE). The key message it communicates is that liberalism, as the dominant strand steered by individualism, inferred less prominence of communitarianism. However, civic republicanism was second to the dominance of liberalism because the citizen participation aspect was a required duty to the Greek polity and the Roman Republic. Section 2 enquires into modern citizenship and its perspectives amidst the Age of Enlightenment during the 17th–18th centuries in Europe. The key message it asserts is that liberalism, is the dominant strand of the epoch on account of the emerging emphasis on liberal thought, reason and questioning authority. It inferred less emphasis on community to steer communitarianism and much less on civic republicanism as individual liberties were more prioritised. Section 3 enquires into contemporary citizenship and its perspectives during the latter years of the Age of Enlightenment into the present 21st century globally. The key message it points to is that communitarianism and civic republicanism have gained greater prominence, extending over liberalism, in the last 200 years.

In closing the knowledge gap, citizenship and, by implication, citizenship education constitute a single, acceptable and universal subject. The chapter asserts that the origin, history and development of citizenship as a concept and citizenship education in the last 2600 years have been defined by liberalism as the dominant strand. Thus, the education of citizens with intellectual disabilities arguably remained deadwood. Thus, this chapter is pivotal in supporting the argument that in the 21st century contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands are endorsed by this study to characterise a holistic approach to learning that spearheads effective citizenship for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools.

2.2 CLASSICAL CITIZENSHIP AND RELEVANT PERSPECTIVE(S)

The earliest origins of citizenship are traced to be located during the classical antiquity period (8th century BCE–5th century CE) (Maskivker, 2010). Herein, the history of how the concept has been studied in literature over the last 2600 years dates to the classical epoch and is able to show the developments in the strands of citizenship. The influence of Ancient Greece on citizenship during this epoch imprinted liberalism on the accounts of Pericles' liberal democracy and Aristotle's (liberal) reason and rationality. In ancient China, the influence of citizenship pioneered by Confucius emulated a communitarian strand that was based on moral values and religion as a footstool of societal governance. The influence of the Roman Republic on citizenship during this epoch imprinted the mixed government by Cicero, which encapsulated civic republicanism.

It should be noted that the location and naming of strands were not yet considered during the classical epoch until the 1700s (Thompson, 2017). In view of this, the philosophers' perspectives attaching themselves to the definitions and strong characterisations of a particular strand, the thesis classifies this normative connection as justifiable. In that regard, the concept of liberalism, because of the emphasis on individualism, locates it as the prominent strand of the epoch (Filonik et al., 2023).

2.2.1 PERICLES' LIBERAL DEMOCRACY

Pericles (c. 495 BCE–429 BCE), a general and orator influenced by the political landscape in Athens, is most notable for the conception of democracy, in particular, a liberal

democracy[7] governed by the politeia constitution. Notwithstanding the fact that no system of legal rights was coherently developed during this epoch in Athens as they are understood in the contemporary epoch these rights in the constitution affirmed that they belonged to all people in Athens. Pericles' *Citizenship Law* confined a citizen[8] to be one who was born in Athens and a child of Athenian parents (Patterson, 1976). Therefore, the democracy resembled subtle hints of aristocracy, as equal rights were not a default to all citizens[9] except the few elite identities, as cosmopolitan ideas were considered not to drive the primary intention of strengthening the Athenian polis. In the *epitaphios logos*[10], in honouring the deceased of the war and rallying citizens, as recollected by Thucydides and Warner (1972), Pericles declares that:

> Our constitution is called democracy because power is in the hands not of a minority but of the whole people…We are free and tolerant in our private lives, but in public affairs, we keep to the law…Here, each individual is interested not only in his own affairs but in the affairs of the state as well: even those who are mostly occupied with their own business are extremely well-informed on general politics. (p. 145)

In this funeral oration, the iterations of *free*, *private* and *the law* carry the paramount characteristics of liberalism that inform the structural governance in the polis – as per Pericles' liberal democracy, which shows how Pericles cultivated the citizens in Athens. The rule of law driving the hammer to the liberal democracy nail is affirmed as not being complementary to majority rule as it would in a mixed democracy. Therefore, it implies the full protection of individual rights, equal justice, and autonomy to be afforded to the citizens of Athens (Forsdyke, 2018). The emphasis on involvement in general politics evokes civic republican notions of participation, which were intertwined during Pericles' reign with

[7] *Demokratia,* as it is referred to in Greek, has a compound meaning that combines people (demos) and the power of rule (kratos). Therefore, the name being self-explanatory in this sense implies that the people hold the power to be involved in processes that determine how they are governed as citizens. The influence of this prototypical democracy has spanned across the periods of the Roman Empire, Renaissance, The Age of Enlightenment and modern-day societies.

[8] As a further criterion for such status, these citizens were identified as those with self-restraint and rational beings who were capable of deliberating on public office matters; hence, it is justifiable that Pericles' democracy imbued values of inclusion as ordinary citizens' status also qualified them to serve in government (Maskivker, 2010) as an attestation of representation.

[9] In particular, this cohort included foreigners as they were considered a threat to Athenian greatness and those that married foreigners (Mehta, 2016).

[10] The epitaphios logos is a funeral oration delivered by Pericles at the funeral of the fallen soldiers in the first war with the Peloponnesians. It has since become a political landmark, capturing and espousing the ideal Athenian citizen (Tyrrell & Bennett, 1999).

labouring, military service and serving the office. As Pericles envisioned, this would result in citizens who were independent in their thoughts and actions. However, relating back to liberalism, participation is associated with merit, as Pericles continues to declare:

> But while there exists equal justice to all and alike in their private disputes, the claim of excellence is also recognised, and when a citizen is in any way distinguished, he is preferred to the public service, not as a matter of privilege, but as the reward of merit. (Thucydides, 1956, Section 37)

Herein, the virtue of dignity is afforded by excellence and meritocracy, which gives inference to "equality" that is subject to self-sufficiency and an individual's hard work to the polis. Based on Pericles' liberal democracy, its related key features suggest a liberal (democratic) education that provokes critical thinking in their choices (freedom) and autonomous learning (privacy) that reinforces the acquisition of their knowledge of the governance (law).

In the continuum of the funeral oration, Pericles mentions that ''there are certain advantages, I think, in meeting danger voluntarily, with an easy mind instead of with laborious training, with natural rather with state induced courage'' (Thucydides & Warner, 1972, p. 156). Accordingly, the implications of liberal education for educating citizens with intellectual disabilities[11] in Athens and benefits accrued to them are rather difficult to ascertain. In justification are the great misunderstandings during the epoch of such identities to even consider the best alternatives (under the rule of law) to develop their intellectual and adaptive functions as something easily perceived as the "easy mind". Moreover, they could make autonomous choices, which are necessary to strengthen the practical domain in acquiring military and other skills (private) for the purpose of participating in "laborious training" and wars. In essence, it consequently assumes the notion of liberal democracy to be ableist, at odds with the social domain, which seeks to maximise their engagement with other citizens and exercise their freedoms.

[11] A reference to *educating citizens with intellectual disability* instead of mild-intellectual disability (as in the context of this study) stems from the rationale that intellectual disabilities had not yet been classified during this epoch. Therefore, intellectual disability (as an umbrella term for mild, moderate, severe and profound which are all defined as cognitive impairments of the intellectual and adaptive functions) is more relevant than open-endedly referring to disabilities, which would have to incorporate physical disabilities.

2.2.2 ARISTOTLE'S REASON AND RATIONA

Aristotle's liberalism (384 BCE–322 BCE) informed their conception of citizenship by emphasising liberal virtues and moral virtues in the pursuit of the primary goal, which is the good life. Quintessentially, the arrival at this point of cultivating citizens in Athens and the good life must be based on the key characteristics of reason (logos) and rationality (telos) that derive happiness (eudaimonia) (Nagel, 1972). In *Nicomachean Ethics Book I* (Aristotle & Ross, 1954), primarily centred on reason (logos) and rationality (telos), Aristotle asserts that the principle is grounded in intellect and practical thinking. It is loudly indicative of liberalism, which Pericles too alluded to as independence of free thought and action, for Aristotle forms a component of achieving happiness (eudaimonia). In essence, the liberal virtues are construed as virtues tied to intellect that are exercised in the public sphere which depicts citizens who are urged on individual agency and are to bear personal responsibility. In so saying, the liberal virtues tied to intellect make it possible for a citizen to pursue the best possibilities of their private lives[12]. Moral virtues are construed as virtues of character exercised in individuals' habits and behaviours (Aristotle & Ross, 1954) only experienced as secondary ripple effects that benefit the greater community. Essentially, the concept of humans flourishing implies a sense of self-sufficiency in getting to that point beforehand, and it encapsulates the realisation of reason and rationality with eventual happiness.

Aristotle considered a citizen[13] (polite) to be one who participated in the jurisdiction, political activity, or any other role of authority, as Aristotle's philosophy considered human beings as "political animals by nature". Indeed, the notion makes a strong suggestion that it is the nature of human beings to be political and live in political communities. However, in refuting this communitarian perspective, Aristotle declares:

> a basic principle of the democratic form of government is freedom…for every democracy has freedom as its aim. Ruling and being ruled, in turn, is one element of

[12] However, in consideration of the liberal virtues and the nature of the study, negating all ideologies that give the possibility to exclude persons with disabilities remains central. Hence, Aristotle will be spotlighted as a liberal based on the facets of the liberal virtues that are more dominant than the moral virtues.

[13] The existing social classes, which were hierarchal in nature, cast out a certain class of men that performed labour, which rules out women (as it was not in their nature), children, youth (as they were underdeveloped but the males had the prospect of being citizens in waiting), slaves (who were incapable of self-governance) and foreigners (Aristotle, 1962), as their acts of labour and serving in the military were not deemed to deserve such status, thus these people were deemed non-citizens.

> freedom…Another is to live as you like. For this, they say, is a function of being free, since living not as you like is the function of a slave. (Aristotle, 1973, para 15)

Correspondingly, based on Aristotle's advocacy of a constitutional government (which infers individual rights), *democracy* (which infers deliberation), *freedom* (which infers self-determination) and *"living not as you like is the function of a slave"* are suggestive of the rule of law (justice) being voluminous to liberalism. Based on Aristotle's liberalism, its related key features of reason (logos) and rationality (telos) that derive happiness (eudaimonia) suggest the likelihood of a rational-inquiry education where the reason for explaining knowledge is underpinned by intellectual rigour that is justified upon rationality. Its educational benefits can be construed in how Aristotle holds that "The highest form of human excellence is to achieve wisdom and understanding" (Aristoteles & Greenwood, 1909, Chapter 7). Similarly, Aristotle held that children's education is crucial to the strengthening of the political community as they determine the progression and sustainability of the polis and government (Aristotle, 1962). Therefore, in contextualising citizenship and citizenship education, reason and rationality give promise to knowledgeable, critical thinking and conscious learners. In effect, independence in thought drives the political literacy necessary to partake in civics.

Contrarily, Aristotle's liberalism and its related characteristics imply that the rational-inquiry education for educating citizens with intellectual disabilities in Athens would accrue minimal benefits to them. This is based on intellectual virtues speaking to cognitive abilities that suggest the emphasis on excellence, rejects "defects". Thus, by virtue of selectivity, individual achievement and meritocracy as a criterion on who deserves based on the natural capacities to show and possess excellence, the rewards (i.e. participation and a deepened sense of belonging) of this education are not mutually shared. In evidence, in *Politics,* Aristotle vehemently depicts the deaf as irrational and senseless, no better than animals (Aristotle, 1962). Although it has been stated that physical disabilities are not the focus of this study or the classical antiquity epoch, it can be inferred that equal sentiments towards intellectual disabilities would be expressed. Aristotle's conception of citizenship is to cultivate not only a political animal but also a participatory citizen. Therefore, Aristotle's conception is underrepresented by both forms of disability, especially in the absence of outlets to develop the strengths (intellectual and adaptive functions) of citizens with intellectual disabilities.

2.2.3 CONFUCIUS'S ALTRUISM

Teacher and philosopher Kong Qiu, commonly known as Confucius (551 BC–479 BC), based the conception of citizenship[14] on the possession of moral virtues that characterise a superior man or *a junzi*. In these virtues, citizen's (junzi's) status of membership is not construed across notions of individualistic atomisation but rather interdependence and reciprocity as the moral obligations that set the standard in protecting the common good (Han & Altman, 2010; Ng, 2009). Accordingly, such a moral character encapsulated by altruism is predictive of establishing harmony (*li*) as the desired outcome of citizenship within the community. Across three levels, harmony had to be maintained nationally (*guo-tai-min-an*), interpersonally (*an-ju-le-ye*) and at the familial level (*jia-he-wen-shi-xing*) (Han & Altman, 2010).

The moral virtues Confucius extended were, firstly, benevolence (*ren*), which is embedded in loving others, and Confucius defined the action of ren as "Do not do to others you would not like yourself" (as cited in Dubs, 1951, p. 49). In this interpretation, benevolence exhorts the citizens to exercise positive virtues within themselves foremost. Secondly, loyalty (*zhong*), which Confucius attributed as "If in a word you are *Zhong*, xin [*wise*] and indeed single-minded and reverent, then even in the lands of the barbarians you will go forward without obstruction" (as cited in Sung, 2017, p. 179) is extended to be practised to the state, friends and familial relations. In essence, loyalty (*zhong*) is fixed upon thoughts, sight, hearing, performing duties and choosing to do right even at the sight of gain. Thirdly, filial piety (*xiao*) is particularly expressed in accordance to, "When one's parents are alive, serve them according to ritual; when they are dead, bury them according to ritual, and sacrifice to them according to ritual" (as cited in Cheng, 1990, p. 81). Essentially, filial piety (*xiao*) gives the impression of serving a virtuous duty but also the importance of family and the sacredness of Chinese culture to rituals that abide by virtues that give honour. Accordingly, Confucius' communitarianism and the key feature of altruism predictive of establishing harmony encompassing the four moral virtues across the three planes, suggest a character education. By virtue, it is underpinned by learning of self, shared morals, shared ethics and

[14] Nuyen (2002) points out that "citizen" or "citizenship" are not found in the classical writings of Confucius. Therefore, as expected from the antiquity epoch, the contemporary Chinese translation of such would be *gongmin*, which means "public people" (p. 129). Accordingly, for the benefit of the study, adhering to the definition of communitarianism on which these notions are based, it is worth mentioning in engaging with Confucius' conception of citizenship.

social responsibility in ancient China. Essentially, a character education through these underpinnings would take precedence over learning exclusively for knowledgeability, as being a *junzi* was predicated on the virtues above, which were fundamental to attaining harmony. Therefore, the objectives of the character education curriculum would have its objectives focusing on honing moral character and instilling these critical virtues. Accordingly, the intention would be that the individual be of value in serving from the national, interpersonal and familial levels and the world at large (Ng, 2009).

The relevance of Confucius' altruism's eventual realisation of establishing harmony implies that by educating citizens with intellectual disabilities for character education in ancient China, they would be maximally accommodated to the best of their needs. Moreover, the development of their conceptual domain in acquiring knowledge, social domains through social interactions across these planes and practical domain increased their improved personal strengths. In evidence, vague light is shed in *The Analects*[15], where Confucius supports that "there should be no class distinction" (as cited in Nguyen, 2001, p. 68). On that inference, education for all identities as a collective would be along the national, interpersonal and familial levels.

2.2.4 CICERO'S MIXED CONSTITUTION

Marcus Tullius Cicero (106 BCE–43 BCE), lawyer and statesman, established the concept of citizenship on liberties (libertas), the rule of law (De Legibus) (1928) that governs the republican constitution, the safety of the people (salus populi suprema lex esto), duties of justice, moral obligations and responsibilities (De Officiis) (2001). These effectively rope together the liberties of citizens[16] in the Roman Republic, the moral code that governs and the civic duties they are obligated to tend to. Liberties, which are conceptually attached to non-domination, give the dignity of the good citizen and the authority of the senate (Wood, 1988). Therefore, based upon these criteria, every man was obliged to possess these liberties. In elaboration, non-domination should not be treated with over-excess, as that creates breeds of arbitrary power that Cicero proposes can be achieved under a mixed constitution. Herein,

[15] *The Analects* are a series of texts, dialogues and expressions by Confucius that compiled ideas of what defines governance and the moral character.
[16] A citizen did not include foreigners and women were afforded limited rights as they were regarded as legal minors in the Republic (Cicero, 1969; 1928).

a sense of communitarianism that Confucius vows in seeking to establish harmony is carried in the interpretation of *libertas*, which Cicero accounts as the "balance of rights, duties, and functions so that the magistrates have enough power, the counsels of the eminent citizens enough influence, and the people enough liberty" (Cicero, 1928, II.58). In substance, members of the republic work in cooperation with these natural laws and the constitution that serves the well-being of the people (salus populi suprema lex esto).

On duties of justice, Cicero emphasises the importance of not harming others unless provoked, and respecting that which is common within the republic, including those that are private possessions to individuals within the republic. Moral obligations, as the *De Officiis* directly translates, emphasise the cultivation of virtues that are fixed and absolute as an approach to be taken, particularly during times of conflict. Responsibilities (*munia*) in the republic were more directed to magistrates who held public office, senators who were advisers to magistrates, participation of citizens in assembles by voting and service to the military and censors who oversaw moral and ethical audits (Cicero, 2001). In the combination of *liberties, rule of law, safety of the people, duties of justice, moral obligations and responsibilities*, a striking similarity to the prototypical Periclean (liberal) democracy, which encouraged participation in the courts, holding roles in offices of the states and the government is found. However, there were difference in the limitations of Athenian and citizens of the republic. According to Cicero (1928), in the republic "they have no share in the governing power, in the deliberative function, or in the courts, over which selected judges preside, for those privileges are granted on the basis of birth or wealth" (p. 47).

In the segmented pieces of Cicero's philosophical works only isolated reference is made to citizenship education, as Cicero idealised the *doctus orator*, which was a citizen educated in History, Law and Philosophy, which would help in becoming a powerful orator (Eyre, 1963). Inferentially, within these three disciplines, Cicero's mixed constitution and its key features of liberties, rule of law, safety of the people, duties of justice, moral obligations and responsibilities suggest a citizenship education underpinned by active participation in speech and dialogue and patriotism. Accordingly, patriotism in such a citizenship education would incorporate military training, considering the classical antiquity epoch in the late Roman Republic, which was characterised by civil wars and imperial strife.

By implication, as a recurring theme of the classical antiquity epoch, Cicero's civic republicanism and its related characteristics of educating citizens with intellectual disabilities in Rome were not as clearly theorised in black and white as they are in the contemporary epoch's understanding. However, a strong likelihood points to such identities being embraced in the republic, with the state (and senate) fulfilling its obligations to provide and accommodate them with an adequate education to facilitate the development of their adaptive and intellectual functions.

In summary of classical citizenship during the classical antiquity epoch, Pericles' liberal democracy and its key features of freedom, individual privacy and supremacy of the law are the basis for conceptualising citizenship and cultivating a citizen in Athens. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a liberal (democratic) education. Accordingly, in educating citizens with intellectual disabilities, given the great misunderstandings of such identities, to even consider the best alternatives (under the rule of law) is difficult to ascertain. Distinct from Pericles, but also characterised as liberal, is Aristotle's reason and rationality, and its key features of reason *(logos)* and rationality *(telos)* that derive happiness *(eudaimonia)* are the basis for conceptualising citizenship and cultivating a citizen in Athens. The implications of this conception of citizenship suggest a rational-inquiry education in which the rationale for explaining knowledge is supported by an intellectual rigour justified by rationality. Thus, in educating citizens with intellectual disabilities, they accrue minimal benefits because the emphasis on excellence rejects them as defects.

In providing a communitarian lens, Confucius' altruism and its key feature of harmony across the three planes is the basis for conceptualising citizenship and cultivating a citizen in ancient China. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a character education that is underpinned by learning of self, shared morals, shared ethics and social responsibility. Thus, the implications of character education for educating citizens with intellectual disabilities in ancient China suggest inclusion and development of their conceptual domain in acquiring knowledge, their social domains through social interactions across these planes and their practical domain which increases their personal strengths.
Cicero has a mixed constitution with its key features of liberties, the rule of law, the safety of the people, duties of justice, moral obligations and responsibilities for conceptualising citizenship and cultivating a citizen in the Roman Republic. The implications of this

conception of citizenship for education suggest a citizenship education underpinned by participation, patriotism and active citizenship. Thus, citizenship education for educating citizens with intellectual disabilities in the Roman Republic is difficult to ascertain, as intellectual disabilities in Rome were not as elaborated in Roman society. However, there is a strong likelihood that the state fulfilled its obligations by embracing their identity and providing them with an education to facilitate the development of their adaptive and intellectual functions.

Essentially, liberalism was the dominant strand defining this epoch. Ultimately, that inferred that there was less communitarianism with, invariably, civic republicanism second to the dominance of liberalism. By implication, the possibility of citizenship education can confidently be extrapolated under the liberal strand. On the other hand, the reality of citizenship education for citizens with intellectual disabilities provides much scepticism due to the dominance of liberalism. Moreover, the classical epoch widely deemed disability as a threat to the good life that also compromised the necessary undertaking of pivotal roles.

2.3 MODERN CITIZENSHIP AND RELEVANT PERSPECTIVE(S)

The origins of modern citizenship are located from the 17th–18th centuries during what was philosophically acclaimed as the Age of Enlightenment in Europe (Samanta et al., 2022). The history of modern citizenship adds to the studies in literature following the classical epoch by showing the developments in the strands of citizenship from the previous epoch. The Age of Enlightenment was characterised by liberal thought and intellectualism, as well as the reliance on reason and rationality as a means to question authority (Seidman, 1983). The pioneering philosophers of this epoch were Locke, who developed the first official social contract and emphasised protecting individual rights, and Mill's liberty principle in the United Kingdom, which framed liberal citizenship. In Germany, Hegel emulated communitarian strands to develop his notion of citizenship that focused on ethical values and holism. In offering a civic republicanism conception of citizenship through the Swiss Eye of Jean-Jacques Rousseau, their conceptualisation of the social contract theory emphasised the general will that serves the collective good.

2.3.1 LOCKE'S SOCIAL CONTRACT

Renowned as the "father of liberalism", John Locke (1632-1704) grounds the conception of citizenship within the social contract characterised by consent that protects citizens' natural rights[17], which Locke encapsulates in propounding:

> And to this, I say that every man that hath any possessions, or enjoyment of any part of the dominions of any government, doth thereby give his tacit consent, and is as far forth obliged to obedience to the laws of that government. (Locke, 1967, p. 119)

The primary purpose of government for Locke was to protect its citizens' natural rights, which are inherent and distinguished as liberty, life (protection from threats) and property, empowerment of citizens to live as they see fit (make decisions), be permitted autonomy and to own property[18]. Therefore, the essence of the social contract affirms individualistic voluntaristic citizenship. It implies that citizens move away from the state of nature (to prevent the tyranny of biases and overdominance of others) and towards explicit and tacit consent to give up their absolute rights in exchange for government protection. This is all while fulfilling their political obligations. In the *Two Treatises of Government*[19] (Locke, 1967), government (by) consent implied that citizens voluntarily agree to follow the enforced governmental laws and its authority with that consent validating the legitimacy of the government.

The consent protects citizens' natural rights, that individuals on their own would otherwise not have the power to do so. However, by virtue of giving consent to be governed, Locke (1967) affirms: "For a man, not having the power over his own life, cannot, by compact, or his own consent, enslave himself to anyone, nor put himself under the absolute, arbitrary power of another" (p. 23). Put differently, the government, although bound by the contract, is not only limited in its powers but also cannot violate citizens' natural rights; otherwise, force of circumstance can allow citizens to revolt in instances of violations that have the government overthrown. Invariably, the government becomes illegitimate if only the minority consents to its rule.

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[17] Given this conception, the political obligations of citizens not only involved giving consent to adhere to the governmental laws, but also respecting others' rights and not harming others.

[18] Locke (1967) conceived that all citizens were good and reasonable; therefore, respecting others' property comes as a duty.

[19] Locke's concept of government by consent and natural rights has had a monumental impact on the legislature in the United States of America since Thomas Jefferson's inception of the United States Declaration of Independence (Benham, 2013).

In consideration of Locke's social contract, its key features of consent and natural rights suggest a liberal education that is centred on upholding the social contract theory. Locke's 1894 essay "Concerning Human Understanding" introduced the concept of *tabula rasa*, which states that the mind of a child is a blank slate that is later filled with data from their upbringing experiences, reflections and environment. Therefore, both concepts coincide in their subscription to consent since the blank slate gives learners the freedom to make their own choices as equally as the social contract supports autonomous thinking without external interference. Furthermore, the *tabula rasa* posited a two-fold conceptualisation of education, with parents cultivating the body through physical education prior to formal education and honing the virtuous character of the child. In this interpretation, Locke, who surprisingly identified as a liberal, postulated that education be rooted in moral values and self-regulation. Furthermore, in schools, Locke prioritised experiential learning and more skill development over learning solely through the limitations of theoretical knowledge. Thus, for the educational benefits of it in Britain, in relation to the social contract, Locke conceives of a "capacity contract" in which one's political consent is determined by their rational capacity, somewhat similar notions to Aristotle.

Furthermore, Locke's social contract and its key features in educating citizens with intellectual disabilities in Britain infer that consent empowers them to self-advocate. Alternatively, such an education may be elitist in its ability to have learning support tailored to their needs easily accessible to such identities to develop their adaptive and intellectual functions effectively. Evidentially, Locke's ascribing derogatory terminology such as "idiocy" (1859; 1967) in reference to intellectual disabilities fully excluded citizens who may belong to such identities from any political membership. Therefore, education for citizens with intellectual disabilities is unlikely to foster the two-fold conceptualisation between pre-formal education and the theoretical knowledge found in formal education.

2.3.2 MILL'S MERITOCRACY

Former parliamentarian John Stuart Mill (1806–1873) grounds his conception of citizenship on liberal notions of individual liberty, utilitarianism and a meritocratic representative government. On the notion of liberty, Mill (2015) affirms, "Over himself, over his body and mind, the individual is sovereign" (p. 13), which encompassed the freedom of thought, speech and personal pursuits, which included private ownership. On this premise, Mill

proposed the limits of government by ascertaining the conditions under which the state can be justified in not interfering with the liberty of citizens while maintaining fairness[20] (Mill, 2015). The liberty (or harm) principle is justified on the basis that "the only purpose for which power can be rightfully exercised over any member of a civilised community against his will is to prevent harm to others" (p. 78). In other words, the only authority to control members of society should be in the event of self-protection[21]. In this way, liberty for citizenship should be guided by the rationale of truth to shape society. Thus, the freedom bestowed catalyses opportunities that allow citizens to make free and personal political choices, which will bring utilitarianism to their individual needs. In similarity to Aristotle, the notion of utilitarianism affirmed that individual liberty was the source of attaining happiness, which also informed the notion of a representative government.

Mill's *Considerations on Representative Government 1861* alludes to participation and representation in government. In view of the liberty principle by which citizens accrued individual freedom, Mill considered utilitarianism to be more realised by the intellectual elite. This intellectual elite, by virtue of their high level of self-determination, would be the ones equipped to form majority leaders of government. Mill (1995) declares that "though everyone ought to have a vote that everyone should have an equal voice is a totally different position … the opinion, the judgement, of the higher moral or intellectual being is worth more than that of the inferior" (p. 266). Thus, Mill's idealisation of a representative government is characterised by state affairs steered by the intellectually superior as a majority, which inferred the general population and served to fulfil the criteria of minority representation. In that regard, the conception of citizenship was ultimately symbolic of meritocracy, which distinguished between the extent to which individuals can exercise their political influences based on the limitations that deemed others mediocre and would impede social progression. In essence, liberty posits self-determination as a duty in which one is responsible for cultivating their thoughts and virtues in the quest to become a member of the intellectual superior elite forming part of the representative government.

[20] Mill's classic work, *On Liberty 1859*, was during a period when England expanded on rights through the *Reform Act of 1832*. Mill contended that greater attainment of political liberty can be granted than the limitations they were currently expanded under.

[21] In the limitations of the state, the quest is underpinned with motives of preventing harm and not necessarily protect the common good, as Mill's positive principle denotes.

In the context of Mill's meritocracy and its key features of a representative government to maintain individual liberty and utilitarianism, competency is found at the core of promoting excellence in leadership. Therefore, Mill's conception of citizenship is suggestive of a competency-based education that is centred on outcomes that eventually contribute to the political system (of a representative government) more than experience and potential. In evidence, Mill (1963) asserts, "It consists partly of the degree in which they promote the general mental advancement of the community, including under that phrase advancement in intellect, in virtue, and in practical activity and efficiency" (p. 392). Therefore, the educational benefits of it in Britain and the emphasis on intellectualism are symptomatic of an education that builds on sound political literacy that simultaneously maximises intellectual freedom. Moreover, facilitates the representative government in the garnered trained expertise (Warner, 2001).

Contrastingly, Mill's meritocracy suggesting a competency-based education for citizens with intellectual disabilities in Britain infers that with the emphasis being primarily on outcomes, individualised educational support will be given less priority. Explicitly, emphasis on educators employing pedagogical skills such as differentiation and modifications to learning in facilitating the development of their adaptive and intellectual functions will be severely underrepresented. Therefore, medical model paradigms more applicable to the epoch that favoured segregation (in learning) illustrate a greater likelihood of exclusion. Put differently, the educational benefits accrued by the majority of neurotypical learner cohorts, as well as national priorities that emphasize individual success as self-development and self-determination, refer to meritocracy limiting their opportunities in society with the low attentiveness and expectations infringed upon them.

2.3.3 HEGEL'S HOLISM

Idealist Georg Friedrich Hegel (1770–1831) described the essentialities of human existence asserting that; "For it is the nature of humanity to press onward to agreement with others; human nature only really exists in an achieved community of minds" (Hegel, 1977, p. 43). On that account, Hegel's conceptualisation of citizenship is established from a holistic approach centred on achieving organic unity (Hegel & Wallace, 1975). The organic unity

heavily emphasises the mind, or metaphysically, as Hegel (1977) refers to it, the spirit of interconnectedness between people in society, in which Hegel saliently describes that:

> There is formed a system of complete interdependence, wherein the livelihood, happiness and legal status of one man are interwoven with the livelihood, happiness and rights of all. In this system, individual happiness depends, and only in this connected system, are they actualised and secured. (p. 120)

In relation to the organic unity, ethical life (*Sittlichkeit*) refers to key institutions (family, state and civil society) as responsible for shaping individuals' ethical values guiding them towards this state of interdependence (Hegel, 1956; 1977). On these grounds, communal obligations are symbolic of loyalty under Hegel's conceptualisation in denoting that participation be served in the interests of the community as the foundation for living harmoniously according to these communal norms and values. In other words, the accrual of rights is realised once the common good is served (Hegel, 1991). In that respect, Hegel conceptualises human rationality and the individual as developing their thoughts (*geist*[22]), identity and purposes through their acts of communication and participation with others within the community (Hegel & Wallace, 1975). The state, for Hegel, was representative of an institution that not only protected people's rights and freedoms, but was also an organic entity that brought members of society together to form a collective. The reason for this was the sense of belonging it creates in their shared historical, political and social positions (Hegel, 1991). Accordingly, within the institution of society, the state served as a prerequisite for individual freedom, ensuring that the common good was pursued under this principle Different from liberals, freedom for Hegel is established upon collective work as a means to create one's own goals, meaning an individual develops their natural capacities in their relations with others.

In consideration of Hegel's holism and its key feature of organic unity, a humanistic education is suggested that is centred on upholding shared values, experiences and interdisciplinary learning. In other words, this form of education is threefold. It incorporates the encouragement of dialect reasoning (in which interaction with others will be realised) as

[22] *Geist*, a polysemous term in scholarship that refers to "mind" or "spirit". However, in the context of this study it adopts "thoughts" as the appropriate meaning in making links to how the individual within *sittlichkeit* could be realised in the engagement of the practices of a community.

a foundation for Hegel's idealist thoughts (Hegel & Wallace, 1975). It includes *Bildung* (Hegel, 1977), which in translation refers to education as *growth through experience*. It integrates *sittlichkeit* (ethical life) by learning of their rights and duties in society. In Germany, its accrued educational benefits improve communication amongst citizens, with educational content centred on shared communal customs and integral values that propel undertaking duties well-understood at the core.

In accordance with Hegel's humanistic education and its related key feature, education for citizens with intellectual disabilities in Germany infers their accommodation within the school community. The dialogues (dialects) that will take place during the learning process will ensure that learners' individual differences and needs are attended to as a weapon to eliminate occurrences that lead the individual to become disconnected from the *sittlichkeit* of the community. Therefore, experiences (*bildung*) found in social interactions, acquiring knowledge across a variety of disciplines and fostering their personal strengths suggest that intellectual and adaptive functions would be developed under these favourable conditions.

2.3.4 ROUSSEAU'S SOCIAL CONTRACT THEORY

Political theorist Jean-Jacques Rousseau (1712–1778) premised citizenship on freedom and sovereignty of the general will under the republican government as an encapsulation of the social contract theory. Rousseau's conceptualisation of freedom, broadly different from liberalism, is understood as the most important aspect of human beings and is understood in a two-fold manner between natural freedom and moral freedom. Natural freedom refers to freedom that is independent of people's will. Moral freedom refers to autonomy that goes beyond the absence of interference but is more inclined towards self-governance (Rousseau, 1968). Herein, sovereignty or collective self-rule that denotes that the collective people hold power and authority is brought to relevance in forming a middle ground between the freedoms and social interdependence in the development of laws they will live under. Thus, Rousseau's conception of citizenship, although sharing similarities, is different from communitarianism in that freedom and collective self-rule can achieve and form a political society through the social contract. Rousseau's conceptualisation of the general will denote the collective interests of the collective people in which the common good is served through active and voluntary participation. Therefore, the laws created and general political governance are exercised by the terms of the general will in which citizens individually cast

their choices (votes) on policies through secret ballots with no communication on choices. This is led by reason to avoid serving factional interest that would best realise the common good in which Rousseau (1968) encapsulated "the constant will of all the members of the state is the general will which makes them citizens and free" (p. 153).

Rousseau's (1968) conceptualisation of the republican government, to avoid partiality of the sovereignty, connotes that "Each one of us puts into the community his person and all his powers under the supreme direction of the general will; and as a body, we incorporate every member as an indivisible part of the whole" (p. 61). In simpler terms, the government includes elected officials based on the general will and vote of the people. Dutifully, these elected officials will enforce laws, protect the rights and the general will of citizens as well as make decisions on their behalf. In concert, measures to safeguard the government from evading its constituencies and not serving the people are put in place. Therefore, citizens having "rights of privacy, although these limits are politically established and interpreted" (Rousseau, 1968, p. 185) anticipates that they are inherently equal with their security protected and duty (political obligations) lies in them obeying the law (of the general will) in pursuit of guaranteeing their freedom.

Rousseau (1993), promoting citizenship education, asserts that "It is not enough to say to the citizens, 'be good'; they must be taught to be so" (p. 142). Accordingly, Rousseau's model of education upholds the duty of the state (Rousseau & Foxley, 2005). Therefore, in centring the social contract theory, its key features of freedom and the general will under a republican government, suggest a democratic citizenship education. Essentially, a democratic citizenship education is centred on sustaining a democratic system through active citizenship in achieving sovereignty of the general will. Moreover, such an education produces educational benefits that promote virtues of patriotism, which foster solidarity and freedom in critical thinking by preparing citizens to be trained to make informed political decisions and exercise their duty in public assemblies.

On account of Rousseau's social contract theory and its related key features, a democratic citizenship education for citizens with intellectual disabilities in Switzerland, Rousseau asserts that "The pupil should not hate his tutor [educator] and the tutor [educator] should not consider his pupil as a burden" (as cited in Akçetin, 2016, p. 27). Inferentially, it implies that they will be well included with maximal opportunities to participate in becoming

citizens who are equally well-informed of their rights and responsibilities. The freedoms through their active engagements and self-advocacy endeavours will allow the development of their adaptive and intellectual functions. In addition, the notion of the general will and Rousseau's vehement anti-social classism stance suggests that their accommodation within education, although segregated in learning in consideration of the epoch, would be embraced under the best practices in the republic.

In summary of modern citizenship, Locke's social contract and its key features of consent and natural rights conceptualise citizenship in Britain. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a liberal education that is centred on upholding the social contract theory. Thus, liberal education for citizens with intellectual disabilities in Britain infers consent and empowers them to self-advocate. Likewise, Mill's meritocracy and its key features of a representative government conceptualise cultivating a citizen. The implications of this concept of citizenship for education suggest a competency-based education. Thus, a competency-based education for citizens with intellectual disabilities in Britain inferred poor learning support premised on pedagogical skills such as differentiation in facilitating the development of adaptive and intellectual functions.

Offering a communitarian strand, Hegel's holism and its key feature of organic unity conceptualises citizenship and cultivating a citizen in Germany. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a humanistic education that is centred on upholding shared values, experiences and interdisciplinary learning. Thus, a humanistic education for citizens with intellectual disabilities in Germany infers their maximal accommodation within the school community and society beyond. Moreover, they develop their adaptive and intellectual functions through social interactions, acquiring knowledge across a variety of disciplines and fostering their personal strengths.

Spotlighting the civic republican strand, Rousseau's social contract theory and its key feature of the general will conceptualises citizenship and cultivating a citizen in Switzerland. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a democratic citizenship education that is centred on sustaining a democratic system through active citizenship in achieving sovereignty of the general will. Thus, a democratic citizenship education for citizens with intellectual disabilities in Switzerland infers their maximal opportunities to participate and be well-informed of their rights and responsibilities. Moreover, their adaptive

and intellectual functions are developed through their active engagements and self-advocacy endeavours. Invariably, a distinction can be drawn between Rousseau's social contract, which was premised on the general will that serves the collective good and Locke's social contract, which emphasised individual rights.

Essentially, the dominant strand defining this epoch was liberalism, on account of the emerging emphasis on liberal thought, reason and questioning authority. Accordingly, less emphasis was placed on communitarianism (community) and much less on civic republicanism, as individual liberties were more prioritised. In offering a comparable approach to the classical epoch, citizenship education for citizens with disabilities was met with much scepticism. This is due to membership in the political community under the dominance of the liberal strand, which excluded citizens based on their disability as an identity.

2.4 CONTEMPORARY CITIZENSHIP AND RELEVANT PERSPECTIVE(S)

The origins of contemporary citizenship crossed timelines with the Age of Enlightenment in the late 19th century, into the American Revolution (18th century), the French Revolution (late 18th century) and the 20th century's World Wars I and II, to date, in the globalised period (Nuyen, 2002; Turner, 2017). The pioneering philosophers of this epoch from the liberal vantage point were Rawls, who introduced the *two principles of justice* that seek to ascertain equal opportunities for all, and Marshall, who developed a *self-determinist democracy* based on welfarism. Emulating communitarianism is Walzer, who introduced the *spheres of justice,* and Etzioni, who initiated the idea of moral and social order. Civic republicanism is discerned under the eye of Pettit, who asserted the notion of *freedom as non-domination,* and Habermas, who postulated the notion of *communicative action*. In that respect, contemporary citizenship does not go so far as to define it as mutually exclusive to these previously held epochs. However, it offers an enhancement to the level of citizen commitment, inclusion and participation under evolving 21st century world orders (Osler, 2005). Implicitly, communitarianism and civic republicanism serve as the dominant strands of this epoch (Honohan, 2002).

2.4.1 RAWL'S TWO PRINCIPLES OF JUSTICE

Political philosopher John Rawls (1921–2002) affirms the conception of citizenship to be informed by the theory of justice as fairness. Underpinning Rawls' (1971) theory is the principle of equal basic liberties and the difference principle. The principle of equal basic liberties asserts that "Each person is to have an equal right to the most extensive total system of equal liberties compatible with a similar system of liberty for all" (p. 56). At their core, these rights are afforded to all citizens across the political, social and economic spheres, which effectively makes them universal in their ability to establish justice without any bias or discrimination. The political rights that give the possibility for political equality infer that all citizens, which Rawls compels their nature to be "most fully realised in a democratic society in which there is widespread and vigorous participation in political life" (Rawls, 1993, p. 26), have equal (autonomous) voting rights in the participation of political deliberations in influencing laws. In essence, the dignity of all citizens is honoured, while justice as fairness also ascertains freedoms in stating that:

> the plurality of persons... their fundamental interest in liberty and in the means to make fair use of it is the expression of their seeing themselves as primarily moral persons with an equal right to choose their mode of life. (Rawls, 1971, p. 563)

The social and economic rights constituted distributive justice, in which the difference principle submits that "Social and economic inequalities are to be arranged so that they are both: a. to the greatest benefit of the least advantaged, and b. attached to offices and positions open to all under conditions of fair equality of opportunity" (p. 56). Effectively, all citizens have access to critical welfare (i.e., education, healthcare) in the quest to meet their basic needs. The differentiation, however, resides in the redistributive balancing of scales, with the wealthy being more taxed and social programmes that bridge the class inequality gap.

Invariably, Rawls' liberal two principles of justice and its related key features suggest a justice-orientated education. A justice-orientated education would be premised on refining learners' political virtues and literacy, serving as a foundation that grounds the knowledge

of their individual rights[23] and what is to be fairly attributed to them. Moreover, Rawls (1993) asserts that ‘‘education should also prepare them to be fully cooperating members of society and enable them to be self-supporting’’ (p. 199), which suggests that the justice-orientated approach underpinned by quality would redistribute opportunities essential for social mobility. Therefore, as prescribed in *Political Liberalism* (Rawls, 1993), learners should come out with a profound understanding of their “constitutional and civic rights” (p. 39). In that sense, Rawls’ liberalism and its implications for education would derive educational benefits to the United States of America by propelling education characterised by free thought and autonomy, which fosters justice and responsibility.

Informed by Rawls’ liberalism and its key features, educating citizens with intellectual disabilities in the United States of America should be based on the redistributive principle. As Rawls (1971) asserts, “in order to treat all persons equally, to provide genuine equality of opportunity, society must give more attention to those with fewer native assets and to those born into the less favourable social positions” (p. 86). Essentially, such identities. including intellectual disabilities would be better advantaged to have their learning needs, which maximally develop their intellectuals and adaptive functions, met[24] through resources poured in to improve their learning. The maximal provision of such educational resources would target specific personnel to ensure their education leads to them becoming liberal citizens who are free to follow their private pursuits.

2.4.2 MARSHALL’S SELF-DETERMINIST DEMOCRACY

English sociologist Thomas Humphrey Marshall (1893–1981) conceived citizenship as “a status bestowed on those who are full members of a community. All who possess the status are equal with respect to the rights and duties with which the status is endowed” (Marshall, 1983, p. 253). The definition and conception of citizenship were influenced by the political climate of the post-war period in Britain, which called for a sense of stability in society. The post-war period underwent an invisible war waging in the form of capitalism that saw an

[23] In education, Amartya Sen’s (2009) *Capability Approach* which is briefly outlined in Chapter 4 as a rival theory of critical disability theory, developed from the foundations of Rawls conceptions on justice, fairness and equality.

[24] In the positive prospects held for citizens with mild-intellectual disabilities, it is equally worth noting that Rawls (1993) held exclusionary views about justice towards people with severe disabilities based on their limitations to contribute optimally.

elite group have privileges in the civil, political and social sense that consequently created stratifications (Hogan, 1987). Marshall emphasises ending the stratifications, stating that:

> What matters is that there is…an equalisation between the more and the less fortunate at all levels – between the healthy and the sick, the employed and the unemployed, the old and the active, the bachelor and the father of a large family. (Marshall & Bottomore, 1992, p. 33)

Based on this call for equalisation, the rights were conceptualised in a threefold category between civil[25], political[26] (which emerged in the 19th century) and (post-war in the 20th century) social[27]. These rights cannot be expressed in hierarchical terms, as they all find an interlinking point (Marshall, 1950). Therefore, as a trinity, the categorisation of these rights all lays an essential foundation for establishing formal equality that guarantees inclusion in all three of these spheres and for the development of society, which can only be realised if all citizens are participants. On duties, Marshall was not expansive as to what they curtail, but the stance on duties declares, "If citizenship is invoked in defence of rights, the corresponding duties of citizenship cannot be ignored. These do not require a man to sacrifice his individual liberty or to submit without question to every demand made by government" (Marshall & Bottomore, 1992, p. 41). Accordingly, in *Citizenship and Social Class 1950*, Marshall specifies these duties such as paying taxes, contributing to insurance, being educated, offering military service and the duty to self-development as compulsory in the quest to become an upright civilised citizen (Marshall, 1950; 1983). Essentially, it finds similarities to that of Millian's conceptualisations, as Marshall further declares, "The duty to improve and civilise oneself is, therefore, a social duty, and not merely a personal one, because the social health of a society depends upon the civilisation of its members" (Marshall & Bottomore, 1992, p. 16). Thus, a self-determinist view prevails with an individual having bestowed these rights.

[25] Civil rights allude to individual rights that ascertain freedoms, including that of speech, justice (equality before the law), the property they may own and their personal beliefs citizens are entitled to.
[26] The political rights had the purpose of enabling people to participate in political life and the structures of authority available in society, which found expression and given action in courts and parliaments.
[27] Social rights were more concerned with the economic welfare and security of society (Marshall, 1965). Accordingly, the study particularly focused on social rights as they encapsulate education.

In this view, Marshall's liberalism and its related key features forming a trinity, schools, are considered to fulfil the acquisition of civil, political and social rights. Thereby, it describes a liberal education based on critical pedagogy that challenges dominant ideologies with its educational benefits in Britain, developing learners who equally possess knowledge about their constitutional rights, as well as possessing skills and civic dispositions (Marshall, 1953). Being liberally based, the duties, as steered by the emphasis on self-development and the empowerment bolstered by political rights, would infer citizenship education would instil virtues of hard work that are inherent in a capitalistic society, with the best (hardest-working) civilian succeeding[28].

In contrast to the picture that depicts the mitigation of inequality to benefit a small cohort of citizens, Marshall's liberalism and its related key features imply educating citizens with intellectual disabilities in Britain with an emphasis on responsibility for self-development. Thus, it reflects challenges in how they accrue maximal educational benefits. By implication, the form of self-directed learning infers that the efforts that are exerted to develop their intellectual and adaptive functions are emphasised upon their own agency and in areas in which they primarily need accommodations and additional support.

2.4.3 WALZER'S SPHERES OF JUSTICE

Political theorist Michael Walzer's (c. 1935–present) conception of citizenship is informed by "a distributive principle, assigning rights and responsibilities to individuals in virtue of their membership in a political community" (1983, p. 55). It idealises the citizen as "a member of a political community, entitled to a share of its goods and services, and required to contribute to its maintenance and defence" (Walzer, 1983, p. 56). Therefore, for Walzer, the conception of citizenship is entwined in the fairness that all members of a community are accommodated as a communitarian virtue of ascertaining belonging and commonness. Moreover, the distributive aspect guarantees a sense of justice in the critical spheres[29] of goods and services that are shared communally and equally with the common people. In

[28] Later, and monumental to British education, a key advocate of Marshall's conceptualisation of citizenship was Sir Bernard Crick, who was part of developing the Crick Report (Qualifications and Curriculum Authority, 1998), which endorsed Marshall's conceptualisation of the trinity (civil, social and political rights) as part of the curriculum on citizenship education in Britain.

[29] Walzer (1983) identifies these spheres as spanning: membership, security and welfare, money and commodities, office, hard work, free time, education, kinship and love, divine grace, recognition and political power.

essence, fair distribution lies as the communitarian central virtue connecting these members of a community. More glaring to this conceptualisation is the value of social justice that presents itself to resolve social problems relating to the dominance of other groups through a distributive means that executes complex equality. Essentially, people in a moral community have a shared understanding not only of values but also of social goods. In addition, belonging to the legal community is kept buoyed by being politically active towards keeping the integrity of each sphere as a means of regulation from domination ensuing within either of these spheres.

Walzer (1985) puts forward an exemplary account of political participation exerted by all members in referring to a biblical reference from Exodus 12:19: "Shall be unto me a kingdom of priests and a holy nation", which suggests indirectly the freedoms of the Israelites by G-d is based on a promise. However, the realisation of this promise is contingent on the Israelites participating as priests, giving honour to Israel as a holy nation and obeying G-d's commandments as part of their common life as a convent to G-d and with each other. On that accord, the pursuit of such a common good erases voice from the margin and voices nearer the centre. It gives prospects of narrowed differences that may, in effect, drive to the reality of less dominance of others with this insistent aspect of participation attained.

Walzer (1983) offers a clear-cut position on citizenship education by pronouncing:

> We can think of educational equality as a form of welfare provision, where all children, conceived as future citizens, have the same need to know and where the ideal of membership is best served if they are all taught the same. (p. 203)

Therefore, Walzer's communitarianism and its related key feature of the distributive principle are given attention in addressing questions such as "*Who gets what education and why*?" that are often divisive among members of a community, as the liberal meritocratic strand entrenches. Therein, the distributive principle ensures a distributive and social justice education that offers equal educational benefits that extend ideals of dismantling hegemonies and hierarchies and providing equal opportunities for success in community life in the United States of America.

Similarly, Walzer's communitarianism and its related key feature, educating citizens with intellectual disabilities in the United States of America, should better acknowledge the unequal start towards success. Therefore, the distribution of equality within schools as micro-communities that incorporate professional best practices, schooling personnel and resources is provisioned to develop these learners' intellectual and adaptive functions. Thus, strides towards achieving (social) justice, putting them on par with their peers to realise success as equal citizens, are made.

2.4.4 ETZIONI'S MORAL AND SOCIAL ORDER

German-born sociologist Amitai Etzioni's (1929–2023) conception of citizenship is foregrounded on a responsive community, which conceives an ideal community as "responsive to the 'true needs' of all its members, both in the substance of its core/shared values and in its social formation" (1996b, p. 1). However, it should also be one to "nourish social attachments as part of the effort to maintain social order while ensuring that such attachments will not suppress all autonomous expressions" (1996a, p. 27). In this conception, the members are essentially a collective with the shared values that create the bond informed by their history. Moreover, it is interwoven as the common cultures between the members of the community that act as social orders to be abided by in the quest to live harmoniously, while also taking into consideration of their individual rights. A normative approach means establishing the nature of the sameness of community between its members through non-coercive engagement. Correspondingly, it provides consensus through moral dialogues to ascertain a communal living conceived under "agreed upon" norms and values. Communitarianism, being centred on community, infers the vast socialisation between members to form this noncoercive social order underpinned by a commitment to the shared values in guiding their behaviour (Etzioni, 2014). Hence, these "agreed upon" norms and values demand to be shored from "families whose societal role is to introduce values and begin the development of the moral self. Schools' role is to further develop the moral self and to remedy moral development if it was neglected or distorted by the family" (Etzioni, 2003, p. 225) and well into the community. Therefore, the moral voices aid in the social responsibility of maintaining harmony in pursuit of the common good and mutuality between members that does not give preference to an individualistic way of living but rather

maintains equilibrium[30]. In this light, Etzioni (2015) does not shy away from accepting community as individuals who invariably are a constellation but are pluralistic (communities) in the unity that links them to broader society and a more globalised worldview.

On that note, Etzioni's communitarianism and its key feature support a community-based education with consensus and shared morals and values at the centre, based on Etzioni's (1996a) statement that "There is no way for a school to avoid affecting the moral values of its pupils. Much teaching material cannot be morally cleansed and made neutral, even if this were desired… There is no values-free education" (p. 184). In addition, the educational benefits of it are found through experience, for Etzioni supersedes the formal curriculum that is learnt in Germany. In other words, what is observed and done in practice in the community towards acquiring knowledge has a far more far-reaching role in serving the common good than being limited by (and to) textbook learning. In effect, such a conceptualisation of citizenship education ascertains the fulfilment of social responsibilities.

Accordingly, Etzioni's communitarianism and its key feature, educating citizens with intellectual disabilities based on the concept of responsive community that ascertains sameness, would entail maximal inclusion. Inevitably, the inclusive philosophy in education being more appropriate during this epoch, the development of these citizens' intellectual and adaptive functions will be maximally supported. Specifically, it would incorporate individualised learning support under the same learning spaces with educators who are part of this community and who uphold the shared values. In addition, a community-based education guided by a moral code ensures a sense of belonging for all members, regardless of differences.

2.4.5 PETTIT'S FREEDOM AS NON-DOMINATION

Professor and contemporary philosopher Philip Pettit (1945) declares citizenship to be "Enjoying a certain status, a status that is defined by the rights and responsibilities that come with being a member of a political community, and being able to exercise those rights and fulfil those responsibilities in a way that is not subject to the arbitrary will of others" (Pettit,

[30] Responsive communit(arianism) can also be seen as the equilibrium between conservative communitarianism and radical liberal ideas such as those of Rawls.

1997, p. 18). As has been established, civic republicanism encapsulates rights and responsibilities. Petitt's inference of "arbitrary will" leads to their primarily base of civic republicanism in the contemporary epoch under the notion of freedom as non-domination.[31] *Others* refer to both the will (domination) of the state to citizens and the will (domination) of a group of citizens over another. Non-domination, as a concept first developed by Cicero, is instrumental as a moral value. Pettit uses the concept to offer critique of the interpretation of freedom as construed under the liberal strand. Put simply, Pettit refers to freedom that considers both participation in self-government and civic virtues. In the expansion of the term:

> The reliable enjoyment of non-domination, therefore, requires more than the existence of laws that stake out the areas in which you are to be proof against interference; it requires that there are also socially established norms that give an added salience and security and lustre to those areas. If there are such norms in place, then it will be a matter of reliable, perhaps unthinking inclination that leads others to respect you in those areas. You will not have to depend just on the effectiveness of the law for your freedom as non-domination; you will also be able to put your trust in the power of the established norm… Others will be moved to acknowledge your place and your standing, not just by susceptibility to legal sanction but also by a spontaneous, culturally reinforced civility. (Petitt, 1997, p. 245)

In that respect, Pettit's conceptualisation of citizenship and the imperativeness of non-domination as a destiny can be construed as justice. The stance stems from the fact that non-domination is established to protect citizens and acknowledges civic engagement to ensure that deliberations in decision-making processes meet the participation of citizens. These processes also include the contestation of policies and procedures thereof, as the consent of citizens remains of the non-arbitrary (will) rule (Pettit, 1997). The criterion works as a guarantee of freedom, and citizens are not characterised as subjects when the constituency of power is exclusively in the hands of the state through the rule of law. Thus, the political community reflects cosmopolitanism from a moral lens; from a justice and political lens, it encapsulates citizens' own interests and engages with the interests of others in civil society.

[31] Freedom as non-domination can also be comprehended as freedom in the absence of domination which liberalists have construed differently as freedom as the absence of interference.

Naturally, Pettit's civic republicanism and its related key features of non-domination are supported by Pettit (2012), stating, "the individual cannot be considered to be free unless she lives as a citizen in an association that is politically free" (p. 17). By implication, the statement infers that a democratic education would be offered because of its significance in fostering arbitrary will, rights and responsibilities to fully provide educational benefits that reap freedom as non-domination in the United States of America. Thus, education spaces will be institutions that allow the intersections of diverse learners, enabling free self-expression, and fostering an equal sense of belonging.

In the context of progressive contemporary understandings of disability, Pettit's civic republicanism and its related key feature infer that educating citizens with intellectual disabilities will be provisioned under inclusive opportunities that foster their maximal participation in reaching their educational success. In the reality of ableist agendas that may pose potential risks of domination and further marginalise their plights as equal citizens, Pettit offers an approach that mitigates the reinforcement of these prospects by promoting all-round empowerment. In addition, the emphasis on the non-arbitrary power of the state and the need to hold it accountable infers that the accessibility of citizens with mild disabilities and response to their respective needs that relate to the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions will be met.

2.4.6 HABERMAS' COMMUNICATIVE ACTION

Jürgen Habermas (1929–present), a critical theorist, offers a conception of citizenship premised on communicative action[32] that spearheads a discourse model of democracy. It asserts, "democratic will-formation is understood not primarily in the exercise of political freedom through direct participation, but more importantly in the use of public reason" (Habermas, 2001, p. 110). As part of that conception that is influenced by the growing globalisation, human rights are dichotomised between the rule of law and moralism, which "lies in the equal interest of all, express a universal will pure and simple, laws also give expression to the particular wills of members of a particular legal community" (1992, p.

[32] The theory of communicative action is a form of communication that puts people's self-interests secondary in the pursuit of arriving at a shared end which provides them a shared reason to pursue a given course of action (Habermas, 1990).

152). In that respect, cosmopolitanism and diversity are afforded a platform on a national to global level.

Habermas' model of democracy thereby suggests that the rule of law enables citizens' public autonomy, as they are equally protected in their capacity of private autonomy, and this autonomy can be exercised and enjoyed as part of their political autonomy (Habermas, 2002). In other words, citizens ought to be active participants in all political processes as the public sphere determines and affects their well-being, common good and affairs of the state, which can influence how power is held accountable. Therefore, the public sphere is of central importance as members of the community, through shared identities, can deliberate in an inclusive manner to ascertain equality in meeting the needs of all citizens.

Habermas' reference to civil society is useful in the book *The Post-national Constellation* (2018). It carefully accounts for a public sphere that is not only influenced by globalisation but also can microscopically hold members of society in solidarity in the interests of individual rights. In essence, known societal and micro-traditions should be embraced as modernity in the era of globalisation and allowed to continue, as opposed to them being a force of resistance in the reality of grand innovations.

Furthermore, and to a greater extent, human rights[33] (which essentially presuppose democracy) weaken hegemonic structures that warrant marginalisation and discrimination in the place of what should be social justice at the crux. Education in relation to Habermas' civic republicanism and its related key features, is explored in *Knowledge and Human Interests* (1968), where Habermas distinguishes between three interests: instrumental, hermeneutic and emancipatory. Of relevance, emancipatory interest is assertive of knowledge developed from critical sciences that speak to liberties and gaining perspectives of various worldviews and values. Therefore, owing to core critical theorist dogmas, citizenship education would be informed by effectively achieving a deliberative democratic education. Effectively, to a greater extent, the theory of communicative action encourages

[33] Habermas's view of human rights is explained in duality. Firstly, human rights in relation to law Habermas declares "does not have its origins in morality, but rather bears the imprint of the modern concept of individual liberties, hence of a specifically juridical concept" (Habermas, 1997, p. 118). Secondly, human rights in relation to moralism are essentially still tied to the legal framework; however, moralism, as it is axiomatic of human rights, accounts for values that influence solidarity that is normative for a collective identity and the universal entitlement of dignities of (global) citizens. In effect, in the duality, a universally understood approach to social justice would be upheld which ultimately paints a favourable picture of cosmopolitanism (2018).

learning to be less theoretical and formal. Instead, it should focus on more practical tasks and dialogues that spark critical thinking and questioning, underpinned by democratic values, i.e. human rights, amid the consideration of cosmopolitanism.

Accordingly, Habermas' civic republicanism and its related key features suggest that by educating citizens with intellectual disabilities based on achieving cosmopolitanism nationally and post-nationally as the end goal, learning styles influenced by critical pedagogies would be used to support these learners' thinking during their dialogues. In conjunction with human rights that offer a broader pluralism of identities and protection thereof for minority groups, inclusion would be realised. Essentially, Habermas' citizenship education would be characterised as fulfilling a social justice motive that prioritises the development of these learners' intellectual and adaptive functions by dismantling inequalities that limit their opportunities critical for their participation in the public sphere.

In summary of contemporary citizenship, Rawl's *Two Principles of Justice* and their key features - the principle of equal basic liberties and the difference principle - cultivate a citizen based on ascertaining justice as fairness in the United States of America. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a justice-orientated education. By implication, Rawl's *Two Principles of Justice* and their key features in educating citizens with intellectual disabilities suggest a redistribution of resources to support their intellectual and adaptive functions. Marshall's *self-determinist democracy* and its key features are underpinned by civil, political and social rights to conceive citizenship and cultivate a citizen based on ascertaining equalisation in Britain. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a liberal citizenship education. Moreover, civil, social and political rights would instil virtues of hard work that are inherent in a capitalistic society, with the best (hardest-working) civilian succeeding. By implication, Marshall's self-determinist democracy, its key features and its implications for educating citizens with intellectual disabilities suggest that the emphasis put on self-development will accrue minimal educational benefit that develops their intellectual and adaptive functions.

Walzer's *Spheres of Justice* and its key feature, the distributive principle, conceive citizenship and cultivate a citizen based on striving for equalisation in the United States of America. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest that a distributive and social justice approach to education offers educational benefits that support

the ideals of dismantling hegemonic hierarchies and providing equal opportunities for success in community life. By implication, Walzer's spheres of justice, its key feature and its implications for educating citizens with intellectual disabilities suggest that equal members of a community will be best accommodated as a communitarian virtue. In essence, this involves ascertaining their belonging and commonness in schools by effectively responding to their intellectual and adaptive functions. Etzioni's *moral and social order* and its key feature underpinned by a responsive community, conceived citizenship based on ascertaining agreed upon norms and values in reaching consensus amongst community members in Germany. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a community-based education, with educational benefits of reinforcing the shared morals and values at the centre. Etzioni's moral and social order and its key feature and its implications for educating citizens with intellectual disabilities, suggest that the sameness would maximise their inclusion for the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions.

Pettit's *freedom as non-domination* and its key feature of "arbitrary will" plays a crucial role in shaping relationships between citizens and themselves and citizens and the state in order to conceive citizenship and cultivate a citizen in the United States of America. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a democratic education, with educational benefits safeguarding freedom as non-domination. Therefore, educating citizens with intellectual disabilities suggests that inclusive opportunities to represent their voices and agency in critical state affairs indirectly work to develop their intellectual and adaptive functions. Habermas' communicative action and its key feature of a discourse model of democracy nationally and post-nationally cater to the growing globalisation and cosmopolitanism to conceive citizenship and cultivate a citizen in both Germany and the United States of America. The implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest a deliberative democratic education. Implicitly, Habermas's communicative action and its key feature and its implications for educating citizens with intellectual disabilities suggest critical pedagogies would be used to support these learners' thinking and develop their intellectual and adaptive functions.

In effect, with more comprehensive philosophies of moralism that are underpinned by rights and encouragement of active participation, the contemporary epoch over the last 200 years has been emphasised by communitarianism and civic republicanism far greater than

liberalism as traditionalised by former epochs. By implication, citizenship education that ciltivates more active than passive learners can be actualised with educational policies also adopting these two strands. Moreover, in their inclusive notions, citizenship education for citizens with intellectual disabilities provides greater promising benefits that lead them to assume more influential roles in schools, communities and the global environment.

Summary table of citizenship and its origins, history and development

Strand	Classical	Modern	Contemporary
Liberalism	Pericles' liberal democracy	Locke's social contract	Rawl's two principles of justice
	Aristotle's reason and rationality	Mill's meritocracy	Marshall's self-determinist democracy
Communitarianism	Confucius' altruism	Hegel's holism	Walzer's spheres of justice
			Etzioni's moral and social order.
Civic republicanism	Cicero's mixed constitution	Rousseau's social contract theory	Pettit's freedom as non-domination
			Habermas' communicative action

2.5 CONCLUSION

The overall key message of the chapter has been that the origin, history and development of citizenship as a concept and citizenship education in the last 2 600 years have been defined by liberalism as the dominant strand. Thus, the education of citizens with intellectual disabilities arguably remained deadwood. In leading the 21st century, the contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands are endorsed by this study to characterise a

holistic approach to learning that spearheads effective citizenship for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools.

In the classical epoch, the liberal strand based on Pericles' conception of citizenship suggests a liberal (democratic) education that provokes critical thinking (freedom) and autonomous learning (privacy) that reinforces the acquisition of their knowledge of the governance (law). Equally, Aristotle's reason and rationality implications of this conception of citizenship for education suggest the likelihood of a rational-inquiry education where the reason for explaining knowledge is underpinned by an intellectual rigour that is justified by rationality. The communitarian strand based on Confucius' altruism as a conception of citizenship contributes to the suggestion of character education that is underpinned by learning of self, shared morals, shared ethics and social responsibility. On a civic republicanism point of view, Cicero's conception of a mixed constitution suggests a citizenship education underpinned by participation, patriotism and active citizenship. Regrettably, citizenship education for citizens with intellectual disabilities was met with much scepticism, as the classical epoch widely regarded disability as a threat to the good life, compromising the necessary undertaking of pivotal roles and political participation.

In the modern epoch, liberalism was the dominant strand defining the epoch. The liberal strand based on Locke's social contract in conceptualising citizenship inferred a liberal education that is centred on upholding the social contract theory. Likewise, Mill's meritocracy as a conception of citizenship suggested a competency-based education that is centred on outcomes more than experience and potential. In the focus of the communitarian strand, Hegel's holism based on organic unity implicated a humanistic education that is centred on upholding shared values, experiences and interdisciplinary learning. Spotlighting the civic republican strand, Rousseau's social contract theory and its key feature of the general gave implication of a democratic citizenship education that is centred on sustaining a democratic system through active citizenship in achieving sovereignty of the general will. By implication, and offering similarity to the classical epoch, citizenship education for citizens with intellectual disabilities has been metv with much scepticism, as membership into the political community excludes a citizen on this identity.

In the contemporary epoch, communitarianism and civic republicanism became dominant strands. The liberal strand based on Rawl's two principles as a conception of citizenship,

suggested a justice-orientated education. Equally, Marshall's self-determinist democracy and its key features implied a liberal citizenship education. In the focus of the communitarian strand, Walzer's spheres of justice and its key feature of the distributive principle as a conception of citizenship, suggests a distributive and social justice education. Likewise, Etzioni's moral and social order as a conception of citizenship supports a community-based education. In the focus of the civic republican strand, Pettit's freedom as non-domination suggests a democratic education, with educational benefits safeguarding freedom as non-domination. Likewise, Habermas' communicative action as a citizenship conception led to a deliberative democratic education. By implication, citizenship education for citizens with intellectual disabilities provides greater promise of developing citizens who assume more influential roles in schools, communities and the global environment under the contemporary epoch.

The next chapter looks at citizenship education policy for citizenship education in schools by providing a global review of the literature.

CHAPTER 3: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION POLICIES FOR LEARNERS WITH MILD-INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES IN SCHOOLS: A GLOBAL REVIEW OF LITERATURE

3.1 INTRODUCTION

> To have power is to be able to act more freely; by having no power, or less power than others have, means having one's own freedom of choice limited by the decisions made by others. (Bauman, 1990, p. 113)

In these opening lines, Bauman (1990) sheds light on two relevant points in the context of writing about human conditions and the obstacles at the forefront of changing the social fabric of society for minority groups. Firstly, the possibility of being educated for citizenship is effective in securing freedom that learners, particularly the mildly intellectually disabled, can attain towards their social mobility. Secondly, among the abled-bodied and neurotypical characterised as "others", it suggests a compelling necessity for policy implementation anchored in citizenship education embedded under contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands that ensure this power and autonomy. As part of the descriptive method of enquiry, the crux of the chapter is the key perspectives established by global agreements on citizenship education and, by implication, policy based on the global idealisations of human rights, inclusive values and equality.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 profiles the idealisations of the global agreements for citizenship education policy. The key message the section communicates is that these legal instruments inform citizenship education policy globally. The provisions of these instruments idealising human rights, inclusive values and equality infer that the potential achievements of these ideals in schools for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are to facilitate the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions. Section 2 reviews intercontinental citizenship education policies based on the adopted ideals of human rights, inclusive values and equality and their achievement in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. Section 3 reviews the regional citizenship education policies based on the adopted ideals of human rights, inclusive values and equality and their achievement in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. Section 4 reviews the local citizenship education policy based on the adopted ideals of

human rights, inclusive values and equality and their achievement in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools.

Intercontinental, regional and local citizenship education policy aligns with global agreements on the ideals of citizenship education policy as per human rights, inclusive values and equality in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarian and civic republicanism citizenship. Thus, the chapter shows its purpose in providing global perspectives on citizenship education and the inclusion of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In contrast, the classical liberal strand of citizenship is dominantly reflected in the intercontinental, regional and local citizenship education policies evidenced by the challenging accommodations learners with mild-intellectual disabilities face in schools. Consequently, effective citizenship and the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions remain suppressed.

3.2 A GLOBAL AGREEMENTS PERSPECTIVE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION FOR LEARNERS WITH MILD-INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES

3.2.1 THE UNIVERSAL DECLARATION OF HUMAN RIGHTS (UN, 1948)

The Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UDHR) (UN, 1948), under 30 Articles, outlines binding basic *human rights* as an ideal for citizenship policy to be incorporated across the globe. Of relevance to the study, the declaration under Article 26 declares, "Everyone has the right to education." Therefore, in terms of (citizenship) educational policy, the reference to "everyone", and further elaboration within the Article as education being "compulsory" and "free", Article 26 implicitly suggests that all learner identities should equally accrue the benefits of education. In so doing, the global agreement[34] would represent the ideal that safeguards human rights through upholding universal standards that promote sustainable development.

[34] In this unique study, the UDHR (UN, 1948), the Salamanca statement (UNESCO, 1994) and the UNCRPD (UN, 2006) are referred to as global agreements because, as a collective, compared to the citizenship education policy definition provided earlier in the thesis, "agreements" imply that they are unbending, enforceable laws and binding.

In establishing the groundwork for *citizenship education policy* across the globe for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools with human rights as a fundamental goal, Article 2 outlines the entitlements to rights and freedoms. Therefore, Article 2, ascertaining the common rights to which all are entitled to affirm their sense of belonging infers that schools are characterised by social services[35] readily available to meet these learners at the level and pace of their learning. In that respect, Article 1 emphasises "universal brotherhood", which is reflective of the interdependence between the enshrined social[36], economic and political rights. These rights hypothesise a sense of community in the collective effort to make other basic human rights realisable – regardless of the difference in these learners' identities - through education and as a duty to be undertaken by schools. Accordingly, schools using the templates of the UDHR (UN, 1948) to educate learners with mild-intellectual disabilities fit into the broader picture that yields the outcome of global social justice. Thereby, the realisation and achievement of these human rights by schools requires them to be sites of learning that foster active citizenship.

Essentially, the UDHR (UN, 1948) informs citizenship (education) policy across the globe in schools, with human rights as an ideal and an achievement. This infers that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities can develop their intellectual and adaptive functions. In the convergence between the ideal and achievement, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities will be validated in the exposure to approaches such as the universal design of learning (as the human rights framework is based on universally applicable standards) in schools. In effect, it derives and widens access to tailored educational support through personnel services critical to the development of their conceptual domain. These provisions of social rights articulated in Articles 1, 2, 25 and 26 collectively imply that educating these learners about contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism helps develop their social and practical domain, which are necessary to fully meet these standards set out in the UDHR (UN, 1948).

[35] These refer to support plans and partnerships between guardians, mainstream ordinary schools with full-service schools that assist in processes of referrals and making learner diagnoses, as pronounced by the SIAS (DBE, 2014) policy greatly deliberated upon in Chapter 7.
[36] Article 25: Health and social services.

3.2.2 THE SALAMANCA STATEMENT AND FRAMEWORK FOR ACTION ON SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION (UNESCO, 1994)

The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) is a globally recognised framework that serves as a foundation for all rights-based citizenship policies across the globe that reaffirms human rights[37] and promotes *inclusion*[38] in education as an ideal. Inclusion in scholarship is widely debated on grounds of whether it is a moral or legal right, especially when contextualised with education, which is more conventionally accepted as a legal right. However, this study embraced the concept and its values as being neither confined to a moral nor legal right but including both. In projecting inclusive values[39] of access, opportunities and participation in educational policies, clause 15 frames its mission to provide:

> Integrated education and community-based rehabilitation…Both are based upon the principles of inclusion, integration and participation and represent well-tested and cost-effective approaches to promoting equality of access…as part of a nationwide strategy aimed at achieving education for all. (UNESCO, 1994, p. ix)

Therefore, the expansion of *access* for learners to receive formal learning without bias or discrimination leads to positive outcomes in the quality of education. This suggests that the value of access is as a precursor to the efficacy of the global education system. In like manner, *opportunities* are better realised through cost-effective approaches to eliminating barriers that limit access to formal learning by optimising resources to benefit a larger portion of the learner population in realising their educational potential. Therefore, in having education more optimised for wide diversities and in better reach to a larger majority of learners, *participation* as the final denominator of inclusion can be attained.

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[37] The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) serving the mission of fulfilling basic rights of education is fragmented from the plethora of rights outlined in the Universal Declaration of Human Rights (UN, 1948). Thus, it serves as a road map for envisioning the worldwide liberties and equality standards under which all human beings in their respective country laws should be safeguarded.

[38] The adoption of the concept of inclusion expressed as access, opportunities and participation is relevant to the study because it narrows the understanding of citizenship education for a specific cohort of learners with unique challenges and experiences that require greater support. Therefore, these features (access, opportunities and participation) are all premised on the maximisation of individual human potential and, particularly for this study, propelling active citizenship for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In addition, Chapter 7, which critically analyses the pre-existing inclusive policy in post-apartheid South Africa, employs the concept in a distinct manner from this chapter.

[39] These inclusive values also work towards Sustainable Development Goal 4, which seeks to establish not only education that is inclusive but of quality to promote lifelong learning by 2030.

In building a framework for *citizenship education policy* across the globe for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools, with inclusion as an achievement, The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) asserts that "Parents are privileged partners as regards the special educational needs of their child, and to the extent possible should be accorded the choice in the type of education provision they desire for their child" (p. 17). Interpreted, the section implies that attaining inclusive education is seen under a dichotomised view of education as a) a public good, which, based on human rights, should be inherently provisioned, but also b) a private good that caters to market-orientated models. Therein, as a private good, education is extended to widen the spectrum of access, opportunities and participation with no limitations to the provisions from the state. The Statement (UNESCO, 1994) lodges that inclusive orientations are "the most effective means of combating discriminatory attitudes, creating welcoming communities, building an inclusive society and achieving education for all" (p. 3). Accordingly, this lies complementary to the social model of a school community that dismantles the stealthiness of exclusion that occurs in socio-cultural contexts. In effect, achievement of schools' incorporation of inclusion ought to be found in the accountability for eliminating barriers through these values in realising maximised access, opportunities and participation of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

As a linchpin for citizenship education policy across the globe in schools that incorporate inclusion as an ideal, the nexus between this ideal and achievement predominantly for learners with special educational needs and, by implication, *mild-intellectual disabilities,* suggests their maximal support in the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions. The convergence between ideal and achievement will characterise schools as educating for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism as a social and political act. Therein, it is representative of a social model that is vital to fostering access to all learning institutions as a first stance to developing the conceptual domain. Moreover, schools propelling opportunities that increase social mobility contribute positively to the development of the social domain, resulting in outcomes of them becoming economically active participants and thus independent. In addition, this achievement of the ideal will manifest in participation that leads to representation in critical spaces. Essentially, for the practical domain it infers development in their sharpened skills to apply in real-life situations as critical prerequisites for being equal to the task to serve their duties and responsibilities, such as paying tax in their employable state.

3.2.3 THE UNITED NATIONS CONVENTION ON THE RIGHTS OF PERSONS WITH DISABILITIES (UNCRPD) (UN, 2006)

The United Nations Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities (UNCRPD) (UN, 2006) serves as one of the treaties designed to realise the global human rights project to champion inclusion for persons with disabilities. Therefore, *equality*[40] serves as its ideal for citizenship policy across the globe for persons with disabilities. In keeping with its idealised mission premised on advancing the rights of persons with disabilities, tantamount to inclusion, it advocates in Article 1[41] "All human beings are born free and equal in dignity and rights" (p. 4). The firm stance to pedal inclusive global policies in this inalienable nature suggests that equal access – considering any complexities that disabilities are motioned by - will not serve as barriers. Similarly, opportunities for other social rights, such as education, are made possible through intervention plans to safeguard the dignity and rights of persons with disabilities. Ultimately, participation holds prospects that can garner greater visibility of minority groups and, by implication, persons with disabilities who can be key and influential actors in society to equalise their representation in society. Furthermore, inclusion, being based on the social model, challenges the medical model[42] that left the scales unbalanced as to how they are equally received in attaining an education. Overall, in each of the 52 Articles prescribed in the *UNCRPD* (UN, 2006), human rights facilities spearhead its agenda ensuring an education that derives equal benefits, value and an even playing field for persons with disabilities.

The UNCRPD (UN, 2006) serves as a template for *citizenship education policy* across the globe for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. It emphasises equality as an achievement, with the preamble setting the tone, affirming that "recognition of … the equal and inalienable rights of all members of the human family is the foundation of freedom, justice … in the world" (p. ii). Thus, the achievement of equality is to be seen as feasible, with freedom and justice centred as values in carving the ideal landscape by which learners

[40] As all policy is based on liberalism, the use of *equality* more prominently in the liberal strand in the context of this chapter should not be interpreted as antithetical to the aims of the study of educating for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.
[41] Article 1: Purpose.
[42] The medical model of disability views disability as an individual problem in which the individual should be brought back to normalcy while also being limited in carrying out societal obligations (Moore & Slee, 2012). The socially unjust justifications of the model in scholarship are owed to biological reasons, neoliberalism, sin and supernatural phenomena (Slee & Tait, 2022; Wheeler, 2022; Ziegler, 2020).

with mild-intellectual disabilities can exist within the school community. In a more practical sense, Article 24[43] states, "(e) Effective individualised support measures are provided in environments that maximise academic and social development, consistent with the goal of full inclusion" (UN, 2006, p. 16). In relation to this, Article 30[44] pronounces "parties shall take appropriate measures to enable persons with disabilities to participate in cultural life, recreation, leisure, and sport on an equal basis with others" (p. 22). Therefore, schools must see to the equality that not only ordains their formal learning sense but also is encouraged informally through extracurricular activities, which also aids in a holistic approach to learning. In addition, it reflects civic orientations designed to instil in learners with mild-intellectual disabilities through school activities such as Learner Council Representations nominations, among other roles. These affirm an equal platform to engage in deliberations and dialogues in a meaningful and informed manner.

Naturally, as a convention for persons with disabilities (by implication, *mild-intellectual disabilities*) and a mainstay for citizenship education policy across the globe in schools that incorporate equality as an ideal, achievement thereof lies in the development of learners' intellectual and adaptive functions. Thus, the affirmation from Article 24 illustrates the convergence between the ideal and achievement of equality, which bears relevance in reinforcing the idea of positive discrimination as a means of bringing these learners up to par with their peers in ordinary schools. By implication, the continued support that develops the conceptual domain, serves as the initial point to maximise their human potential. Furthermore, because children's maturation and stages of identity formation are always in a state of development, this has an impact on the development of their social and practical domains. Therefore, it is only sensible that educational environments are characterised by flexibility in their learning support measures while simultaneously cultivating learners' intellectual and adaptive functions as well as remaining true to the core purposes of schooling.

[43] Article 24: Education.
[44] Article 30: Participation in cultural life, recreation, leisure, and sport.

3.3 INTERCONTINENTAL REVIEW

3.3.1 SOUTH AMERICAN STANDPOINT

Chile, contributing to a South American standpoint, saw the country becoming a fully-fledged democracy following reforms in the constitution in 2004. Therefore, it called for the Citizenship Education Committee to propose "A well-informed vision of the new requirements for democratic citizenship, as well as criteria and actions to improve citizenship education throughout the school experience" (Comisión Formación Ciudadana, 2004, p. 10). Forming part of those reforms was the *Fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of basic and secondary education*[45] (MINEDUC, 2009) curriculum idealising *human rights, inclusive values* and *equality* that holds that citizenship education policy:

> must offer all Chileans the opportunity to fully develop all their potential and the ability to learn throughout life, providing them with a moral character reflected in the personal development of freedom…in the sense of democratic life, the entrepreneurial spirit and a feeling of the nation and homeland, identity and traditions. (MINEDUC, 2009, p. 23)

The *Fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of basic and secondary education* (MINEDUC, 2009) curriculum elucidates a great sense of liberalism in comparison to the strands of communitarianism and civic republicanism for citizenship education, more especially prompted by the democratic era in Chile. The provisions of personal freedom articulate individualism expressed in Aristotelian, Millian and Lockean notions that emphasise self-determination in framing success as the responsibility of the individual. The moral character prescribed in the policy, although aligning with Walzer's (1983) and Habermas's (1992) concept of traditions that essentially create unity (thus inclusion and *equality*), can be perceived as offering minimal value in the grander pursuits of the objectives of the liberal-inclined policy. Moreover, *participation* in democratic life is construed under notions that are focussed on neoliberal ideologies that value human capital and private ownership as a means of establishing competition amongst citizens. Invariably, this is aligned with Mill's (2015) ideas of negative freedoms that carve market-orientated models in education, impeding the level of *access* learners have, which does not subscribe

[45] Verbatim, prior to translation, the title of the policy is Objetivos fundamentales y contenidos mínimos obligatorios de la educación básica y media (MINEDUC, 2009).

to the mandate of *human rights*. By implication, this infers that the outcomes of learners with different identities in a single mainstream ordinary school will vary, with some being more prioritised than others, together with catapulting their potentials to give them *opportunities* to thrive beyond school. In the small space where communitarianism is spotlighted under the virtue of moralism in personal development and civic republicanism is spotlighted as freedom through this personal development, it is not with conviction that it can be determined that the non-dominance required in citizenship education to encompass the freedoms of wide diversities is satisfactorily addressed (Pettit, 1997). More pertinent to note is that, as the policy is geared towards secondary education, it creates the impression that secondary schooling is an exit stage for many to carry these liberal values as most critical to defining the Chilean citizen.

In corroborating my contention in the review above, Cox and García (2021) find the citizenship education policy curricula to not show achievement in its idealisation for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools through adequate efforts pursued in propelling communitarian values of group solidarity. Thus, a great paradox is shown in a democratic society, which implies human rights lie at the core that votes (as one of the core acts of civic republicanism that affirms participation) and has its citizens perform duties. Inferentially, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are not adequately educated under idealisations of equality that progress them from a state of docility because of policy being prescriptive on liberalism. As a reoccurring challenge, the legislative vulnerability they fall into gives precedence to acts of exploitation that benefit the neurotypical at the expense of their primary concerns being addressed. Moreover, a policy concentrated on entrepreneurship suggests a great sense of meritocracy in schools that sifts learners to determine the most promising – those who are innovative and self-determined to create their own success criteria. In earlier studies that frame the general sense of Chilean citizenship education, Manghi et al. (2020) and, most recently, Espejo (2022) assert that under the *Inclusion Law 20,845* in education, practices of segregation still emulated ideas of segregation instead of fostering thriving inclusive classrooms. Moreover, these practices are motivated by market-based education models with no moral and political dialogues to mitigate such injustices.

Regrettably, for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, the learning process is not wholly directed towards efforts that cultivate their intellectual and adaptive functions. In offering a different perspective, Ancapichún and López-Jiménez (2023) find that the legislation

regulating the intellectual assessment of learners with special education needs, by implication, mild-intellectual disabilities, is not consistent with the educational reforms of the country. From that study, it can be inferred that inclusion, upholding human rights and equality as a bridge towards citizenship education that develops the active learner, is met by a myriad of systemic and institutional shortfalls. In other words, beyond the control of schools, the state, via its neutrality, acts as its own enemy in the obstruction of inculcating citizenship education and cultivating the needs of these learners.

In summary, the contrast between the ideal and the actual achievement in implementing Chile's *Fundamental objectives and minimum mandatory contents of basic and secondary education* (MINEDUC, 2009) as a citizenship education policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities is found in mixed expressions between classical and modern liberalism. This is due to self-determinism, which obstructs the full realisation of potentials and abilities, as well as capitalistic and meritocratic views that stand in a polarised school of thought on *human rights*. It comes as no surprise that the liberal strand is at the forefront of Chilean citizenship education policy, given that Chile is widely known as a worldwide neoliberal experiment. However, its historical ties to such ideologies are not consistent with contemporary societies that prioritise ideas of *inclusion,* especially for identities such as those with mild-intellectual disabilities.

Regrettably, Chile's citizenship education policy depicts the cultivation of the conceptual domain tied to medical-model ideas of disability via market-based models; the social domain, too, is uncultivated with the privileging practices within the schooling environment. By extension, the practical domain is uncultivated as well and with a long-term perspective, their active citizenship based on contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism is not fully guaranteed. Essentially, with these critical areas of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities left uncultivated, under legislature and practices intent on bringing *equality* to all its learner cohorts tapping into their potential, the policy lacks in its achievement. By direct consequence, Chile resists achieving an envisioned democracy that has all its citizens participate in their roles and duties (*human rights*). Moreover, as a state nation informed by solid moral characters, that does not stratify between identities (*equality*) and mitigated perpetuations of stigmas against learners with mild-intellectual disabilities (*inclusion*).

3.3.2 NORTH AMERICAN PERSPECTIVE

Canada's provincial-based citizenship education policy distinguishes itself from that of Chile. Accordingly, in considering the citizenship education policy of Alberta's idealisation of upholding *human rights, inclusive values* and *equality*, the *Social studies: Kindergarten to Grade 12* (Alberta Education, 2005):

> reflects multiple perspectives, including Aboriginal and Francophone that contribute to Canada's evolving realities. It promotes the building of a society that is pluralistic, bilingual, multicultural, inclusive and democratic. The program emphasises the importance of diversity and respect for differences, as well as the need for social cohesion as foundations for the effective functioning of society. It promotes a sense of belonging and tolerance in students as they engage in active and responsible citizenship at the local, community, provincial, national and global levels. (Alberta Education, 2005, p. 1)

S*ocial studies: Kindergarten to Grade 12* (Alberta Education, 2005) idealises a profound sense of contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands in its pursuit of citizenship education. In these strands, represented by the policy provisions, learners of all identities are in a favourable position to be *equal* participants as they build relationships within the classroom that mirror the greater society and the rest of the world at large. In effect, the citizenship education policy envisions its learner cohort becoming more cognisant of multiple and diverse identities, allowing greater progress in perceptions held, which invariably propel greater *access*. The citizenship education policy embraces *human rights* in the context of promoting learner self-advocacy and voice, which is congruent to Pettit's (1997) and Walzer's (1983) emphasis on the imperativeness of engagement in fostering a sense of belonging within the community regardless of differences. Pre-eminently, the idealisations of the policy thrust its diversified learner cohort into *opportunities* critical for them to thrive beyond their immediate communities, which feeds into Habermas' account of pluralism towards multiculturism necessitated in the globalised world. Likewise, the approach in which curriculum content will be delivered to represent a diverse worldview reflects a desire to enhance higher-order thinking based on how learners engage and understand complex ideas, shaping them as global citizens whose *participation* is meaningful.

In the review of Canada's citizenship education policy reflecting a positive convergence between its ideal and the actual achievement of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools, Reeves et al., (2022) discover that the current policy requires greater critical reflexivity in fully espousing inclusive values. In context, the authors argue that the policy is not being questioned upon supporting the *(human) rights* of learners with special educational needs and, by implication, mild-intellectual disabilities due to great doubt cast on enactment. In essence, these include the educational practices required to cultivate the cognitive development of such learner cohorts, which feeds into the growing marginalising challenge for their self-advocacy. Therefore, such an outlook raises questionability of the policy's stance to promote "building of a society that is pluralistic, bilingual, multicultural, inclusive and democratic" (Alberta Education, 2005, p. 1). Moreover, whether learners (with mild-intellectual disabilities) may be excluded, in effect, brought into a state of *(in)equality* from acquiring civic knowledge due to prejudices that do not prioritise the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions.

Similarly, such a perspective puts strain on their *access* to quality education and the resources invested in improving their capabilities, which highlights the subtle inclinations of a medical model of disability. Moreover, *opportunities* are threatened by the level of relevant 21st century skills that they possess to be effective contributing members of the community. In the ultimate sense, *participation* and social mobility are obstructed to be being part of the globalised world and be represented in their identities as part of a pluralistic citizenship ideal. Inextricably linked to Reeves et al.'s (2022) argument but contextually adapted, Boucher et al. (2022) shed light on the level of activism (as the policy declares) surrounding learners with autism (a mild-intellectual disability) in school-based sports, which are significantly lower in numbers than those that are non-autistic. By implication, this characterises layered *exclusion*, violations of *human rights* and a diminishing bridge to *equality*. In justification, sports serve as the axis via which learners form communal relationships, share moral values and eradicate stereotypes in order to cultivate social cohesion, not to mention the eradication of such ableist attitudes shown to be elevated above fair social mobility. Granted, a mild-intellectual disability such as autism does present poor motor control and coordination in some individuals (Arnell et al., 2020; Kaur et al., 2018). However, as part of the school's extracurriculars, sports may be beneficial to those whose motor skills are not as greatly affected in the quest to engage in responsible citizenship at the local school level. Therefore, based on Reeves et al's. (2022) argument, which ties into Boucher et al.'s (2022) argument,

serious concern is raised about the efficacy of the policy in its design to be used to combat poor provisions in schools for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to self-actualise by becoming active citizens.

In summary, the contrast between the ideal and the achievement of implementing Canada's Social studies: Kindergarten to Grade 12 (Alberta Education, 2005) citizenship education policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools is found in classical liberal strands. By reason of individualisation, suggesting that they create their own possibilities for their success creates a un(*equal*) terrain to prospects essential to thriving. Lamentably, the citizenship education policy suppresses the development of the conceptual domain in the limited exposure to knowledge that broadens their worldview and experiences. To the same degree, the pursuits to enforce *inclusive values* that accelerate the development of the intellectual and adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in educational practices and informal learning, i.e. extracurricular, need to be met with equal rigour. Similarly, *human rights* are not simultaneously kept at the core of cultural and school dynamics, with the social domain not being fostered based on the acquisition skill of the ability to read social cues. Essentially, with these social cues critical to form communal bond, their intrapersonal and interpersonal development is impeded, as well as the practical domain to enact their communal and societal roles and responsibilities fully.

3.3.3 EUROPEAN FRAME OF REFERENCE

Scotland's citizenship education policy, idealised upon embracing *human rights, inclusive values* and *equality,* is represented in the *Curriculum for Excellence* (The Scottish Government, 2008), which establishes that:

> Developing global citizenship within Curriculum for Excellence is about recognising our responsibilities towards each other and the wider world. The outcome will be our children and young people as global citizens, able to take up their place in the world, contribute to it confidently, successfully and effectively, understanding the rights and responsibilities of living and working in a globalised world. (p. 7)

The *Curriculum for Excellence* (The Scottish Government, 2008) policy predominantly idealises civic republicanism in educating for citizenship education. The descriptive

provisions empower learners to be fortified in possessing knowledge that incorporates a sustainable development approach to learning and acquiring civic orientations (access). Notably, it gives reinforcement to nuances from Habermas' (1995) perspective on cosmopolitanism and the wider world being the global sphere and that all must pursue opportunities for the common good. The policy framing citizenship education around these ideals and notions promotes learners who can easily participate in collective action through globalisation which encourages the exchange of ideas, communication and deliberation. Tacitly, the policy bears no perspectives that lean towards liberalism, even though *"excellence"* at the surface level comes across as a policy aimed at individualising. However, upon greater introspection, "*the excellence"* to be attained is informed by the global common good and service to the globe. Therefore, the policy shows alignment to enabling *human rights* to assert their position in informing their education system, propelling inclusive values that bolster the belief of all learner abilities prospering in the global arena. Ultimately, *equality* is reflected in the same voice, marshalling a political community without hegemonic structures that allow for discrimination that creates barriers to attaining a citizenship education.

Kennedy (2018) comments on the citizenship education policy as not showing achievement in its idealisation for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. In justification, the authors state emphasises the policy's stance on Global Citizenship Education and the necessity of keeping up with global trends that affect teachers' approaches to teaching the content. In hindsight, the argument made by the authors alludes to *inclusive values* being negated in pedagogical approaches employed and encourages a self-deterministic approach for success. Regrettably, not addressing the educational needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, contributes to their marginalisation within their education, affecting their quality of life. Moreover, the prominence of the liberal strand has increased, with the emphasis shifting from republican strands of rights, common good and responsibility to those that emphasise neoliberal trends, particularly, standardisation. The implications of such contributes to the scaling down of *access* in how they receive knowledge and *opportunities* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to develop their social domain by thriving in more traditional and local ways of engaging with citizenship education. Shapira et al. (2023) note that the contents of the policy show discrepancies in the actualised attainment of citizenship knowledge as the curriculum narrows as learners' progress to higher grades.

By implication, *human rights* stand conflicted due to the value of such knowledge, which determines one's level of citizenship left to be interpreted superficially. By inference, the weakened checks and balances leave the education branch for this cohort of learners vulnerable, as they require the full extent of civic knowledge to be employed under pedagogies that develop their conceptual domain effectively and strengthen their political literacy. Moreover, as the policy is predominantly expressed upon the contemporary civic republican strand, it would be expected that civic engagement and *participation* "as the responsibility" (The Scottish Government, 2008, p. 8) decreed in the policy would be prioritised. In offering a different approach to the shortfalls of the policy, Daniels (2022) suggests incorporating legal instruments such as the *Convention on the Rights of the Child* (UN, 1989) and to add the *Curriculum for Excellence*. In essence, such an alternative would contribute to the intention of human rights by putting *equality* at the centre of the curriculum and eliminating power imbalances that lead to the marginalisation of the vulnerable.

In summary, the disparity between the ideal and the actual achievement in the implementation of Scotland's citizenship education policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities is informed by a classical liberal strand. Evidence is found in the fervent pursuit of global trends that are fuelled by liberal ideologies for wealth accumulation that neglect human experiences, and attaining *inclusive values* depends on fully maximising that experience. Additionally, the *Curriculum for Excellence* (The Scottish Government, 2008) policy raises complex questions about effective solutions to ensure that its implementation reflects *equality* and fully espouses *human rights*. It is grounded in pluralistic ideas aimed at fostering active citizenship among learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Ultimately, the prioritisation of cultivating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities and intellectual and adaptive functions is left to the commands of a global world order and not as the obligation of the state and, by implication, schools.

3.4 REGIONAL REVIEW

3.4.1 NORTH AFRICAN STANCE

Morocco, conveying a North African stance to inculcate its idealisations of *human rights, inclusive values and equality* in its citizenship education policy, is contained in *The National Charter of Education and Training* (Kingdom of Morocco Ministry of National Education, 1999). As a reform education policy, recast under stipulations that looked to shared national

values, it has served as the core citizenship education policy in Morocco's education system, holding the position that:

> The education system will promote the values of tolerance, dialogue, and coexistence and will work to combat all forms of discrimination and violence (Art. 14)…. Regional and local councils have to be aware of the critical role of education and training in preparing young people for active and productive life, one that is of benefit to their region or community. They [councils] must give the parents or guardians of students hope and confidence in the future of their children, thus motivating them to work tirelessly for the good of their region or community. (Kingdom of Morocco Ministry of National Education, 1999, Art. 15)

The National Charter of Education and Training (Kingdom of Morocco Ministry of National Education, 1999) is widely expressive of contemporary communitarianism for citizenship education. Similar to Canada, its governance structure is that of a constitutional monarchy. However, unlike Canada, religion is the source of legitimacy of the state, with the king "Commander of the Faithful" serving as both a temporal and religious role. Therefore, under this description, the assertion can be made that the education and cultivation of moral values through religion also play a pivotal role in protecting and advancing the common good. Thus, equality. Moreover, *working tirelessly* for the community and region would assumedly infer strong communal bonds as citizens are bound to collaboration. In effect, it reflects strong moral virtues postulated by Confucius (Dubs, 1951) that create harmony within the community and society, as well as Walzer's (1983) notion of these values of tolerance necessary to achieve a certain level of harmonious existence without any prejudices. In essence, the encapsulated human rights infer that the self-awareness (identity) of learners will be raised in the pursuit of acquiring life skills, reinforced by the sense of belonging that makes it easier to undertake these duties. Implicitly, liberalism, as the constitutional aspect, is still present, and inspires democratic virtues of civic engagement but not those confined to the typical individualisation that liberalism often asserts. More so, the policy loudly echoes Etzioni's (1995) perspective of values coexisting with individual rights. In consideration of *human rights, inclusive values* and *equality*, the juxtaposition of values such as tolerance accelerates the positive impact of policy ideals in fostering a discrimination-free society. This is critical to the success of those ideals and should be emulated by schools within the Moroccan education system.

In the context of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, Idrissi et al. (2021) argue that Morrocco's citizenship education policy shows the achievement of its idealisations in schools in the enactment of civic values that encompass *equality* while upholding democracy. However, the authors' most pressing concerns are the concept of the moral citizen, whose independent critical thinking is undermined by a sense of conformity. The tendency towards conformity is too closely aligned with liberalism and is a danger in the reality of a meagre voting population between the ages of 15 and 29. In other words, the aspect of conformity engrained within the policy contributes to the low levels of political participation and general citizen engagement. Thus, for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, this suggests the implementation of the policy may obstruct their *access* to sound political literacy that develops their conceptual domain. In addition, *opportunities* that develop their social domain by interacting, being involved in changing the status quo in the country and *participating* in influencing decision-making processes, serves as a human rights mandate.

In an earlier study by Idrissi and Benabderrazik (2020) that evaluated the textbooks used in teaching citizenship education, the authors' findings reflected effective discussions in assessments that encouraged the expression of citizenship. However, the study revealed a vast array of unquestioned content and very reductionist ways of teaching. Essentially, pedagogical and structural challenges that compromise *human rights* are widespread obstacles to the achievements of Morocco's citizenship education policy. In the context of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities especially, this is a critical problem, as attempts to bring this cohort of learners to *equality* remain a growing global project. Therefore, as compared to their neurotypical learner cohorts, an intersection of redistributive approaches in their education is paramount. Thus, reverting to Idrissi et al. (2021), who echoed Idrissi and Benabderrazik (2020), the absence of practised and independent critical thinking skills will continue to be a barrier to increasing political participation in Morocco. Belaid (2021) makes a case that to improve political participation through citizenship in education, based on the current reality of policy stagnation, calling for participatory governance that can bridge the gap and work alongside Civil Society Organisations (CSOs) is key. Essentially, where policy remains limited and unclear, CSOs with diverse skills in a myriad of areas can facilitate advancing the inclusive education agenda.

To recap, the gap between the ideal and the actual achievement in the implementation of *The National Charter of Education and Training* (the Kingdom of Morocco Ministry of National Education, 1999), which primarily seeks to educate learners (with mild-intellectual disabilities) for communitarianism, is not found in practice. Similarly, civic republicanism that encapsulates orientations of deliberation and civic participation, as shown through the skewness of its implementation, is also not found in practice. Therefore, constitutionally informed by the collective of *human rights*, the rights of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in a maximalised acquisition of citizenship education and the nation's democracy are not upheld. Consequently, great discrepancy lies in how deeply the social fabrics and moral codes speak to communitarianism that lies in disequilibrium with civic republicanism that is vital to propel their undertaking of duties and responsibilities. In essence, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are effectively shaped as passive citizens, which does not raise them to a state of *equality*. On a positive note, the involvement of non-governmental organisations as entities that are not obligated to be rigidly compliant with policy stipulations can effectively be said to overturn the status quo. This is by virtue of their ability to diversely provide political activism opportunities to develop these learners as active participants in society. As a gap identified in the policy and subsequently voiced in literature, there is a lack of comprehensive guided transition outlines for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Essentially, this is an important gap because it suggests that policy is not bolstered to propel their *access* and *opportunities* to *participate* in greater spheres of society.

3.4.2 WEST AFRICAN OUTLOOK

Nigeria presents a West African outlook of a citizenship education policy idealised upon *human rights, inclusive values, and equality*. This is reflected in *The National Policy on Education* (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004), Section 1(7) that outline its educational aims and objectives to spearhead:

1. The inculcation of national consciousness and national unity,
2. The inculcation of the right type of values and attitudes for the survival of the individual and the Nigerian society,
3. The training of the mind in the understanding of the world around, and
4. The acquisition of appropriate skills, abilities and competencies, both mental and physical, as equipment for the individual to live in and contribute to the development of the society.

The National Policy on Education (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004) is geared towards contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism for Nigerian schools to adopt notions of communal unity (Walzer, 1983) and patriotism (Habermas, 1995) to develop politically active learners. In context, the communal unity that foregrounds the communitarian strand is reinforced by the stipulation of shared identities through the types of values and attitudes that are unique to Nigerian society. Implicitly, under these mutual social norms (values and attitudes), the individual will be *accessed* to navigate and thrive within the community. Civic republicanism is also represented by the patriotism of national unity, which incorporates and considers the broad cultural traditions of Nigeria but, while also considering the roles of each citizen and strengthening national sovereignty. Thus, in entrenching *equality*, a sense of commonality can also be found through a strengthened national unity that seeks an outcome of the common good of society. In essence, holistic human development and mutual support for all identities to be fostered in schools and within the Nigerian education system. Under this guise, learners will be nurtured to develop their national identity that embraces inclusion, fostering a deeper understanding of the greater world around them through these similar entrenched notions. Correspondingly, the citizenship education policy highlights that *opportunities* essential for active citizenship are not only isolated to knowledge; rather, a citizen requires cultivation and development in areas that surpass knowledge and the acquisition of formal knowledge as a recipe to thrive as an active, *participatory* and contributing member of society. In effect, this is congruent to the human rights framework. Thus, Habermas (1995) corroborated the objectives that affirm the value of loyalty to the state will be met through the individual's earnest contribution to its progress. Implicitly, liberalism as a strand is not dominantly emphasised as it stands in contrast to the emphasised "national belonging" inasmuch as this is a lawful policy.

In debating the position of *The National Policy on Education* (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004), Jacob et al. (2022) claim that its idealisation of citizenship education for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools shows positive areas of achievement. According to the researchers, its introduction as part of the curriculum in Nigeria will help achieve the end goal of involving citizens in policy-making and improving national governance structures. Invariably, this remains true to the policy's commitments to individuals contributing to the good of Nigerian society. In the authors' evaluation of citizenship education and the performance of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in Nigerian schools, they assert in their study: "A significant characteristic of persons with mild-intellectual disabilities is

difficulty in showing commitment to the norms and values of their community" (p. 3031). Therefore, the concerning gap that Jacob et al. (2022) have identified in the curriculum is the mismatch of the pedagogical accuracy to teach citizenship in accordance with the learning needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. By extension, this confirms the common challenge and marginalisation in their learning when they are left frustrated and anxious about their success in their meaningful learning. This is based on their low motivation to fully engage and process knowledge (Okaba et al., 2024). Moreover, the unequal exposure to civic knowledge between schools and the long-term effects of learners being conditioned to being apathetic about social responsibility is a serious concern. Essentially, the limited teaching strategies employed in schools to integrate civic knowledge with the learners' needs make this issue worse, and on a national (macro) issue, a slew of *human rights* are violated. Consequently, the process of educating these learners for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism is hampered by pedagogical *access* and the development of their conceptual domain.

In order for these learners to achieve *equality,* their specific needs may demand more *opportunities* than their counterparts., Therefore the acquisition of the knowledge, skills and competencies that develop their social and practical domains must be matched to encourage their active citizenship. In line with similar suggestions echoed in Morocco by Belaid (2021), Musa et al. (2021) found that the areas that still require more attention to achieve communitarian and civic republican citizenship through the policy are human and community resources, as there is a gap in learners being taught shared morals as political values. The scholars argue that these human and community resources should be used to integrate voluntary organisations, i.e. Boy Scouts, Girls' Bridged and religious bodies, towards helping the informal learning aspect as part of a vocation task. For these scholars, a more compelling reason is that schools should not be left to their own devices, whereas community involvement can facilitate the pursuit of active citizenship for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities and the requirements of developing their intellectual and adaptive functions.

In summary, the idealisation and achievement of *The National Policy on Education* (Federal Republic of Nigeria, 2004) citizenship education policy in Nigeria for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities is rooted in classical liberalism. However, this is owed to the sense of individualisation that characterises policy as passive rather than practical in its

implementation, obstructing the fulfilment of numerous *human rights* for these learners. Therefore, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism remain in the shadows, with liberalism dominating in its approach to policy implementation and instillation of shared values and attitudes. By implication, it contributes to the evidence that for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, exposure and *access* to knowledge are deliberately limited. Moreover, *opportunities* to acquire the idealised competencies and skills are not promoted to give these learners a sense of equality and confidence needed to *participate* meaningfully. In essence, Nigeria's approaches to the necessary redress of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in critical democratic structures offer a distorted perspective.

3.4.3 EAST AFRICAN VIEWPOINT

Ethiopia parades an East African perspective of a citizenship education policy with idealisations of *human rights, inclusion* and *equality*, with the curriculum for *Grades 9-12 Civic and Ethical Education* (Ministry of Education [MoE], 2014) stating that:

> When failing your responsibility as a citizen, you will face many problems. You are taught that your responsibility extends to include protecting your environment and historical heritage. Protecting public property and playing a role to combat HIV/AIDS is part of the responsibilities you have. Fulfilling your responsibilities gives you the freedom to use your rights. (p. 91)

The *Civic and Ethical Education* (Ministry of Education, 2014) curriculum greatly idealises a civic republican citizenship education with an emphasis on responsibility not only to oneself but also to the community and society. The notion provides a mutual glimpse of Etzioni's (1995) communitarian perspective of preserving heritages as it serves as a compass for moral guidance, which learners can adopt. Equally important is preserving traditions that affirm a shared cultural identity protected as important aspects of the common good and prevention of its erosion (continuity). In extension, and creating a predominance of civic republicanism through the policy, is Pettit's (1995) perspective of participation through fulfilling responsibilities in contributing to the collective unity. The merit of this unity is found in mitigating stigmas, state burdens, environmental sustainability, freedom of rights through participation and upholding civic virtues. Therein, a sense of equality that makes

accessibility for all is encapsulated. Accordingly, liberalism is present by virtue of the individual responsibility to one's property and freedoms granted, exemplifying Mill's (1995) perspective. Thus, as a federal state, a democracy that widens access and upholds the human rights of all its citizens can also be upheld. Under these conditions, opposition to the limitations of exclusively being exposed to textbook knowledge heavily inclined towards their rights is initiated. Correspondingly, the policy demonstrates alignment with the provisions of *the UDHR* (UN, 1948) that catapult *human rights* and *inclusive values*. Furthermore, equality is shown to support learners being involved in capacity (nation) building towards making an active contribution to society through the fulfilment of their responsibilities.

Ghebru and Lloyd (2020) postulate that Ethiopia's *Civic and Ethical Education* (MoE, 2014) policy fails to show adequate achievement of its idealisation in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. The postulation is made on account of implementation that is passive and non-pursuant to fully develop civic orientations that are more progressive towards simultaneously cultivating these learners as global citizens beyond the bounds of school. In addition, it neglects the perspectives found in civic engagements. By implication, this highlights that beyond the national collectiveness, Ethiopia's citizenship education also needs to widen itself to relevant global perspectives. In relation to, and perhaps supporting Ghebru and Lloyd's (2020) postulation, Alene (2020) contends that the policy and its contents masquerade as an indoctrination to serve the ruling regime by cultivating learners to be obedient citizens and not citizens who are critically engaged. Even more detrimental are the *human rights* at stake, which are put second. In effect, Alene's (2020) contention infers that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities do not have *access* to knowledge that develops their conceptual domains from a state of passivity due to boxed methods of teaching and biases within the content to reflect a partial worldview.

As a common challenge, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities face infantilisation, which marginalises their position as citizens who can undertake social responsibility. Differently, Kite et al. (2023) argue that the content concerns, which include repetition, presentation and context-related issues, stem from a lack of family involvement in some of the virtues required in the course. By implication, stakeholder engagement should play a role in the realisation of the policy's idealisations and implementation. As a result, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities risk being denied equality due to the lack of appropriate support

essential to their cognitive development. Thus, *opportunities* for recreational experiences and *participation* in and out of the classroom are narrowed on that basis.

In essence, the dichotomy between the ideal and actual implementation of Ethiopia's *Civic and Ethical Education* (MoE, 2014) citizenship education policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities is rooted in a classical liberal strand. The prevailing sense of individualisation does not equip learners with mild-intellectual disabilities with the social responsibility that is needed for their future. It does not consider contemporary communitarian and civic republican notions that foster moral and political dialogues to adress injustices. Thus, concerns are raised about their *human rights*, which align with democratic values that are not practised in order to benefit all learner identities. Deplorably, Aristotelian perspectives that emphasise reason and neglect engagements of wide perspectives are more adopted. Furthermore, the theoretical aspects of policy implementation and lack of state accountability do not advance the subject to resemble a policy that addresses the *unequal* footing of the diverse learner population. More importantly, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities require appropriate learning support to bring them up to par with their peers in engaging with the content based on best practices. By implication, inclusive values should ensure *access* to knowledge is broad, *opportunities* for deliberation engagements are availed, and *participation* beyond the bounds of schools is fostered.

3.5 LOCAL REVIEW

3.5.1 SUBSAHARAN AFRICA VIEW

South Africa offers a sub-Sahara(n) African view of a citizenship education policy through the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (DoE, 2001c). This policy, grounded on human rights, inclusive values and equality, pronounces that:

> Inculcating a sense of values at school is intended to help young people achieve higher levels of moral judgement. We also believe that education does not exist simply to serve the market, but to serve society, and that means instilling in pupils and students a broad sense of values that can emerge only from a balanced exposure to the humanities as well as the sciences. (p. 3)

> Equality in education means that not only must all South Africans have access to schooling, but the access must be equal. None may be unfairly discriminated against. Beyond that, the value of equality and the practice of non-discrimination means not only understanding one's rights, as an educator or a learner, but that others have them as well. There is a difference between treating everyone as equals, and their being equal. (p. 3)

The *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (DoE, 2001c) policy reflects the intention to connect education with important life skills, transforming schools into institutions that promote communitarian values while ensuring that all learners benefit from democracy, which makes human rights realisable. As an envisioned foundation for schools, they are intended to be supported by common citizenship that ensures equality. The policy also articulates civic republicanism by preparing learners for a dual identity in which they are responsible for being the best versions of themselves by actively participating in state affairs both economically and politically. The equilibration of rights and responsibilities undermines liberalism in its classical essence. Instead, liberalism is positioned as a secondary strand in shaping the governing structure of schools that educationally prepare citizens to be leaders in society. Thus, the policy illustrates how schools should shape the ideal South African citizen whose identity is not primarily rooted in individualism and individualistic pursuits. By implication, this foregrounds Etzioni's (1995) perspective that protecting the common good does not have to mean sacrificing liberal rights, because individualisation within the community promotes plurality. Positively reflected is the will for a citizenship education that aims to develop the needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities as a human rights obligation. Moreover, an education system that is distinguished by its communal attributes, its level of inclusion and its approach to equality for all its learner citizens does not shy away from accommodating differences in identities and removing discriminatory attitudes as per inclusive values.

Against the progressive ideal of citizenship education policy in South Africa, Arendse and Smith (2019), Mabaso (2024), Mpu andAdu (2021) and Phala and Hugo (2022) contend that it fails to meet the needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. In the 24 years since the policy's conception, Arendse and Smith (2019) highlight the yet prevailing unsatisfactory nature of learners' exposure, knowledge and understanding of the functions of parliament in inculcating said values at school. Compounded disadvantage for learners

with mild-intellectual disabilities are the contextual differences in ordinary public schools in their geographical location, parental networks and departmental funding. The limited funding to host excursions to national civic educational institutes which would enhance experiential learning, that forms part of formal learning, to bringing a holistic approach to education by fostering their intellectual and adaptive functions.

As a subtle manifestation of discrimination impeding the values of social justice and equality, Mabaso (2024) argues that challenges affecting learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are often overlooked in terms of the learning support these learners require because they are perceived as "normal" in the absence of physical disability. These practices, as a serious concern, depict avoidance of accepting the reality of different learners' academic needs by devaluing the ability of policy to create schools that diminish inequality in access to a high-quality education. Put differently, it is only under favourable circumstances where those learner identities requiring support are visible, severe or "easy" to deal with, that they are catered for. Thus, this entrenches the view of values underpinning the medical-model of disability that many learners in South Africa are viewed under (Zulu et al., 2019). Unfortunately, these manifestations of discrimination against their identities "invisibly" worsen the development of their conceptual, social and practical domains, leaving certain deficits underdeveloped without targeted support. As a result of policy implementation, they experience secondary problems such as negative self-worth coupled with behavioural problems, affecting their citizenship as a feeling as well as frustrations that impede their pursuits of citizenship as practice.

Mpu and Adu (2021) identify educators as being inadequately trained to effectively educate learners with special educational needs, citing this as one of the myriad reasons why, despite policy in place, many of these learners do not attend school. In addition, Pillay et al. (2022) corroborate the low rates and lack of placements of learners with autism in schools in Western Cape Province. Thus, three things are problematic: 1) there is a sense of incompetency that invariably translates into instructional challenges that compromise the *equality* of developing these learners' conceptual domain; 2) the unfortunate perpetuation of inequalities that the policy hoped would be combated but that still severely disadvantage those already on the peripheries in society, and 3) the lack of trust as an *inclusive value* in schools in upholding the duty to effectively implement policy. Essentially, the human right declaring that all learners, regardless of their diverse identities, should attend school is not

affirmed by their citizenship as a status. Similarly, Phala and Hugo (2022) found that a group of Grade 3 learners' reading level was below grade level due to teachers' lack of knowledge of diverse learning needs in the already unpleasant realities of overcrowded classrooms. Essentially, the purpose of their education as a *human right* is not only to exist to serve the market, but also to serve the society by producing well-educated citizens. However, the *Manifesto's* stipulations (DoE, 2001c) emphasise: "*There is a difference between treating everyone as equals, and their being equal*" (p. 3). Moreover, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' educational experiences are defined by stagnated and suppressed comprehension abilities, which affect other learning subjects and overall achievement. In effect, it circles back to the growing concern about their long-term prospects of dropping out.

In these challenges, which predominantly focus on learner experiences, educators too face a challenge in their professional self-efficacy in order to deliver inclusive education for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Ultimately, a citizenship education policy that lacks pedagogical prowess or professional development to adress issues that impede the quality of education jeopardises these learners' human rights.

In summary of South Africa's citizenship education policy, it can be said classical liberalism informs the practices that impede its achievement for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. The instances of citizenship conceptions embodying reason and rationality imply that these learners are second-class citizens in their education and livelihoods. In essence, access to responsive teaching practices in schools; opportunities to develop their cognitive skills; and preparation for not only them, but also their peers, on values critical for participation within the school and broader society, have not been fully realised. Regrettably, South Africa's citizenship education policy emulates a framework that prioritises benevolence over democratic and *inclusive values* by enforcing *equality* in fostering the intellectual and adaptive functions and needs oflearners with mild-intellectual disabilities within medical model paradigms. Thus, they are characterised as passive citizens, putting their *human rights* in jeopardy. Therefore, with this critical area left unmet, as the study argues for communitarianism to foster civic republicanism, these learners are placed in a disempowering position due to the misalignment between policy and school practices.
In painting a collective, cohesive summary of the global agreements and intercontinental, regional and local citizenship policy, citizenship education is fundamentally rooted in their shared effort to create a sustainable future for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities by

educating them about contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. As all policy is informed by global policy, the intercontinental and regional citizenship policies are idealised upon *human rights, inclusive values* and *equality.* The idealised *human rights* assert a benchmark by which all learners' social right to education is fulfilled. More importantly, *human rights* provide a sense of security that minority group learners will be empowered through education. Based on many of the identified policies being reformation policies, the idealised *inclusive values* serve as a roadmap to guide practices. In effect, access, opportunities, and participation strengthen educational systems by establishing a structure that can address both intended and unintended barriers that schools inadvertently adopt through legislative stipulations passed down. The idealised *equality* has value in directing towards recourses to address barriers to acquiring education as a stance to ensure fair representations in learner outcomes and achievements – given a level playing field.

Summary table classifying the strands dominating the arguments of the global review

Region	**Liberalism**	**Communitarianism**	**Civic republicanism**
Intercontinental			
South America	Adopts a market-based education model	Moral and political dialogues to mitigate injustices are not fostered	State neutrality raises the exclusion of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities
North America	Adopts a medical model of disability	Social divisions undermine values promoting cohesion	Ableist attitudes are prioritiosed above fair social mobility
Europe	Encourages self-determination for success	Power imbalances that lead to the marginalisation of the vulnerable	Weakened checks and balances leaving the education branch vulnerable
Regional			

North Africa	Conformity undermines independent critical thinking	Recognises religion as a way to promote community	Welcomes the involvement of nongovernmental organisations
West Africa	Unequal exposure to civic knowledge	Learners are not taught moralism as a political value	Learners are conditioned to be apathetic about social responsibility
East Africa	Neglects the perspectives found in civic engagements	Democratic values are not practised in order to benefit all learner identities	Lack of state accountability for policy to benefit the most vulnerable
Local			
Sub-Sahara	(in)access to responsive teaching practices in schools	Fixates on benevolence over democratic values	Encourages civic engagement to build society

3.5 CONCLUSION

The overall key message of the chapter was that intercontinental, regional and local citizenship education policy aligns with global agreements on citizenship education ideals. The declaration, framework and convention perspectives focussing on the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) (UN, 1948), the *Salamanca Statement* (UNESCO, 1994) and the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (UN, 2006) communicated the significance of their respective idealisations of human rights, inclusive values and equality in spearheading the educational agenda that informs citizenship education policy globally. The global agreements for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are idealised to show their potential achievements in schools through developing their intellectual and adaptive functions in educating this learner cohort for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

Lamentably, the intercontinental, regional and local citizenship policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools shows the implementation of policies to be led by practices predisposed towards classical liberalism. Essentially, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are hindered from attaining the maximum education experience necessary to reach their human potential in schools. Moreover, with the intellectual and adaptive functions being left uncultivated, these learners are hindered from becoming active citizens equipped with essential civic dispositions. Consequently, meaningful and tangible implementations of policy tailored to the learning needs of these learners are met with resistance that effectively violates their human rights, excludes them and brings them to a state of inequality with their neurotypical peers.

The intercontinental review of literature based on the scholarly debates showed Chile, Canada and Scotland with dominant liberalism in conjunction with ascertaining the ideal of human rights, inclusive values and equality. The ideals of policy in the intercontinental review, in contrast to achievement in schools, when educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools, were shown negatively due to several factors. These factors are self-determinism that obstructs full realisation of abilities, capitalistic and meritocratic views, individualisation that leaves these learners to their devices that translate to the absence of pedagogical practice, and the chase for global trends that are fuelled by liberal ideologies for wealth accumulation and neglect the human experiences. By implication, the development of these learners' intellectual and adaptive functions is a secondary priority.

The regional review of literature based on the scholarly debates showed Nigeria and Ethiopia with a dominant liberalism in conjunction with ascertaining the ideal of human rights, inclusive values, and equality. In contrast, Morocco was the only one to reflect a dominance of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. The ideals of policy in the region, in contrast to the actual achievement in schools when educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools, were shown negatively due to several factors. These factors include individualisation that does not make the policy practical enough and does not equip the learners with adequate social responsibility for what lies ahead. Additionally, the lack of moral and political dialogues to mitigate injustices, limited state intervention, and a lack of state accountability hinder the realisation of policy benefiting the interests of these learners. By implication, the development of these learners' intellectual and adaptive

functions does not develop at an equal pace, with some domains aggressively cultivated, while others are neglected, leading to their delayed development.

The local review of literature based on the scholarly debates showed South African policy to be embraced under the dominance of classical liberalism despite commitment to serving the ideals of human rights, inclusive values, and equality. In particular, the instances of citizenship conceptions embodying reason and rationality infer that these learners are second-class citizens to the extent that these values are extended through their education and livelihoods; (in)access to responsive teaching practices in schools and opportunities to develop their cognitive skills have not been fully realised. Regrettably, South Africa's citizenship education policy is positioned to emulate and understand the intellectual and adaptive functions and needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under medical model paradigms that fixate on benevolence above democratic values.

The next chapter looks at critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A Scheme framework as theoretical lenses underpinning this study.

CHAPTER 4: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND LEARNERS WITH MILD-INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES: THEORETICAL LENS

4.1 INTRODUCTION

As yarns that are used to untangle the complexities of citizenship and, by implication, citizenship education, both the critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework are pivotal lenses to critique citizenship education policy. The theoretical framework (as a collective) adopted is influenced by contemporary citizenship, which in the last 200 years has placed more emphasis on the strands of communitarianism and civic republicanism and less on liberalism. In tandem with the descriptive method of enquiry, this chapter explains the tenets of the adopted theoretical framework used as lenses to bridge policy ideals and practice guided by social justice and human rights as prime objectives.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 focuses on critical disability theory. It addresses its origin, history and full explanation of its nature, upon which its shortcomings and criticisms are also levelled. The section also looks at the virtues and justification of the chosen theory for the study thereof. The key message of the section communicates that the features of critical disability theory promote group solidarity and fair distribution as vital to the pursuit of social justice. Section 2 focuses on Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework. It is addressed specifically in terms of its origin, history and full explanation of its nature, including the virtues and justification of the chosen framework for the study thereof. The key message of the section communicates that the features of Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework promote collective responsibility and non-domination as freedom indispensable for human rights. Section 3 considers the use(age) of the selected frameworks for this study to serve as a lens to critique policy. The section outlines which features of critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework will be used for the relevance of the respective subsequent chapters to critique policy through an analysis.

Social justice as an outcome of critical disability theory and human rights as an outcome of Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework find relevance for educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Therefore, as a collective, the theoretical framework provides the optimal lens to apply as criteria for moving the subject forward in critiquing policy.

4.2 CRITICAL DISABILITY THEORY

4.2.1 ORIGIN AND HISTORY OF CRITICAL DISABILITY THEORY

Critical disability theory developed as a metatheory of critical theory from the Frankfurt School[46] and, led by its earliest formative members, Max Horkheimer[47], Theodor Adorno[48], Eric Fromm[49], Jürgen Habermas[50] and Herbert Marcuse[51], is premised on maintaining "concern for the abolition of social injustice" (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 242). Critical theory is premised on critiquing unequal societal dynamics in an effort to weaken hegemonic structures, the aim being that all members of society benefit equally from social goods, thus advancing the values of social justice in a democracy (Horkheimer, 1972).

As the theory's mainstay is to critique through questioning, it embarks on a social inquiry underpinned by a wide range of descriptive and normative bases. The pursuit of questioning the status quo is used in attempts to resist the dominance in power, resources and influence held by the few elites in society that result in inequalities and unequal sharing of social goods (Horkheimer, 1972). Essentially, in its social inquiry task of questioning, it employs critical thinking to dismantle oppressive social structures by being forthcoming with more socially just solutions that fairly benefit the majority. The emancipation from the "circumstances that enslave" (Horkheimer, 1972, p. 244) aspect of critical theory morally conscientises people through communicative action that engages in dialogue (Habermas, 1990). Emancipation invokes reasons for the unwavering challenge to the way power is organised to protect their freedoms and equalities (Horkheimer, 1972) with intentions to restore their freedoms of speech and thought by conscientising them through dialogue about their oppressions. In venturing towards the transformation of the unjust social, political and economic circumstances defining the status quo, having satisfied the prerequisite of critique and emancipation from conscientisation, it follows taking practical steps to instigate change

[46] These founding members of the Frankfurt School formed as an act of resistance to the rampancy of capitalism in the 1930s in Frankfurt, Germany. The ideology of capitalism dictated how social, political and economic forces entrench inequities to greater lengths (Horkheimer, 1995).
[47] Leading figure of the Frankfurt school and conception of critical theory.
[48] Introduced *Dialectic of Enlightenment* (1947) to critique the idea of reason by philosophers of the Enlightenment period in the means of reinforcing oppressive and inhumane modes of governance (Adorno & Horkheimer, 1997).
[49] Conceived the *model of ideology* that critiques capitalism on the social character (Fromm & Maccoby, 1970).
[50] Contributed to the theory in the emphasis for a cosmopolitan democracy (Habermas, 2002).
[51] Widely critiqued liberal democracy (Marcuse, 1968).

through a thought-and-praxis process. Marcuse (1969) encapsulates this thought-and-praxis process by suggesting, “the awareness of the transcendent possibilities of freedom must become a driving power in the consciousness and the imagination, which prepare the soil for this revolution” (p. 79). Essentially, awareness (consciousness) of the imminent societal ills ought to drive practical social changes to the order of society by redistributing resources and political power.

On those grounds, the critical disability theory informing this study is to be understood as an extension of these foundational aspects of critical theory. The adoption and application of its tenets are paralleled in construing critique of dominant ableist attitudes and medical model notions that resist the social model of disability. Emancipation in how people with disabilities ought to be viewed as a form of diversity for them to find their identity and voice as means for their agency, as well as, transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social spheres to be inclusive of people with disabilities in realising the plights of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In providing greater justification*, critical disability theory makes links to the study* by:

- Critiquing the implementation of a citizenship education policy that denies learners with mild-intellectual disabilities their right to citizenship education;
- Advocating for a social model in schools to fairly distribute the means of access, opportunities and participation to learners with mild-intellectual disabilities;
- Providing a broad view of diversities to understand intersectionality and the complexities that often derive from inequalities;
- Foregrounding the identities and voices of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to establish group solidarity and develop them as active citizens;
- Fostering transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures in pursuit of upholding the moral value of social justice as the theory’s prime objective to represent contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

4.2.2 EXPLANATION AND TENETS OF CRITICAL DISABILITY THEORY

Critical disability theory critiques the unequal power dynamics of oppression and provides opportunities to illuminate challenges that people living with disabilities are affected by in society (Hosking, 2008; Mertens et al., 2013). Globally, the concept and epistemologies of disability have transitioned into various understandings. Cultural shifts, social shifts[52] and global power relations have had a profound impact on the social treatment, attitudes, the language used when engaging in topics concerning people living with disabilities, provisions in educational settings and the level of status they receive in society (Shpigelman et al., 2022). In view of this, the theory, as a social justice and liberation project, asserts its focus across the wide range of disabilities (i.e. intellectual, physical, psychosocial and sensory) that intersect and vary across differences of oppression in age, race and gender.

Critical disability theory is understood upon the social model argument that "disability is not fundamentally a question of medicine or health, nor is it just an issue of sensitivity and compassion; rather, it is a question of politics and power(lessness), power over, and power to" (Devlin & Pothier, 2006, p. 2). Essentially, in its application, the theory challenges ableist[53] views, which contribute to the oppression of people living with disabilities by preventing their political, social and economic rights and freedoms from being equally shared. Therefore, the dynamics of power that are in constant tension jeopardise freedoms and equality left unchallenged by the exclusionary oppression found in policies, school practices and social beliefs. In Chapter 3, the review of citizenship education policy and literature exposed the complexities of power that essentially affect the extent learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are empowered for their effective citizenship. Accordingly, critical disability theory also promotes the means of inclusion through these outlets, that is, policies, school practices and social beliefs.

To be elaborated on in subsequent paragraphs, in list form[54], the theory's tenets include:

[52] These include social Darwinism (eugenics).
[53] Ableism refers to discrimination against people with disabilities that privileges the qualities and attributes of the able-bodied person. It is problematic on account of its reinforcement of hegemonic power structures that exclude people with disabilities from being included, respected and valued in all spheres of society.
[54] The ordering of the tenets of critical disability theory in this way is rationalised by: critique as the basis of the theory; viewing disability as a social model not defined by individual limitations progresses the argument

- critique as a means to question power dynamics;
- viewing disability as a social model not defined by individual limitations;
- viewing disability as a form of diversity under the universalist viewpoint;
- finding identity and voice as means for their agency; and
- transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures in pursuit of social justice.

As a theorist who has extensively engaged with critical disability theory, Foucault (1997) frames the *critique* part of the framework as something that "is not a matter of saying things are not right as they are. It is a matter of pointing out on what kinds of assumptions, what kinds of familiar, unchallenged, unconsidered modes of thought the practices that we accept rest" (p. 155). Therefore, in wrestling between the ideas of power, privilege, redress and redistribution to dismantle the hegemony, the theory, through critique, also finds solutions in relation to the unjust realities that are enquired into. *In relation to this study*, critique aids in questioning post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship education policy, whose poor implementation is left unaccounted for. In evidence, the passive neglect of the plights of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities hinders their ability to become effective citizens which in turn limits their access to the rights and power they are entitled to. A prime example of critique in use is interrogating entrenched unequal power dynamics, which are the unchallenged practices of non-differentiation pedagogies among educators as key education stakeholders that reinforce the central problem at hand. The value of critique is therefore found in disrupting the status quo that thrives by only limiting learners to (classical) liberal citizenship, obligating only an education without equal tools to participate in their communities and society.

In *viewing disability through a social model*, the theory suggests that disability be recognised as a complex interdependency between the person and their social environment. Herein, the social model introduces the central idea of identity constructions that are concerned with inclusion that is reciprocated among all members in a shared social setting

to medical-models that are predominantly critiqued by the theory; the tenet of disability as a form of diversity under the universalist viewpoint provides the broadening to ideas of intersectionality and pluralism beyond the scope of the social model; finding identity and voice as means for their agency is attributed to the actions a person with disabilities can pursue once difference is no longer a barrier; once conceptions of diversity have been ironed out; and transformation becomes the instigator of the desired results - having attained the preceding tenets. However, the order presented in this chapter will not follow in the analysis Chapters 5 to 7 of policy, as different natures of policy require selected tenets as a lens.

(interdependency). In this regard, the tenet holds merit in the sense that it lends itself to the universalist notion that human rights are underpinned by individuals being valued and granted the same respect and care as all other social identities (Hosking, 2008). *In relation to this study,* viewing disability through a social model broadens the ability to recognise the value of difference and open opportunities for better access by shaping learners with mild-intellectual disabilities as participatory and deliberative citizens in schools. They participate in the active roles they undertake, like capacity building, and engage in dialogues that involve decision-making processes within their communities and greater society. An example of disability viewed through a social model is a learner with Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (ADHD) as a mild-intellectual disability whose lessons are differentiated in accordance with their length of focus. Thus, individualisation, which diverts attention away from cultivating their impairments and developing their potential, does not impede their learning process to become participatory and deliberative.

The theory, *viewing disability as a form of diversity* (Goodley, 2011), implies that obstacles that may prevent people with disabilities from participating in spheres of society and being acknowledged as equal citizens under the universalist viewpoint ought to be eliminated. The intersectionality aspect that is found under the idea of diversity simplifies the understanding of how race, gender and disability are some of the identities that overlap within an individual. Most pertinently, what this component of the theory espouses is that all these intersecting identities shape the societal perceptions (relevant to this study) of people with disabilities. In other words, it considers the manner in which their rights may be infringed upon and discriminated against based on more than one diversity. *In relation to this study,* the tenet finds relevance in the diverse roles it seeks that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities ought to find themselves occupied within - given a citizenship education policy that sharpens their edge to prosper in all arenas. An example of the intersectionality aspect is a female learner who benefits from the global cause of *Girl Child Education*. In the same breath, they are also being excluded from governance decision-making processes because of both their gender and having autism in conservative societies. Thus, the tenet's value is found in engaging the pluralism that facilitates communal group solidarity and societal contribution through activism, despite all differences in ability.

Correspondingly, when individuals with disabilities *find their identity and voice* in society alongside others (Hosking, 2008), they have the agency to have control over their

circumstances without able-bodied people being the mouthpieces of their views. Identity politics plays a crucial role in grasping how people with various disabilities self-identify, to avoid excluding or ranking some disabilities above others. Furthermore, the ability to ensure that the freedoms of people with disabilities are reclaimed through that process of self-identifying points to active citizens whose diversities should neither be taboo nor hold stigma. Instead, what the tenet seeks to emphasise is their recognition as equal citizens whose contribution to all facets of society matters. Correspondingly, a path is therefore created to challenge the narratives of normalcy and ableism. *In relation to this study,* the tenet finds relevance to citizenship education, in which learners are not only encouraged but also propelled to find opportunities to possess the ability to express their voice through dialogues and deliberation. Serving as an example are learners with mild-intellectual disabilities using their voices in acts of activism against leadership opportunities in schools that do not adhere to representation quotas. In essence, without such instances being a common reality, the value of the tenet foregrounds learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' ability to exhibit self-actualised acts of self-governance and independence more profoundly in using their voices to challenge such representation politics.

As far as the epistemology and ontology of the theory are found, the theory values *transformation that seeks to change the economic, political and social structures* (Goodley, 2013) under the axiological value of social justice. *In relation to this study*, the evolution of citizenship from the classical, modern, and contemporary epochs implies that transforming economic, political and social structures should eradicate all forms of exclusion, in policies (for people with disabilities) and practices (level of inclusion). As an example, the transformation of the economic structures would infer that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities who subsequently become school-leavers should have fair employment prospects through quotas and the acquisition of relevant skills from schools. Transformation of the political structures would suggest that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities could engage in dialogues, deliberate and take part in voting processes as part of nation-building. Transformation of the social structures would infer that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities could partake in recreational activities and sports without their disability being a limitation. In having all these characterisations of transformation satisfied, social justice would have been well pursued.

4.2.3 CRITICISMS AND SHORTCOMINGS

Goodley (2011) asserts that "differences between disabled and non-disabled people are described as being socially produced, and it is also argued that these differences are constructed for a political reason: to maintain dominance" (p. 113). Herein, unequal power dynamics are highlighted, in which critique of the critical disability theory[55] is levelled for highlighting disability as an object of curiosity that silences persons with disabilities who ought to be the primary voices of the theory (Goodley, 2013; Shildrick, 2015). In other words, the approach scholars use to interrogate their identity is merely paraded and not used in scholarly works for noble and practical change of their unjust realities. In addition, Barker and Murray (2010) and Mallett and Runswick-Cole (2014) also contend that western perspectives often inform it. Thus, it offers tension in its application in global-south perspectives.

The social model informing a significant part of the critical disability theory also faces critiques by Beresford (2004), who puts forward that it does not engage with the healthcare field in a justified manner. The author asserts that the great emphasis being placed on social values when it comes to disabilities is not mutually beneficial to the patients (people living with disabilities) with the required appropriate, necessary access to remediation[56] that they primarily ought to receive. Beresford (2004) is essentially implying that certain nuances and sensational language have more far-reaching negative implications for how people understand the severity of certain conditions, disabilities and impairments, which cannot be obliterated through simplistic means of "deconstruction" as a form of aid. Thus, the social model of disability is thought to be resistant to actual transformation by effectively theorising the experiences of people with disabilities and the realities they would have to confront under such "feely" discourses. In addition, what presents as an illusion of the theory is the belief that the praxis of citizen solidarity will work in the interests of the individual's liberation. Accordingly, for Beresford (2004), this is not a well-conceptualised solution to remedy the mental societal work around disability.

[55] Key scholars of the theory that refer to *critical disability studies* interchangeably with critical disability theory include Meekosha and Shuttleworth (2009) and Vehmas and Watson (2014).
[56] The term "remediation" is heavily contested in the field of inclusive education as it draws mirroring parallels to "special education" and the medical model of disability in that it assumes that something inherent in persons living with disabilities needs "to be fixed".

In the acknowledgement that disability is *a form of diversity*, Shakespeare and Watson (2010) equally offer a contrasting argument, positioning that the nature of critical disability theory is unrealistic. The argument is based on the view that specific impairments and disabilities compel people's personal experiences to perceive disability as undesirable and an identity to be in denial of. This argument includes the lack of a thorough account of impairments and disabilities such as sudden hearing loss, which individuals may place fear in experiencing. Therefore, the theory of Shakespeare and Watson (2010) is considered to lack the substantiveness to consider all realities and how they come together to be understood by all people in society.

Moreover, as part of *finding their identity and voice as means for their agency*, the people living with disabilities themselves do not become the actual producers of knowledge (Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009). Rather, they are backgrounded in the sharing of their narratives, to which the premise of knowledge, as Meekosha and Shuttleworth (2009) allude, is that "The politics of knowledge creation is a critical dimension in the success of any social movement" (p. 47). As a result of becoming overtaken by its allies, the subjectivity of the theory's purpose is called into doubt. Specifically, the objectivity of the theory generates great scepticism, suggesting that it lacks credibility in fully bringing people with disabilities to the actualisation of their identity and using their voice as a means for their agency.

Vehmas and Watson (2014) argue that, despite its intention to achieve *transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures,* the theory, as a metatheory of Critical Theory, fails to solve moral dilemmas pertaining to attaining social justice and equality due to its lack of a clear normative approach. Echoing similar sentiments, Popper (1994), a positivist and empiricist philosopher, too has levelled against the theory for finding little purpose in solving contemporary issues. Corker and French (1999) also maintain that the theory still has much ground to cover in terms of improving its explanatory power in deconstructing societal ills faced by the disabled with the partial image that it creates. Most critically, Corker and French (1999) note that the theory poses an ethics gap with the (unintended) binary difference (disability vs. non-disability) argument that it presents. Essentially, under these arguments, critical disability theory presents itself as short-sighted in that it does not fully engage towards finding tested solutions that produce tangible value to inspire effective transformation across these structures. Moreover, there is concern over its lag in offering an immediate response to not only social (structures) issues but also

economic and political (structures) issues in which social mobility and activism can be observed.

By implication, allies and scholars of the theory are equally agents of social justice. Therefore, the aforementioned criticisms and shortcomings levelled against critical disability theory cast doubt on its substantive use in fulfilling not only the aims of this study but also tangibly changing the lives of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities through policy and practices. Therefore, the way disability is to be viewed under the social model needs to be deeply examined to avoid committing the same injustice of not considering the multiple realities and consequently excluding other peripheral intersectional identities found in society. The theory advancing the social right of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, when applied in schools, ought not to ignore the well-being and challenges – such as bullying - that other learners in the classroom may face. Distinct, but offering a relevant account, is the emulation of the liberal tendency to give overemphasis by individualising. Thus, it can equally be perceived as extending to persons with disabilities, whereas the goal at the inception of the theory was to include them in sharing the same values and becoming one with their peers in ordinary public schools.

Moreover, this stance can be supported by the theory's tenet, which supposes that disability be viewed as a diversity. Implicitly, it should then lean more into what that means in terms of multicultural, multilingual and minority identities that exist among people with disabilities. In effect, advocacy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities should avoid the unintended consequence of fostering narrow-mindedness among them. Additionally, the author's views may be validated in the sense that transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures can somewhat be seen as a radical process when subjectivity (application of the theory in isolation of other realities) overtakes objectivity (i.e. a diverse society). Therefore, redressing their needs, the just approaches to equality and privileging rights that do not exclude "others" is a mammoth task, judging by this tension of contradictory epistemes and best approaches.

The criticisms levelled against critical disability theory can be summarised as objectifying and silencing people with disabilities (Goodley, 2013; Shildrick, 2015). Furthermore, it is perceived to adopt Western-informed perspectives (Barker & Murray, 2010; Mallett & Runswick-Cole, 2014), and it does not engage with the healthcare field in a justified manner

(Beresford, 2004). Thus, it creates negative perceptions of people with disabilities (Shakespeare & Watson, 2010). In addition, the theory does not position people living with disabilities to become producers of knowledge (Meekosha & Shuttleworth, 2009), and it fails to provide a clear normative approach (Corker & French, 1999; Popper, 1994). In consideration of the above criticisms, which highlight the shortcomings of critical disability theory, it was nonetheless adopted as a valuable theory for the study. The theory's key virtues and justifications, as a rebuttal to the above criticisms levelled against it, are addressed in the next section and provide merited arguments for the theory to achieve the idealised change and social justice.

4.2.4 JUSTIFICATION AND VIRTUES

In responding to Goodley's (2013) and Shildrick's (2015) *critique*, I extend the argument that positioning people living with disabilities as mere subjects disadvantages the social justice project. Research that is holistic from all voices with allies of their marginalisation in higher power holds great potential to drive change to alter issues affecting them. At its core, it is unavoidable that, as a bottom-up theory, at the bottom it interrogates first the experiences of people with disabilities and then proceeds to investigate the intersection with the rest of society. In essence, at the top, it includes the voices of allies. Therefore, the co-creation of knowledge between people with disabilities and allies allows for the breakdown of the structures, keeping exclusion at bay through other privileging means to the benefit of the disabled. Another approach that validates this premise and is widely used to engage with people with disabilities is the capabilities approach, which incorporates the functioning of a person and their capabilities, as conceptualised by Amartya Sen (1993) and later refined by Martha Nussbaum (2007).

In view of this, firstly agreeing with Beresford's (2004) argument, under conceptualisations of both the medical and *social model*, there are intersections in instances of biological reasons that require medical assistance and interventions that cannot solely rely on social problem-solving strategies. As in any case, critical disability theory is interdisciplinary (Hall, 2019). However, in countering Beresford's (2004) argument, the fixation on the medical model narrows opportunities for attaining all the benefits of contemporary communitarian and civic republican citizenship that the theory works in alignment to foster and transform lived realities. These benefits to be accrued include equality to participate in various

influential platforms that affirm democratic rights in society (political), work (economic) and independence (social) for people living with disabilities. By implication of Beresford's (2004) argument, attention is drawn to the urgency that citizenship education, as a social and political act, remains the key to be sought in fostering (inclusive) schools and a just education system. In this regard, discourses and comprehensions of disability should be grounded in a social model that promotes inclusion, as it is in these structures (political, economic and social) that power is determined to either maintain or break down exclusions.

In focus of disability as *a form of diversity*, the interdisciplinary[57] virtue of the theory allows for expansive probing into how exclusions are framed and the intersectional approaches thereof that should be taken towards maximising inclusion. Accordingly, Shakespeare and Watson's (2010) assertion can be refuted by challenging the prejudices that the theory seeks to eliminate. In terms of the communitarianism strand, the moral code and virtues should be further advanced in accenting that differences should not separate the individual from their shared communal values that inherently allow ease of participation. Moreover, the theory probes deeper into how knowledge, skills and competencies can be achieved by learners with disabilities. This includes being affirmed in their rights, morally grounded to achieve communal duties and civic participation that incorporate these aptitudes for the greater society. Therefore, approaches within critical disability theory that embrace diversity and intersectionality should serve as an opportunity to not prioritise the human rights and justices of some identities over others, as this contradicts the concept of inclusion. Instead, critical disability theory better facilitates the redress of people living with disabilities in such a way that the interests of other diversities are brought into support while simultaneously achieving an enhanced understanding of disabilities. Essentially, other diversities and modes of intersectionality ought to acknowledge that "sameness", without the tenets used in critical disability theory, only yields a cycle of regression. Additionally, differences in disability too ought to be confronted without recasting neo-hierarchies with further exclusionary distinctions (Devlin & Pothier, 2006).

Moreover, as part of finding their *identity and voice as means for their agency*, Meekosha and Shuttleworth (2009) argue that the theory should not position people with disabilities as the primary producers of knowledge. Therefore, it can be said that with the theory located

[57] Disciplines that the theory also spans across are health policing, environmental factors affecting health, reproductive rights and HIV/AIDS.

within the transformative paradigm that it enables interrogating power structures. Likewise, it also advocates for the agency of the excluded and oppressed (Mertens, 2010), which is precisely the political literacy required of civic republicanism to assert non-domination as a liberty. The quest for freedom as non-domination in this context, therefore, implies that any form of control that interferes with people with disabilities' individual freedoms especially as a collectively recognised group identity should be nullified. Similarly, the transformative paradigm propels the opportunity to "capture disability and the relationship between persons with disabilities and their social contexts" (Mertens et al., 2013, p. 482). Therefore, through the activism of first-person storytelling, the voice of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities as primary producers of knowledge can be attained. Accordingly, this comes in consideration of the reality of the vast experiences of exclusions that they encounter existing in a largely ableist world. Thus, in cognisance of such lived realities, it is all indicative that there will always be a need for their first-person storytelling and continuous deliberations on representation politics.

As an antithesis to Vehmas and Watson's (2014) scepticism of the theory's ability to propel *transformation*, greater recognition of the theory can be turned to the virtues that it advocates. These virtues strike a balance between its embracement for disabilities while simultaneously propelling a disability rights agenda (Goodley et al., 2019). Matshedisho (2007) propounds that "The social model demands rights" (p. 695). By implication, citizenship education, through the liberal strand, qualifies to provide support services that foster the intellectual development of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities with full commitment. Moreover, using social, civil and political rights as a foundation for fully realising disability rights creates a level playing field characterised by equality in access and opportunities for the disabled and non-disabled to participate in varied spheres of society. As an approach to enhance participation, the communitarian school of thought is validated by MacIntyre (1985) in that the individual's moral identity is determined by their social roles. In this regard, contemporary conceptions of disability should be found in a social model that promotes an inclusive citizenship education.

A few rival theories to critical disability theory could have sufficed in their adoption to the study; among them is critical theory itself. Another theory was social constructionism which is informed by an analysis of power which is determined by social and cultural factors that shape discourses that enable, restrain and limit power (Berger & Luckmann, 1966). In

addition, the capability approach which is a framework that is rooted in justice and evaluates social constraints that privilege others. Its focus lies in the concern for the well-being of all citizens that is to be attained through capabilities and functioning(s) (Sen, 1993). Likewise, critical realism, which examines realities towards emancipating the excluded and marginalised from missed opportunities (Bhaskar, 1978). The final theory that could have been adopted for this study was the social interdependence theory which is founded upon assessing the manner in which interdependence is structured in order to determine how people cooperate and interact (Johnson & Johnson, 1989).

4.3 TOMAŠEVSKI'S 4-A SCHEME FRAMEWORK

4.3.1 ORIGIN, HISTORY AND EXPLANATION

Katarina Tomaševski developed the 4-A scheme framework[58] to spearhead the right to education in relation to human rights as espoused by the *United Nations Commission on Human Rights* and the exclusionary issues thereof that plague the social right. Tomaševski's (1999) conceptualisation of the 4-A scheme framework to assess education policies is a human rights-based[59] framework. Accordingly, the framework denotes that a government's obligation to education should be grounded across four tenets: availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability, in which it can also monitor the extent of their achievement. Tomaševski (2001) postulated that these 4-As provide a more comprehensive classification for understanding the obligation of the right to education being fulfilled.

In essence, the 4-A scheme framework promotes group solidarity under these rights by default. This comes under the obligatory fulfilment of the right to education which must be readily available to all because it opens the door to economic, social or cultural rights required for the political participation of an active citizen. A favourable scenario in the realisation of the theory is learners with mild-intellectual disabilities: fully competent to obtain employment post-basic education, independent from their caregivers and exercising

[58] Tomaševski served as a Special Rapporteur to the United Nations, a title that suggested she serve the United Nations without pay in efforts to curb the decline in the state of economic, social and cultural rights. Thereby, the interests and rationale of the 4-A scheme framework were initiated from a place of unbiased views that can probe and seek accountability from global education policies at large.

[59] In offering similarity to citizenship, the conceptual framework espouses that the right to education encompasses itself as an economic, social, or cultural right (Tomaševski, 2001). However, to serve the purpose of the study, the focus was on the social aspect of human rights.

their agency across the different spheres of society. In this regard, the freedom that a citizenship education realises would not be in vain. Thus, the framework's four tenets drive the mission to probe rights' violations and unmet governmental duties necessary for this realisation for marginalised learners (Tomaševski, 2001). The relevance of the 4-A scheme framework to the study is to reveal the degree to which idealisation and implementation are drawn apart. In addition, it aims to illustrate and propose practical solutions that policymakers can heed to make the citizenship education policy more substantive in addressing the needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

As described by Tomaševski (1999), the *availability* tenet refers to how the government keeps to its duty by permitting the a) establishment and b) offer of funding of educational institutions in the education system to ensure the availability of schools in all their alternatives across all geographies, that is, rural areas, villages, and urban areas. The state's obligation to make schools available (and thus increase enrolment) should supersede but not deny the private sector's efforts to offer private education. In essence, availability appeals best to the premise of the social contract. In comparison to the three forthcoming tenets, availability underpins learning institutions as imperative public goods while simultaneously considering the future benefits of changing the material conditions of learners[60]. Therefore, the availability of learning institutions and their functionality in this context stand to represent this realisation and possibility of achieving the forthcoming interdependent tenets of the framework. *In relation to this study,* the tenet speaks to the availability of (ordinary public) schools that are optimally constructed in terms of *capacity*[61] and sufficient in their numbers across the varying regions in the country. The availability of schools is inclusive of not only the physical infrastructure but also the social infrastructure, such as staff personnel, expertise and learning resources procured in a timely manner. In that regard, it can be inferred that this tenet is the first point of critique at which accountability from a top-down approach can be embarked on. Moreover, the value of the tenet is thus found in the idea that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are guaranteed not to be excluded from acquiring education as per historical exclusionary policies, practices and models.

[60] In the South African context, the availability of education can similarly be defined as "what must be in place before the right is accessed" (South African Human Rights Commission, 2006).
[61] An example of schools of such design are full-service schools, which are mainstream and supply to learner needs equitably while not segregating learners or putting emphasis on "specialised educators". These schools are elaborately detailed in the Education White Paper 6 (DoE, 2001a) policy.

Accessibility pertains to the convenience with which a learner can attain an education and the opportunities therein that are brought on by education. Accessibility investigates the imminent barriers to accessing education (i.e. physical, social and economic), promotes non-discrimination and free provision of education to all learners of schooling age at a learner's and their guardians' schools of choice. Moreover, it encourages subsidies to be in place where practicable, especially for vulnerable groups in society who are prone to marginalisation (Tomaševski, 2001). *In relation to this study*, the tenet compared to availability finds relevance in that accessibility is more specific to attaining affirmative action and equity, as citizenship education seeks to establish through education. Accordingly, in relation to mild-intellectual disabilities that are represented in wide varieties according to their needs, accessibility for this spectrum alone cannot be homogenous. In other words, accessibility in a school may not be the same for each learner in need of support; as Joshi and Tabata (2021) frame it, "What is available may not be accessible to all" (p. 116). Therefore, the tenet's significance stems from its alignment with inclusive values. The focus of accessibility lies in the consideration of a universal design of learning that aims to enhance the vitality of the sensory, physical and modes of learning. Essentially, they are pivotal for knowledge transmission to be absorbed and retained, ensuring that learners achieve pertinent outcomes in their education. Essentially, accessibility examines the factors that contribute to the underperformance and incompletion of school by minority groups based on issues of cost, citizenship, disability, and gender.

All the 4-As presented in the framework are invariably interdependent. *Acceptability,* specifically, looks to the combination of availability and accessibility in ensuring the education being provisioned is of optimum quality for learners in schools (Tomaševski, 2001). Acceptability is weighted on the school environment being one that is regulated and provides safety from hazards in terms of sanitation and the design of classroom spaces. The quality of the learning material therein follows suit, as does the psychosocial support provided in schools. The level of professionalism that the tenet requires is centred on classroom management and relevant school committees. The tenet benchmarks the qualification of educators and training capacity to not only address the psychosocial development of learners by employing effective, flexible pedagogies but also create a learner-centred participatory environment. Distinct from availability, accessibility and adaptability, acceptability invites the community and parents to participate in school decision-making matters, in effect incorporating freedom of speech. *In relation to this study*,

acceptability finds relevance in advocating that educational quality be pluralistic and offer skills that are relevant to the labour market. Thus, it widens learners with mild-intellectual disabilities and social mobility across local and global platforms. In terms of professionalism, educators ought to apply pedagogies that incorporate individual education plans and address the needs and feelings of these learners in a trained manner that does not dwell on benevolence, pity or stigma, as traditionalised by medical models.

Adaptability follows the outline of the Convention on the Rights of the Child (UN, 2006). The tenet also feeds into the philosophy of inclusion in education as it represents a social model that connotes that the environment (schools as institutions) should change to accommodate learners with (mild-intellectual) disabilities specifically. It proposes more progressive laws (Tomaševski, 2001) that focus on the flexibility in policies, curricula and syllabi that can be of benefit to learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in ordinary public schools. The availability of schools, accessibility and acceptability tenets do not automatically suggest that schools will be relevant to learners with special educational needs, which are varied in their own right. Therefore, adaptability, in comparison, considers the suitability of the curriculum and syllabus in the present and for future demands of learner diversities. It essentially serves the purpose of redressing an education that previously sought learners to *adapt into* a reformed one in which education *adapts to* the needs and interests of learners. Thus, adaptability ensures all learner potential is tapped into, and all learning is learner-centred. The tenet presents itself as encouraging more proactiveness in comparison to the other three tenets in bringing to full circle the associated rights, which are realised through education in a more practical sense.

In relation to this study, adaptability finds relevance in its deep resonance with its forward-looking strategy that considers out-of-school education in transition programmes. These transition programmes are beneficial in assisting learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. However, literature also reveals this is a neglected area when it comes to discussions on the social mobility of these learners' post-school. Adaptability insistent on flexibility infers that, as an unintended positive consequence, these learners will be equally equipped in skills essential for daily life, including confident involvement in community programmes outside of formal schooling. In addition, the tenets look to broader lifelong learning alternatives that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities can pursue post-formal schooling, such as entrepreneurship. In both these illustrated relations to the study, the tenet can be said to

propel contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Learning is positioned as an active process that engages other skills not only honed through formal education but also by contributing to society. Essentially, the value of adaptability for schools and learners with mild-intellectual disabilities optimises momentum to achieving the human rights discourse through education.

4.3.2 JUSTIFICATION AND VIRTUES

The selection of the 4-A scheme framework is based on the virtue that policy implementation on any topic in education remains a staple concern, with the tenets providing coherent criteria. The conceptual framework facilitates deconstructing some of the debates that emanated from the literature review which were symptoms of exclusion. Therefore, such trends in education reflect issues to be probed under the lenses of the 4-A to propel human rights and fulfil the right to education. Schools, inasmuch as they can promote rights, can equally violate rights. Accordingly, the 4-A scheme framework steers the ideal and practice of policy to be guided by human rights for learners (with mild-intellectual disabilities) to reach their full cognitive development as equal citizens. Moreover, it is important for these learners to feel confident and protected in their participation in their communities and greater society.

Tomaševski (2001) asserts that "An assumption that getting children to attend school equals the realisation of their right to education thus often conflicts with reality." (p. 43). Therefore, the greater virtue of Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework is essentially addressing the right to education, *in* education and *through* education, which infers that in all capacities, a policy should be fully fledged to upholding the right. In relation to disability, the tenets of availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability collectively echo a critical convention found in Article 24 of the *UNCRPD* (UN, 2006). Specifically, the Article emphasises positive discriminatory individualistic support measures, school environmental adequacy and well-rounded room for psycho-development that ought to be ushered in by policy through sound practices. The convention's reinforcement of the idea that learners are diverse upon starting school suggests that the unequal footing is rectified under the weight of human rights postulated by the theory to safeguard the interests of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

The 4-A scheme framework provides an angle to the study different from critical disability theory in that its straightforward keyword criteria (availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability) offer responses to check listing the citizenship education policy towards a critique discussion. Moreover, these 4-As reflect traits of also upholding moral values, such as advocacy against discrimination - which may often negatively strip away the right to dignity - thus upholding a positive image of disability. Moral turpitudes that manifest in practice rather than policy per se, such as discrimination, stereotypes and prejudices, cannot be measured in a way that variables such as headcounts and statistics are able to. However, the 4-A works in unison to assist in probing, quantifying and rooting out such moral turpitudes, especially when led in discussion with the critical disability theory.

In referring to the key theorists of citizenship used in this study, the 4-A framework bolsters and responds effectively to reaching an equilibrium for realising civil, political, (economic) and social rights essential for active citizenship participation. Owing true to the essence of the framework, education as a "multiplier right" (Tomaševski, 2006, p. 7) has the virtue of opening the possibility of other rights, thus rectifying all the existing inequalities. Thus, it proves to have far-reaching benefits in its applicability for this study. Accordingly, a curriculum and citizenship education policy propagating a rigid liberal national vision of citizenship that limits how they thrive politically, in civil society and socially will not provide strong guidance. Learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' representation, participation and visibility are ensured to grow in a variety of spheres that their right to education obligates them to possess. In these justifications[62] of the framework, there is a distinct shift in understanding these learners' plights from one of welfare and benevolence to those of individuals with agency to self-advocate and be maximally included. Ultimately, the selection of the framework was justifiable on the grounds that it addresses the right *to* education, *in* education and *through* education. Most importantly, is its inference that in all capacities, a policy should be fully fledged to uphold both the social right and the overarching human rights.

A rival theory of Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework that could have been adopted by the study is the human rights framework informed by the Universal Declaration of Human

[62] A section on the criticisms and shortcomings of the 4A-scheme framework has not been accounted for due to the theory being simplistic and more evaluative in its checklist nature than descriptive in comparison to the critical disability theory framework.

Rights (UN, 1948). The framework considers and reinforces the social, cultural and economic rights to be accrued by all and dignity for all to be maintained in the quest to maintain equality.

4.4 USAGE OF THE FRAMEWORKS

The theoretical framework and the nine respective tenets will be used in scatter as follows in the core policy analysis chapters of the study:

The critique will be used as a lens to critique the South African Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 critically and the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) in Chapter 5[63], as these citizenship policies make up the supreme laws of the country and contextualise all other policies that follow. Therefore, critique, as the basis of critical disability theory, is best to derive the optimally comprehensive analysis of the citizenship policy. Moreover, the tenet in its use for the citizenship policy ascertains a standard by which the strands of liberalism can progress to communitarian and civic republicanism in their implementation. Essentially, through critique, disability as the operative word of the theory, concerted on privileges, norms and power, allows us to scrutinise approaches most effective to deconstructing ideas of exclusion and ableism that current hinder policy implementations of these supreme laws.

The social model will be used as a lens to critique the EWP6 (DoE, 2001a), National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Development (NCSNET) (DoE, 1997) and the SIAS (DBE, 2014) policy in Chapter 7[64] because the chapter is focused on policies that capture the learning needs of broad diversities and intersectionality of learners in post-apartheid South African schools. Therefore, as policies conceptualised to foster and facilitate a barrier-free education without superimpositions such as the medical model obstructing policy, it proved to be the best selection. Essentially, the tenet for Chapter 7 will provide a reframe of held notions that discriminate and ought to be challenged based on the social structural inequalities that relegate learners' participation in education, community and society to a limited spectrum. Moreover, in the era of globalisation, the best combative strategies are not only required for the intellectual development of learners. Rather, they are also to devise strategies and frameworks that can accelerate the speed at which learners with

[63] Chapter 5: A critical analysis of citizenship policy.
[64] Chapter 7: A critical analysis of inclusive policy.

mild-intellectual disabilities can have equal opportunities to be on par regarding societal evolutions and innovations. In essence, the social model strives to offer a platform for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities and fosters them to becoming prominent global citizens. Accordingly, in its visions, they can only be realised through the implementation of a substantive local post-apartheid South African citizenship education policy, societal evolutions and innovations.

Disability as a form of diversity will be used as a lens to critique the EWP6 (DoE, 2001a), NCSNET (DoE, 1997) and the SIAS (DBE, 2014) policy in Chapter 7. In similar fashion to reasons extended for the social model, the tenet foregrounds the inclusion of a specific group more closely under the general umbrella of "inclusion". The tenet will comprehensively analyse the strategies propagated by each of the three policies to create schools that are safe spaces for all learners to understand and embrace the differences of their peers. In addition, the use of the tenet will grapple with the intersectionality aspect by looking at inclusive strategies. The extent to which these inclusive strategies reap rewards in the long-term when looking at citizenship education being fully propelled under contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism in and outside of the classroom will be coherently analysed.

Finding identity and voice as means for their agency will be used as a lens to critique the South African Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 critically and the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) in Chapter 5. As supreme laws of the country primarily prescribe all rights, the tenet is most effective in analysing the capacity of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in driving them to be autonomous in how they use their voice.

Transformation will be used as a lens to critique the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), SASA (DoE, 1996) and CAPS (DoE, 2011) in Chapter 6[65]. The rationale lies in these policies being transformative in their essence. Their vantage point is recognised in consideration of their daily use in learning engagements and their ability to be more subject-focused. In other words, the tenet will explain how to enable this cohort of learners to assert themselves into becoming critical thinking citizens who can deliberate. Simultaneously, they

[65] Chapter 7: A critical analysis of education policy.

will also expand and widen their participation in the promise of a substantive democracy to effect change within the social, economic and political structures.

Availability will be used as a lens to critique the South African Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 critically and the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) in Chapter 5. The tenet offers relevance to Chapter 5, as these policies determine all other educational policies and the grounds upon which school availability should be a priority. In these two supreme laws, the tenet neatly examines whether the citizenship education policy substantively commits itself to the global human rights project in adequately establishing schools and enrolling learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools (as per the UDHR) (UN, 1948).

Adaptability will be used as a lens to critique the EWP6 (DoE, 2001a), NCSNET (DoE, 1997) report and the SIAS (DBE, 2014) policy in Chapter 7. The tenet is predominantly critical to the learning process and is most compatible with these policies because they are all geared with the intention to cultivate the specific needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

Accessibility will be used as a lens to critique the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), SASA (DoE, 1996) and CAPS (DoE, 2011) in Chapter 6. The tenet is most relevant to the educational policy because, at a micro-level in schools, these policies steer the elimination of discrimination and enforce affirmative action to the benefit of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In other words, the tenet critically provides a magnified lens to the well-being and financial muscle being stretched by the state towards these learners' schooling and resources thereof. Essentially, accessibility should reveal the extent to which policy implementation develops learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to possess access, opportunities and participation in the economic, social and political structures to resemble diversity in all spheres of their communities and society. Therefore, the realisations of affirmative action greatly assist in arguing for better classroom environments grounded on unity and essentially universal designs of learning that shy away from homogeneity that the tenet seeks to eradicate.

Acceptability will be used as a lens to critique the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), SASA (DoE, 1996) and the CAPS (DoE, 2011) in Chapter 6. The compatibility of the tenet to the specific education policy is informed by its pluralistic eye-view and

enforcing quality teaching, education and the training of educators. In detail, the tenet provides a pathway for analysing a school's compatibility for catering to the variations of mild-intellectual disabilities in such a way that pedagogies and aid respond to addressing their needs for academic achievement primarily. In effect, the test of the education policy's level of acceptability will highlight these variations in mild-intellectual disabilities and how they affect their interdependence in the classroom to exist as a community. Collectively, these dictate learners' development of their adaptive and intellectual functioning to pursue engagement in political deliberations in society on account of well-executed citizenship education. More imperative, the tenet is key to centralising citizenship education as a possibility above privileging communitarian and civic republicanism, as this study advocates.

In effect, under these lenses (tenets), learners with mild-intellectual disabilities can form part of a collectivist society that can deliberate as a diverse unit. Thus, in decision-making processes, they are armed to self-advocate for their own interests, such as social security, social mobility, independence and the allocation of support services. Accordingly, such representation measures depict commitment to their redress, which serves contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands.

4.5 CONCLUSION

The takeaway message communicated by the chapter is that social justice as an outcome of critical disability theory and human rights as an outcome of Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework find relevance for educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Therefore, as a collective, the theoretical framework provides the optimal lens to apply as a criterion for moving the subject forward in critiquing policy.

Critical disability theory as a metatheory of the critical theory foregrounds its foundational aspects of critique, emancipation and transformation to serve the plights of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In that light, critical disability theory explains issues of oppression and provides opportunities that illuminate issues of how people living with disabilities are affected. The tenets of critical disability theory, namely critique, viewing disability as a social model, a form of diversity under the universalist viewpoint, finding

identity and voice as means for their agency and transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures, are all in pursuit of social justice. The criticisms levelled against critical disability theory were identified as objectifying and silencing people with disabilities, adopting Western-informed perspectives, and not engaging with the health field in a justified manner. Moreover, it was considered to create negative perceptions of people with disabilities, not positioning people living with disabilities to become producers of knowledge and failing to provide a clear normative approach.

The justifications and virtues of critical disability theory were identified in reference to the capabilities approach, which can be employed to validate an individual's functioning and capabilities. Thus, it widens justification that critical disability theory considers individuals as more than mere subjects in research. Intersections between biological reasons that require medical assistance and interventions that cannot solely rely on social problem-solving strategies need to be widely advocated. The transformative paradigm offered a nuanced perspective that validates that the theory does, in fact, seek to amplify the voices of people with disabilities. In propelling a disability rights agenda, transformation across the economic, political and social structures was shown as a viable panacea that works in conjunction with achieving social justice. The identified rival theories of critical disability theory that could have sufficed in their adoption to the study, include, amongst others, the critical theory itself, social constructionism, the capability approach, critical realism and the social interdependence theory.

The second section looked at the 4-A scheme framework, as conceptualised by Katarina Tomaševski, instrumental in assessing education policies to spearhead the right to education in relation to human rights being fulfilled. The framework denotes that a government's obligation to education should be grounded across four tenets: availability, accessibility, acceptability and adaptability, in which it can also monitor the extent of their achievement. The justifications and virtues of the 4-A lie in its ability to address the right *to* education, *in* education and *through* education, which infers that in all capacities, a policy should be fully fledged to uphold the right. The framework also reinforces learner diversities and differences in the formative years of starting school; it upholds moral values, such as advocacy against discrimination, which may often negatively strip away the right to dignity and keeps positive images pertaining to disability. The rival theory that could have been used instead of Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework is the human rights framework. The theoretical

framework and the nine respective tenets will be used in scatter in the core policy analysis chapters of the study.

The third section looked at the usage of the frameworks and their applicability in relation to citizenship, citizenship education (policy), policy implementation and honing the active participatory learner with mild-intellectual disabilities. It conceded that the two frameworks have a mutual dialect in responding to the central argument of this study in their advocacy for social justice and human rights. The next chapter provides a critical analysis of the citizenship policy in post-apartheid South African schools using the tenets of *critique, finding identity and voice as means for agency* (critical disability theory) and *availability* (Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework).

CHAPTER 5: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND LEARNERS WITH MILD-INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION

5.1 INTRODUCTION

"Nothing about us, without us!" is a renowned philosophical slogan with its roots embedded in propelling inclusion in political processes of marginalised groups and popularised by James Charlton in 1998. The slogan centres on global disability movements to signify the principles of unencumbered participation of all persons with disabilities through supreme legislation to advance the goals of equal opportunities and access. In that context, this chapter aims to critically analyse the citizenship legislation in spurring a citizenship education that maximises citizenship as a status, feeling and practice for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. As a component of the analytical method of enquiry, the chapter argues that citizenship legislation is overemphasised in classical liberal strands of liberal democracy, freedoms, reason and rationality and modern liberal strands of state neutrality, which inherently individualise. Thus, the citizenship legislation as the social contract fails to function in gear with human rights and social justice as prime objectives of the theoretical framework to cultivate the intellectual and adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in their education.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 under the criteria of critique, finding identity and voice as means for agency and availability, constructs an evaluative analysis of the *Citizenship Act 88 of 1995* (RSA, 1995) and the *Constitution of South Africa* (RSA, 1996). It locates the legislation's key citizenship strands and implications for citizenship as a status, feeling and practice of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in ordinary public schools. Section 2 presents a theoretical analysis of the positive (areas of agreement), negative (areas of disagreement) and vague (areas of contestation) aspects of post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship legislation in schools. Section 3 provides the thesis of the chapter in its contribution to the subject matter.

The chapter contributes to the subject matter and bolsters the study's central argument that post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship legislation is characterised by ambiguity in determining the extent of political participation that schools can easily adopt as a clear

benchmark to implement policy. Inferentially, in using the tenets of the theoretical framework, the critical analysis of the citizenship policy in post-apartheid South African schools shows that it undermines and underemphasises the educational benefits of contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands of citizenship. These benefits are characterised by distributive justice that serves the interest of their learning needs, collectivism and freedom as non-domination.

In providing a critical analysis of the implementation of the citizenship legislation[66] in post-apartheid South African schools, I posed the following questions using the tenets[67] of critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework:

- Does the legislation, through questioning and identifying, *critique* the power dynamics of classical liberalism in terms of its individualistic nature to the detriment of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools?
- Does the legislation offer the *availability* of schools that cater to and support the learning needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to mitigate their individualisation in ordinary and general schools in post-apartheid South Africa?
- Does the legislation offer and propose channels of empowerment that do not individualise learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to *find identity and voice as means for agency* and developing their intellectual and adaptive functions?

[66] In this unique study, Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) and the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996) are referred to as citizenship legislation because, as a collective, compared to the citizenship education policy definition provided earlier in the thesis, "legislation" implies that they are supreme laws and difficult to amend. Even though they contribute to the collective term of "citizenship education policy" because all citizenship and educational policy stem from them.

[67] In the evaluative analysis section, each tenet will be used twice to fairly analyse both the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 and the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996). The theoretical analysis and central arguments are then analysed as a collective falling under citizenship legislation in order to develop a collective argument of what constitutes a citizenship legislation. The rationale in the selection of these specific tenets to analyse the citizenship legislation is motivated by their role as supreme law. Therefore, it is concerted as the genesis of affirming identity constructions in society (finding identity and voice as means for agency), its duty to fulfil rights (availability) and a determiner of power dynamics (critique) in society.

5.2 EVALUATIVE ANALYSIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION

5.2.1 CITIZENSHIP ACT 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995)

The post-apartheid Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) elaborates on the enforcements that relate to citizenship as a status, affirming the feeling of belonging and practice of citizenship. In the opening, Chapter 1 offers the *Interpretation and Application of the Act* with its position stated in clause 2 on the *critique* of discourses surrounding what quantifies citizenship by declaring that:

> For the purposes of *critiquing* this Act [emphasis added], unless clearly inconsistent with the provisions of this Act - 1 (a) any reference in this Act to entrance into the republic, to permanent residence in the republic, to any period of residence or ordinary residence in the republic or to any period of absence from the republic, shall be construed to include any entrance into, residence in or absence from the Republic of South Africa or any of the former states as they had existed immediately prior to the commencement of the Constitution. (p. 6)

The excerpt from clause 2 of the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) depicts a sense of security that ensures stability as part of the legal status for its citizens belonging to the Republic of South Africa under these parameters for individuals eligible for the badge of citizenship. The conditions it establishes extend to the power and privileges that are unaccounted for in relation to others, who are essentially excluded by not sharing in the status. Thus, resisting insubordinate challenges that may be imposed on institutions such as schools of the republic under these measures. In that regard, republic, as the operative word scattered throughout the excerpt and the *Act* (RSA, 1995) in its entirety, ascertains a base for offering critique in the established sense of a prominent civic republic state with a central point worth noting. The foregrounding of non-domination is based on reasons that safeguard the social, political and national security of its citizens from violation of their freedoms as an act to guarantee justice to all who dwell within the republic. Thus, social cohesion and national identities are protected in considering citizenship from a border control perspective. These parameters of citizenship in the physical sense infer that citizens' freedoms of movement within the republic can be freely exercised. In propelling an enhanced quality of

life for all, citizens can expand pursuits that support wider pluralistic realities within the republic.

In linking this analysis of critique to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of the excerpt suggest that the freedoms and non-domination of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools will be safeguarded. Illustratively, the prospects of an education that dismantles unforeseen and questionable hegemonic ideologies not aligned to those of national virtues that suppress their identities will be better controlled. Essentially, within ordinary public schools within the republic, their identities will be acknowledged in the process of acquiring knowledge of their national identity, with the primary purpose - education-wise - benefiting their interests to develop their conceptual domain. An exemplary aspect of this political literacy - knowledge of national priorities that will contribute to their conceptual domain - include projects such as the seven priorities to steer the *National Development Plan 2030* (National Planning Commission, 2012) that are meticulously designed to ensure equal accommodation of diverse needs. In essence, the shared security, identity, preservation of national interests and common laws have their membership protected through schools as state entities that comply with such laws.

The system for balancing these power dynamics affirms citizenship as a feeling. This exemplifies the context of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities who were formerly refugees. Having made good progress; they have now acquired citizenship status. As part of their resettlement in South African schools, they are positioned to have equal opportunities and possession of the same education (knowledge) as their peers. In effect, the development of the social domain improves their esteem and strengths by equalising their sense of belonging. Furthermore, they can develop feelings of loyalty to the RSA by participating in positive activities within the school, as a micro-community can be instilled within them. Thus, they can be inspired to be active citizens in the broad pursuits available to all citizens.

Invariably, *citizenship as a practice* that can be anticipated in learners with mild-intellectual disabilities within schools and republican society, due to weakened hegemonic barriers impeding belonging to the republic, bolsters their exposure to participating economically, socially and politically. Thus, under the strands of civic republicanism dominantly informing *the Act* (RSA, 1995), these learners can contribute to 21st century societal and global needs, which also propel their social mobility and independence. The practical domain has shown

potential to develop learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under experiential learning that requires their capacity building and civic engagement in democratic processes in the quest to challenge the pre-existing hegemonies and form social cohesion.

In sequence, Chapter 2 of the Act focuses on the *Acquisition of South African Citizenship*, which presents its viewpoint on the availability of its basic and prerequisite provisions from the state, quantified under clause 4 of *citizenship by birth* in pronouncing that:

> Any person born in the republic and who is not a South African citizen by virtue of the *availability of the* resources [emphasis added] shall be a South African citizen by birth if (a) 35 he or she is adopted by a South African citizen in accordance with the Child Care Act, 1983 (Act No. 74 of 1983); or (b) (i) he or she does not have the citizenship or nationality of any other country, or has no right to such citizenship or nationality. (p. 8)

Under the conditions declared by the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995), the tenet of availability encapsulates the resources required to support well-being and ensure privileges to be accrued by its citizens as an obligation of the state. The criteria of *citizenship by birth are* strongly centred on civic republicanism in the confines of the law, expressed by references to rights and nationality but with elements that guarantee the distribution of said resources. Therefore, worth highlighting is the aspect of resources to ensure well-being, which highlights its imperativeness together with rights that grant citizens legal impunity and the security of similar resources. Accordingly, citizens qualifying under these criteria (by birth) inherently imply that education is a social right supported by complementary resources within the republic. Essentially, this implies that the basic availability of resources provisioned by the state-government drives towards a favourable outcome of fairness in their distribution of public goods.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the availability of education as a public good and social right, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities who are legal citizens *by birth* in post-apartheid in schools will equally be acknowledged in terms of fairness to improving the limitations of their uncultivated intellectual and adaptive functions. The availability of schools in every geographical area within South Africa, regardless of respective material conditions or historical factors that may have resulted in the loss or halt

in their schooling – as the Child Care Act, 1983 (Act No. 74 of 1983) also espouses, puts them as an identity that needs to be redressed. Empirical evidence of educational availability coupled with resources, although undertaken in a single province of Eastern Cape, is the *Information and Communication Technology (ICT) for Rural Education (ICT4RED)* project (Council for Scientific and Industrial Research [CSIR], 2015) in conjunction with the DBE. The project meets the needs of learners in the rural area of the province through tablets as assistive devices to support their learning. In particular, and of benefit, is the development of the conceptual domain of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities found within the school through a 21st century learning approach. At the conception of the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995), many of these advancements in ordinary public schools to improve the conceptual domain in the practical sense were still unheard of. Therefore, present-day expansions in the availability of adequate school funding to subsidise civic projects that improve knowledge appear promising in terms of ameliorating citizenship as a status for these learners.

Equality balancing scales and citizenship as a feeling is affirmed for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. A practical example of this feeling being affirmed is school excursions to auxiliary learning sites, such as the National Civic Education Centre. These excursions (as experiential learning) complement the theoretical learning (from textbooks about their rights and duties) in fostering the virtues for them to become active citizens. Therefore, the social domain sits at prospects to develop with more interactive learning that encourages communication among citizens in the communities in which they find themselves and the duties expected of them to preserve their legal status.

Accordingly, *citizenship as a practice* is to be affirmed in the relationship between their duties and the Act propelling the availability of a plethora of privileges to hone engaged active citizens. Put differently, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities have a level of independence to perform tasks outside of school as the formal learning space will be enhanced, which also influences how their career prospects widen post-school. Accordingly, their practical domain sees an opportunity to be developed in the works of solidarity with others that call for cultivating personal habits critical to performing tasks, awareness and adapting to environments.

In the continuum of Chapter 2, which focuses on the *Acquisition of South African Citizenship*, the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) establishes its position on finding identity and voice as means for an agency under subsection 5 of *citizenship by naturalisation.* It states the conditions of citizenship to be confined to:

> (a) he or she is not a minor;... (d) he or she is of good character *as part of their identity* [emphasis added]… (f) he or she is able to communicate in any one of the official languages of the republic to the satisfaction of the Minister; and (g) he or she has an adequate knowledge of the responsibilities and privileges of South African citizenship to exercise their *agency* [emphasis added]. (p. 10)

In this excerpt of the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995), three significant details can be extracted that show strong premises of communitarianism and civic republicanism. Initially, liberal perspectives can be extrapolated in terms of *citizenship by naturalisation,* adding a layer of age that one ought to qualify as a citizen. Thus, finding identity and voice as means for their agency, especially if schools enact similar confines, hosts prospects of severe selectivity. Secondly, and contrarily, is the communitarian tone on (good) character. The tone infers that the route to an individual building their identity is to be centred in the voice of ethics which also ignites their agency to use their thoughts and words in accordance with this moral responsibility. Similarly, the outlook on building a strong commonwealth is highlighted by characterising citizens who are of esteemed good virtue and upstanding character. Thirdly, the aspect of communication is voluminous of both communitarianism and civic republicanism in the criticality of moral dialogues to foster civic orientations and meaningful deliberative engagements within the RSA, Likewise, the predetermined knowledge of governance in the RSA concerning duties and privileges is a distinct civic republicanism criterion. Therefore, the criteria of *citizenship by naturalisation* weaves neatly together the virtues embedded in a communitarian idea to that of building a well-functioning governance and harmonious society. Thus, it contributes to how learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are able to find their identity and voice as a means of agency by being their own mouthpieces. Essentially, the relevance of agency as not relying on the grace and benevolence of others to pursue a good life as the *Act* (RSA, 1995) intends for all its citizens is foregrounded.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the subsection indicates that the broadening exposure to knowledge, skills and vital citizenship dispositions rests as the silver bullet for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities (who are citizens by naturalisation) in schools, finding identity and voice as means for agency. In context, the broadened exposure that schools are responsible for providing offers the possibility to cultivate their conceptual domain by altering patterns in how they think. Thus, it facilitates their self-expressions and applying their knowledge to effectively make use of their citizenship privileges in the RSA. Alternatively, empirical evidence supporting learners with mild-intellectual disabilities who may find themselves under the process of acquiring citizenship by naturalisation is exemplified by the Western Cape Education Department Policy for the *Management of Admission and Registration of Learners at Ordinary Public Schools* (2010). The policy fast-tracks these learners' process of admission to secure their right to education and simultaneous enjoyment of these privileges. Essentially, they are better propelled to finding their identity (under a new nationality and citizenship) and agency.

Similarly, *citizenship as a feeling* in conjunction with all learners being affirmed in finding their identity and agency in schools through self-advocacy and inclusive school environments enhances their prospects of shaping and influencing critical spheres of society. As a simultaneous effect, the opportunities availed for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to explore their personal interests while engaging in civic engagements suggest a sense of empowerment and acquired skills (i.e. critical thinking). Invariably, these develop the social domain. Furthermore, with the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) affirming their citizenship rights to such a well-conceptualised degree, it infers the break to historic ties and previously held notions that hemmed them under prejudiced labels and misjudgements of their abilities within the school and community.

As a knock-on effect, *citizenship as a practice* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools alludes to affirming how they find their identity in their fostered abilities to make prudent judgements. Essentially, they will be equipped with the skills to protect the interests of the common good and undertake their social duties and responsibilities, contributing to developing the practical domain. Examples of serving to this effect that cultivates the practical domain, is how they use their speech, writing, advocacy and mobilising others.

5.2.2 THE CONSTITUTION OF THE REPUBLIC OF SOUTH AFRICA (RSA, 1996)

The post-apartheid South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) expounds its standpoint on citizenship through the preamble, which renders its position on critique under intentions to dismantle hegemonies that affect citizenship by decreeing:

> Heal the divisions of the past *through critique in order to* [emphasis added] establish a society based on democratic values, social justice and fundamental human rights; Lay the foundations for a democratic and open society in which government is based on the will of the people and every citizen is equally protected by law; Improve the quality of life of all citizens and free the potential of each person; and build a united and democratic South Africa able to take its rightful place as a sovereign state in the family of nations. (p. 1)

In this extracted piece of the preamble of the constitution (RSA, 1996), three salient points can be found in its decree. Firstly, it promises redress and redistribution under a liberal strand of citizenship that makes emphasised reference to "human rights", "protected by law", "rightful", and "sovereign state". Therefore, critique of challenging ideas of power and privilege to enforce redress and redistribution to dismantle the hegemony is safeguarded by the strand in ascertaining the equal rights that all individual citizens are entitled to. Secondly, the communitarian voice is elucidated in reference to values[68] of social justice that affirm the current era of post-apartheid democratic governance. By inference, the preamble accentuates the cultivation of a "responsive community", which assists in the realisation of such values. Therefore, critique based on the communitarian strand provides a constructive challenge (and propulsion) to equilibrate rights and the common good to serve the interests of the collective "family" and reduce occurrences of inequality. In effect, the envisioned quality of life to be afforded by all citizens emphasises fair distribution, which these liberal rights give life to ensure justice in this regard. Thirdly, in the nominal foregrounding of the civic republican strand compared to liberalism, emphasis on "unity" and "family nation" are key to interconnectedness and serving the common good. In a more pronounced light, unity as a by-product of modernity in hosting value to fostering diversity and communicative

[68] The democratic values, particularly those to be emulated in post-apartheid South Africa, are explicitly and well-articulated in the Department of Education's *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (DoE, 2001c) document.

action amidst the globalisation occurring across the world is also encapsulated. Therefore, the excerpt in reference to civic republicanism is congruent to the critique as it suggests that democracy encapsulates a) representation to weaken the dominance of others, b) public engagement to ascertain fairness, and c) ensuring accountability to policymakers and critical role players.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of the preamble point to the fact that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities with the rights bestowed will be met with an education that propels their social mobility and prepares them for independent living post-school. Essentially, the challenge of power through individual rights can then be critiqued to open a plethora of modes to sustain oneself and become self-sufficient as a reflection of the emphasised freeing of the potential of each person. An example of such a liberal-based education to carry its aims is a human capital development education that focuses on offering expansive, innovative, creative curricula to enhance learners' productivity. Its integration of knowledge on pluralistic contents (multiculturalism) across wide subjects highlights the complexity of the world and citizens with broad identities and dispositions. Therefore, such classroom foundations would appeal efficiently to the development of the conceptual domain in continuous learning, increasing their cognitive flexibility in challenging assumptions across wide knowledge.

In relation, the preamble establishing a tone to improve the quality of life through social, economic and political rights infers that *citizenship as a feeling* will be affirmed through this possession of power without feeling neglected as a minority in attaining an equitable education specified to their needs. Moreover, it is the acquisition of skills acquired in their learning at schools, which can facilitate future entrepreneurship that requires continuous engagement with people (networking) and self-belief in their capabilities to make a difference in their community and societies. In effect, the social domain is prone to development in learning that is positive to collaboration and reciprocally learning about others who are different. Therefore, *citizenship as a practice* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under the orders of the constitution (RSA, 1996) suggests that their voice will also be heard through collaborative civic duties. Implicitly, exercising the civil rights bestowed upon them (i.e. voting rights) in the political sphere, collaborating with others and contributing to fulfilling their social responsibility facilitates holding the

government accountable in a post-apartheid constitutional democracy that exemplifies representation.

Relevantly, outlets such as the *South African Human Rights Commission* have assured this aspect in achievable cases by monitoring the state in fulfilling these rights. Empirically, evidence points to their notable case (SAHRC, 2014), in which a learner's parent contended: "*We noticed she was very bright. The educational psychologist said she should be at the mainstream school. She went there [from the early childhood centre], but she would often leave the classroom and wander around the class. She was then sent [by the mainstream school] to a special school"*[69]. Accordingly, the schools (by implication, the state) were found in gross violation by the Commission of unjust power dynamics, with the learner with Down Syndrome (which can be regarded as a mild- intellectual disability) being obviously eligible in the ordinary public school. Thus, the approaches of questioning will benefit society in its entirety in the sustainable political order that is agreed upon and agreed upon by the majority to even out power dynamics. In effect, their practical domains will be cultivated in this process on account of entrenching a sense of personal and social responsibility.

The post-apartheid South African constitution (RSA, 1996), through Chapter 2 of the *Bill of Rights* under Section 19(1) of *political rights*, encourages finding identity and voice as means for agency as a means for citizenship by stipulating that:

> Every citizen is free to *finding identity and voice* in forming [emphasis added] political choices, which includes the right *and agency* [emphasis added] to – (a) to form a political party; (b) to participate in the activities of, or recruit members for, a political party; and (c) to campaign for a political party or cause. (p. 8)

Herein, three notable observations can be identified under Section 19(1) of the Constitution (RSA, 1996). Firstly, the section maintains a tone that, through political rights, freedom is a guarantee that makes it permissible to find identity and voice, which can also be interpreted as freedom of speech to hold powers that be (the state or schools) accountable. Closely, it also affirms the freedom of individual choices and affirms individuals' capabilities to be

[69] An excerpt of an interview conducted by the Human Rights Watch in Western Cape.

responsible for their own private affairs without interference from the government. To that aim, the inferred agency also implies that citizens are to revolt should the government fail to meet their obligations. In other words, the liberty to form political parties and participate in acts of activism such as marches is warranted by the constitution (RSA, 1996). Thus, all citizens' interests - political, social and economic - will be protected, and they will influence how their rights are safeguarded. To that effect, finding identity and voice is represented in how an array of voices are amplified to serve a particular concern. In posing similarity to the preambles, there is a prevalence of the dominance of the liberal strand in the scribing of the constitution (RSA, 1996) with reference to concepts such as "free" and "choices". Secondly, , the reference to "participate" joins the dots to civic republicanism.

Moreover, the position on political participation through the formation of political parties by supporting their value to offer a wide interest to a wide citizens interest in the RSA. Essentially, the common good is kept central to avoid running the risk of polarisation, social atomisation, or, in specific liberal terms, individualisation. In this South African constitutional context, this would refer to the value of democracy. Therefore, finding identity and voice as means for agency under the guise of civic republicanism implies that the varied interests that align close to one's identity can be respected and explored. Lastly, communitarianism can weave into these affiliations by citizens feeling kinship based on shared justice causes and interests.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of Section 19(1) on political rights to further the legal membership of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools symbolise the propulsion and exposure to varied knowledge and skills. Accordingly, these can only be thoroughly learnt through public spheres and not so easily acquired through theoretical and formal education. However, in policy later developed that corroborates this position of the constitution, at the school level, encouraging political participation within the school is the *South African Schools Act (SASA)* (DoE, 1996). In a threefold way, it permits learners to be part of a) Representative Council of Learners, (b) the School Governing Body and (c) developing and adopting a school code of conduct. Invariably, the represented promising prospects of success in accessing entry into different spheres of society - socially, economically and politically - pose a favourable outcome of using their agency. Using the influence that has been placed in one's possession through these rights creates a better reality for shaping the fabric of society, especially for

the betterment of a minority group. Thus, the birthright legal membership of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities by virtue of the provisions of Section 19(1) assists in the development of their conceptual domain. Specifically, it helps them in forming mental connections, adapting to change and being adept at problem-solving and decision-making, all of which are key to speeding the processing of information within their conceptual domain.

In view of *citizenship as a feeling*, navigating the absorption of different knowledge acquired in the public sphere encapsulates reading social codes in social interactions to firmly assert their belonging in school, community and social spaces. Essentially, it serves as integral for their social domain in effectively facilitating the continuous quests to find their identity and voice to exercise their agency within these spaces. Of relevance is how they can read social cues which equally bolsters how they resolve conflicts. For example, the case study conducted by Phaswana (2010) of learner councillors in Limpopo who reported they had become more skilled in their political participation by asserting: "*I learnt how to communicate on the table. And I learnt how to communicate with the mob … if the students are angry, what I can do to turn things right*" (p. 117). In contrast to the stance of leadership as political participation, learners finding their identity and agency imply that their sense of belonging based on their respective political choices will not be coerced. Instead, it will be guided by a well-rounded theoretical and informal balanced approach to learning. In addition, that sense of empowerment accrued through the sense of belonging motivates their autonomy and agency. Accordingly, *citizenship as a practice* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities through these political rights suggests that they can find self-expression (voice) in voicing their political interests through processes such as petitioning, voting and demonstrations in schools. In effect, this boosts forthcoming interrelationships between them as diverse citizens and others in a society. Essentially, the practical domain stands to be developed in demonstrated mastering of aspects such as social cues and through using theoretical knowledge to practical applications necessary in their pursuits of activism demonstrations.

In Section 29 on *education*, the post-apartheid South African Constitution (RSA, 1996) sets out its orientation in relation to citizenship. In provisioning the *availability* of education thereof, it enunciates that:

> (1) Everyone has the right (a) to basic education, including adult basic education, and (b) to further education, which the state, through reasonable measures, must make progressively *available*… (2)…In order to ensure the effective access to and implementation of this right, the state must consider all reasonable educational alternatives, including single medium institutions, taking into account (a) equity, (b) practicability, and (c) the need to redress the results of past racially discriminatory laws and practices (p. 12)

Section 29 offers three relevant facets. Firstly, it communicates the fundamentals of education as not only a human right, supported by Tomaševski (1999; 2001; 2006), but specifies the confines made available in which it should be achieved. In comparable terms with the preamble and Section 19(1) on political rights, the overall tone, by virtue of the insistency on rights, locates this section in the realm of the liberal strand. In offering further justification, the standpoint on the obligation to be fulfilled by the state in ensuring availability for all learners across all the compulsory formats of basic education[70] as a means that reproach equity, practicability and redress. By implication, delegation of this task is the responsibility of the National Assembly, the National Council of Provinces, and the national and provincial departments of basic education.

Secondly, the section asserts a government's role as being to serve its citizens by developing their intellectual abilities which, on a liberal strand, validates the enunciations of the constitution to provision education progressively. At its core, equitable education should be provided fairly, regardless of any identity markers that serve as barriers to accessing this right. Essentially, for the availability of education, the section elucidates that the wide structure it seeks to progressively ensure education infiltrates is to ensure that all citizens are educated. Only then can it be proven that the gaps in equity between people's level of education and lack thereof have been bridged.

[70] In post-apartheid South Africa these include Early Childhood Development (ECD) for the reception years (ages 5-6), Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) to reinstate the opportunity to acquire basic education lost between the ages of 5 to 15 and special needs education for learners such as those with learning impairments or intellectual disabilities who may be placed in special schools.

Thirdly, the utterance of discriminatory laws[71] sheds light on the importance of public policy as the necessity to balance individual rights and the common good. The affirmation of individual rights through individual freedoms encompasses those that were unjustly excluded as a characteristic of apartheid South Africa. In this context, it implies not posing further harm to minority citizens in order to promote social cohesion. In that respect, the availability of education, as articulated by Section 29(2), is to be piloted under inclusive values that are representative of the diversities found under what South Africa characterised as a rainbow nation. In effect, this includes inclusive values across all socioeconomic factors (i.e. social classes, geographic locations, cultural and inherent identities) that often cause division and impede the availability of education, which are articulated by the provisions of Section 29.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of Section 29 on furthering education as a legal safeguard for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools are recognised as advantageous. In evidence is the wide nature of educational institutions in post-apartheid South Africa demonstrated by the comparison of 24 900 ordinary public (which cater for neurotypical and mid-intellectual disabilities) in 2022 (Statistics SA, 2022) with a decline of 26 489 from 2002 (DoE, 2004). Similarly, there were 489 public special schools (which cater for severe to profound intellectual disabilities) in 2022, an increase from 295 in 2002 (Parliamentary Monitoring Group [PMG] 2023), with the conversion of ordinary public schools contributing to this increase. Thus, the legal status affirms the state's intent to merely thrust them into institutions of learning ill-equipped to support and develop their conceptual domain in the rightful way they are meant to acquire knowledge.

Citizenship as a feeling supported by the right to education carves a path for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to be informed and educated citizens who can critically hold political dialogue and partake in civic engagement to affirm their sense of belonging. As part of the availability of educational institutions free from discriminatory practices, these

[71] In Chapter 6, greater insight is provided by the SASA (DoE, 1996), which adds to give effect to the Constitution (RSA, 1996) by considering new approaches to ensure equality in schools so that learners can reach their full potential. Reforms against discriminatory apartheid laws, such as the *Bantu Education Act of 1953* are significant because they promote racial, disability, educational and language inclusion in education. Essentially, the post-apartheid redress measures enacted by both the SASA (DoE, 1996) and the Constitution (RSA, 1996) create new citizens who can be led and inspired by laws encapsulating such values.

learners can become involved in assuming leadership positions in schools to embody constitutional democratic values such as equality. These span across the classroom (e.g. class president), school committees (e.g. bullying liaison) and extracurricular activities (e.g. softball captain). Fundamentally, their social domains provide better opportunities to develop under constitutional democratic values that ensure engagement with their differently identifying peers socially (communication) with respect and empathy. Accordingly, these anti-discriminatory cultures will be adopted across various spheres beyond schools into communities and society. Thus, they will be affirmed in feelings of equality and mutual solidarity with other citizens.

In essence, *citizenship as practice* will be realised for these learners in their use of acquired knowledge (political literacy), skills (communication and critical thinking) and dispositions (values) to be advocates (for self and others) and activists. Moreover, how they choose to participate in their schools, communities and society based on the provisions of Section 29 infers that their representation numbers in critical spheres of society will be magnified with the availability of education widened to promote redress. Thus, the practical domain stands to be developed through the wide range of tasks that engage their use of their speech and acts of service (i.e. volunteering and marches) to safeguard democracy as their civic duty.

5.3 A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION

Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995)

As informed by the evaluative analysis, the representation of critique to balance power dynamics in the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) shows that classical liberalism is underemphasised. Accordingly, contemporary civic republicanism is more emphasised with the scattered utterance of "republic", which implies its ideals and is primarily informed by the strand. Availability as a tenet was more represented within a classical liberal approach which is expressed in the ways schools cater and support the learning needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In proposing channels of empowerment to find identity and voice as a means for agency and developing their intellectual and adaptive functions, the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) profoundly characterises educating for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism in its regard for rights to be met

with equal responsibilities. By implication, citizenship as a status for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools shows the potential of their affirmed freedoms and non-domination. The wide availability of schools, regardless of learners' respective material conditions or historical factors that may have resulted in the loss or halt in their schooling, perfectly represents this aspect. Critically, the development of the conceptual domain is acknowledged in the provision of relevant learning materials and matched pedagogies to their abilities that alter their thought patterns. Similarly, citizenship as a feeling shows that through personalised learning and a balancing of the scales that affirms their sense of belonging within schools can be safeguarded. Essentially, their boosted representation develops their self-esteem and the interactive learning develops the social domain. Therefore, citizenship as a practice stands supported in the lengths that they can pursue civic engagements independently, fostering abilities to make prudent judgements towards protecting the interests of the common good and undertaking their social duties and responsibilities. Thus, the development of the practical domain through experiential learning requires capacity building and civic engagement in democratic processes.

In that respect, the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) aligns with global inclusion ideals expressed in The Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994). Supporting this alignment are the achievements of schools creating opportunities that increase social mobility, representation and sharpen the skills of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, thus weakening hegemonic power dynamics. In relation to continental policy, its idealisations show a likeness to that of Canada's social cohesion as foundations for the effective functioning of society that simultaneously works towards efforts to cultivate their intellectual and adaptive functions. As corroborated by Patel et al. (2020), citizenship as a status through rights and feelings of oneness under common laws fosters practices that lead to effective citizenship equal with their peers. Moreover, in relation to regional policy, it speaks the same voice as that of Ethiopia in the idealisation of a civic republican citizenship education that emphasises responsibility not only to oneself but to the community and society. Essentially, the rewards can equally be advantageous to learners finding their voice and agency in the post-apartheid school contexts.

Conversely, as previously highlighted by Arendse and Smith (2019), there is concern that the Act's provision are not being upheld. Specifically, the learners' exposure to, and knowledge and understanding of the functions of parliament are not being adequately met.

In conjunction, general educational programmes that educate about legislative authorities that guide the roles and responsibilities of citizenship (communitarianism and republicanism) are limited. In addition, it also infers the off-site learning spaces, such as excursions to the National Civic Education Centre, are equally not prioritised by schools. Therefore, the critique can be directed at the level of political literacy of the processes within the republic and their role as citizens is constrained for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to attain a cohesive theoretical grounding in citizenship. Implicitly, (in)effective citizenship as a status that limits the exercise of their rights, as a feeling that leaves them excluded in certain capacities, affects the extent of their practice of active citizenship. Regrettably, this is similar to arguments found in Morocco and Scotland that imply that such ordeals are a form of reductionist ways of teaching (Idrissi & Benabderrazik, 2020; Shapira et al., 2023).

Moreover, the tendency of such current practices manifests itself in the low voter turnout of school-leaving youths (Wolhuter et al., 2020). The chain in this relationship inevitably affects how a representative democracy is endorsed in school matters concerning nominating leadership and how modes of governance are exercised. The opportunities for developing mental processing patterns of theoretical and technical knowledge (skills) to finding identity and voice as a means for agency through democratic structures to be applied in the political capacities of citizens-in-waiting are undermined.

Consequently, such undermining practices, to the detriment of their active citizenship, infer that “other” dominant voices taking centre stage as mouthpieces of their adversities are still a reality. Therefore, if citizenship is to be embraced as a status that promotes educational availability, in this regard, it is only embodied in the formal sense that reduces learners in schools as mere headcounts on checklists. Regrettably, within those learning environments, bounds of knowledge are not fully fostered to develop the conceptual domain which, in Locke’s (1967) terms, fills the tabula rasa. In the trade of social rights for privileges, education is construed as a privilege, foremost to it being a social right. In essence, citizenship as a status, feeling and practice is illustrated by an uneven playing field for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to their differently identifying peers.

Therefore, the greyed anomalies of the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) on account of critique, much remains to be ascertained on whether dominant structures are being

weakened or reinforced with citizenship as a status equally privileged to them. There is a myriad of conflicting systemic (formal access vs. informal access) and structural (expansive school formats vs. limited exposure to relevant knowledge) demands presented on how the citizenship legislation is embraced. Therefore, encapsulating citizenship as a status, feeling and practice while simultaneously asserting liberal-inclined practices casts much doubt on fulfilling the inclusive cause that better corresponds to contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Furthermore, within the grey area, the manner in which the Act is embraced in schools raises the critical question of how much learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are actually able to transfer their knowledge, skills and values. More so, in an integrated manner in strengthening how they find their identity and voice as means for an agency from school to societal, political and future economic spheres, given the barriers resisting this process. Expanding on this grey area, it is also worth mentioning that the identified positive potential of the Western Cape Education Department's policy weakens social issues such as xenophobia in accommodating refugee learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. However, while education is a catalyst for societal progressiveness, the fact that the ICT for Rural Education (ICT4RED) project has only shown to develop a few in a small geographic area is concerning. Thus, it aggravates insecurity for all citizens of the RSA, with the majority belonging to the public education system contributing so little to the maximised success of exemplary national projects such as the National Development Plan Goals 2030.

Needless to say, the failures in the interpretation of the idealisations of the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) also show a dichotomised relationship between itself, the human rights project and social justice.

Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996)

The Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996), based on critique, represents an overemphasised sense of classical liberalism in its core concepts used in conceptualising the legislation. However, the growing influence of communitarianism and civic republicanism can also be seen in the values advocated. Correspondingly, in the emphasis on citizenship engagement that characterises a representative democracy in how citizens can find identity and voice as means for agency through these rights that citizens hold. In the effort to widen educational accessibility, the uniform provision of education for all faintly embodies communitarianism in the quest to reduce discriminatory practices that foster active

citizenship by embracing all identities. Essentially this underscores perspectives of social structures that are pluralistic (Etzioni, 1996a; Habermas, 2001). By implication, citizenship as a status shows potential to be met in that the rights are bestowed, and the state fulfils its duty by ensuring the availability of educational institutions equipped with adequate infrastructure, satisfactory learning support and pedagogies. In this context, education serves as a catalyst for their social mobility and prepares them for independent living post-school. Thus, continuous learning fosters cognitive flexibility, in challenging assumptions across wide knowledge domains, forms stronger mental connections, and enhances the speed at which embedded information is processed.

Similarly, citizenship as a status shows that citizenship as a feeling will be affirmed through the availability of educational institutions free from discriminatory practices. Moreover, the possession of power without feeling neglected as a minority in attaining leadership positions and being firmly affirmed in their sense of belonging is essential. In effect, the social domain is conducive to development in learning that fster collaboration and learning about others who are different. This, in turn, facilitates the continuous quests to finding their identity and voice to exercise their agency within the public sphere. Therefore, citizenship as practice suggests that their voice will also be heard through collaborative civic duties with their practical domains cultivated in processes that entrench a sense of personal and social responsibility. Essentially, the practical domain develops through the demonstrated mastery of aspects such as social cues and through using theoretical knowledge to practical applications necessary for effective demonstrations.

In that respect, it aligns with global agreements on citizenship education, emphasising ideals of human rights, inclusion and equality consistent with global policy expressed in the UDHR (UN, 1948), Salamanca Statement (UNESCO, 1994) and UNCRPD (UN, 2006) that solidifies their citizenship as a status. In evidence, the trade-off in the number of ordinary public schools acknowledges the equal need and prioritisation of more special schools, representing availability. Essentially, that affirms Walzer's spheres of justice (1983) as being actualised and the notion of critique is exercised by having power, privilege, redress and redistribution to dismantle the established hegemony. In conjunction with solidifying their citizenship as a feeling, the enveloping opportunities for these learners suggest that past divisions that justified discrimination, stereotypes and the exclusion of certain identities invite balanced voices in the representative government. Thus, learners with mild-

intellectual disabilities as citizens-in-waiting will find identity and voice as means for agency in their educational experience to improve their competence for leadership roles to exercise their citizenship as a practice.

In equal contrast, disagreement about the constitutional provisions being upheld is found behind the reality of formal access via more schools established (availability) but are predominantly characterised by overcrowded classrooms (Phala & Hugo, 2022), which is surprising given statistics (PMG, 2013) communicating more establishments. More so, there is the looming reality of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, like autism, lacking official school placements (Pillay et al., 2022). Ultimately, the availability of education on a scale is severely compounded on one end. Therefore, such evidence shows that the greater depth of the obligation to serve learners with mild-intellectual disabilities has been largely unfulfilled 30 years into democracy. Essentially, critique is misaligned in the imbalance power dynamics to change the status quo amidst policy intentions to focus on "a) equity; (b) practicability; and (c) the need to redress" (RSA, 1996, p. 12) poorly represented in the availability of institutions, resources and funding. Moreover, the prevailing systemic inequalities and structural barriers that necessitate immediate intervention by outlets such as the South African Human Rights Commission are not conducive to promoting the ideal of maximising the development of these learners' intellectual and adaptive functions.

In the context of ongoing disagreements, different from the imminent systemic inequities and structural barriers, the Constitution (RSA, 1996) affirms moral values rooted in communitarianism and civic republicanism. However, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are still largely unrecognised in their sense of citizenship as they continue to face discrimination, particularly in its subtle mask that underplays their need for support (Mabaso, 2024) or showing urgency to address their educational needs (Pillay et al., 2022). Attitudinal obstructions suggest a reluctance to apply professional best practices that facilitate the learning processes of these learners with complex needs. As a result, this locates learners with mild-intellectual disabilities as second-class citizens in the ordinary public school. Consequently, a progressive education stands in contention if attitudinal issues are not in alignment with democratic values. Invariably, these learners struggle to affirm their citizenship in practice, with few opportunities to find their identity and voice as means for agency due to their limited power and privileges within schools.

Therefore, posing as a grey area in the lack of upholding provisions from the Constitution (RSA, 1996), is the number of those enrolled in regular public schools and those referred to special schools. This considers the influence of negative attitudes that contribute to misdiagnoses that result in learners with mild-intellectual disabilities being placed in incorrect school formats. Essentially, this grey area aggravates more uncertainty of their citizenship as a status with an unclear reconciliation of the statistics between their enrolment and placements. Furthermore, in positioning critique, it is unlikely that private institutions of learning and the public will confront the same issues. Therefore, much of the grey based in this area illustrates a stronger pull to Rawls' liberal notion of justice that strips the essence of their citizenship as a feeling, instead of Walzer's articulated spheres of justice under contemporary communitarianism. Thus, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' roles do not fully capture how citizenship education affirms their redress and redistribution, enabling them to reap the benefits of citizenship as a practice.

Therefore, the interpretation of the idealisations of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) stands in stark contrast to fulfilling a human rights and social justice project in the continued manner that underrepresents learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in realising their potential. Thus, as an unintended consequence, **c**itizenship education policies guided by the citizenship legislation tend to reframe them as political subjects lacking their uniformity and congruency to global policy idealisations.

5.4 THESIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S CITIZENSHIP LEGISLATION

There exists a need for the establishment of unambiguous framework provisions that stipulate a consensus of a maximal degree of political participation by all citizens. As the legislation confers citizenship status through rights, it establishes a clear benchmark for ordinary public schools to subscribe to in inculcating citizenship as a feeling and practice necessary to realise effective citizenship for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools and beyond. Accordingly, Tomaševski (2001) explains "people learn at home, on the street, in the community, in prison or refugee camp" (p. 21), which is a congruent illustration that neatly ties into contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Essentially, the politics of representation, especially within the Constitution (RSA, 1996) as the supreme law responsible to be enacted to effect redistribution and redress, is implemented to diminish

the broader spheres of society they can occupy, reinforcing second-class citizenship. Furthermore, as aptly framed by Pateman (2016), these learners, being citizens-in-waiting having the citizenship rights, should be recognised as capable of making decisions that affect them equally. Regrettably, they remain under the guise of benevolence.

In alignment with the contributing knowledge, the central argument of the overall study and responds to the key questions in the opening of this chapter:

- In practice, critique is represented in the citizenship legislation as inadequately weakening the inherent power dynamics of classical liberalism in terms of its individualistic nature to the detriment of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. Implicitly, their promised rights fall short in their foresight to trigger political participation. Therefore, education as a social right is caught in the firing line with its poor provision in schools translating citizenship as a status, feeling and practice as a fallacy to the facilitation of the development of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. The citizenship legislation in practice negates balancing power dynamics, and its conception of representative and constitutional democracy is liberally overemphasised, as shown by the regrettable selectivity, in terms of which learners amply exercise their rights. Thus, the reality of underemphasised contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism construes freedom through subtle domination.

- In practice, finding identity and voice as a means of agency shows the citizenship legislation to not be expansive in the channels to fully fledge empowerment through maximal political participation; this hinders the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions. Therefore, normalcy and ableism are not challenged in the depicted overemphasis of liberal (state) neutrality. The espoused democratic values, centred on social justice, tolerance and fairness to promote citizenship as a status, feeling and practice within the learning process, are met with the magnetisation of liberal prejudices at the centre. Therefore, in line with the slogan used in the opening line of this chapter, “Nothing about us, without us!” there is an underemphasis of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism, with group collectivism and shared duties and responsibilities sacrificed.

- In practice, availability through the citizenship legislation is shown not to offer ordinary and general schools that cater to and support the learning needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to mitigate their individualisation. Consequently, in considering their intellectual and adaptive functions, avenues to cultivate and acquire knowledge, think abstractly and critically, and become politically literate are not "progressively" – as stated in the citizenship legislation – made available to them. An underemphasised contemporary civic republican conception of democracy, which ought to be representative, is more emphasised as being in alignment with Pericles' classical liberalism. By implication, liberal democracy that prioritises freedoms overemphasised in classical liberalism invariably underemphasises equality in the distribution of resources. This hinders efforts to steer citizenship as a status, feeling and practice, ultimately limiting the success of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

In defence of the central argument, and with brief support from the theoretical framework, evidence of legislative tension is shown in the next paragraphs.

The overemphasis of classical liberalism by the citizenship legislation amidst evidence pointing to a liberal democracy that is selective, (state) neutrality and freedom does not provide an intersecting point to meet the educational needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In addition, it fails to be representative of holism, which does not incline itself towards the homogenous views of learner disabilities but instead brings reproach to the equal distribution of education as a social right. In accordance with how citizenship legislation is embraced, citizenship perceptions held by Aristotle (1973) on reason and rationality are voluminous. Put differently, the depiction of these learners being motioned into exclusion judging by the least professional best practices exerted to cater to their needs is aligned to Aristotelianism. How education is provisioned is viewed from a narrow approach that foregrounds Aristotle's (1962) argument against privileges as they create inequalities which are unintendedly manifested in the implementation of the citizenship legislation. Essentially, this comes at a detriment of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities who require a sense of positive discrimination through policy.

Conversely the underemphasis on contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism, amidst evidence, idealisations formed in the evaluative analysis and areas of

agreement, shows that citizenship legislation fails to account for freedom as non-domination. Moreover, collectivism through actively shared engagement and equality in the distribution of resources remain inadequately addressed. In accordance with how citizenship legislation is embraced, contemporary civic republican perceptions held by Pettit (1997) that emphasise that freedom should not be mistaken for liberal negative freedoms that propel individualism, are not supported. Therefore, the hegemonic barriers that resist equalising power, ensuring that there is no domination partnered with democratic participation is severely neglected. In this context, Etzioni's contemporary communitarian perception of holism establishes collectivism (1996a; 1996b) to bring these learners to a state of interconnectedness with their peers where differences do not stratify, but collective benefits are nullified. By implication, although not the prime aim of this study, classical civic republican perceptions held by Cicero (2017) of what characterises a strong commonwealth with citizens who are of good virtues and upstanding character are equally not encapsulated.

Thus, the educational benefits of educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in concern of their intellectual and adaptive functions, positively discussed in the evaluative analysis, are portrayed in practice to narrow the development of the conceptual domain. Their prospects of being at the centre of the marginalising circle, the limited access to knowledge, opportunities for social mobility and participation that expose them to critical spheres to influence policy and politics do not foster their development. Ideally, schools, under a shared ethos, are geared towards the formation of shared cultural, recreational and team-building aspects that enforce the conceptional values of communitarianism even in extracurricular activities. However, in concern for the development of their social domain, classical liberalism narrows their perceptions of pluralistic societies beyond their immediate spaces. Thus, within them, it also reinforces stereotypes that do not work towards social cohesion but also accept stereotypes of their identity, which easily assume them as dependent cohorts. Regrettably, the practical domain is also affected by the limited theoretical knowledge they possess to become self-advocates with agency and be active citizens. Citizenship education theorists, Burner and Osler (2017), also contend that a sense of belonging is contingent on the success of policies committed to inclusion, meeting psychological needs, security and the fundamental mitigation of discrimination that blanket them. Thus, the educational benefits of educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism could have achieved these aspects.

Summary table which provides an overview of the citizenship policy analysis:

Document	Liberalism	Communitarianism	Civic republicanism
Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995)	Emphasises liberal freedoms but learners' exposure to democratic process is limited	Idealises group collectivism but practices nullify collective benefits	Emphasises building a republic but practices show the participation by all is exclusionary
Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996)	Vast state neutrality in challenging hegemonies in school practices	Democratic values are encouraged but are hindered by prejudices to some identities	Theorised as a representative democracy, but practices show an imbalance of representations

5.5 CONCLUSION

The contribution of the chapter to the subject field is that citizenship legislation requires a fresh establishment of unambiguous framework provisions that stipulate a consensus of a maximal degree of political participation by citizens. Aaligned to the central argument of the overall study is that citizenship legislation is overemphasised in classical liberal strands of liberal democracy, freedoms, reason and rationality and modern liberal strands of state neutrality, which inherently individualise. The tenets of critique and finding identity and voice as means for the agency were used as lenses to analyse post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship legislation made up of the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) and the Constitution of South Africa (RSA, 1996).

The evaluative analysis of the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) found that it dominantly communicates educating for contemporary civic republicanism with liberalism held at a minimal note. By implication, it showed citizenship as a status, feeling and practice

with the potential to cultivate the conceptual, social and practical domains of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools based on its provisions for them to pursue civic engagements and become politically active citizens. The evaluative analysis of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) found that it dominantly communicates classical liberalism rather than contemporary communitarianism or civic republicanism. By implication, as rights arm and oblige the state to provide public goods to its citizens, it demonstrated the possibility of promoting citizenship as a status, feeling and practice in developing these learners' conceptual, social and practical domains. These were promoted by tones that value representation and shared responsibility, encouraging them to be self-expressive and have shared responsibility, being empowered and enabling them to become activists across a myriad of societal spheres.

Overall, the theoretical analysis based on areas of agreement revealed that the strengths of the citizenship legislation lie in its embrace of more learners being enrolled (formal access) in schools. Derived from the areas of disagreement, identified concerns were the poor conditions of ordinary public South African schools, discriminatory practices and undereducation of citizenship topics. Stemming from the areas of contestation, much questionability rested on the level of representation of these learners, enrolment in schools as an identity and the inference of the socioeconomic discrepancies, bearing in mind school availability. Accordingly, the contribution to the subject field that emerged is nestled in the ambiguity of the framework in determining the extent of political participation that schools can easily adopt as a clear benchmark to subscribe to. The central argument levelled against the citizenship legislation is that it is expressed and embraced upon classical liberalism by virtue of the overemphasised liberal democracy, state neutrality, freedoms, reason and rationality. Therefore, the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism based on freedom as non-domination, collectivism, and equality in the distribution of education that caters to their learning needs are underemphasised. Chapter 6 provides a critical analysis of the education policy in post-apartheid South African schools using the tenets of transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures (Critical disability theory), accessibility and acceptability (Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework).

CHAPTER 6: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND LEARNERS WITH MILD-INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF EDUCATION POLICY

6.1 INTRODUCTION

> Education, in its broadest, general sense, is the means through which the aims and habits of a group of people [live] on from one generation to the next. Generally, it occurs through any experience that has a formative effect on the way one thinks, feels, or acts. In its narrow, technical sense, education is the formal process by which society deliberately transmits its accumulated knowledge, skills, customs and values from one generation to another. (Dewey, 1930, pp. 1–4)

The excerpt from Dewey (1930) provides a lens on the extent to which education contributes to citizenship, transforming the continuity of society and the simultaneous contribution of education to citizenship in its process of accessibility. Notwithstanding that, Dewey (1930) is not writing about South Africa specifically; there is high expectation for the acceptability of the quality of citizenship education as a vehicle to steer towards this continuity of civilisation. Chapter 5 elaborated on the obligation of the citizenship legislation mandating schools to provide a basic education. In succession, the education policy should ensure this objective translates to learners' acquisition of knowledge, skills and values through better content development and teaching. Characteristic of the analytical method of enquiry, the chapter argues that education policy is overemphasised in classical liberal elitism (meritocracy), atomisation, reductionism, reason and rationality, thereby impeding societal progression, which impedes citizenship (education) as a triad of status, feeling and practice.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1, under the assigned criteria of transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures, accessibility and acceptability, provides an evaluative analysis of the *White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995), *SASA* (DoE, 1996) and *CAPS* (DoE, 2011). It locates policy's key citizenship strands and implications for citizenship as a status, feeling and practice of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in ordinary and general schools. Section 2 presents a theoretical analysis of the positive (areas of agreement), negative (areas of disagreement)

and vague (areas of contestation) aspects of post-apartheid South Africa's education policy. Section 3 provides the thesis of the chapter in its contribution to the subject matter.

The chapter contributes to the subject field and the study's central argument by asserting that the education policy is too constrained in formal education in primary schools. Therefore, as shown in the critical analysis of the education policy in post-apartheid South African schools, it shows that the educational benefits of contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands of citizenship are undermined and underemphasised. Consequently, there are no equal efforts in practices that advance the civic skills of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in these formative years from the foundation phase.

In providing a critical analysis of the implementation of the education policy in post-apartheid South African schools, I posed the following questions using the tenets[72] of Critical Disability Theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework:

- Does the education policy establish means for transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools?
- Does the education policy institute accessibility of affirmative action through barrier-free environments for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools?
- Does the education policy prove its acceptability in tailoring a citizenship education to learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools relevant for future global needs?

[72] In the evaluative analysis section, each tenet will be used twice to fairly analyse the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), SASA (DoE, 1996) and CAPS (DoE, 2011) as a collective making up the education policy. The rationale for selecting these specific tenets to particularly analyse the education policy is impelled by the fact that they are more transformative than citizenship legislation and inclusive policy. In the practical sense, they are more useful in the engagement of the daily activities of schools (transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures). In addition, at a micro-level in schools, these policies as a collective of education policy, steer the elimination of discrimination and administer affirmative action to the benefit of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities (accessibility), offer a pluralistic eye-view, enforce quality teaching, education and the training of educators (acceptability).

6.2 EVALUATIVE ANALYSIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S EDUCATION POLICY

6.2.1 THE WHITE PAPER ON EDUCATION AND TRAINING (DoE, 1995)

As part of the Reconstruction and Development of the Education and Training Programme, the post-apartheid White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), under Chapter 3 in quest of *Transforming the Legacy of the Past*, outlines its relation to citizenship by characterising transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures through:

> Developing the human resources of the country is both a goal of the RDP [Reconstruction and Development Programme] and a requirement for achieving *transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures*. [emphasis added]. Appropriate education and training can empower people to participate effectively in all the processes of a democratic society, economic activity, cultural expression, and community life, and can help citizens build a nation free of race, gender and every other form of discrimination. (p. 17)

At the introductory level, the excerpt from the *Transforming the Legacy of the Past* chapter affirms the quest for transformation in eradicating all conjectures that represent exclusions in policy and practices with a pronounced civic republican voice in its premise. This is reflected in three ways. Firstly, the focus on human resources is key to civic republicanism, seeking to maximise human capabilities and skills towards the overall value of social justice for all citizens. Human resources are positioned to offer transformation that improves the well-being and socioeconomic status of citizens through the *Reconstruction and Development of the Education and Training Programme* that ameliorates education and training. In essence, it ties in neatly to the notion of human capabilities that are affirmed by freedom as a civic virtue. In addition, the reference to human resources implies the view that all individuals possess the ability to participate in societal engagements.

Secondly, participation remains a critical aspect of the education and training process as human development cannot be realised without empowerment. Therefore, with their capabilities and skills improved, opportunities for social mobility across all spheres of

society are to follow. Moreover, it speaks to a democratic form of governance (in the description of a democratic society) that is persistent in maximising the engagement of its citizens and facilitating the development of the nation at large. Therefore, with the predominant central idea of communitarianism and civic republicanism emphasising participation, in this context, robust contemporary civic republicanism links can be reinforced in line with the concept of participatory democracy within the public sphere. Granted that democracy equally aligns with liberalism, in such a context, when it is expressed alongside "cultural", "community", "help", and reference to anti-discriminatory norms, it represents a civic republican form of participatory and representative democracy. Therefore, this distinguishes how it is not exerted liberally with regard to individual choices and freedoms. Accordingly, transformation adopts approaches that have no limitations in any sphere of society, as change that is to be experienced in a democratic society shies away from the nuances held by liberalism, i.e. privatised restrictions. In addition, transformation as a means of changing the "economic" is pronounced with more intensified activity, and cultural expressions speak to changes in social structures by incorporating ideas of diversity and pluralism. Lastly, a trace of communitarianism is noticeable in the idea of recourse from discriminatory practices. Thus, it elucidates a sense of moralism in line with the utterance of "help", which infers there is a shared common good to be safeguarded and served.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, affirmation of the legal membership of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools is shown probability in the emphasis with respect to them being projected to be part of human resources. The projection of accelerated transformation in the country in the long-term infers that the present is addressed with schools optimising vocational, theoretical and skills-based knowledge that is simultaneously attained in the careful attention to their educational needs. Thus, transformation, as affirmed by the status, is set in motion when they demonstrate gradual growth from the day-to-day knowledge that they are exposed to in school, allowing them to make informed decisions confidently that are beneficial in the long-term. In this stimulation for vocational knowledge (applied thinking), theoretical knowledge (abstract thinking) and skills-based knowledge (procedural thinking), the development of their conceptual domain will also be characterised by more revealed talents, manifested potentials and strengthened capabilities.

Accordingly, *citizenship as a feeling* is shown to be assured in their identity, not being capitalised as a barrier as they navigate societal, economic and political structures using the knowledge and skills that have been well honed at school. Equally, this transformation enhances their sense of belonging in the diverse and pluralistic schooling environments that reflect society and are met by diverse cultural tolerances. Essentially, it promotes the development of the social domain and its role in strengthening emotional regulation for resilience and mastering social cues amongst diverse citizens. Moreover, it promotes how they can assert agency over their own lives and form their own opinions, belonging to a (school) community, without simply being guided by others. Accordingly, with transformation set to ensue within the social and economic structures, c*itizenship as a practice* is affirmed under these provisions that improve the quality of these learners' lives. Essentially, this involves their social mobility in the development of their practical domain that also contributes to competence in their leadership roles and productivity within economic activity. In effect, transformation spanning across political structures where diverse people form a collective to deliberate on citizenship matters minimises instances of exclusion and marginalisation under this conceptualisation of cultural expression that is well represented.

As an avenue to reconstruct society in the post-apartheid era through education, the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995) bears responsibility as the initial education-specific policy for *accessible* education and training that upskills an individual. Under Chapter 4 and clause 5, which outlines the *Education and Training policy values and principles*, it states that:

> The overarching goal of policy must be to enable all individuals to value, have access to, and succeed in lifelong education and training of good quality. Educational and management processes must, therefore, put the learners first, recognise and build on their knowledge and experience, and respond to their needs. An integrated approach to education and training *will be accessible to* [emphasis added] increase mobility and quality in the national learning system. (p. 21)

The extract from the chapter on *Education and Training policy values and principles* establishes the idea of a barrier-free school environment to affirm an education that is concentrated on quality with an exceptional contemporary communitarian and civic

republican tone. Herein, two key points can be dissected. Firstly, the declared overarching goal of policy gives promise to catapult learners with mild-intellectual disabilities as a previously disadvantaged group who were comparatively deprived of accessing the lifelong benefits of education. In other words, accessibility as a determiner of lifelong education is somewhat of a guarantee of educational quality. In essence, the envisaged integrated approaches to education and training solidify that the public sphere is a core realm for instilling social responsibility and social mobility. Accordingly, social responsibility and social mobility hold the power to alter individuals' socioeconomic conditions, which can also be perceived as a reward of lifelong learning through the stability and empowerment that will be realised. Thus, systemic barriers will be weakened due to education and training established on quality that gives promise to a level playing field. Secondly, the reference to learners being put first promotes a communitarian viewpoint that has the interest of the common good through educated citizens which, in the long run, facilitates the flourishment of the community. Therefore, education emerges as a social right, manifesting as a success with members of the community, who in turn shape the common good by sharing responsibilities. In essence, the extract elucidates accessibility to validate attaining affirmative action and equity.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of Chapter 4 on *Education and Training policy values and principles* highlight that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South African schools are to be educated in learning environments under learning processes that are tailored to improve their uncultivated conceptual domain. In other words, access operates on two levels: a) a quality education that guarantees lifelong positive outcomes and b) accessibility, which will be tailored to fit the diverse needs required for each individual learner to meet their potential. Exemplifying this, an integrated approach to education and training is characterised by school infrastructure, such as libraries, sheltered classrooms and laboratories, that are predictably laid out to appeal to autistic learners. In addition, learning support (pedagogies) for the varied diversities, such as differentiated assessments and individualised educational plans such as lessons that focus on routine for learners with autism and movement for those with ADHD, should be employed in the teaching and learning process. Therefore, accessibility, particularly for the conceptual domain under a learner-centred approach to learning, also strengthens the approaches to acquiring knowledge. In this view, education as both a social good and a social right is suggested to represent their individual interests and needs in schools.

Accordingly, *citizenship as a feeling* will also be affirmed in the level of opportunities that stand to be part of their reality on account of lifelong education. Essentially, the benefits to a lifelong education become continuous with an affirmed security of self-sustenance, for example, employment that propels social mobility. Invariably, their access to social spaces and how they engage, form connections and communicate with others are boosted, which is reflective of the development of the social domain. Thus, their sense of belonging will affirm their personal growth in their identity. Effectively, *citizenship as a practice* in their accessibility to a quality education bolsters their overall quality of life through the acquired knowledge and skills to take personal care of themselves, for example, hygiene chores. Essentially, these characterise the development of the practical domain to apply such knowledge and skills to other practical tasks. These involve tasks which are relevant to serving the community, broader society and those influencing many critical spheres of society.

The post-apartheid White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995) in relation to citizenship posits its position through Chapter 5, focusing on *Developmental initiatives* that are more candid to special educational needs and what characterises *acceptability* in terms of psychological support, professionalism and quality learning. Clause 30 pledges that:

> The Ministry of Education intends to explore a holistic and integrated approach to Education Support Services in collaboration with the provincial Ministries of Education and in consultation with the Ministries of Health, Welfare and Population Development, and Labour. The inclusive, integrated approach, emphasising the lengths of educational *acceptability* [emphasis added], recognises that issues of health, social, psychological, academic and vocational development and support services for learners with special education needs in mainstream schools are interrelated. (p. 28)

In this excerpt from Chapter 5 of the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995), two salient points are made prominent. Firstly, the policy's use of terminology such as "holistic" in reference to working towards the interconnectedness of an interrelated reality in which each component is a fragment that forms the larger whole of society. The reference to "integrated" shows alignment with societal integration to build strong societies, whereas "inclusive" shows alignment with embracing all diversities in the community regardless of

socioeconomic status differences in the quest for social cohesion. Moreover, “interrelated” refers to communal connections in the shared values and bonds between members of a community. Therefore, with acceptability being rooted in achieving optimum quality education in terms of safety, learning materials used and psychosocial support, the policy is essentially concerted to put the learner at the centre. In pursuit of achieving this end, all the key stakeholders responsible for policy implementation are collaborating dutifully. Invariably, collaboration across the three ministerial portfolios in pursuit of achieving the common good is more likely to reap a favourable outcome, ensuring the policy’s provisions are implemented with greater efficiency and resource allocation.

Secondly, the communitarian strand is further elucidated in the reference to social services, which represents a moral obligation the policy holds itself to achieve. Similarly, psychological services also allude to moralism, which factors values such as tolerance and empathy as equally integral to the learning process. Therefore, educational quality - as a feature of acceptability - under notions that usher collective identity where learners are not disadvantaged by their differences in how they access the learning process in schools. In effect, the pledged educational quality of the policy engulfs the notion of fair distribution, which is not narrowed to a one-size-fits-all rationale for education. Therefore, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities – classified under the umbrella of special educational needs - will not be underrepresented in their identity in the process of allocating educational funds.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of Chapter 5 on developmental initiatives are indicative of post-apartheid schools (based on acceptability) characterised to provide more conducive learning environments. These learning environments ensure a learner with dyslexia and a learner with autism are supported according to their respective needs. In other words, whether it is through school infrastructure (e.g. resource centres) or learning processes (e.g. learner-centred active learning), these are carefully tailored to improve their overall intellectual and adaptive functions. The legal membership being met in the encouragement of collaboration between the state departments contributes to their better learning outcomes, which will be observed in:

a) The provincial Ministry of Education ensuring its policy provisions support educator workshops to sharpen expertise that improve learners' level of knowledge and thinking.
b) the Ministry of Health ensuring health standards of schools, including those outlined in the National School Nutrition Programme (NSNP), facilitate growth of the brain essential to optimise these learners' level of concentration necessary to achieve optimum outcomes in their learning, are safe;
c) the Ministry of Welfare and Population Development (commonly referred to as the Ministry of Social Development) co-assisting in developing strategies to be implemented in schools that strengthen psychosocial support services with more engagement with parents; and
d) The Ministry of Labour catalysing more vocational and school-leaving opportunities in the form of bursaries that are essential for these learners to enter workplaces with ease.

Essentially, *citizenship as a feeling* is to be affirmed in the inter-ministry collaboration that supports learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools to reach their maximum human potential in their achievements. In other words, collaboration, the sense of community and forming relationships practised in classrooms, foster a sense of belonging that an otherwise non-collaborative classroom with limited support would not afford them. Essentially, the development of the social domain fosters emotions of trust and feelings of safety when engaging in school tasks with others. Invariably, such collaborative approaches accelerate their representation in fields such as education, healthcare and community development, that is, volunteerism. Therefore, what will be fostered is their sense of pride in their own identity and pride in their belonging to a nation that serves the interests of its citizens-in-waiting. Ultimately*, citizenship as a practice* shall be fulfilled through demonstrable acts of group solidarity to achieve common goals within the school. This will develop their practical domain to make them more visible in community engagements through advocacy and expressing their voices through democratic processes.

6.2.2 THE SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS ACT, Number 86, (DoE, 1996)

The post-apartheid South African Schools Act (SASA) (DoE, 1996) expounds its relation to citizenship through the preamble, which renders its position on *transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures* through its intentions by decreeing:

> this country requires *transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures* [emphasis added] in a new national system for schools which will redress past injustices in educational provision, provide an education of progressively high quality for all learners…protect and advance our diverse cultures and languages, uphold the rights of all learners, parents and educators, and promote their acceptance of responsibility for the organisation, governance and funding of schools in partnership with the State. (p. 2)

In these dispositions relayed in the preamble of *SASA* (DoE, 1996), transformation is shown under a light to ameliorate the school system from one that previously held barriers within structures for identities such as disabilities. Implicitly, transformation is pursued through civic republicanism. However, it finds coexistence with liberalism in its motions to embark on transformation. In that duality of the strands, five aspects can be considered. Firstly, the commitment to redress, as a continuous idea from the "liberal" Constitution (RSA, 1996), alongside "injustices" following closely, identifies both concepts within a legal framework, emphasising rights as ways to correct or, more relevant under the tenet, transform. Thus, justice for citizens is framed in their private capacities as a perquisite for redress and a means to attain utilitarianism. Secondly, the idea of diversity infers that citizens of a participatory democracy are fairly represented in all their identities. It also exhibits a marked resemblance to pluralism, which straightforwardly spreads the civic republican message. Specifically, the intertwining of diversity and pluralism conveys the message that political participation within the public sphere can only be attained with diverse opinions to reflect a deliberative democracy. Therefore, transformation fostering change within these structures is possible in the realm of diversity, which is informed by a myriad of complexities in society.

Thirdly, in the first reference to "rights" (of all critical education stakeholders), once more, it reverts to a liberal tone that asserts the personal and individual power the state is obligated to provide on an individual basis. Fourthly, "responsibilities" change the dynamics of how

rights were used earlier to elucidate a civic republican perspective, which infers that rights, duties and responsibilities are a critical *trio* to accelerate political participation. In this context, the responsibilities of the education stakeholders are to promote these areas that are identified to trigger transformation in the new national system for schools. Lastly, in reference to *partnership*, a communitarian and civic republican sense often undergirded by the term collectivism suggests that it is important to serve the common good. Therefore, in executing roles and responsibilities effectively, a recipe for democracy is used to avoid rights being used in isolation, as that would reinforce individualism that does not transform the status quo. Instead, rights are intertwined with responsibilities to prevent their erosion, which is ideal for civic republicanism, which holds the potential to offer transformation across economic, political and social structures.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, its affirmation is found in equity as an integral value to launch transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools. In the acquisition of knowledge, marginalisation will not be exacerbated, as the quest is to achieve redress and eradicate injustices by ensuring curricula, pedagogy, and lessons are responsive to the development of their conceptual domain. Moreover, the promised high-quality education is shown to have the potential to achieve higher educational outcomes for learners possessing greater skills and knowledge on account of the support services in place. For example, cohesive structures in the organisation, such as clear learning objectives, governance that emphasises teamwork between DBSTs, SBSTs and school staff, as well as funding of school initiatives, facilitate programmes to support learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Empirical evidence that supports the potential stance is by Botha (2020), who outlined success factors of strengthened DBSTs and SBSTs in schools as "*professional commitment; being a team player; creative problem-solving skills; sharing responsibilities; communication skills; leadership skills; productivity and effective decision-making*" (p. 36).

In essence, *citizenship as a feeling* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities is to be affirmed considering the injustices and narratives that reinforce biases and stereotypes challenged, inviting their greater involvement in a democratic society led by collaborative notions. The element of diversity also holds value in reinforcing the sense of belonging in a pluralistic society. Thus, the development of their social domain is fostered through exemplified instances of self-expression in engaging in moral and political dialogues, civic

deliberations and engagements. In other words, the prioritisation of diversity, which includes embracing their identities and engaging in collaborative efforts, implies that the social atomisation as a result of liberalism can be mitigated by strong social cohesion. Eventually, *citizenship as a practice* will facilitate their ability to use their specific skill sets (i.e. manual skills to hand-write memoranda and problem-solving skills to improvise on plans) to challenge unjust practices that resist progress that has been made towards transformation. In relation to developing the practical domain, the repeated tasks that become part of their daily practices firmly affirm efficacy, confidence and critical thinking in pursuits they choose to engage in exercising their activism for effective citizenship.

The post-apartheid South African Schools Act (SASA) (DoE, 1996) lodges its relations to citizenship in Chapter 3 on *Public Schools***.** Under Section 12 of *Provision of public schools* encouraging *accessibility*, it stipulates that:

> (4) The Member of the Executive Council must, where reasonably practicable, provide education for learners with special education needs at ordinary public schools and provide relevant educational support services for such learners (5) …take all reasonable measures to ensure that the physical facilities at public schools *offer accessibility* [emphasis added] to disabled persons. (p. 10)

In this specific text, Section 12 of SASA (DoE, 1996) maintains a tone that magnifies both contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Accordingly, two notable observations can be identified. Firstly, under the status quo that has all learner identities in public schools and where conventional learning takes place in ordinary schools, it moves away from the elitism held by liberalism. In particular, this elitism is bolstered by pro-deregulatory views that eventually manifest into alternatives such as privatisation in education as popularised by capitalism. Thus, communitarian arguments can be established that postulate that ideas and practices that border on elitism pose threats to the common good by undermining shared moral values. In the magnification of civic republicanism by Section 12, evidence is equally identified in its focus on the majority to garner more engagement and participation in society. In effect, accessibility is prioritised through anti-discriminatory conditions and work to remove systemic and institutional barriers that may impede learners from receiving their social right to education. Secondly, reference to the support services further denounces how liberalism would have otherwise positioned these learners to be in

isolation as their differences do not fit the scope of development in society and leave them responsible for their own success. Accordingly, accessibility is validated by SASA (DoE, 1996) through the acknowledgment and provisioning of measures to achieve the objectives of making public schools barrier-free.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of Section 12 (Provision of public schools) infer that school environments that have support services facilitate the learning process. Explicitly, the acquisition of knowledge that will be transmitted to other areas that necessitate applying their critical thinking cultivates the conceptual domain of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. Examples of support services that propel accessibility through inclusive access include signage in schools to accommodate the wide pool of mild-intellectual disabilities that are not easily understood in their severity, such as warning signs. In this approach, hyperactivity and inattentive behaviour of learners with ADHD, for example, can be better supported and the avoidance behaviours that may manifest in dyslexic learners can be supported in the assured safety in schools.

Similarly, *citizenship as a feeling* is set to be affirmed in their feelings of safety within schools that are conscious of certain aspects of their intellectual and adaptive functions that have not yet fully developed to recognise certain hazards surrounding them. Therefore, idealised accessibility represents a balanced integration of barrier-free formal (within the classroom) and informal education (outside the classroom). In other words, the school playground is an area where vast communication and engagement occur amongst a mix of learner identities, and their motor skills can also be developed. Essentially, this fosters the sense of belonging, which equally and gradually develops their social domain to read and understand and differentiate between social cues. Therefore, reasonable measures must be undertaken to create schools as micro-communities where differences are not a barrier to their communal existence. Moreover, *citizenship as a practice* goes hand in hand with participation that builds skill and responsibility in the community in which one exists, and the interests of the majority are better served. Therefore, the practical domain sees the opportunity for development through strengthened executive functions that enable civic engagements to be met with appropriate decision-making and overall resourcefulness in fulfilling their civic duties.

In the continuum of Chapter 3, which focuses on *Public Schools*, SASA (DoE, 1996), in relation to citizenship, Section 20 of the *Functions of school governing bodies* addresses what characterises *acceptability* in terms of quality learning and the level of activism within the school by all education stakeholders. It pronounces that:

> (1) Subject to this Act, the governing body of a public school in ensuring *the acceptability standards of schools* [emphasis added] must (a) promote the best interests of the school and strive to ensure its development through the provision of quality education for all learners at the school…; (d) adopt a code of conduct for learners at the school; (e) support the principal, educators and other staff of the school in the performance of their professional functions…; (h) encourage parents, learners, educators and other staff at the school to render voluntary services to the school. (pp. 15–16)

The excerpt from Section 20 on *Functions of school governing bodies* shows its relevance to acceptability based on the idealised level of professionalism, management, quality of education to be received by learners, the safety of schools, and learning material. Paramount to that, the tenet invites the community (in essence, the school governing body) to participate in school decision-making matters. Thus, its relevance to the particular excerpt is critical to matters of accountability and incorporating freedom of speech for matters in deliberations. In that light, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism undergird the section. Illustrations of the strand are shown in four ways. Firstly, the outline of the roles of the school governing bodies (SGBs) to promote "the best interest" acknowledge their commitment to serving the moral principle that is the common good. In this instance, it refers to best professional practices towards the shared benefits of learners who equally add value and reap the value of education in their private lives. Essentially, it validates the notion that the common good is a shared obligation that all stakeholders work to achieve.

Secondly, the idea of the common good is reflective of schools once again being recognised as a micro-community that needs rules which, in communitarian terms, are shared moral values. As all communities are based on different shared values; it remains equal for schools through the codes of conduct that ensure order and cohesion. Under the lens of acceptability, this is the standard of management that all schools should establish to keep order in accordance with social behaviour and norms. Under the civic republican strand, the codes of

conduct maintain fairness to all learners (with the agreed-upon rules preventing discrimination), as the best interest serves more than the individual but the community. Thirdly, the reference to "support" for the school staff reinforces the idea of communal assistance that strengthens group solidarity so that all stakeholders involved apply best professional practices and thrive in the roles they occupy to the benefit of learners. Thus, a great obligation lies in the ministry of education to provide continuous professional development workshops. In effect, *support* in this regard links to ideas of the social nature of humans who work as a collective to achieve common goals towards the flourishment of society. Fourthly, the duty to encourage voluntary services is outwardly civic republicanism, as participation encouraged at the school level entrenches the idea of civic virtues such as undertaking a duty to the good of society. Thus, acceptability is spotlighted through a quality education not only focused on theoretical knowledge acquisition but also on serving the community (the informal curriculum), which is an equally important component to propel effective citizenship.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of Section 20 on the *Functions of school governing bodies* are rooted in the powers given to SGBs. SGBs provide a governance function in support of leadership and management through developing policies such as the school's code of conduct. Effectively, by providing oversight as representatives of parents and the broader community, school management teams (SMTs) can promote the best professional practices. Despite disparities in their functionality caused by challenges related to the limitation of knowledge, skills and power dynamics with SMTs, SGBs ultimately share a common goal: collaboration that improves learners' educational achievements. Therefore, understanding the challenges educators experience when dealing with behavioural regulation in learners with ADHD, as well as the complexities of deciding whether to provide more intensive learning support or simply managing general ill-discipline, a comprehensive school code of conduct may come in useful. Essentially, as an entity to indirectly increase learners' knowledge and outcomes, it facilitates developing their conceptual domain.

In that respect, *citizenship as a feeling* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South Africa is to be affirmed when their sense of belonging is elevated by support that is reinforced by school leadership to ensure the best professional practices are demonstrated in the classroom. In addition, critical pedagogy strategies that propel critical

thinking and constructivism through the interaction of these learners with their peers simultaneously develop the social domain as they become more socially connected to their peers. Essentially, a sense of belonging is cultivated between learners and their educators, learners and their peers in a connected, safe and positive discipline-led school environment. Moreover, there is the opportunity for them to possess sharpened social interaction skills that can be applied in vocational work for an easy transition from school to the job market. Accordingly, *citizenship as a practice* will be affirmed in school participation that eventually becomes geared towards undertaking greater citizenship tasks within society. These include involvement in wider civic engagements that contribute to the community through food parcel drives, sustainability projects - notably communal vegetable gardens - politically motivated marches and volunteerism in political causes in influencing the trajectory of policies and governance. Essentially, their practical domain is developed through their self-responsibility and undertaking of social responsibilities.

6.2.3 CURRICULUM ASSESSMENT POLICY STATEMENTS (DBE, 2011)

The post-apartheid South African CAPS[73] (DBE, 2011a), focusing on Life Orientation in the senior phase (Grades 7–9)[74] expands its standpoint towards inculcating citizenship through its purpose. It renders its position on *transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures* by decreeing:

> The focus of Life Orientation is the development of self in society. It promotes self-motivation and teaches learners how to apply goal-setting, problem-solving and decision-making strategies. These serve to facilitate individual growth as part of an effort to *mould transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social*

[73] Closely related to the NCS CAPS (DBE, 2011) is the Differentiated National Curriculum on Assessment Policy Statement (DoE, 2018), which makes provision for learners with moderate to severe intellectual disabilities in ordinary and special schools. The shared general aims of both National Curriculum on Assessment Policy Statements converge under the mission to meet the needs of learners with intellectual disabilities and promote the idea of citizenship. The two Statements differ in that the former is generalised for all learners catered for in ordinary and mainstream schools, which is more reliant on theoretical work; whereas, the latter is focused on schools of skills that have electives in their curriculum that focus on the acquisition of specific skills, i.e. Mechanical Technology: Motor Mechanics.

[74] The post-apartheid CAPS (DBE, 2011) is the present curriculum enforced in all private and independent schools. It lays out identical provisions in its central message from Grade R (in the foundation phase) up until Grade 12 (in the further education and training phase). Albeit those identical provisions, changes are observed in the aims when it comes to subject specificness. Herein, this chapter reveals this difference with respect to the differences between, specifically, the Life Orientation and History subjects.

> *structures* [emphasis added], creating a democratic society, a productive economy and an improved quality of life…Life Orientation helps learners to develop beneficial social interactions, such as respecting others' rights and values and promotes lifelong participation in recreation and physical activity. (p. 8)

The excerpt informed by the overall thematic areas[75] of the Senior Phase of the Life Orientation curriculum in the context of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in ordinary public schools infers transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures. Firstly, changing the economic structures would encourage innovation in the creativity required to promote self-growth, which frames a predominant sense of liberalism. The thematic areas supported by this excerpt's conception of the development of self in society and self-motivation frame a picture of self-determination with individualistic connotations. Accordingly, the spoken democracy tends to be more liberal. Secondly, by changing the political structures, they encourage the intertwining of moral values and critical thinking skills necessary to participate in democratic processes, resulting in more harmonious political stability characterised by equality for all citizens, which is synonymous with the nuances of communitarianism.

Thirdly, the thematic areas foreground the concept of social interactions used in this excerpt to encourage changing social structures and achieving social cohesion through social responsibility, which speaks to civic republicanism. As a result, the espousal of rights in this instance is equally interpreted in close relation to civic republicanism since rights, duties, and responsibilities are mutually reinforcing. Lastly, lifelong participation also subscribes to civic republican strands on account of recreation and physical activity. The lifelong participation enacted through the public sphere involving other coexisting citizens fosters connections through recreation and activity.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of CAPS for Life Orientation (DBE, 2011) under the lens of transformation infers that learners with mild-intellectual disabilities will be bolstered in their education that involves the application of research-based strategies. One example is the Universal Design for Learning, which ascertains the *development of self* through dynamic approaches in the classroom with its

[75] These are namely: Development of the self in society, health, social and environmental responsibility, Constitutional rights and responsibilities, World of work, Physical Education (DBE, pp. 10-11).

proven efficacy in neuroscience research (Gordon et al., 2016). Corroboratively, its value is shown in empirical studies of curriculum development validated by therapists, teachers and education managers with experiences of it in South Africa (McKenzie & Dalton, 2020). In other words, equipping these learners with evidence-based strategies best caters to how they acquire technical skills as they self-pace their learning to the level of their capabilities. Thus, the conceptual domain will be developed under conditions (prescriptions that cater to all learners' needs) that are favourable to sharpening their focus, improving their comprehension of tasks and absorbing knowledge. Potentially, these learners are then able to form connections between ideas in the pursuit of becoming critical thinkers. Essentially, their skills put them on a par with their peers because an equitable education that expansively supports the pace of their learning has been integral to their educational experience.

Citizenship as a feeling is shown potential by the accurate strategies employed in their learning process with minimal errors that heighten their positive self-identity through the discovery of personal interests with the acquired skills matching their abilities. Thus, it facilitates the process of how they determine their sense of belonging in their roles to bring value to the workplace as another micro-community. In the long-term, this contributes to their financial independence and ability to fend for themselves and their livelihoods. Hence, the social domain is working alongside others and using the skills acquired in learning to undertake tasks in a manner that does not make them inferior. By implication, *citizenship as a practice* will be propelled through the school extracurricular to greatly enhance hands-on experiences that assist in building cohesion with their peers in school. Thus, the honed skills of self-management and time management will improve how they solve problems in schools, communities and society. Therefore, transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures in this respect, develops the learner's practical domain through the spatial reasoning applied in undertaking activities.

The post-apartheid South African CAPS (DBE, 2011c), focusing on life skills in the foundation phase (Grades R–3), address what characterises accessibility in terms of citizenship education by ensuring barrier-free zones of learning. In its sub-study informing the curriculum of *personal and social well-being*, it proclaims:

> *accessibility is offered* [emphasis added] through opportunities for learners to practise life skills required to make informed choices regarding personal lifestyle, health and

> social well-being. It provides learners with skills to relate positively with and contribute to family, community and society. Learners are equipped with skills that will assist them to deal with challenging situations positively…and communicate their abilities, interests and skills with confidence. They learn values such as respect for the rights of others and tolerance for cultural and religious diversity in order to build a democratic society. (p. 8)

Under these contents, the *Personal and Social Well-being* sub-study of life skills commands a dominant communitarian and civic republican tone, with liberal strands identified. In Accordingly, three noteworthy points can be extracted. Firstly, communitarianism is identified in the skills it sets out to provide to learners in the outline of the three planes upon which a person must first develop as an individual in order to positively contribute to the family, community and society. Therefore, accessibility in this regard is supported by these learners being equipped to thrive across a plethora of community and societal settings. In addition, as later observed in the passage, the identification of moral values such as respect and tolerance validate the communitarian strand. The corroboration is found in the inference of shared moral values and norms serving as critical approaches to adopt in a democratic society.

Secondly, the reference to seeking that learners communicate is key to both the communitarian and civic republican assertions of the importance of holding dialogues (for consensus) in propelling the common good. Effectively, accessibility is represented by all learners having equality to manoeuvre communal and societal spaces with no restrictions based on their identities. Thirdly, it becomes necessary to revert to the beginning of the text, where it begins with a liberal tone with reference to concepts such as “choices” and “personal lifestyle”, which allude to individual pursuits. Thus, accessibility is underpinned by the rationale that the intertwining of the strands all work as a sequential pattern that builds up for the attainment of democracy that ensures no circumstance or institution can restrict learners on any grounds.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status* is affirmed in the potential implications of the CAPS for Life Skills (DBE, 2011c), under the lens of accessibility, suggesting empowerment through a quality education characterised by knowledge of life skills, i.e. critical thinking, physical health and self-awareness. In effect, it strengthens their ability to

become critical thinkers capable of making informed choices and simultaneously developing analytical and problem-solving skills to evaluate between choices. Thus, to the benefit of their conceptual domain, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are then able to refine and strengthen their neural paths in making better connections in the choices they make. In that sense, *citizenship as a feeling* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South Africa is to be affirmed in their ability to cultivate genuine interactions in their communities and self-express. Moreover, it heightens their sense of nurture (respect) amongst other diverse citizens as they share cultural exchanges. Thus, it facilitates the development of the social domain that is dependent on these social connections, where interaction and communication are central and favourable conditions that inspire motivation. By virtue of their choices, the opportunities position them to become thought leaders and be innovative in the pursuits they embark on using their honed skills. Thus, their representation becomes a greater possibility in instances of involvement in the political sphere and sports.

Citizenship as a practice is affirmed in the constant challenge of barriers that seek to restrict their plights as these learners become more engaged in democratic processes that require decision-making and strengthening relations with others. Moreover, their active participation will be based on their free will to pursue and explore cultural and religious diversities as an intersection to their identity of mild-intellectual disability. Therefore, accessibility is attained under these declarations that support social mobility. In effect, the practical domain is to be developed through greater exposure that widens their practical experiences and adaptation to different social contexts.

The post-apartheid South African CAPS (DBE, 2011), focusing on History in the Further Education and Training phase (Grades 10–12) is underpinned by *acceptability* to ascertain its compatibility with the study of history. It supports citizenship within a democracy through:

> *Showing acceptability and* [emphasis added] upholding the values of the South African Constitution and helping people to understand those values; reflecting the perspectives of a broad social spectrum so that race, class, gender and the voices of ordinary people are represented; encouraging civic responsibility and responsible leadership…promoting human rights and peace by challenging prejudices…and

> preparing young people for local, regional, national, continental and global responsibility. (p. 8)

In the excerpt relayed from the History subject, acceptability is shown under a light to inculcate an education whose quality is determined across these provisions in the learning process for learners in schools. Similarly, acceptability in this excerpt pivots on civic republicanism and minimal communitarianism. Accordingly, this can be identified in five ways. Firstly, the emphasis on the conditional values to be taught establishes a link to the *Manifesto on Values, Education and Democracy* (DoE, 2001c), which is informed by the Constitution (RSA, 1996) to govern schools and learning. Subsequently, a sense of patriotism is asserted when learners must all strive and learn these values to represent a constitutional democracy. Thus, patriotism and the entrenchment of civic virtues are shown to be essential to nation-building. Secondly, the expression "voices of ordinary people are represented" implies that under a diverse nation, all people's opinions matter equally, without any stratification. Therefore, acceptability in this light is shown as a commitment to an education that is provisioned to learners in a manner that offers psychosocial support that acknowledges them equally.

Thirdly, civic responsibility is encouraged as a mechanism to prepare learners for their roles, which at the Further Education and Training phase (Grades 10–12) will become more complex in the quest to mould them into active citizens. Fourthly, human rights, which anchor to the liberal strand, are used in the same context as values. Therefore, this can be decoded from a more civic republican perspective that merges human rights and values together to facilitate achieving maximal citizen participation. Lastly, is the reference that alludes to the expansion of global responsibility in the face of widespread globalism; global collective action ought to be achieved to mitigate global challenges under unity. In simple terms, the provisions of the History subject allude to attaining cosmopolitanism coupled with human rights to safeguard everyone's interests. Therefore, the standard of acceptability in the context of school educators relaying these dispositions needs to be met with learning shepherded under such diverse perspectives in realising and maximising educational quality.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status* and the lens of acceptability, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' legal membership which propels the maximal recognition of their equal rights in post-apartheid schools is affirmed. As per the constitutional values, in

attaining a high-quality education, the learning process will immerse them into solving complex tasks under the guarantee that these human rights protect their voices. Regrettably, no longer in existence and years dissolved, an example of empirical evidence of the state encouraging knowledge of the subject was the initiative referred to as *The South African History Project (SAHP)* (2001-2006) (DoE, 2001b). In effect, if similar initiatives were introduced in the present day, education for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities would be broad in the scope that knowledge is acquisitioned. Thus, it would foster a pattern of critical inquiry in interpreting knowledge and information in developing the conceptual domain.

Effectively, *citizenship as a feeling* is to be affirmed in the learning processes that focus on multidisciplinary approaches. These multidisciplinary approaches are beneficial to cognitive growth in the quest to broaden knowledge of issues they ought to be aware of as global citizens amid the growing need to pursue their global responsibility. Thus, a platform that represents a wide range of diversities will be established underpinned by values in their engagements with other people in the community and society. In this context, their voices carry equal weight to those of citizens of other identities. Accordingly, the social domain has the potential to develop in the widening of their perspectives, making them more socially aware of themselves and others (emotional intelligence). Therefore, *citizenship as a practice* in the collaborative discourses is affirmed by the participation of these learners in society beyond the microscale but macroscopically. In other words, they are better positioned to challenge global injustices and hold the powers that be accountable as part of their global responsibility to ascertain human rights and social justice. Essentially, in the quest to strengthen their political affinities, how they self-represent, represent others and represent their state on a global scale under a patriotic rationale, their maximum visibility across critical spheres is critical. Furthermore, the practical domain is developed in their application of theory applied to real-world problem-solving demands.

6.3 A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S EDUCATION POLICY

White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995)

As informed by the evaluative analysis, under tenets of transformation, accessibility and acceptability, *the White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995) finds equal expression between an emphasis on the predominance of both contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Accordingly, there is an underemphasis on classical liberalism in its idealisation. By implication, citizenship as a status for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools is reinforced by the emphasis on human resources. Human resources, ushered in as a transformational accelerator, primarily drive change in the development of the intellectual and personal growth of these learners through careful attention directed to improving their educational needs. Moreover, providing them with conducive learning environments and learning processes that ensure the wide impairments, such as autism and dyslexia, are tailored for and their needs are met proficiently. In other words, whether it is through a high-quality education of school infrastructure (e.g. resource centres) or learning processes (e.g. learner-centred active learning), these are carefully tailored to improve their overall intellectual and adaptive functions.

Essentially, citizenship as a feeling is shown to be assured in transformation, enhancing their sense of belonging in the diverse and pluralistic schooling environments that reflect society and are met by diverse cultural tolerances. Moreover, the inter-ministry collaboration that entrenches the sense of community and forming relationships to be practised in classrooms cultivates a sense of belonging that an otherwise non-communal classroom with limited support would not afford them. Invariably, the development of their social domain leads to the likelihood of their ability to exercise emotional regulation in the face of diversity, which implies fostering their feelings of trust and safety when participating in school tasks with others. Ultimately, citizenship as a practice is set to ensue with transformation within the social and economic structures improving the quality of these learners' lives (social mobility). Moreover, the development of their practical domain that improves competence in their roles (leadership) and productivity in those roles (economic activity). Thus, developing their practical domain increases their visibility in community engagements through advocacy and expressing their voices through democratic processes.

In that respect, the policy is agreement with the UDHR (UN, 1948) with human rights as an ideal based on the concentrated pronouncement of high-quality education and lifelong learning as prevalent terms used across the document. Essentially, human rights in education provide a path to maximise accessibility and weaken hegemonic barriers towards fully

fledged transformation in which all learners actively deliberate, share collective responsibilities and exercise civic virtues. Moreover, the education policy shows consistency with the trends of intercontinental policy, such as those in Canada with the objective of providing an education with multiple perspectives to meet evolving global realities that show commitment to delivering relevant knowledge in schools. It is vital that schools, as sites of learning with a diverse range of learners from various backgrounds, ensure that their education is meaningful through citizenship education, which teaches how that amicable coexistence in learning should be carried throughout society. Essentially, schools and the critical tiers of the Ministry of Education working in unison to affirm learners' citizenship as a status, feeling and practice in how they embrace the education policy validates educational acceptability. Therefore, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are met by redress measures that look to high-quality education and lifelong learning to develop their intellectual and adaptive functions in the combined inter-ministry efforts that reflect a communitarian sense of holism.

In contrast to policy provision agreements, as Zulu et al. (2019) corroborate, citizenship as a status is under threat, with educators hindering progress by viewing learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in regular public schools through the medical models of disability. Thus, there is a vast disparity between the compliance of the education policy ideals with global policy and the framework objective of human rights in view of practices that impede this aspect of human development overall. Regrettably, the acceptability of policy implementation is negatively spotlighted in effecting education that is of high quality. Inferentially, transformation is not effectively motioned to redress these learners from historical exclusions that have kept their social mobility at low levels. These learners are driven to the margins with citizenship as a feeling and practice on account of accessibility construed liberal terms that conforms them to be responsible for making meaning of their own success. Likewise, the idealised ministerial partnerships are a far-fetched dream for improving how education is tailored to promote accessibility by providing it to these learners through relevant personnel and high-quality educational resources.

Therefore, the unexpected deviation (a grey area) from citizenship education, characterised by quality in resources, personnel and resources, necessitates a call to action to direct attention to how the outcomes of education policy are currently being measured. With bodies

such as the National Qualification Framework and National Quality Authorities[76] present, practices that do not reflect acceptable standards with regard to quality raise concerns in determining the socially just progress of the policy. In diving deeper, is the question of where the failure of the National Qualification Framework and National Quality Authorities lies in the quest to overturn the current situation of social inequalities. Put differently, which tier are these national bodies not focussing on to mitigate educational accessibility in post-apartheid schools? Their ability to achieve tangible transformation is essential to benefit the education of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

South African Schools Act (DoE, 1996)

SASA (DoE, 1996), under the tenets of transformation, accessibility and acceptability, strikes a balance between contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Classical liberalism is secondarily represented through its emphasis on rights, redress and justice. By implication, affirmation of citizenship as a status has shown potential through educational equity that includes powers given to SGBs in holding schools accountable. Correspondingly, educators employ the best professional practices in how they translate educational materials and strategise effective pedagogies. Essentially, these approaches to developing the conceptual domain increases the knowledgeability of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In relation, citizenship as a feeling must be affirmed in the wake of injustices and narratives that reinforce biases and stereotypes being challenged. Thus, its affirmation invites their greater involvement in a democratic society led by collaborative engagements. Moreover, under critical pedagogy strategies that propel critical thinking and constructivism through the interaction of these learners with their peers, they simultaneously develop the social domain as they become more socially connected to their peers. Eventually, affirmation of citizenship as a practice will facilitate their ability to use their specific skill sets to challenge unjust practices that resist progress that has been made towards redress and transformation in order to participate in democratic processes. Relevantly, in developing the practical domain, repetition of such tasks strengthens their executive functions as daily classroom practices. Thus, with all three domains developed, they will be more confident,

[76] The National Qualification Framework and National Quality Authorities are authoritative bodies introduced in the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995) responsible for the quality of education provisioned in the education system.

think critically and make swift decisions as part of fulfilling their social responsibilities, yielding effective citizenship.

At a minimal scale of positives, SASA (DoE, 1996) aligns with policy trends identified in Nigeria that idealise education policy acceptability. This is characterised by imparting the right educational values and acquiring appropriate skills for learners to embrace citizenship as a practice, thereby contributing to the development of the society.

At a greater scale, the areas of disagreement can be directed to the Act's inconsistencies in acknowledging that "rights" that are widely adopted present a red zone between liberalism, construing them under individualistic terms and civic republicanism, which marries rights and responsibilities. The prevalence of liberalism finding its way in certain sections of the education policy overshadows and conflicts with the idealised maximal transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures, as well as the aims of the study. Therefore, schools in post-apartheid South Africa, as corroborated by the intercontinental policy reviews that highlight this note as an unintended consequence, see a knock-on effect that affects the acceptability of policy implementation. Regrettably, the primary intent of SGBs which was to decentralise[77] (with the aim of accelerating economic and social transformation) does not currently reflect accessibility in the participation of community members due to overbearing state oversight. Therefore, civic republicanism that provides a platform for citizenship as practice under a deliberative democracy is challenged.

Civic republicanism that fosters citizenship as a feeling through wide representation that ensures accountability and the interests of developing the intellectual and adaptive functions of the most vulnerable cohorts, that is, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, is contested. Equity and not equality merely given through rights (liberalism) as a means to affirm citizenship as a status is not uplifted in such a way that gaps that pose barriers (accessibility) to a communitarian-conceived sense of group solidarity are closed. Contrasted against a representative and deliberative democracy, participation is least prioritised to advance the development of these learners' intellectual and adaptive

[77] Decentralisation is inherently a liberal concept. However, under the evaluative analysis, it was construed as civic republicanism with the intention of expanding civic engagement. Herein, the unintended consequences of policy can further be observed.

functioning, which can only be evidenced in transformed educational outcomes (political literacy), representation (economical) and influence (socially).

Therefore, the depicted grey areas of SASA (DoE, 1996) correspond to what Vally (2020) conceptualises as formal access, that is, improvement in the enrolment in post-apartheid South African schools. However, idealised research-based strategies, such as Montessori methods as an approach to expanding educational accessibility, are on a declining trajectory. To a great extent, the grey zone raise concerns about learners' maximal exposure and preparedness for relevant 21st century opportunities that provide ease in transitioning to vocational work post-school. Moreover, the strength of the system lies in the cohesiveness of strong DBSTs and SBSTs in schools. Accordingly, as an underrepresented learner cohort, as echoed by Black (2022), certain variables continue to contribute to subpar educational delivery. The disparity between policy ideals and actual implementation is framed as cruel optimism (in effect, policy idealisations) when all learners do not reap educational benefits equally.

Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (DBE, 2011)

As informed by evaluative analysis, under tenets of transformation, accessibility and acceptability, *CAPS* (DBE, 2011) strongly reflects contemporary civic republicanism in the quest to assume global responsibility and engagement in moral and political dialogues. Contemporary communitarianism is represented secondary in the idealisation of the individual contributing to the family, community and society. The affirmation of citizenship as a status suggests that legal membership is complemented by empowerment through quality education characterised by the application of research-based strategies in schools. Accordingly, education is shown to foster a pattern of critical inquiry in interpreting knowledge and information in developing the conceptual domain under prescriptions that cater to all learners' needs. These include those that are favourable to sharpening their focus, improving their comprehension of tasks and strengthening their neural paths in making better connections in the choices they make. In that sense, citizenship as a feeling is reinforced by learning processes that heighten their positive self-identity through the discovery of personal interests with the acquired skills matching their abilities.

In addition, the learning processes that incorporate a focus on multidisciplinary approaches broadens their knowledge of issues as global citizens-in-waiting amid the growing need to pursue global responsibility. Thus, the social domain sees development in working alongside others and applying the skills acquired in learning to undertake tasks in a manner that does not make them inferior. Moreover, it widens their perspectives in becoming more socially aware of themselves and others (emotional intelligence). Equally, affirmation of citizenship as a practice is to be propelled through school extracurricular that greatly enhances hands-on experiences that assist in building cohesion with their peers in school, beyond the school and macroscopically. Therefore, transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures in this respect develops the learner's practical domain through the spatial reasoning applied in undertaking activities and through the greater exposure that widens their practical experiences and adaptation to different social contexts.

In that respect, CAPS (DBE, 2011) aligns with the UNCRPD (UN, 2006) with equality of persons (with mild-intellectual disability) at the core of its ideals. Evidence lies in the expressed support services that will garner accessibility through minimal error in how lessons are modified for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to reach their full potential in underdeveloped intellectual and adaptive functions. Therefore, citizenship as a status is affirmed; Callan (2004) offers the expression of education as a "social right that secures access to… material prosperity and occupancy of those social roles that maximise economic opportunity" (p. 84); these learners acquire social mobility. Likewise, it offers alignment to Morrocco's policy idealisation of the critical role education plays in preparing them for active citizenship and a productive life. Therefore, citizenship as a feeling affirms trust in school processes to accurately implement the education policy in accordance with educational acceptability criteria. Moreover, citizenship as a practice manifested in their contributions to the public sphere would indicate a transformation across the social, economic and political structures.

In equal contrast, the disagreements are highlighted in ordinary public schools across the country, offering wide and stratifying learning experiences (Maistry & Africa, 2020; Phala & Hugo, 2022) in underscoring the above positive attributes CAPS (DBE, 2011) aims to achieve. Educational acceptability confers suggests learner outcomes are contingent on several factors, including the quality of school personnel, edge-advantage supplementary learning materials at their disposal and geographic advantages (i.e. quintiles 4 – 5 schools

outperforming those in the lower-ranked quintiles). In support of this illustration, Marshall (1950; 1983) also articulated that socio-material inequalities and, by implication, unequal resources. make the exercise of social, economic and political rights cumbersome. Consequently, in ameliorating the socioeconomic conditions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities through education, as Song (2016) asserts, the prevailing state of social inequalities[78]shows very little promise for transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures. Furthermore, a further extension of the enactment of a Universal Design for Learning in post-apartheid South African schools is necessary.

Continuing the areas of disagreement, the socioeconomic conditions beyond the control of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities who enter the education system, as well as the hopes of their guardians for an education that develops their intellectual and adaptive functions, is bleak. In the euphoria of the first 12 years of democracy, ushering new hope of citizenship and education, the fading with no further alternatives of initiatives that bolstered the curriculum, such as *The South African History Project (SAHP) (2001-2006)* (DoE, 2001b), remains a great concern. Hence, Wiseman and Davidson (2021) infer that quality education (in the broadest sense of the term) in post-apartheid South Africa has been based on an illusion with intentions to improve socioeconomic conditions not reaching fulfilment. Moreover, I put forward that what is lost in accessibility to quality education in the formative years accumulates over time. Regrettably, it is observed negatively in the latter years of schooling through learner retention, dropouts, turbulent transitions and poor employment prospects for this learner cohort. By implication, citizenship as a status, feeling and practice is not effectively cultivated to ensure human rights and social justice at the core. Thus, it frames the post-apartheid education policy as a failure for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in its adoption of liberalism (individualisation) in practice.

Therefore, the twilight (grey) zone identified in CAPS (DBE, 2011) lies in the wide stratifications that hinder maximal transformation in educational standards (acceptability) in public schools and limit the social mobility of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. It shifts the focus to identifying who is to take accountability of the status quo that is impeding

[78] Collectively, these are overcrowding in schools that make it difficult to adopt principles such as the Universal Design for Learning (UDL) in post-apartheid South African schools, long-distance travel to schools and numbers in the enrolment of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in the education system.

educational accessibility between curriculum implementers unsupported by law enforcers or law enforcers who encounter resistance by curriculum implementers.

6.4 THESIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S EDUCATION POLICY

The essence of education policy is heavily based on "high-quality education" as a more prominent objective for formal education from the foundation phase in ordinary public primary schools. Thus, foregrounded are the unequal efforts in practice towards the acquisition of civic skills from the foundational grades of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities during these formative years. In other words, the overarching formal education compounds exemplifications of classical liberalism, where learning is non-participatory for learners with special educational needs, particularly those with mild-intellectual disabilities. Therefore, as it is an area most silent in the developmental phase, what could host as a panacea is an emphasised role of skill development for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in intellectual and adaptive functions. In view of the aforementioned variables that are often beyond the school's control to effectively implement policy, active learning, coupled with skill acquisitions from the formative years, feeds as part of the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Essentially, it forges the future of these learners beyond narrow individualistic approaches.

Corresponding to the contributing knowledge, the central argument of the overall study and responding to the key questions in the opening of this chapter:

- In practice, transformation as a means of changing the economic structures is represented by the education policy to not widen the access of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. There is limited emphasis on skills and knowledge to match 21st century jobs. Regrettably, the development of their adaptive and intellectual functions is also under siege; restricting the acquisition of such skills that can spill over to valuing shared values and engaging in civic duties. Essentially, education policy implementation not having radicalised these three critical structures of transformation infers that the idealised participatory democracy under contemporary civic republicanism is underemphasised. Regrettably, the overemphasis on an elite democracy (under the narrow approach to only theoretical knowledge that sifts them) represents classical liberalism.

- In practice, accessibility that ought to drive the attainment of affirmative action through the reduction of barriers of discriminatory attitudes, non-collaborative learning and inequities shows suppression and atomisation of their unique identities in their pursuit of knowledge. Essentially, it characterises the policy as being overemphasised by classical liberalism. Contemporary communitarianism affirms communal bonds and collective well-being without prejudices, and contemporary civic republicanism through civic engagements that foster social cohesion and activism in the public sphere are underemphasised. Regrettably, accessibility that infers what is distinct to one identity achieving their full potential is not homogenously accepted to be true for the next, and is compromised by implementation of the policy.

- In practice, acceptability that ought to be exemplified by educational quality in offering relevant skills for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to thrive and have social mobility is impeded by non-application of best professional practices. Moreover, these best professional practices extend to showing an expansive understanding of the different categorisations of mild-intellectual disabilities and methods to tailor the learning experience. Therefore, liberalism is overemphasised in the reductionist portrayal of disability. Similarly, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism are underemphasised in their virtues that prioritise the common good, support holistic learning and encourage group solidarity.

Apple (1990) theoretically poses questions about whose narratives are extended (included) and whose narratives are sidelined (excluded). Therefore, in defence of the central argument, as supported by the incongruence with the tenets of the theoretical framework, the subsequent paragraphs will unpack the dilemma.

The overemphasis of classical liberalism, as shown in the approaches that policy has implemented strongly suggests elitism in determining the extent to which different individuals get to participate within a democracy. It attaches itself to a profound idea of meritocracy as a concept held by both Pericles (Thucydides, 1956; Thucydides & Warner, 1972) and Mill (1995) that diminishes the opportunity for these learners to be socially connected to their peers, thus inviting stratifications. The social atomisation that isolates learners with mild-intellectual disabilities based on their identity reduces the value of

embracing human differences and diversities, which is critical in a society that deems itself not only as a republic but as one that is democratic. Essentially, this reflects the reductionism of disability undergirded by Aristotle (1973) with approaches to policy implementation overlooking the value that all individuals can contribute, whether through theoretical knowledge or skillsets, to building a strong society. Likewise, opportunities for participation are marred by reinforced inequities that ought to have been redressed in looking at the time frame of when policy was conceptualised. Essentially, this argument for redress would launch learners with mild-intellectual disabilities into prosperity, allowing them to apply acquired knowledge and skills in their employment and vocational work.

The underemphasis on contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism stems from the neglect of giving precedence to learner interconnectedness by emphasising more collaborative tasks in the classroom. Essentially, it positions social bonds and the value of holism, which depicts school as an integrated micro-community underpinned by shared values. In that respect, contemporary communitarian citizenship concepts, as reinforced by Walzer's (1983) fair distribution that is not narrowed to a one-size-fits-all rationale, are underrepresented. Similarly, collectivism, as pronounced by Pettit (2012; 1997), is undervalued for safeguarding the common good. Furthermore, modern civic republican Rousseau (1968) echoes the importance of safeguarding the common good in achieving overall societal flourishing. By implication, as Habermas (1991) articulates, participatory democracy ignites a sense of social mobility that gives respect to diversity and pluralism.

Regrettably, the educational benefits of educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities found in contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism are lost. Inferentially, in developing the conceptual domain, the lack of collectivism suggests that learners are led to become incompetent to adequately engage in teamwork that co-constructs knowledge, supported by social cues and honing shared problem-solving skills. Overlooked is the harnessing of the empowerment of learners who can discover distinct niches (in the event of one uniform approach to learning), which are imperative to solving many of the other social issues in civil society. An example of these is the expansion of entrepreneurship skills towards curbing unemployment and many other structures in society in dire need of transformation. Moreover, our educators' professional best practices are not applied in also accommodating the creative side of their cognitive growth and simulation of self-discovery in learning, which boosts their critical inquiry. With respect to developing their social

domain, the benefits found in communicating with others and developing key values, such as the exchange of respect between members of a community, remain unrecognised. Furthermore, in the development of their practical domain, the benefits lost through experiential learning, skills and informal learning, equally span their knowledge gap. Regrettably, the success of the education policy can only be realised given the reality of the attention paid to the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions.

Summary table which provides an overview of the education policy analysis:

	Liberalism	**Communitarianism**	**Civic Republicanism**
White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995),	Individual freedoms are prioritised to the detriment of practices leaning towards self-responsibility (social atomisation)	Encourages inter-ministry collaborations which, in practice, affirm collective unity	Emphasises lifelong learning which, in practice, aligns with a democratic active citizenship emphasis
SASA (DoE, 1996)	Rights are instilled, but practices do not emphasise responsibilities	Advocates equality, but practices show a heterogeneity in the prioritised value	Idealises an informed citizenship and practices adopt constructivism
CAPS (DoE, 2011)	Embraces diversity, but practices are imbued by stratified learning experiences (reason and rationality)	Provides clarity on research-based teaching strategies, but practices do not promote co-construction of knowledge	Idealises social mobility, but practices show that learner transitions from learning into employment are not well-prioritised (reductionism)

6.5 CONCLUSION

The chapter has argued that education policy is overemphasised in classical liberalism's elitism (meritocracy), atomisation, reductionism, reason and rationality, which inherently individualise. The tenets of transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures, borrowing from critical disability theory and Tomaševski's accessibility and acceptability, were used as lenses to critique through analysis of post-apartheid South Africa's education policy, which is collectively shaped between the *White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995), *SASA* (DoE, 1996) and *CAPS* (DoE, 2011).

The evaluative analysis of the *White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995) and *SASA* (DoE, 1996) revealed that their assumptions are established on a balance between contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. The evaluative analysis of *CAPS* (DBE, 2011) found that it is expressed extensively in contemporary civic republicanism. Collectively, the evaluative analysis speaks to the intent of promoting citizenship as a status, feeling and practice to improve the intellectual and adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

The theoretical analysis based on areas of agreement unveiled the strengths of education policy in its essence and implementation, which are consistent with the widespread pronouncements of lifelong learning that schools must prioritise. The areas of disagreement highlighted the thin line between civic republicanism's notion of rights and responsibilities in marriage and liberalism's conferring rights in individualistic terms, which contributed to vast exclusions. Further questions arise on the level of efficacy of the National Quality Authority in resolving the status quo in post-apartheid schools. Thus, the chapter's contribution asserts that the packaging of the education policy is overly constricted in the conventional route of formal education, with no equal efforts in practice towards the acquisition of civic skills beginning in the foundational grades. In corroborating the central argument of the study, the education policy is implemented upon the strands of classical liberalism. Therefore, the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism based on collectivism is presented as a lost opportunity. The following chapter, Chapter 7, provides a critical analysis of inclusive policy. The chapter employs the tenets of viewing disability through a social model, viewing disability as a form of diversity (critical disability theory) and adaptability (Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework).

CHAPTER 7: CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION AND LEARNERS WITH MILD-INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS: A CRITICAL ANALYSIS OF INCLUSIVE POLICY

7.1 INTRODUCTION

> The intersecting nature of different forms of exclusion and inclusion results in the segmentation of society and in clusters of advantages and disadvantages rather than in a simple dichotomy between inclusion and exclusion. There are various ways in which these segments can be characterised. For instance, we can think in terms of privileged inclusion, secondary inclusion, adverse incorporation or problematic inclusion, self-exclusion and 'hard-core' exclusion. (Kabeer, 2000, p. 87)

Kabeer (2000) invites us to consider how the matrix inclusion finds itself. Membership within society being determined by this matrix either amplifies or inhibits a sense of belonging in terms of the fragmented levels of access, opportunities and participation bestowed upon individuals, and an inclusive policy also highlights these fragmentations. The mandate of inclusive policy is to usher in basic education through equal access, equitable opportunities and maximum participation. Similarly, forming part of the analytical method of enquiry, this chapter aims to present an analysis of the inclusive policy that will synergise a citizenship education orientated by these inclusive values to support the development of the intellectual and adaptive functioning of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Corresponding to the study's central argument, the chapter asserts that inclusive policy is overemphasised in classical liberal practices of self-determinism, neoliberalism and limited state involvement, which consequently individualise. Thus, the critical analysis of the inclusive policy in post-apartheid schools shows that it undermines and underemphasises the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

The chapter is divided into three sections. Section 1 is presented under the tenets of adaptability, viewing disability through a social model and viewing disability as a form of diversity to critically analyse the *report by the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training* (DoE, 1997), *Education White Paper 6 (EWP6)* (DoE, 2001a) and the policy on *Screening, Identifications, Assessment and Support (SIAS)* (DBE, 2014). It locates policy's key citizenship strands and implications for citizenship as a status, feeling

and practice of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in ordinary and general schools. Section 2 tenders a theoretical analysis of the positive (areas of agreement), negative (areas of disagreement) and vague (areas of contestation) aspects of post-apartheid South Africa's inclusive policy in schools. Section 3 provides the thesis of the chapter in its contribution to the subject matter.

The chapter contributes to the subject field and the study's central argument by asserting that the inclusive policy exemplifies a paradox of community involvement (shared values that affirm their sense of identity under collectivism notions) and the supremacy of justice (to govern said communities). Essentially, these concepts found at polar ends do not provide a realistic view of policy implemented to achieve its ideals.

In providing a critical analysis of the implementation of the inclusive policy[79] in post-apartheid South African schools, I posed the following questions using the tenets of critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework:

- Does the inclusive policy prove its adaptability in establishing accommodating learning environments and represent flexibility in applying the policy to learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools?
- Does the inclusive policy view disability through a social model that recognises the complex interdependency between the person and their social environment for the inclusion of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools?
- Does the inclusive policy view disability as a form of diversity from a universalist viewpoint for the inclusion of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools?

[79] In this unique study, the report by the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (DoE, 1997), EWP6 (DoE, 2001a) and the policy on Screening, Identifications, Assessment and Support (DBE, 2014) as a collective are considered inclusive policy because they are educational policies that are less generalised and more concerted on aspects concerned with special educational needs i.e. intellectual/physical disability issues.

7.2 EVALUATIVE ANALYSIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S INCLUSIVE POLICY

7.2.1 THE NATIONAL COMMISSION ON SPECIAL NEEDS IN EDUCATION AND TRAINING (NCSNET) (DoE, 1997)

In its focus on *Provision and Innovative Practices for Overcoming Barriers to Learning and Development,* the NCSNET (DoE, 1997) addresses its measures to enforce policy adaptability in the quest for a sound citizenship education:

> *Exercising adaptability through* [emphasis added] flexibility in teaching and learning styles is encouraged with peer support being recognised as a major resource in the classroom. In some centres of learning, learners are actively involved in, for example, designing learning programmes and participating in both the teaching and learning process. It is argued that the active participation of the learners also ensures that they are able to move at their own pace and make use of their own capacities. Peer support increases awareness among learners of differences and ultimately leads to greater community awareness, thus challenging attitudes and stereotypes. (p. 42)

Under these provisions to overcome barriers, the section from the NCSNET (DoE, 1997) report exudes a dominant command of the contemporary communitarian strand and, to a degree, that of contemporary civic republicanism. Accordingly, five noteworthy points can be extracted. Firstly, the encouragement of learning approaches that are learner-centred in order for them to undertake tasks in their full control and, secondly, the learner-centredness, gravitating to the pull of peer support, is implicit in collaborative learning. Therefore, highlighted is learning that builds between the strengths of learners in knowledge, skills, shared problem solving and deeper engagement with each other. As it were, this foregrounds the notion of mutual support between citizens through the process of teaching and learning that sees higher outcomes as the common good to be achieved. In effect, adaptability is emulated by giving educators autonomy in making policy (as this is a report whose recommendations all other education policies should follow) flexible by creating accommodating learning environments to meet the needs of learners. Thirdly, the section from the NCSNET (DoE, 1997) report alluding to active participation illustrates idealised learning environments that have all learners engaged and involved in the learning process.

Thus, the mirror of civic republicanism is viewed from the perspective that active participation facilitates the honing of civic virtues. In other words, civic virtues ingrained in their personal characters, combined with an active role in their learning, promote harmony in the classroom environment.

Fourthly, the suggested provisions of the NCSNET (DoE, 1997) report, in emphasising that learners move at their own learning pace to reach their capacities, recede from Aristotelian-held notions of reason and rationality that predetermine the limits to their abilities. Effectively, adaptability is incorporated through the lens of reforming education in such a manner that it adapts to the needs and interests of learners. Lastly, the reiterated community once again indicates its criticality, especially if the expressed values and practices are applied outside of school and derive benefit from being mirrored in schools. In this context, the values that are attitudinal and negate those that are stereotypical are construed to achieve the development of learners, especially those such as respect that encourages interdependence between learners in the classroom environment. Herein, adaptability is represented differently from the typical rights-based approach that all policies find themselves in; instead, it depicts flexibility in how knowledge is to be accessed by learners.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, inclusive access as a legal right to education for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools are to be affirmed in the collaborative approaches used in learning. In evidence, empirical research by Hove and Phasha (2024) confirms as a strategy valuated by educator participants that: "*Sometimes they learn better from each other than from me as the teacher… You see them improving, especially learners with minor barriers; they do improve, for example, in writing, as they grow up from Grade 4 to Grade 6. You find now they can sit still and write. They have improved, really*" (p. 6). Accordingly, through the many approaches applied in the learning and teaching process, the conceptual domain is shown to develop through the acquisition of information that is scaffolded and made adaptable for better outcomes and to elevate their potential.

Therefore, *citizenship as a feeling* in the absence of attitudinal barriers between these learners and their peers or attitudinal barriers that prove to impede professional best practices between educators and learners is to be affirmed. Adaptability, which propels inclusive-led opportunities that open greater learning experiences and greater equity for the minority

cohort in shared classroom resources, shows potential for viability. Accordingly, the social domain is shown to be fostered through these collaborative approaches to learning that give exposure to different perspectives between individual learners. Essentially, active engagements ought to foster positive morale in the classroom, with learners with mild-intellectual disabilities possessing a heightened sense of belonging as they are more represented and have a voice in their learning. In essence, the exchange of emotional support under values underpinned by respect and empathy ensures harmony in the classroom.

Therefore, *citizenship as a practice* based on inclusive participation fosters a culture of constant participation and steers social mobility through the possession of broad, soft skills (in conjunction with communicative and hands-on skills). These skills would have been made possible by the adaptability of lessons applied in learning processes in the school micro-community. Implicitly, the shared responsibilities to complete classroom tasks teach them accountability to themselves and accountability to their peers as a form of collective action. Therefore, the development of the practical domain will be through the acclimatisation of these practices, which are common in society, the workplace and social settings.

The NCSNET (DoE, 1997), in viewing disability through a social model, is represented by one of its principles that focuses on *Community Responsiveness*. It posits its relation to citizenship by maintaining that:

> *In viewing disability through a social model* [emphasis added], education must be relevant and meaningful to the lives of all learners. This means that their education should prepare them for both work and life. This includes ensuring the successful integration of all learners into society. A community responsive education system is also one which facilitates optimal and effective involvement of the community in the education of learners at all levels. The development of strong links between the centre of learning and the community is, therefore, a fundamental prerequisite to ensure that all needs are addressed and appropriate support provided. The strengths of community support already present in most parts of South Africa should be drawn on to achieve this. (p. 45)

The excerpt grounded upon the principle of *community responsiveness*, presents disability through a social model that fosters citizenship education, emphasising interdependence between learners and their community. Essentially, contemporary communitarianism is predominantly observed with community as the key widely referenced term. The hint of contemporary civic republicanism is also minimally observed in the references to work and society. Therefore, the excerpt offers three noteworthy points for further deliberation. Firstly, education serves the role of preparing for work and life by viewing these learners as human capital[80] essential to the development and success of the RSA. In other words, civic republicanism creates more opportunities for social mobility beyond an individual's immediate community and finds meaning in leisure and work converging to achieve a balanced life. In essence, work, along with political participation, is a duty within the republic. Therefore, the social model is applied across a variety of societal spheres in which learners find themselves, and in relations with others, espousing the virtue of embracement.

Secondly, the successful integration outlined within a communitarian understanding[81] is validated by its ability to create strong communal bonds essential to maintaining harmony within the community. Thirdly, and in accordance with the maintained evaluation, a community-responsive education system shows the idealisation of community engagements under shared moral dialogues, wide participation and safeguarding of the common good. Essentially, under the social model, learners who are geographically privileged to live in these types of communities with strong support that fosters their growth are prone to consciously adopt a communitarian education as opposed to one only driven by liberalism's emphasis on individual rights.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, its affirmation is represented through inclusive access to knowledge that is tailored, relevant and conscious to give recognition of differences through learning processes that equally look to strengths of community support. An empirical example of community responsiveness is *Street Law,* which us an international

[80] Although not identified in Chapter 2 as one of the key philosophers this research will draw from, Hannah Arendt is a contemporary civic republican philosopher who identified labour as a necessary evil critical for human beings to survive. Therefore, the "necessary" role it serves facilitates its value in sustaining people for longevity (Arendt, 2013).

[81] As this chapter is primarily focused on inclusive education, to best avoid confusion, the positive valuation of "integration" should not be confused with the terminology inherent to the school of thought that existed as a paradigm prior to inclusive education. The prior paradigm construed integration as an approach that was concerned with changes in how the learner should "blend in"; whereas inclusion considers the values of overcoming barriers that impede access, opportunities and participation.

non-governmental organisation (NGO) to spread literacy on democracy in South Africa. Thus, it symbolises multiple role players to spread the importance of knowledge of civic education (McQuoid-Mason, 2017). Essentially, under a social model, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools, as equally deserving members of the community, accrue benefits that provide development of the conceptual domain in the expansion of their knowledge, thinking patterns and making mental connections. Thus, *citizenship as a feeling* can be affirmed through an adopted communitarian education characterised by mentorship from different citizens in society and the formation of vital networks for their professional endeavours post-school (as a symbol of belonging). At the school level, this includes their contributory efforts to the shared communal identity (via values), which also reinforces the formation of the meaningful connections. Thus, the development of the social domain is shown to be boosted in the reinforced means of opening inclusive opportunity conscious of the personal dignity of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities as a cohort who have been historically socially atomised. Thus, the social model is catapulted into the removed barriers inherent in the respective environments in which they find themselves.

Invariably, *citizenship as a practice* will be affirmed in their undertaking of community duties that are blanketed by their accrued educational, social and political representation that equips them for independent living. As an influence of an asserted approach to viewing disability under a social model in learning practices applied, it equally widens the level of skills they can apply in their approaches to performing tasks in and out of school. Effectively, this facilitates the development of the practical domain. Therefore, inclusive participation will be accelerated across the boundaries of the classroom, extracurricular activities and community projects.

The NCSNET (DoE, 1997) offers a stance on the *Utilisation and Development of Human Resources*. Under the lens of *viewing disability as a form of diversity* that eliminates obstacles that prevent people with disabilities from participating in spheres of society, it postulates that:

> Inclusive education is built on the premise that the vast majority of learners can be integrated into ordinary centres of learning. *In viewing disability as a form of diversity* [emphasis added], learners and educators in an inclusive setting must, however, be provided with adequate training and support. The focus is, however, on maximising

> self-sufficiency by building capacity at the site where teaching and learning occur. The notion of a centre of learning or community-based support is an acknowledgement that the skills and expertise to be found within a community must be discovered and nurtured. (p. 74)

The passage from the *Utilisation and Development of Human Resources* section of the NCSNET (DoE, 1997) report affirms the quest for viewing disability as a form of diversity, amongst other critical learner identities, in eliminating all obstacles that represent exclusions in policy implementations. Resoundingly, it is established upon contemporary communitarianism and a sprinkle of liberalism in its premise. Accordingly, four noteworthy aspects can be deliberated. Firstly, the strong contemporary communitarian strand is reflected in the emphasis on integrating a vast majority of learners within the education system. Essentially, the educational needs and experiences of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are considered in equal measure. In disability being viewed as a form of diversity, the section seeks to enhance the distribution of power in society through education. In particular, this appeals to the spheres of justice that illuminate the complex equality in ensuring that no group dominates another for the pursuit of equal freedom. Secondly, the recognition of inclusion is expressed in active terms that thrust learners into success under an intentional education system with relevant resources (i.e. funding, infrastructure, teaching materials) poured into schools for the benefit of educators who will translate policy. Likewise, learners will accrue the transmitted knowledge provisioned under the best learning conditions and effectively develop their intellectual and adaptive functions, which solidify the essence of the tenet.

Thirdly, liberalism, which emphasises self-sufficiency, reflects autonomy, personal responsibility, and limited intervention through education, and self-sufficiency stands as the key to individuality. Therefore, viewing disability as a form of diversity in this regard infers that the learner's different experiences are considered and learners have a responsibility, apart from the school and educators, to also build on their own potential. Fourthly, the profound nature of the referenced community-based support speaks to the interdependence between the community and schools. In other words, schools mirror and are informed by the values, practices and skills not offered in formal education to further inclusive education found in the community. Thus, insistence on their nurturing is critical. Therefore, within the

contemporary communitarian strand, suggested by the report, is also collective responsibility that should be exercised by all learners.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, inclusive access for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools will empower them under a legal membership that warrants their equitable learning resources relevant to their learning needs. Exemplary commitment to these pronouncements is the state subsidising the *READ Education Trust*, an NGO that offers literacy support for schools in various communities. Therefore, as an identity recognised to have their educational right equally nurtured as their neurotypical peers, development of their conceptual domain is fostered through reading that encourages higher-order thinking in their approach to learning tasks.

Equally, *citizenship as a feeling* for these learners is to be affirmed in the equal distribution of power that offers them shared responsibility to feel more like part of the school community as their identity is viewed as a form of diversity. Under the dominance of the liberal strand, the opportunities widen by virtue of enabling environments in and out of schools, making learners more self-sufficient, resourceful, knowledgeable and skilled in completing a myriad of tasks. Thus, developing the social domain with self-sufficiency boosts their freedom to use their dispositions to make the right citizenry choices. Similarly, *citizenship as an ongoing practice* is to be affirmed through a shared sense of purpose (common good), which encourages these learners to become active agents of change in their participation in democratic decision-making matters within the community. Moreover, as responsible community citizens with a voice in decision-making matters, learners can influence the way power is organised to avoid their exclusion and underrepresentation. Essentially, under these conditions, the practical domain has the possibility of being well developed.

7.2.2 EDUCATION WHITE PAPER 6: SPECIAL NEEDS EDUCATION: BUILDING AN INCLUSIVE EDUCATION AND TRAINING SYSTEM (DoE, 2001a)

As part of the outlines of the post-apartheid EPW6 (DoE, 2001a), the policy in its position to encapsulate *viewing disability as a form of diversity* in relation to citizenship states that:

> *In viewing disability as a form of diversity* [emphasis added], the National Disability Strategy condemns the segregation of persons with *mild-intellectual* [emphasis added] disabilities from the mainstream of society. It emphasises the need for including persons with disabilities in the workplace, social environment, political sphere and sports arenas. The Ministry supports this direction and sees the establishment of an inclusive education and training system as a cornerstone of an integrated and caring society and an education and training system for the 21st century. (p. 10)

Across three approaches, the extract from the outlines of the EPW6 (DoE, 2001a), which views disability as a form of diversity, primarily reflects contemporary civic republicanism and, to a lesser extent, contemporary communitarianism. Firstly, in contextualisation, the EPW6 (DoE, 2001a) following the Constitutional (RSA, 1996) mandate of redressing past injustices - which for this policy is segregation of persons with disabilities - aligns with the condemnation of segregation in mainstream facilities of society. In this regard, the exclusions from the benefits accrued in the mainstream of society are to be equally bestowed upon them – as a reflection of progressive laws. Therefore, tying into civic republicanism, a) the captured workplace, social environment, politics and sports arenas as mainstream avenues in society, b) the values thereof and c) political ideologies that collectively support maximised participation in society are key. Accordingly, mild-intellectual disabilities viewed as a form of diversity suggest that non-segregation is characterised as having an equally shared purpose with other citizens in society in the roles of influence that they can hold. Secondly, the hint of communitarian moral and political values, such as the stipulated care, promotes communal solidarity that well-positions views to differences such as disability as a form of diversity. Thus, emergence of ableist perceptions stand as challenges that will be expeditiously addressed in achieving these outlined aims of the inclusive policy. Thirdly, the perspective of subscribing to and being cognisant of 21st-century social needs and political and cultural values suggest that the civic republican framework encourages unequal power dynamics. Moreover, the perspective of 21st century societies necessitating global collectiveness (as per the policy's integration) that boasts its potential to mitigate global 21st century challenges is foregrounded.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of the EPW6 (DoE, 2001a) infer that inclusive access as a social right for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities will be fostered through specialised professional and learning resource support.

In other words, for these learners to reach their full potential, schools must implement curricula committed to condemning any form of segregation. This should be exemplified in best professional practices and undergirded by inclusive values to convey knowledge. Accordingly, the conceptual domain is to be developed through the comprehensive knowledge provisioned under differentiation methodologies to best cater to autism spectrum disorders (via sensory balanced activities), Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder (via behavioural support plans) and cerebral palsy (via learning that promotes physical mobility).

Therefore, *citizenship as a feeling,* through inclusive opportunities, affirms their "places" of belonging via career prospects, whether through the traditional academic route, athletic approach, or social involvement projects that allow them to use their acquired knowledge and skills. The Constitution (RSA, 1996) validates this provision by the EPW6 (DoE, 2001a) through the *Employment Equity Act, No. 55 of 1998* (RSA, 1998), which promotes the employment and protection of persons with disabilities, including the mildly-intellectually disabled. Therefore, in these varied avenues learners with mild-intellectual disabilities pursue, communal bonds that enhance the value of mutual emotional connections with others in society will be strengthened, which equally develops the social domain. The affirmation of *citizenship as a practice* improves how disability is viewed as a form of diversity in their pursuits. Notably, their participation across varied platforms that position them as political public speakers who engage in critical discourse and are self-representatives on global sporting arenas, alters how disability is perceived. Accordingly, in making their mark on social responsibility, the practical domain is fostered through skillsets required in these pursuits that seek hands-on application across these places of working, sporting arenas and public platforms.

The post-apartheid EPW6 (DoE, 2001a) in the chapter *Building an Inclusive Education and Training System: The First Steps* addresses *adaptability,* encompassing the flexibility of policy to meet the needs of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in relation to citizenship by asserting that:

> It is this approach that lies at the heart of this White Paper: a determination to establish an inclusive education and training system *based on adaptability* [emphasis added] as our response to the call to action to establish a caring and humane society and a recognition that within an education and training system that is engaging in multiple

> and simultaneous policy change under conditions of severe resource constraints, we must determine policy priorities, identify key levers for change and put in place successful South African models of inclusion. (p. 20)

The snippet from the chapter on *Building an Inclusive Education and Training System: The First Steps* is framed from the lens of adaptability as seeking to inculcate an education that establishes changes to maximise how policy provisions accommodate learners. In essence, contemporary civic republicanism is predominantly observed in the expansive thinking to ensure this is not only relevant on a macroscale across the RSA. The hint of contemporary communitarianism can also be observed in the references to the moral values this plan of action aspires to uphold. In that regard, the excerpt offers two notable facets for deliberation. Firstly, the approach to *establishing a caring and humane society* is indicative of a policy that ought to be implemented through ethical means, considering all learner differences. The policy finds relevance in the way in which rights and responsibilities are viewed to assist in bridging the harmony and cohesion that breed such humanely desired communities.

Furthermore, what is corroborated is the perspective that humanness serves as one of the lifelines to how everyone's well-being is fairly supported within the community. Therefore, the adaptability of policy to such political and moral values represents its flexibility and responsiveness to political orders that demand embedding certain values within policy to achieve great prospects for the whole. Moreover, human rights are the driving force behind the promotion of the common good. Secondly, the espoused *South African models of inclusion* find similarity to those decreed in the preambles of the Constitution (RSA, 1996), that is, social justice, equity, redress, redistribution and diversity. Thus, this connection forms a golden thread between the supreme laws and educational policies, reinforcing the institutionalisation of South African models of inclusion, under common law. Therefore, from a civic republican point of view, these reforms - based on these models of inclusion - foster collectivism and ensure equal access to power, rights and duties that maximises citizen participation.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, affirmation will be given on account of the sensitivity towards advancing wide models of inclusion that effectively address challenges in the learning process. Examples of models of inclusion most prominent in South African schools are the positive behavioural interventions and supports model, whose success has

been empirically proven (Chauke, 2024; Dwarika, 2019; Flannery et al., 2014) to be adaptable to learners' backgrounds from the foundational phase to the senior phase. Moreover, it counteracts the worsening of negative behaviours by learners that obstruct their concentration during the learning processes. In addition, are action steps to propel learner-centred learning using the trialled and tested *Reggio Emilia approach* in post-apartheid schools (Alsedrani, 2020; Janse van Rensburg, 2015). Thus, both models increase learners' levels of development in their conceptual domain in affirming citizenship as a status.

In alignment with this perspective, *citizenship as a feeling* is affirmed through inclusive opportunities that foster interactive and collaborative learning with other identities that enhance their self-identity and equip them for career readiness. The adaptable learning environment cultivated by educators facilitates the formation of genuine relations with their peers. Therein, all learners can exchange shared moral values, and it extends a sense of responsibility to each other as members of the school as a micro-community. Equally, it contributes to the cultivation of the social domain in line with being equipped to lend empathy to others with differences. Ultimately, *citizenship as a practice* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities is affirmed through a strengthened will to engage in school or community engagement projects to address social issues through group solidarity. Equally, the practical domain is developed through skill-sharing in problem-solving efforts and the exchanging of feedback on how strategies in their participatory quests are applied in the real world.

The post-apartheid EPW6 (DoE, 2001a), in *viewing disability through a social model* in the section on *The framework for establishing an inclusive education and training system* relative to citizenship, declares that:

> Given the serious human resource constraints in the country and the demands for justice, there is an onus on the government to ensure that all human resources are developed to their fullest potential by *viewing disability through a social model* [emphasis added]. In the long run, such a policy will also lead to a reduction in the government's fiscal burden as the inclusive education and training system increases the number of productive citizens relative to those who are dependent on the state for social security grants. (p. 25)

The interpolation from the section on *the framework for establishing an inclusive education and training system*, asserts the section to be established under the dominant command of the liberal strand and, to a degree, that of contemporary civic republicanism. Accordingly, four noteworthy key insights emerge. Firstly, the constraints acknowledged in the same breath as justice are suggestive of the long way ahead to ascertain fairness and eventually redress the most vulnerable learners – the intended recipients of the policy. Secondly, the focus being distinctly stated as the onus of the government infers the balancing of the scales as it must provide welfare benefits and essential public goods to its citizens. Thus, fair equality and opportunity in pursuit of justice are reflected to converge. Accordingly, viewing disability through a social model it is represented by the pursuit of equal access in developing the potential of all learners. Moreover, justice is more focused on ameliorating the unjust status quo for the large majority as opposed to specific cohorts.

Thirdly, the specified reduction in government burdens is an approach that is endorsed and given economic justification by the philosophy of inclusion in opposing former paradigms (i.e. the medical model of disability) that physically and socially segregated learners in schools. Reiteratively, viewing disability through a social model is catapulted by the policy through the redistributive justice which primarily acknowledges redressing the needs of those who require functional public services the most. In chorus with this is the recognition that social rights and social welfare go hand in hand in attaining socially just societies as a responsibility of the government, as the section from the EPW6 (DoE, 2001a) also asserts. Fourthly, civic republicanism is seen in the intertwining of liberal dispensations with the policy's iteration of productive citizens, with both strands premised on all members of society contributing to the common good. Essentially, it encompasses aspects such as paying taxes as a duty to the republic.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, the potential implications of the section suggest that inclusive access for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities will be enhanced based on notions motioned by the virtue of justice. Accordingly, to serve its true purpose, this justice is to be asserted through equity in the social and fiscal support directed to enhance the structures that improve the benefits found in education. For instance, this includes the infrastructure (i.e. spacious classrooms to enhance the focus of learners with ADHD) and learning materials (i.e. audiobooks for learners with dyslexia) found in schools can improve the conceptual domain of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. The potential inclusive

opportunities with systemic barriers such as inadequate human resources addressed, are to be observed in a growing number of these learners being in school as a mandated right. Moreover, influencing factors that drive them out of school will help resist their plights of becoming independent citizens.

In addition, *citizenship as a feeling* is to be affirmed by a bolstered sense of belonging in the protection of their identities while simultaneously honing their potential, which enhances their personal responsibility. In close relation, disability viewed through a social model has the potential to increase trust between these learners and their caregivers with the state fulfilling their obligations, which enhances a strengthened sense of patriotism. An example in this context is the positive prospect of fiscal reduction that opens more means for social welfare through child support grants, disability grants and school assistance grants in post-apartheid South Africa (South African Social Security Agency [SASSA], 2023). Essentially, these serve as critical programmes that uplift the wellbeing of these learners whose identities intersect within these programmes and whose families otherwise have no other form of financial income. Thus, it hosts a positive development of the social domain under the notion of a national identity. Accordingly, *citizenship as a practice* is to be affirmed in these learners becoming more visible in their political participation and economic participation which boosts their social mobility towards becoming productive citizens. Thus, a well-oiled cycle will continue in the contributions they make to the RSA, that is,. paying taxes, facilitating the success of inclusion for the next generation, which also validates their sense of responsibility to the common good. Essentially, their practical domain is to be developed in their self-management and being organised as adults with responsibilities.

7.2.3 POLICY ON SCREENING, IDENTIFICATION, ASSESSMENT AND SUPPORT (DBE, 2014)

The post-apartheid policy on Screening, Identification, Assessment and Support (SIAS) (DBE, 2014) prescribes its relativity to citizenship through its *Organising Principles*. It renders its position on viewing disability as a form of diversity on intentions to provide the SIAS process by stating:

> (1) … every child has the right to receive quality basic education and support within his or her local community… (3) Decisions about the child should always be in his or

> her best interests… (6) *On viewing disability as a form of diversity* [emphasis added], the child must be viewed within his or her context and the extent to which intrinsic factors, the home and school context, are impacting his or her access to education, remaining enrolled and achieving to his or her optimum potential must be evaluated. (p. 15)

In this extracted segment from the *Organising Principles* (DBE, 2014) three salient points are stated in line with viewing disability as a form of diversity, with a prominent voice in liberalism and, to a lesser extent, that of communitarianism. Firstly, the extract clings to the nature of all policy by highlighting the criticality of the social right that ought to be bestowed on learners. It elucidates that learners should not go through extremes to attain an education, as all public institutions of learning are to accept and enrol learners in the education system within their communities. Secondly, the emphasis on all decisions made about the learner is centred on their interests, which in effect individualises in a manner that shows that even though these are minors, their freedoms are still valid. Individualisation in this context is geared to achieve the best developmental outcomes by assisting the learners under the screening of the policy. Therefore, viewing disability as a form of diversity is represented in the acknowledgement that a wide array of differences exists between learners and that should always be kept upfront in terms of how their interests are served.

Thirdly, the highlighted areas of intersection that inform the individual learner (intrinsic factors, home and school contexts) show the policy to represent communitarianism in the sense that these interlinks are co-dependent on each other. Hence, their interplay should always ameliorate each other; otherwise, factors leading to the full attainment of education as a social right will become compromised. By implication, it follows that a balance in how these contexts feed into each other is of paramount importance in shaping the community. Therefore, disability is viewed as a form of diversity through the diverse experiences found in these contexts learners exist within and the extent to which they become disenfranchised or empowered.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, it suggests that inclusive access for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities will be affirmed in the maximisation of their enrolment in schools of their choice as a mandated social right. Moreover, the guarantee of the social right providing them with support services, that is, school personnel, is to foster areas such as the

delays of their developmental impairments through quality education provided. Therefore, access to knowledge is positioned in a myriad of ways to develop the conceptual domain. Accordingly, the potential inclusive opportunities will involve most of these learners thriving on a level playing field with responsive educational materials and pedagogies in place.

In this context, *citizenship as a feeling,* when disability is viewed as diversity, suggests the wide spectrum of mild-intellectual disabilities, each demanding prioritisation under ideas of affirmative action that have them fairly represented as an identity. Therefore, the view of their disability as a form of diversity empowers them to be confident in the pursuits of personal development that education provides as an identity that equally belongs. Essentially, the social domain is to be developed as they form more connections to their differently identifying peers on the communitarian basis of the collective identity formed through socialisation across the intersecting societal spheres. Ultimately, *citizenship as a practice* is to be affirmed in their maximal participation in all school and community activities to entrench the idea of diversities across widespread spheres of society. Subsequently, it also cultivates the practical domain in sharpening their abilities for the pursuits they engage in in schools and partaking in community decision-making matters as part of their social responsibility. Naturally, inclusive participation also moulds how they can master the personal responsibilities on which they will build in fulfilling their social responsibilities.

In viewing disability through a social model, part of its *Principles of Support*, the post-apartheid policy on SIAS (DBE, 2014), outlines its relations to citizenship by declaring:

> (4) *in viewing disability through a social model* [emphasis added], support should no longer focus on 'deficits' that have been 'diagnosed' in individual learners, who are assumed to be in need of 'remediation' through individual attention by specialist staff. The SIAS shifts the focus to a holistic approach where a whole range of possible barriers to learning that a learner may experience (such as extrinsic barriers in the home, school or community environment or barriers related to disabilities) are considered… (6) Support also takes place when schools review their culture, policies and practices in terms of the extent to which they meet individual teacher, parent, and learner needs. (pp. 15–16)

The excerpt from the *Principles of Support* affirms the quest for viewing disability through a social model in the promotion of enabling environments that challenge the barriers excluding learners with intellectual disabilities (as the target group of this policy). The excerpt offers a profound tone of communitarianism in its premise. Accordingly, communitarianism is mirrored in two ways. Firstly, the focus is removed from old exclusionary paradigms in the discourses used to describe these learners with intellectual disabilities from an individualistic point of view that denotes that their impairments are their individual problems to overcome. The emphasis on language in engaging identities is clarified to diminish prevalent connotations and practices such as labelling through terminology such as "deficits", "diagnosed" and "remediation" that underpin medical-model inclinations, posing the risk of excluding these learners. To that end, the section supports approaches that are rooted in holism, which hosts the ability to perceive learners in connection to and with others. Elaborated under the lens of the social model, the sense of educational holism pronounced by the policy challenges these dominant views, which only seek to empower people with disabilities on a surface level.

Secondly, the section takes culture into account. In the context of schools as a micro-community that shapes culture, culture can provide support to learners becoming more accustomed to sharing values, norms and practices that undergird policy implementation. Moreover, culture holds great value in diminishing perspectives that may have been disabling in their promotion under paradigms such as the medical models of disability. Therefore, robust parallels can be drawn to the viewpoint that if culture is shared, the aspired communitarianism objectives of participation through engaging in moral dialogues for the interest of the common good can be better attained. Under the lens of communitarianism, and the congruence of viewing disability through a social model, the diverse nature of disabilities can be better understood.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, it suggests that inclusive access for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools will be realised through practices that apply holistic social model strategies. The examples of these include Freirean learning methods, social constructivist learning and the social cognitive theory. Typically, disability viewed through these social model learning alternatives facilitates the development of the conceptual domain of these learners. It allows them to a) be critically conscious, b) acquire language skills to discourse and c) make observations during the learning process. In this way, the

potential opportunities are shown to widen based on these learners' thought processes, reflection skills and application of the skills that have been honed in schools. Overall, in viewing disability through a social model, schools are to effectively accommodate learners with mild-intellectual disabilities while simultaneously developing their practical domains that ensure that they are competent in their active roles.

In that regard, *citizenship as a feeling* affirmed in their inclusive participation is shown to have the potential to propel a deep sense of social responsibility. This will occur under cultural norms which have been reinforced by the idea of teamwork and interconnectedness between members of society - naturally, cultivating the social domain as well. In that respect, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' perspectives on matters will be equally acknowledged and valued through teamwork that fosters an interconnected school community, boosting their sense of belonging. Furthermore, the social model enhances the ease with which they fit into the cultural dynamics between the different societal spheres in which they find themselves. Ultimately, *citizenship as a practice* is to be affirmed when these learners actively engage in civic matters, that is, political dialogues, using the skills which they have been taught. The application of critical thinking to solve problems, such as improving school cultures and peer support strategies, simultaneously develops the practical domain.

The post-apartheid policy on SIAS (DBE, 2014), with respect to the section on the *Composition of School-Based Support Teams*, posits its relation to citizenship under the lens of adaptability. In terms of the section's flexibility, which opens itself to key education stakeholders, facilitates enhancing the school's functionality and provides support that categorises learners, it asserts:

> *Policy showing adaptability open itself to* [emphasis added] (f) Non-educators from the school: this includes administrative and care-taking staff; (g) Learner representatives at senior, further education or higher education levels: this is an important addition to the team if one wishes to encourage 'peer support'. (i) Parents/Caregivers at early childhood centre or school levels: the inclusion of interested and specifically skilled parents would strengthen the team… (iii) Members of the local community who have a particular contribution to make to specific challenges. (pp. 33–34)

The segment from the *Composition of School-Based Support Teams* is dominantly radiated upon communitarianism in the pivotal focus on ensuring the effectiveness of policy implementation and the policy oversight from multiple key education stakeholders to ascertain accountability in schools. The strand is also represented in the assurance of the provision of inclusion and support in a just manner to learners who ought to reap benefits from the policy. Adaptability in this respect is encapsulated in the flexibility to cater to the wide perspectives held by each of these stakeholders to bring the policy implementation to success. In that regard, three points are noteworthy to justify that surface evaluation. Firstly, learners in executive positions in schools are shown to have agency in their leadership roles to mark an effective change in their a) closer connection to their school peers and b) modelling virtues in which to coexist within schools as a micro-community. Inevitably, notions that foster mutual assistance for all learners' plights are brought about equally. Secondly, the pronunciation of peer support underpins communitarian values that facilitate connectedness through mutual assistance that is available for those lacking in specific learning areas. Expansively, the success of support extended to learners is broadened through the mutual facilitation contributed by community members who have experienced similar challenges. Hence, the vision of the policy's community development, in relation to peer support, is left to propel mutual learning and community building between citizens, while fostering a culture of assistance between members of the schools as a micro-community.

Thirdly, the call to the broader local community positions the policy to demonstrate that it values the members of the community from whom learners come, as they serve a significant role in co-instilling values that improve support. Accordingly, strategies that seek guidance from medical assistance (i.e. remedial specialists) are not the sole support available to learners. Great benefit lies in the preservation of communal values and cultures that retain members who have graduated from the school system to contribute reciprocally to the future of the common good as a form of social responsibility. In essence, civic republicanism is observed in the illustration of a form of participatory democracy in which members of the community and society weigh in on the school's decision-making processes, especially where vulnerable groups of learners are concerned. Therefore, adaptability is fortified by the policy's flexibility to be responsive to the different dynamics found in the local community with governance representing a broad spectrum of identities.

In linking this analysis to *citizenship as a status*, inclusive access for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools must be affirmed through the multiple efforts involved to improve their learning needs and address the points at which necessary support is required. Therefore, adaptability in this respect develops the learner's conceptual domain through the multiple role players geared to these learners' success in flexible approaches to successfully grow their knowledge and approaches to learning. In this way, *citizenship as a feeling* will be championed under adapted, safe learning spaces, with the voices of similar cohorts also acknowledged from a first-person point of view. Accordingly, the social domain will be developed under conditions that are favourable to their collective growth. The inclusive opportunities are demonstrated to foster these learners' sense of belonging, empowering them to become self-advocates. Notably, in instances where relatability may not be possible with other support stakeholders involved in SBSTs, their peers (learner representatives) may be more capable of bridging this gap. In substance, collaboration becomes central to the school culture's dynamics.

In effect, *citizenship as a practice* for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South Africa is affirmed in the use of their voice to meet the needs of the schools and their community in their leadership roles. Thus, when schools, communities and society are characterised by citizens who possess sharpened civil skills, they are better positioned to lead critical initiatives required within these spheres. Therefore, foresight into their lifelong learning extends the avenues of their participation, which does not find its beginning and ends only within the classroom. In a nutshell, the practical domain will be developed in being responsible for others, learning from others and adjusting to a variety of contexts and personalities.

7.3 A THEORETICAL ANALYSIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S INCLUSIVE POLICY

National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (DoE, 1997)

As informed by the evaluative analysis, under tenets of adaptability, the social model and viewing disability as a form of diversity, the report by the *NCSNET* (DoE, 1997) emphasises the resounding prominence of contemporary communitarianism with hints of contemporary civic republicanism. Accordingly, there is a marginal emphasis on classical liberalism in its

idealisation. By implication, citizenship as a status for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools is shown to have the potential to affirm inclusive access as a legal right in the collaborative approaches that leverage the strengths of community support to facilitate learning. Essentially, the conceptual domain is demonstrated to develop through the acquisition of information that is scaffolded for better outcomes and focused towards higher-order thinking in their approach to tasks in the learning process, thus expanding their thinking patterns. Citizenship as a feeling is shown prospects to be affirmed in the absence of attitudinal barriers between these learners and their peers or attitudinal barriers that prove to impede professional best practices between educators and learners. Therefore, in the equal distribution of power (through inclusive access to learning), they are offered shared responsibility to feel more like part of the school community, as their identity is viewed as a form of diversity.

Accordingly, the social domain is shown to be fostered through these collaborative approaches to learning that give exposure to different perspectives between individual learners. In addition, it is through the reinforced means of creating inclusive opportunities while respecting the personal dignity of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities as a cohort that has historically been socially atomised. Ultimately, citizenship as a practice based on inclusive participation fosters a culture of constant participation, which propels social mobility through the acquisition of broad, soft skills, in conjunction with communicative and hands-on skills. Moreover, through a shared sense of purpose (common good), they are encouraged to become active agents of change in their participation in democratic decision-making matters within the community. Effectively, the development of the practical domain will be through the acclimatisation of these practices, which are common in society, the workplace and social settings.

In that respect, it aligns with the UDHR (UN, 1948) in the shared ideal of promoting human rights with the shared sentiment of the “human family”. In evidence, the report also widely echoes the focus on community involvement and its responsiveness to affirm citizenship as a status for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. The human ecology, which offers diverse skillsets (expertise) that schools can utilise, accelerates the support to be fostered for both educator productivities and learners achieving a well-rounded education with the desired educational outcomes. Its benefits in cultivating the development of intellectual and adaptive functions, particularly for mild-intellectual disabilities, hold great significance for

how these learners relate to this additional means of school support. Secondary to the emphasis on community involvement is the concept of integration that strongly appeals to citizenship as a feeling in the approaches for adaptability that espouse the idea of a rainbow nation[82]. Of relevance in this context, it lies symbolically in post-apartheid South Africa to teach that differences (diversity) are, in fact, a virtue to be immersed in the human experience. Correspondingly, the report also aligns with regional policy trends, such as those in Nigeria that idealise education policy to uphold a sense of national unity and Morrocco in the emphasis of CSOs. Inclusively, South African-based NGOs such as *Street Law* and *READ Education Trust* are embraced to further this aim. In the context of seeking to educate for communitarian citizenship, this position can be corroborated by the words of Tam and Tam (1998), who posit that "Human beings need to relate to others on a substantial basis to develop their experience of love, collaboration in the discovery of truths, establish justice and expand their opportunities for genuine fulfilment" (p. 8). Under a social model, these words also appeal to the duty of schools to propel citizenship as a practice in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for civic republicanism. Essentially, they illustrate the essence of a) a pluralistic society and b) diversity that promotes broad democratic processes that are undergirded by equitable demographic representation to prevent the dominance of some identities over others.

In contrast, the areas of disagreement highlighted in the report by the *NCSNET* (DoE, 1997) can be attributed to the report's equal attributions to the classical liberal notion of self-sufficiency. Its utterance, next to the widespread emphasis on "community involvement", "community responsiveness", and "community support", leaves confusion as to where learners ought to lean in being fully affirmed of citizenship as a status. Therefore, these distortions compromise the extent to which intellectual and adaptive functions are developed, demonstrating the report's (in)adaptability to inform subsequent policies that can maximally foster education for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. A disconnect exists between what the report suggests and the realities of teachers in ordinary public schools faced with overcrowded classrooms (Mpu & Adu, 2021; Phala & Hugo, 2022), while simultaneously attempting to provide the best support to such learners with special educational needs. Herein, as part of the collective of education stakeholders being communal and responsive, support is not available. Notwithstanding, parental involvement

[82] The idea of the rainbow nation in South Africa is commonly attached to the diversity of races. However, in this context, reference to the concept is made to include diversities beyond race, such as disabilities.

as an equal challenge experienced by educators (Numisi et al., 2020), with more detailed aspects in the report to fostering the teacher-parent relationship that would contribute to the affirmation of a learner's citizenship as a feeling. Accordingly, the highlighted areas of disagreement missed the opportunity of working more collaboratively with caregivers to boost accountability, which translates to effective policy implementation.

The vagueness (grey area) depicted in the provisions of the report by the NCSNET (DoE, 1997) being upheld is found in the call for integration in mainstream society. It is represented by wide gaps, showing unclear objectives that will facilitate learners with mild-intellectual disabilities developing their intellectual and adaptive functions. This probes the extent to which they can engage with knowledge in the context of questionable school efficiency that gives them access to the best-collaborated learning resources and support services – both within the community and within the school. Therefore, within the scope of the report and adopted strands of liberalism in implementation, it begs to be made clearer where learners with mild-intellectual disabilities fit in the national picture that prides itself on a social model and views disability as a diversity. Moreover, within a representative democracy, education is strongly promoted by implementers and policymakers as a catalyst to be an equaliser of access, opportunities and participation that advance personal responsibility and professional growth (mobility), as advocated by civic republicanism.

EWP6: Special Needs Education: Building an Inclusive Education and Training System (DoE, 2001a)

As informed by the evaluative analysis, under tenets of adaptability, the social model and viewing disability as a form of diversity, the *EPW6* (DoE, 2001a) primarily reflects a dominance of contemporary civic republicanism in the emphasis on care as a moral and political value. To a secondary degree, liberalism is represented by justice, obligations by the state and fiscal management by the state. Implicitly, citizenship as a status is shown potential in justice – as a component of their legal membership - sought by the policy. Therein, this justice is to be asserted through equity in the social and fiscal support directed to enhance the benefits found in education. Moreover, inclusive access as a social right for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities will be fostered through specialised (professional and learning resource) support in reaching their potential, with schools enacting curricula committed to condemning any form of segregation.

Accordingly, the conceptual domain is to be developed through the comprehensive knowledge provisioned as per differentiation methodologies to best cater to autism spectrum disorder, Attention-Deficit/Hyperactivity Disorder, and cerebral palsy as mild-intellectual disability diversities. Accordingly, citizenship as a feeling has the potential to increase trust by these learners and their caregivers with the state fulfilling their obligations, which enhances a strengthened sense of patriotism as part of their national identity. Likewise, they will become affirmed through the strengthened communal and societal bonds (group solidarity) that enhance the value of mutual emotional connections with others in society, which equally develops the social domain. Ultimately, citizenship as a practice is shown to increase in engagements across varied platforms. Invariably, these boost the visibility of their participation as political public speakers engaging in critical discourse, self-representatives in global sporting arenas and economically (employment) in their contributions to the RSA, such as paying taxes. Essentially, their practical domain is to be developed in their self-management and being organised as adults with responsibilities.

In that respect, it aligns with the statement (UNESCO, 1994) that reaffirms rights, in accordance with citizenship as a status, under inclusion. Accordingly, it is highlighted in the evidence of an adaptable progression from the more generalised nature of policy to greater specificity in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Correspondingly, the policy also aligns with intercontinental policy trends, centred on foregrounding the social model, supplementing general policy with those specified to maximise support and success for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Hence, it validates citizenship as a feeling in ascertaining positive discrimination (in viewing disability from a social model). However, the positive discrimination illustrated provides a comprehensive route embedded in viewing disability as diversity and affirming their equality. Specifically, this is through inclusive access that supports their intellectual and adaptive functions with specialised learning resources (i.e. memory tools and sensory learning environments), opportunities to excel (i.e. school counsellors and personnel) and participation in schools and beyond (i.e. extracurricular activities, internships) that enhances their citizenship as a practice. Thus, the aims of social justice and human rights to redress and redistribute that are to be adopted in policy implementation, align with the ideals of a cosmopolitan society, accentuated by the social model of disability, for these learners to thrive.

In contrast, a key area of disagreement lies in the *EPW6* (DoE, 2001a) parading justice as a key liberal conception of rights above the common good and shared responsibilities. Regrettably, its inference creates incomprehensibility regarding inclusion informed by positive discrimination that primarily affirms the plights of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. As aforementioned, justice holds merit in affirming citizenship as a status and establishing fairness between members of the school community. However, it overlooks the shared values that affirm bonds on account of the rule of law always being supreme in how matters of justice – both in practice and as a theoretical concept - are dealt with. Equally, in protecting the common good, the guidance of the policy does not anticipate the challenges educators may face in understanding and implementing its directives, based on South African contexts. In terms of challenges, these refer to the teaching time available and how the disconnect with the curriculum constrains their ability to differentiate lessons (Materechera, 2020). Therefore, in viewing disability through a social model, levelling the playing field to affirm citizenship as a feeling and maximise access, opportunities and participation of these learners, realisation cannot be met with equality (fairness) being ushered in formal terms (law). In terms of understanding the full implementation of policy, these refer to educators' training and support of educators to successfully enact the policy (Engelbrecht, 2020; Materechera, 2020; Mpu & Adu, 2021; Phala & Hugo, 2022; Zulu et al., 2019).

Furthermore, the policy's reliance on the utopian ideal of reduced government fiscal burden offers skewness[83]. In the interim, schools and educators are left to independently fill in and improvise in any state shortfalls, that is, learning resources, as illustrated in the preceding paragraph. Thus, responsibility is left in the hands of private players who enter to delegate the state's duty to also steer and affirm these learners towards citizenship as a practice. Consequently, neoliberal ideologies are swept in, which infers the permeance of deregulation that does not meet the interests of all learners, especially those with mild-intellectual disabilities who resist the liberal notions of requiring more state spending attributed to them (Mnisi & Mathebula, 2024).

[83] It should be noted that disability and inclusion indicators such as the School Monitoring Surveys (SMS) exist in post-apartheid South Africa. However, widespread criticism has been levelled against them for conducting surveys that unjustly represent data between the provinces, thus implying that these surveys do not provide a comprehensive national assessment and representation of the position of the citizenship education policy.

Therefore, the ambiguity surrounding the EPW6 (DoE, 2001a) is illustrated in the report from the NCSNET (DoE, 1997) providing recommendations to bolster its implementation. However, more uncertainty remains regarding adaptability as to whether a bottom-up or top-down approach is being employed in applying these recommendations. Lastly, the ambition to have reduced government fiscal burdens while effectively serving such recipients - learners with mild-intellectual disabilities - in the education system based on the stated reasons, invites security uncertainty. Inferentially, learners are shortchanged regarding the immediate resources available, and educators are burdened – as human resource – to the wills of the economic climate that deflect the state from being accountable to the immediate needs which they have the capacity for. Regrettably, the extent to which the policy affirms citizenship as a status, feeling and practice for these learners to become maximally developed in their intellectual adaptive functions is unclear. In effect, their ability to become influential role players in society under the view of their disability as diversity is compromised. Profoundly, questions arise regarding whom the common good mostly serves (whose interests are being served) and how the common good is shaped (the power of voice to influence deliberative processes). Within the context of the evidence, there are concerns regarding where a moral collective stands under the view of a social model.

Screening, Identifications, Assessment and Support policy (SIAS) (DBE, 2014)

As informed by the evaluative analysis, under tenets of adaptability, the social model and viewing disability as a form of diversity, the policy on *SIAS* (DBE, 2014) reflects the prominence of contemporary communitarianism. It is represented by the intersections that inform the individual learner (intrinsic factors, home and school contexts) and a holistic approach to enacting learning strategies. By implication, citizenship as a status is shown to have the potential to be realised in the guarantee of the social right to provide these learners with support services. Examples are school personnel, effective application of pedagogies, and the selection of broad learning materials that are differentiated for the benefit of their learning needs and cultivate the delays of their developmental impairments. Therefore, the development of the conceptual domain is shown through the flexible approaches to learning geared to these learners' success in growing their knowledge and their own approaches to learning. In that regard, citizenship as a feeling is shown to have the potential to propel a deep sense of social responsibility under adapted safe learning spaces that are reinforced by the idea of teamwork and interconnectedness between members of society.

Essentially, the social domain is to be developed as they form more connections to their differently identifying peers on the communitarian basis of the collective identity formed through socialisation across the intersecting societal spheres. Ultimately, citizenship as a practice is to be affirmed in their maximal participation in all school and community activities to entrench the idea of diversities across widespread spheres of society. Moreover, they are able to use their voice to meet the needs of the schools and their community in their leadership roles. Thus, when schools, communities and society are characterised by citizens who possess sharpened civil skills, they are better positioned to lead critical initiatives that are required within these spheres. The application of critical thinking to solve problems, such as improving school cultures and peer support strategies, being responsible for others, learning from others and adjusting to a variety of contexts and personalities simultaneously develops the practical domain.

In that respect, it alignswith the UNCRPD (UN, 2006) that converges human rights and inclusion under the scope of affirming citizenship as status for these learners. This is embedded within communitarianism ideals, particularly the each-one-to-teach-one philosophy which views these learners' disability as diversity. Corroborating citizenship as practice provides an opportunity for the underrated power of leadership of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, either through peer support or other capacities. This power is also extended outside the school and is critical for their smooth transitions into various roles in the spheres of society post their basic education schooling phase. As pronounced by Etzioni (2002), "Schools need all the external help that can be marshalled to discharge their duties" (p. 116), which the policy affirms in its emulation of contemporary communitarianism. In the context of the varied educational institutions in the post-apartheid South African education system, the policy provides a bridge without perpetuating segregated learning. The bridge acts as a facilitator to also offload the burdens placed on both special schools (who are faced with a large learner population on their lists) and ordinary public schools (who are underresourced to offer quality education for learners with special needs). In reflection, this brings a balanced middle ground between the medical model and the social model of disability in an inclusive manner that does not negate imperative medical care but also allows the learner to thrive outside of their medical identity. Thus, citizenship as a feeling is affirmed.

In contrast, the areas of disagreement regarding the poor implementation of policy provisions are identified in the inferences of research-based strategies to improve learning. However, these policy idealisations under the reality of educator challenges with its understanding and implementation are constrained by the misconceptions that they have on inclusion, differentiation and special educational needs (Ayaya et al., 2020; Zulu et al., 2019). In addition, navigating the complexity of the policy in providing accurate assessment and identification when the training of using it as a tool is insufficient. Therein, counterproductivity is a more likely manifestation of misdiagnoses of these learners, with educator competencies serving as the first barrier to not incorporating the mandates from the policy. As a dire consequence, state resources, in consideration of the introduction of any internationally acclaimed strategies to improve the learning process, stand on the brink of being misused and underutilised. In other words, the knock-on effects and mismatch of poor approaches to the implementation of policy bring to light pedagogies and practices that subscribe more to the medical model to the regret of maximally developing learners' intellectual and adaptive functions.

Therefore, the big surprise of the policy is the compromise of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' social mobility which is widely insisted as the policy's end goal. Moreover, the policy's (in)adaptability foregrounds a greater political agenda at play which negates how disabilities are prioritised and viewed as a form of diversity under a social model. Accordingly, the undefined question remains to be the relevancy of policy long-term objectives (i.e. peer support in the workplace) considering its intended recipients not being made visible (because of being ill-equipped by their educators) on critical platforms in society.

7.4 THESIS OF POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICA'S INCLUSIVE POLICY

The inclusive policy exemplifies a paradox. It includes community involvement (shared values that affirm the learner's sense of identity under collectivism notions) and the supremacy of justice (to govern said communities), both of which are concepts found at polar ends of the spectrum in terms of giving schools clear directives. A weakness created by this paradox compounds exemplifications of classical liberalism, where Periclean supremacy of law over human experiences and limited state control invite individualisation of inclusive values for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Regrettably, the maximal development

of their intellectual and adaptive functions remains stagnated as cognitive growth is further repressed in correlation with their age and age-mates.

In correspondence with the contribution to the subject field, this section addresses the central argument of the overall study while responding to the key questions in the opening of this chapter:

- Adaptability that is orientated towards providing policy flexibility and creating accommodating learning environments illustrates that inclusive policy implementation does not fulfil these intentions. Specifically, this is evident in the expansiveness of the tools designed for differentiated pedagogies that cultivate the domains of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Essentially, the inclusive policy in practice often resists maximal accommodation and policy flexibility, resulting in an overemphasis on classical liberalism, reflected in the supremacy of law. Equally, it is matched with an underemphasis on contemporary communitarianism, which advocates customs, shared values and traditions, as well as contemporary civic republicanism, which advocates group consensus.

- In the lack of viewing disability through a social model geared towards recognising the complex interdependency between the person and their social environment, inclusive policy is overemphasised in classical liberalism in the inclination to limited state control (neoliberal ideologies). Similarly, it is underemphasised in contemporary communitarianism, which advocates group solidarity and contemporary civic republicanism, which advocates commonwealth that centres on deriving shared ownership where all members benefit. Thus, the promotion of maximised access, opportunities and participation in education shows conflict with ideas that prioritise limited state control.

- In the absence of viewing disability as a form of diversity represented from a universalist viewpoint to drive inclusion, the order of the day looks to self-sufficiency. Unfortunately, as a concept, it cannot be the strategy to adopt for developing the intellectual and adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. By implication, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism that advocate cooperative dependence are underemphasised. Equally, classical liberalism is

overemphasised in its alignment with self-determinism. Thus, maximised access, opportunities and participation under contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism are neglected.

In defence of the central argument, as supported by the incoherence and inconsistency of the tenets of the theoretical framework, the next paragraphs, with references to philosophers, demonstrate the tension between the ideal and practice of inclusive policy.

The overemphasis of classical liberalism, as shown in policy implementation, is amplified by justice, limited state control and self-sufficiency (self-determination). Therefore, the degree to which learners with mild-intellectual disabilities have the opportunity to participate within their communities underpins a critical concept of the rule of law as supreme as a concept owed to Pericles (Thucydides, 1956; Thucydides & Warner, 1972) and Rawls (1971). Essentially, the limitations to inclusive access that develop their potential are provisioned formally, as the law obliges it to be the duty of the state. However, the opportunity to exist and participate beyond the confines of the abstract doctrines of the law governing society, collectivism and social responsibility is suppressed. The inevitability of limited state control clings to the overarching concept of neoliberalism. The concept propelled by Mill (1998) extends that the public good should not be left to worsen, but rather that private citizens should come to the rescue in alleviating the state's burdens. Thus, it invites complacency from the state, especially when learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, as a minority cohort, are concerned. Essentially, self-sufficiency, which also finds its roots in Aristotelian concepts of reason and rationality, overlooks the groundwork required to develop these learners' intellectual and adaptive functions cumulatively. In other words, the objective undertakes the task as a sweeping, easy mission under the veil of attaching ideologies of "diversity" and "social model", which by default downplay and equalise their learning needs to those of their peers.

In the antithetical reality, the underemphasis of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism, as shown in policy implementation, is starkly inconsistent and in contradiction with the idealisations identified in the evaluative analysis and areas of agreement. The heedlessness of shared values, traditions, group solidarity, commonwealth and cooperative dependency exposes post-apartheid schools as sites that fortify exclusion. Specifically, contemporary communitarian citizenship concepts of integration and

community responsiveness, as supported by Etzioni (1994, 1996a; 2002), remain under-represented. In chorus, customs and traditions, as asserted by Pettit (1997), are neglected in the regrettable course of fostering a collective identity to establish trust that builds cooperative dependence between members of the community. Furthermore, Habermas's (1990, 2015) emphasis on group consensus held merit to access opportunities for learners to express their views (moral dialogue) in schools and beyond. However, the opportunities that lead to the maximisation of their ability to think critically, deliberate on political issues and participate in effecting change (i.e. casting votes) as a means to ascertain commonwealth are lost. Consequently, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are characterised as passive citizens. Regrettably, their intellectual and adaptive functions become further suppressed as they age, while their domains, in comparison to their peers, remain stagnant.

In parallel, the educational benefits of educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are diminished, based on the incoherence and inconsistency shown in the underemphasis of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism in practice. By implication, this suggests that development of the conceptual domain, due to the shared customs, values, traditions and group solidarity is hindered, and learners will have difficulty forming social connections in building knowledge and solving problems as a collective. In respect to their social domain, it remains underdeveloped, with no accrual to the benefits found in fostering the moral means of communicating with others through shared values. These shared values are those that reflect care and a collective identity as members belonging to the same school community. In respect to their practical domain, the benefits of experiential learning (technical knowledge) that are found in the skillsets of community members and indigenous knowledge are also left amiss. This is due to the missed opportunities to increase social mobility and ease the transition to broader spheres of society post-school. By implication, inclusive policy does not encapsulate citizenship as a status, feeling and practice that is underpinned by social justice and human rights.

Summary table which provides an overview of the inclusive policy analysis:

	Liberalism	**Communitarianism**	**Civic Republicanism**
National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (DoE, 1997) report	Assertive on recommendations which are socially just to all but, in practice, objectives are carried out with inclusive contradictions (self-determinism)	Widely echoes community involvement but, in practice, recommendations to involve more community stakeholders are neglected	Idealises broad democratic processes but, in practice, does not provide equitable demographic representation
EWP6 (DoE, 2001a)	Parades justice, but practices represent it above the common good (justice as supreme)	Emphasises care as a moral and political value but, in practice, apathy towards vulnerable identities is more prevalent	Invites the participation of stakeholders, but practices show that state responsibility is left in the hands of private players (neoliberalism)
Screening, Identifications, Assessment and Support (DBE, 2014)	Idealises a social model of disability, but practices incline to a medical model of disability	Encourages holistic approaches to learning, but practices adopt reductionist approaches	Emphasises fair social mobility, but practices communicate low participation

7.5 CONCLUSION

The chapter argued that the inclusive policy is overemphasised in classical liberal justice as supreme, neoliberalism and self-determinism, which consequently individualise, thus fortifying exclusion. The tenets of viewing disability through a social model and viewing

disability as a form of diversity (critical disability theory) and adaptability (4A-scheme framework) were used to critically analyse post-apartheid South Africa's inclusive policy.

The evaluative analysis of the *National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training* (DoE, 1997) report revealed a resounding prominence of contemporary communitarianism with a tailing of contemporary civic republicanism in its premise. The evaluative analysis of the *EPW6* (DoE, 2001a) predominantly expressed a dominance of contemporary communitarianism in the emphasis on care as a moral and political value. The evaluative analysis of the policy on *the SIAS policy* (DBE, 2014) was represented by the prominence of contemporary communitarianism. It is shown by the intersections that inform the individual learner (intrinsic factors, home and school contexts) and a holistic approach to enacting learning strategies. The overall analysis showed potential to propel citizenship as a status, feeling and practice to improve the intellectual and adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

Overall, the theoretical analysis based on areas of agreement showed the strengths of inclusive policy to be in community involvement and integration. In the areas of disagreement, revelations of the supremacy of the law, self-sufficiency and limited state interventions were evident. In the consideration of the areas of contestation, the grey areas that arose were those that questioned where these learners fit in the national picture. Thus, the contribution to the subject field that emerged is the incoherence and inconsistency exemplified by the paradox of community involvement and the supremacy of justice. In corroborating the central argument of the study, the inclusive policy is that it is implemented and expressed in classical liberalism. Therefore, the educational benefits found in the underemphasised contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism based on mutual customs, shared values, group consensus, group solidarity, commonwealth and cooperative dependence are neglected. The next chapter, Chapter 8, presents Part 3 of this thesis and provides the roadmap for a pendulum shift to educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under the post-apartheid citizenship education policy in post-apartheid schools.

CHAPTER 8: A PENDULUM SHIFT TO EDUCATING LEARNERS WITH MILD-INTELLECTUAL DISABILITIES IN POST-APARTHEID SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS

8.1 INTRODUCTION

> What kind of world do we want our children and young people to live in? What kind of schools and classrooms are required to achieve that world? What do children need to know, think and be able to achieve in a more inclusive world? When we look at our schools – who is in, who is out, who decides, and what are we going to do about it? (Slee, 2018, p. 9)

Slee (2018) invites us to consider these questions of morality. These questions assimilate well to the central aims of citizenship legislation, education and inclusive policy in post-apartheid South Africa as a collective that impels human rights and social justice for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools. Torn between the ideal and achievement of this mandate, I have shown in Chapters 5 to 7 that this actualisation has been compromised in policy implementation under the lenses of the critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework. The central argument between the analytical chapters was an overemphasis on classical liberalism and an underemphasis on educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism strands of citizenship. This imbalance, contributes to the ongoing struggle of these learners' characterisation as passive citizens, which necessitates a pendulum shift in the status quo. The chapter, representative of the normative method of enquiry, proposes strategies for shifting the pendulum swing from where we are – where the policy fails to cultivate intellectual and adaptive functions within contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism - to where we ought to be, with intellectual and adaptive functions well developed under contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

The chapter is divided into four sections. Section 1 foregrounds context in unpacking citizenship, related literature, policy and their implications for ordinary public South African schools. The argument demonstrates contemporary communitarianism as a starting point, which leads us to contemporary civic republicanism in cultivating active citizens of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. These learners are involved in their community and carry

out their rights and responsibilities in society through the educational benefits it fosters for the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions. Section 2 reconciles the key areas of concern in the citizenship education policy and provides a supporting argument. The argument makes a theoretical contribution to the lacklustre support of social justice and human rights when educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South African schools. Section 3 proposes a range of possible strategies that speak to citizenship education in schools. The knowledge contribution of this study shows a way forward at the community and state-education level being responsible for policy implementation. Moreover, how the contemporary communitarian and civic republicanism strands of citizenship can be realised in schools, communities and society towards the citizenship education of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Section 4 reconceptualises the future of citizenship education in post-apartheid South African schools under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA. It presents a philosophical panacea representing a shift in the pendulum towards the objectives of social justice and human rights.

8.2 CONTEXTUALISATION OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION POLICY AND PRACTICE IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS

The central argument of this study has been that the implementation of post-apartheid citizenship education policy reflects a tendency to adopt and overemphasise classical liberal strands of citizenship. In fulfilling the aim of the study to critique citizenship education policy, this position is justified by classical liberalism undermining the virtues of contemporary communitarianism to strengthen group solidarity, which begins in the micro community of schools and benefits the community later. Furthermore, the diminished role of civic republicanism through duties and responsibilities within a constitutional and deliberative democratic post-apartheid South African state, further compounds this issue. As a consequence, the emphasis on the educational benefits that are to be derived when educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities is lost. Specifically, this concerns the development of the conceptual domain responsible for their abstract thinking in sharpening their political literacy instead of reinforcing them as docile citizens. In addition, the development of the social domain that is responsible for the acquisition of skills from the formative years of their education to strengthen their social engagement skills, which are critical for deliberative processes, is neglected, instead reinforcing their social atomisation.

Furthermore, developing the practical domain that hones their sense of self-responsibility and social responsibility enables learners to performing their civic duties instead of reinforcing their lifelong dependency, low-social economic status and passivity. Thus, these underemphasised educational benefits would have added value to citizenship as a status that affirms their social right to inclusive access, as a feeling that affirms their belonging in order to broaden their opportunities through schooling and as a practice that affirms their participation in society. However, the ripple effects of classical liberalism, which is individualistic, impede the maximal development of the intellectual and adaptive functions necessary to steer their effective citizenship as per the framework of fulfilling social justice and human rights in education.

8.3 RECONCILING THE AREAS OF CONCERN IN THE CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION POLICY IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS

Against that backdrop, the collective evaluative analysis presented in Chapters 5 to 7 of the post-apartheid citizenship education policy is meticulously idealised to achieve the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism as articulated by global policy. Its inclusive, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism-based policy shows noble intent, particularly socially just distributive justice, shared values, freedom as non-domination and communicative action that underpins deliberative democracy through education. However, it peddles an illusion through these policy idealisations that all learners (and, by implication, those with mild-intellectual disabilities) will be affirmed in their citizenship as a status, feeling and practice if rights, community responsiveness and support services are centred in the learning process.

The citizenship education policy ascertains a common citizenship that governs all citizens of post-apartheid South Africa, as established in Chapter 5. Hence, it furthers the agenda of citizenship as a status, feeling and practice on account of rights and responsibilities. The essentiality of education lies in driving intentions, which dismantle barriers that produce inequalities, as characterised by former regimes of post-apartheid South African citizenship. Integral to the larger picture, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, as a form of diversity whose status of belonging was formerly disregarded on account of disability as an identity, inferred that they were more susceptible to exclusion, discrimination and marginalisation. Logically, in the post-apartheid state, key education stakeholders have an unwavering duty

to uplift these learners' plights by continuously raising the standard of educational acceptability. In the critique of the established power dynamics that foster the dominance of liberalism, the study's central argument is valuable in steering the equal acknowledgement of these learners to a place where they thrive due to their maximised capabilities.

In the context of liberal democracy, an argument can be extended that reverting to the drawing board as outlined in Chapter 5 of a representative, deliberative and participatory democracy guarantees inclusive educational access beyond formal terms. Additionally, inclusive opportunities foster more pronounced participation to contribute to society in the quest for a citizenship education that promises self-rule and non-domination as freedom with representative, deliberative and participatory outcomes garnering greater educational benefits, as pronounced in Chapter 3. In understanding the complexities of mild-intellectual disabilities, it is vital to recognise the manner in which education serves the aims of inclusion and is implemented as a discipline that maximises accessibility (representation). Operationally, this is to be enacted without sieving learners based on their intersections (i.e. socioeconomic status, gender and race) that have the potential to create more barriers to accessing education because of their differences. Essentially, this perspective validates learners with mild-intellectual disabilities' finding their identity and voice (deliberation) through education that transmits knowledge under effective pedagogies towards their social mobility as a means for their agency (participation).

As it stands, the citizenship legislation, as the social contract that legitimises individualism, falls short of honouring its end of fulfilling obligations. The Ministry of Education, which serves as its key facilitator to motion these obligations along with its collaborative partnerships with other departmental portfolios, as evaluated in Chapter 7, does not serve the collective needs and interests of all learners. In evidence, the stagnation of improving structural inequalities that leave learners with mild-intellectual disabilities with poor support in resources, pedagogies and practices remains a demystified area of concern. In principle, my argument centres on advancing a silver bullet that safeguards the social right to be redeemed from being construed as a concession and a privilege.

As Chapter 2 has highlighted, the common characteristic of liberalism across the epochs, the limits of government that make educational delivery and availability vulnerable, necessitate greater citizen action. Essentially, greater citizen action will enact the meaning of

representative, deliberative and participatory democracy in holding the state accountable. As the status quo is characterised by an extensive level of mediocrity in fulfilling welfare rights, the acceptance of taxpayers who also wear the cap, both directly and indirectly, as education stakeholders is regrettable. When a vulnerable demographic is unable to contribute economically (employment), politically (to affirm South African democracy fully) and socially (global pluralism), it is of no benefit to any of the key education stakeholders if subpar standards in educational institutions still exist. In conjunction, achieving educational outcomes that align with local initiatives such as the time-framed projects, which include the Schooling 2025 vision and the National Development Plan 2030. Consequently, the concern lies over learners with mild-intellectual disabilities as vulnerable cohorts left on their own without adequate support. Ideally,, the mandate of the citizenship education policy is to deliver, provide and perform at optimal levels, characterised by high-quality learning experiences delivered through learning materials that assure transferable skills and knowledge essential to function in a cosmopolitan society.

The private ownership that is accelerated by meritocracy tied to ableism, as shown in the evidence in Chapter 7, illustrates its detrimental effects to perpetuate the exclusion of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In other words, these learners are excluded on the basis of not being offered quality education and supportive responses to their needs as the state becomes complacent about fulfilling its obligations. In view of human rights and social justice as driving forces of education for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism, the degree of acceptability in public schools is characterised by fewer outlets for these learners to forge their way up in society due to the broken education system. Intrinsically, under the prime objectives of the theoretical framework, capitalistic (private ownership) and political agendas will be removed from the podium, with greater focus redirected to the articulation of the role education is meant to establish in society.

The transformation of economic, social and political structures in line with the invitation of the dawn of democracy in the country has influenced the rate of policy expansion. Nevertheless, as observed in the analysis of the lacklustre approaches that stand in opposition to the state objectives – in a lot of these expanded policies aimed at curbing social issues such as unemployment, a low tax base and an increased number of productive citizens, a peculiar dichotomy emerges. The policy expansions have provided no competitive advantage in expanding opportunities for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to

possess intellectual freedom to become independent decision-makers or to participate adequately, given their ill-equipped citizenship dispositions, skills and knowledge. In view of this, affirmative action is critical to get rid of the neo-segregations when it comes to learners with mild-intellectual disabilities being visible within these structures in guaranteeing them a sense of belonging and being able to competently engage in deliberations in the political community.

The loom of a fast-paced 21st century is characterised by variables such as the fourth industrial revolution and globalisation, which are true to the arguments extended by Habermas in Chapter 2 about the need for a post-national constellation. The fundamentals of a post-national constellation that are entrenched in acquiring knowledge and forming civic orientation affirm both formal and informal education. They serve as catalysts for protecting the future of the country (or rather, the common good) and active citizenry even on a global scale. Ideally, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism, together with the theoretical framework, carve out pathways for provisions that promote identity differences, a transformative society with no historic ties to ability stratifications, race exclusions, or educational divisions. However, the exemplified second-classism (exclusion) of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities, grounded in Aristotelianism advocating for rational capabilities, reinforces unequal privileges for inclusive learning processes instead of the ideas of cosmopolitanism essential for a post-national constellation. Therefore, the call for duty to employ best professional practices is spotlighted on education stakeholders to make the citizenship education policy adaptable to serve future needs by mirroring virtues of the social model of disability. In effect, the post-apartheid South African citizenship education policy being compatible with and subscribing to imperative educational global paradigms emulated under the lens of a social model is not a completely hopeless dream.

8.4 IMPLEMENTATION OF A CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION POLICY: POSSIBLE STRATEGIES OF SHIFTING THE PENDULUM SWING

Citizenship education is an active task to be constantly worked upon. Paramount to the duties of key stakeholders in education should be inculcating an education system rooted in social justice and human rights for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Gathiram (2008) argues that “Despite a constant preoccupation with policies, commissions, committees and

position statements, none of these ever reach full implementation" (p. 151). Nonetheless, we ought not to continue in complete bleakness in the tension between policy and achievement.

As a response to the areas of concern, strategies that would offer greater strides to denouncing classical (and hints of modern liberalism) with contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism towards effective citizenship and educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools will be discussed.

- On an individual level that exclusively centres on learners with mild-intellectual disabilities and how they can take control of finding their identity as a means for their agency amidst citizenship education policy idealisations of research-based support strategies in implementing policy lacking achievement:

In the long-term, where the policy does attain substantive achievement, and these learners are characterised by maximal development of their intellectual and adaptive functions, they can commit to lifelong participation in communitarian and civic republican-based acts of citizenship. Likewise, those who have successfully overcome the unjust education system can launch their own initiatives that underpin communitarian and civic republican strands. This is to empower the citizenship in citizens with similar identities who are unconscious of some of their struggles, or they can target those in their younger formative years.

In the medium term, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities can be encouraged to hone the strengths of the domain they find more strength in, that is, using their skills of crafting (practical domain) as a voice to raise communal awareness on a plaguing social issue.

In the short-term, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities can exploit the opportunities easily found in their communities through networks, programmes and available initiatives, including the expertise of community members, to acquire different approaches that can fully embody their effective citizenship.

- On the community level that centres on communitarianism, citizenship education policy idealises maximal involvement and responsiveness to support the implementation of policy. Therefore, to legitimately see this achievement in practice, I recommend that:

In the long-term, the intervention of disability advocacy groups (as private entities) can also foster the relationship between educators and learners. Moreover, they can assist the state in the non-formal learning tasks that inspire civic duties, such as sporting involvement and roadshows focused on democratic processes such as voting. Essentially, the involvement of private role players in spending funds on Disability Awareness Month campaigns could focus largely on the activism of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in school environments that represent a social model. Disability Awareness campaigns provide a platform for these learners to tell their own stories as a means towards finding identity and voice as a means for their agency. Similarly, they can also educate a greater society that holds misconceptions about mild-intellectual disabilities.

In the medium term, affecting commonwealth and diminishing neoliberal pursuits (private ownership) condoned through limited state intervention can be countered by collective action as a shared communal and societal task. Private ownership that perpetuates capitalism can be constructively redirected to provide in-house *Learning Support Advisors* for effective screening processes, thereby eradicating the problems of incomprehensibility of research-based strategies that result in biased judgement.

In the short-term: Adjacently, organisations such as Human Rights Watch and Section 24 are critical in facilitating moral and political dialogues with the state on rectifying the un-availability of schools fit to the specifications of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. In simpler terms, private entities advancing mild-intellectual disabilities as a form of diversity can be key to sponsoring initiatives in the media, that is, television programmes centred around the importance of the political participation of such identities in society. In effect, they would also improve the accessibility issue for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities who have been forced out of school because of the climate of post-apartheid schools in effecting justice in tailoring knowledge to their needs. In addition, as citizens are already familiar with, the implementation of the citizenship education policy (i.e. rebuilding a new legacy of post-apartheid South African education) lies in pursuing nation-building that does not exclude others. Therefore, to combat individualisation, citizenship education can be aligned with Walzer's concept of tolerance, which represents the ideals of the social model. Tolerance, as a communitarian concept, hosts merit in acknowledging that differences exist, but compassion should be extended to those with whom we coexist. Therefore, the concept of tolerance provides a progressive understanding of disability as a

form of diversity, demonstrating value to the collective benefit through transformation that induces collective action (duties), representation and moral virtues that govern structures in education.

- On the state education level, which focuses on schools as institutions for achieving civic republicanism, citizenship education policy profoundly idealises formal knowledge. Therefore, to legitimately ensure this achievement, in addition to skills at the foundational learning level, I suggest that:

In the long-term, to facilitate success in schools, the Department of Education can address practices that favour selective liberal democracy in advancing current workshops that focus on best professional practices. Essentially, these facilitate developing learners' intellectual and adaptive functions through transformation led by reconceptualisation of their short- and medium-term objectives. The rationale would be motivated with the primary intent, as Walzer affirms, of attaining distributive justice through the spheres of justice to benefit the intended recipients. In addition, it holds two-fold benefit in harmonising the opposing extremes (holism) of liberal, communitarian and civic republican citizenship in education. Moreover, as extended by Confucius, it has the potential to create patterns and habits that force education stakeholders to abandon their preconceived and ill-informed attitudes, specifically, the pedagogical practices applied to learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

In the medium term, rationality motioned on capabilities that undermine learners' potential, and meritocracy can be countered by having the top focus on bringing adaptability to policy. The manner of approach in this can be through encouraging active learning and providing experiential learning, such as excursions to visit heritage sites. The adaptive assessments that mandate civic tasks based on excursions of this nature will offer an opportunity to emphasise communitarian strands of virtues that inspire group solidarity.

In the short-term, at the bottom of the approach, schools can adopt Universal Design for Learning-inclined pedagogies that focus on developing critical pedagogies and dialogical citizens. Invariably, such inclusive pedagogies foster active participation in a manner that promotes non-domination as freedom, while also allowing learners with mild-intellectual disabilities to explore their intellectual potential.

Inferentially, across these three planes, a philosophical panacea lies in citizenship education in schools under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA.

8.5 THE FUTURE OF CITIZENSHIP EDUCATION IN SCHOOLS UNDER COMMUNITARIANISM IN A CIVIC-ORIENTATED REPUBLIC

In this thesis, it has been made clear that the future envisaged by the theoretical framework for policy in enacting citizenship education draws parallels to democratic values. These democratic values cultivate schools imbued with social justice and human rights at the crux – even in the reality of citizenship being a complex, multidimensional and dynamic concept. Therefore, citizenship education in schools under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA as the overarching panacea represents a shift in the pendulum swing from where we are (policy not cultivating intellectual and adaptive functions) to where we ought to be (intellectual and adaptive functions fully maximised). In essence, it validates the value of mobilising for their effective citizenship, which influences education stakeholders to engage in democratic politics (communitarianism) that promote equal participation (civic-orientated). Likewise, in a pluralistic society, guided by the theoretical framework's prime objectives of social justice and human rights, learners with mild-intellectual disabilities are offered recourse to overcome their state of docility, social atomisation, underrepresentation and passivity.

When framing disability (and, by implication, mild-intellectual disability), Rioux and Bach (1994) assert, "it is a social status, and the research agenda must take into account the political implications attached to that status" (p. 7). Hence, schools under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA embody the importance of citizenship education to establish firm group solidarity among all education stakeholders (civic engagement). On that accord, it follows that education stakeholders function as a chain that reacts (duties and responsibilities) through the spheres of justice to the crisis of injustice that entrenches the passivity of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. As argued throughout the thesis, the embodiment of such social aptitudes in citizens reflects on schools as a microcosm of society. In looking at South Africa's history, citizenship and citizenship education (or the lack thereof) were generally accepted in passive terms for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Looking to the future of post-apartheid schools imbued with communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA affirms that there is unwavering opposition to citizenship education

policy being inculcated in passive terms. Thus, it is the responsibility of citizens to safeguard this democracy that encapsulates representation, participation and deliberation through diverse pluralities. The consequence of neglecting a single group induces ripple effects that eventually negatively impact all citizens if government leaders are not held accountable and challenged.

Schools imbued with communitarianism in a civic-orientated republic are not only limited to the South African context. However, what is currently demanded is a future in which citizenship education policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities is implemented to complement global citizenship[84] activism initiatives. On that accord, it solidifies relevance to the philosophies of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Chapters 5 to 7 foregrounded a great deal of the obstacles to implementation. These were majorly compounded and exacerbated by internal and man-made fashions that have lingered too long in the folds of educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. As illustrated, there is a need for an urgent recourse to the status quo to bring policy to a level of success that supports the researcher's vision for the future.

Future research

In essence, as Ball (1994) best describes the nature of policy in its role, it raises theoretical uncertainties, answering some questions and raising others. Therefore, to fully maximise inclusive access, opportunities and participation, a nuanced understanding of where citizenship as a status, feeling and practice are located under the citizenship education policy equally requires further research. Therefore, I extend the recommendation of a study into the epistemic feasibility of citizenship education policy as a standalone subject. As this study has set precedence, it will equally converge citizenship, education and inclusive policy into providing a novel perspective on citizenship education and citizenship education policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. As an independent policy, under the objectives of social justice and human rights, the intention and purpose of education as a redistributive

[84] These include being part of fulfilling the global agenda of achieving Sustainable Development Goals, specifically: ensuring healthy lives and promoting well-being for all persons with disabilities (Goal 3), ensuring inclusive and equitable quality education for all persons with disabilities (Goal 4), promoting full and productive employment and decent work for persons with disabilities (Goal 8), reducing inequality for persons with disabilities (Goal 10), making cities and human settlements inclusive and sustainable for persons with disabilities (Goal 11) and promoting peaceful and inclusive societies for sustainable development, providing access to justice and building effective, accountable and inclusive institutions at all levels for persons with disabilities (Goal 16) (United Nations, 2019).

instrument in society would be demystified for better implementation success under contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

8.6 CONCLUSION

The chapter aimed to propose strategies for shifting the pendulum swing from where we are to where we ought to be in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. The main message of the chapter was that citizenship education in schools under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA, as the philosophical panacea, represents a shift in the pendulum under the objectives of social justice and human rights. Implicitly, maximal active citizenship to be exercised by the participation of all citizens is proposed to counter imminent occurrences of docility, social atomisation and underrepresentation (passivity) of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in a plural society.

The chapter opened with contextualisation that made connecting points to the central argument and aim of the thesis. In following, the key areas of concern highlighted the key areas of classical liberalism, namely liberal democracy, reason and rationality, limited state intervention, elitism, meritocracy, reductionism, justice as supreme, neoliberalism and self-determinism, which individualise. Its arguments in the theoretical contributions of social justice and human rights reinforced the educational benefits found in contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

In shifting the pendulum swing between the ideals of citizenship education policy and its achievement, strategies for learners finding their identity as a means for agency, community involvement and responsiveness and the equilibration between formal knowledge and experiential learning are presented. As a scholarly contribution and in looking to the future, citizenship education in schools under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA was proposed as the philosophical panacea. It asserts that not all hope is lost in the reality of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities being left in an abyss of passivity. It validates the value of marshalling active citizenship that influences education stakeholders in post-apartheid education to engage in democratic politics that promote equal participation.

The chapter culminated by suggesting future research into the epistemic feasibility of citizenship education policy as an independent subject that converges citizenship, education and inclusive policy in post-apartheid schools within a framework underpinned by social justice and human rights.

CHAPTER 9: CONCLUSION

The key terms that undergirded this study (citizenship education, citizenship education policy, mild-intellectual disabilities, inclusion and schools) served to provide context to embark on the complexity, ambiguity and multidimensionality of citizenship as a subject.

The introduction and background to the research overview in Chapter 1 provided context for post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship education policy by situating it within the 1994 post-apartheid South African democratic transition, which promoted policy reform in accordance with global agreements. The rationale gave a profile of the researchers chosen group of learners and schools in post-apartheid South Africa.

The research problem of the study is that citizenship education policy is based on classical liberalism, which individualises learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid schools. As an unintended consequence of policy, the social problem of citizenship education policy implemented under classical liberalism constitute the fortification of the exclusion of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities from facing lifelong dependency, social atomisation, underrepresentation and passivity in their political participation.

The central argument of the study asserted that the implementation of post-apartheid citizenship education policy reflects a tendency to adopt and overemphasise classical liberal strands of citizenship. Its justification was found in the fact that classical liberalism undermines the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism (group solidarity) and civic republicanism (duties and responsibilities). These two strands are critical because they not only cultivate the intellectual and adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools but also cultivate a politically active citizen. Accordingly, the study aimed to critique post-apartheid citizenship education policy as a vehicle for citizenship education for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in South African schools.

As a philosophical study, philosophical research in education was adopted as a methodology and Frankena's three methods of enquiry were employed as a methodological approach. Philosophical research in education addressed the ethical, epistemological and metaphysical questions in the pursuit of creating new knowledge, whereas Frankena's three methods of enquiry made use of descriptive, analytical and normative enquiry.

As a contribution to the study, the critical analysis of citizenship education policy in Chapters 5, 6 and 7 demonstrated that the liberalism explicated undermines and underemphasises the educational benefits of contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. These were on account of policy achievements led by liberalism through: liberal democracy, reason and rationality, limited state intervention, elitism, meritocracy, reductionism, justice as supreme, neoliberalism and self-determinism, which consequently individualise. Invariably, the theoretical contributions of social justice and human rights as key objectives of the theoretical framework in Chapter 4 validated that when educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in post-apartheid South African schools, they are not supported. In shifting the pendulum swing between the ideals of citizenship education policy and its achievement in Chapter 8, strategies for learners finding their identity as a means for agency, community involvement and responsiveness and the equilibration between formal knowledge and experiential learning are presented. In looking to the future and contributory to the field, citizenship education in schools for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA is proposed.

Part 1 (descriptive) opened with Chapter 2, which introduced the key philosophical areas of the study. The origins, history and development of citizenship, and by implication, citizenship education, were introduced through historiography. In closing the knowledge gap, the chapter asserted that the origin, history and development of citizenship as a concept and citizenship education in the last 2600 years have been defined by liberalism as the dominant strand. Thus, education of citizens with intellectual disabilities arguably remained deadwood. In leading the 21st century, contemporary communitarian and civic republican strands are endorsed by this study to characterise a holistic approach to learning that spearheads effective citizenship for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools.

In providing a chronological account, the chapter traced the earliest origins, history and development of citizenship - in essence, classical citizenship - to be located during the classical antiquity period (8th century BCE – 5th century CE). The key philosopher pioneering the epoch from Ancient Greece and propelling liberalism was Pericles, whose core notion of citizenship was (liberal) democracy, which suggested a liberal (democratic) education. In addition, Aristotle, whose core notions of citizenship were reason and rationality, suggested a rational inquiry education. Emerging from ancient China and offering a communitarian perspective was Confucius, whose core notions of citizenship were

altruism, which carved out learning of self, shared morals, shared ethics and social responsibility, which suggested a character education. Originating from the Roman Republic from a civic republican lens was Cicero, whose core notions of citizenship were based on a mixed constitution. The mixed constitution focused on the rule of law, patriotism and service to the state (i.e. taxes and military conscriptions), which suggested a civic education underpinned by active participation in speech and dialogue and patriotism. The dominant strand defining this epoch, to a great extent was liberalism. It was predicated on the prevalence of democratic systems of government, which inferred that there was less communitarianism and more individualism steering governance. Invariably, with democracy and the rule of law at the centre, civic republicanism was second to the dominance of liberalism because the citizen participation aspect was a required duty to the polity and republic. Regrettably, citizenship education for citizens with disabilities was met with much scepticism, as the classical epoch widely regarded disability as a threat to the good life, compromising the necessary undertaking of pivotal roles and political participation.

The origins, history and development of modern citizenship and citizenship education can be traced back to the 17th – 18th centuries during the Age of Enlightenment in Europe. The dominant strand defining this epoch was liberalism, on account of the emerging emphasis on liberal thought, reason and questioning authority. In accordance with expectations, less emphasis was placed on community, which is orientated towards communitarianism and much less on civic republicanism, as individual liberties were more prioritised. The key philosopher who spearheaded the epoch from the United Kingdom, presenting a liberal perspective, was Locke, whose core notions of citizenship were based on the social contract. Alongside Locke was Mill, whose core notions of citizenship focused on meritocracy and its key features of a representative government to maintain individual liberty and utilitarianism, with competency found at the core of promoting excellence in leadership, which suggested a competency-based education. Emanating from Germany and providing a communitarian outlook was Hegel, whose core notions of citizenship were based on holism, which focused on organic unity, suggesting a humanistic education that is centred on upholding shared values, experiences and interdisciplinary learning.

Furthermore, emerging from Switzerland and offering a civic republican view was Jean-Jacques Rousseau, whose core notions of citizenship were based on the social contract theory, which focused on the general will and collective sovereignty. It called for a

democratic citizenship education that is centred on sustaining a democratic system through active citizenship in achieving sovereignty of the general will. The key message of the modern epoch of citizenship and, by implication, citizenship education, is that the awakening in reasoning and critiquing authority validated more nuanced exercises in the liberties of individual consent that negated collective actions. However,, in a parallel to the classical epoch, citizenship education for citizens with disabilities was met with much cynicism, as membership in the political community excluded a citizen based on this identity.

The origins of contemporary citizenship endured from the Age of Enlightenment post-the 18th century and included the period of the American Revolution (18th century), the French Revolution (late 18th century) and continued to the 20th century into the World War I and II eras, to date. The dominant strand defining this epoch was liberalism because of the significant influence of the Age of Enlightenment and the further quest for more pronounced individualism. However, in the later American Revolution period, communitarianism and civic republicanism gained equal prominence as a means to counter liberalism. In effect, liberalism became less prominent. The key philosopher, who led the epoch, from the United States of America extending a liberal insight, was Rawls, whose core notions of citizenship were based on the two principles of justice and focused on equal basic freedoms and justifiable inequalities. Implicitly, the conception suggests a justice-orientated education as an ideal. Alongside Rawls was Marshall, whose core notions of citizenship were based on a self-determinist democracy, which suggested a liberal citizenship education. Also hailing from the United States of America and offering a communitarian standpoint was Walzer, whose core notions of citizenship were based on the spheres of justice. The concept of citizenship suggested a distributive and social justice education that offers equal educational benefits that extend ideals of dismantling hegemonies, hierarchies and providing equal opportunities for success in community life.

Likewise, emerging from Germany was Etzioni, whose core notion of citizenship was based on the moral and social order, which suggested a community-based education. Originating from the United Kingdom and providing a civic republican view was Pettit, whose core notion of citizenship focused on freedom as non-domination, which was based on collective political self-governance and suggested a civic republican-orientated democratic education. In tandem, emanating from Germany was Habermas, whose core notion of citizenship was based on communicative action, which suggested a deliberative democratic education.

Implicitly, citizenship education for citizens with disabilities, in the most inclusive sense, delivers more potential benefits that lead to their effective citizenship in schools, communities and the global environment.

Chapter 3 centred itself on the key perspectives on citizenship education, policy and inclusion based on the global review. The underlying message communicated by the chapter is that intercontinental, regional and local citizenship education policy aligns with global agreements informing citizenship education ideals. These were based on human rights, inclusive values and equality in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarian and civic republicanism citizenship. In contrast, the implementation of intercontinental, regional and local citizenship education policy in the exemplified achievements of the ideals mentioned above points to classical liberalism in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Consequently, effective citizenship and the development of their intellectual and adaptive functions remain suppressed. The chapter commenced with a profile of global agreements informing citizenship education policy comprising the *Universal Declaration of Human Rights* (UDHR) (UN, 1948) idealised to achieve human rights, the *Salamanca Statement* (UNESCO, 1994) idealised to achieve inclusion, and the *Convention on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities* (UNCPRD) (UN, 2006) idealised to achieve human rights, inclusive values and equality.

The intercontinental review was represented by the emulation of classical liberalism in Chile (market-based models, unfostered moral and political dialogues, state neutrality), Canada (medical-model of disability, social divisions, ableism) and Scotland (self-determinism, power imbalances, weakened checks and balances) in the implementation of policy. The regional review was represented by the emulation of communitarianism and civic republicanism in Morrocco (religion and involvement of nongovernmental organisations) and classical liberalism (underemphasis of critical thinking). The emulation of classical liberalism in Nigeria (exposure to civic knowledge, teaching of moralism as a political value, apathy) and in Ethiopia (lack of civic engagements, democratic values underemphasised, lack of state accountability in the implementation of policy. The local review was represented by the emulation of classical liberalism in the (in)access to responsive teaching practices in schools and fixation on benevolence over democratic values. However, subtle hints of contemporary civic republicanism in the encouraged civic engagement to build society in implementing citizenship education policy for learners with mild-intellectual disabilities

were evident. Ultimately, based on the idealisations of the global citizenship education policy are thwarted by instances of passive emulation in practice.

Chapter 4 adopted critical disability theory and Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework as the theoretical framework to serve as the lens to review post-apartheid South African citizenship education and policy. The key contribution conveyed by the chapter was that social justice as an outcome of critical disability theory and human rights as an outcome of Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework find relevance for educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities for contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. Therefore, as a collective, the theoretical framework provides the optimal lens to apply as criteria for moving the subject forward in critiquing policy.

Critical disability theory, as a metatheory of critical theory, critiques the unequal power dynamics of oppression and provides opportunities that illuminate issues people living with disabilities are affected by in society (Hosking, 2008; Mertens et al., 2013). The tenets of critical disability theory, namely critique, viewing disability as a social model, a form of diversity under the universalist viewpoint, finding identity and voice as means for their agency and transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures, are all in pursuit of social justice. The selection of the theory was justifiable on the grounds that: it holds great potential to drive a transformative change to alter issues affecting those with disabilities, co-create knowledge between people with disabilities and allies, and embrace disability rights while simultaneously also propelling disability rights agenda. Tomaševski's 4-A scheme framework is a human rights-based assessment of education policies conceptualised using 4-As (availability, accessibility, adaptability and acceptability). The selection of the framework was justifiable on the grounds that it addresses the right to education, in education and through education, and infers that in all capacities, a policy should be fully fledged to uphold the right.

Part 2 (analytical) of the study introduced Chapter 5, which critically analysed the *South African Citizenship Act 88 of 1995* (RSA, 1995) and the *Constitution of South Africa* (RSA, 1996) as the citizenship legislation. The chapter drew on the tenets of the framework, namely critique, finding identity and voice as means for agency and availability for analysis. The central argument of the chapter is that citizenship legislation is overemphasised in classical liberal strands of liberal democracy, freedoms, reason and rationality and modern liberal

strands of state neutrality, which inherently individualise. Conversely, it is underemphasised in contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Accordingly, it submits contributing knowledge that bolsters the study's central argument that post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship legislation is characterised by ambiguity in determining the extent of political participation that schools can easily adopt as a clear benchmark to implement policy.

The evaluative analysis of the Citizenship Act 88 of 1995 (RSA, 1995) found that it primarily communicates educating for contemporary civic republicanism with liberalism playing a minimal role. By implication, it showed the promotion of citizenship as a status, feeling and practice with the potential to cultivate the conceptual, social and practical domains of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in schools based on its provisions to pursue civic engagements and politically active citizens. The evaluative analysis of the Constitution (RSA, 1996) found that it dominantly communicates classical liberalism rather than contemporary communitarianism or civic republicanism. Liberalism is strongly emphasised in key words used, such as "rights" and "freedoms", in its provisions. However, as a framework for securing rights and obliging the state to provide public goods to its citizens, it demonstrated the possibility of promoting citizenship as a status, feeling and practice in developing the conceptual, social and practical domains of these learners in post-apartheid schools.

The theoretical analysis based on areas of agreement showed that citizenship legislation supports the enrolment (formal access) of more learners in schools. In stark contrast, the areas of disagreement highlighted the poor conditions of South African schools, discriminatory practices and undereducation of citizenship topics. Emanating from the areas of contestation, significant concerns arose regarding the level of representation of these learners, enrolment in schools as an identity and the inference of the socioeconomic discrepancies in light of school availability. Accordingly, the chapter contributes to the subject field that post-apartheid South Africa's citizenship legislation is characterised by ambiguity in determining the extent of political participation that schools can easily adopt as a clear benchmark to implement policy. Inferentially, the individualisation exerted by classical liberalism in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities lacks the accompaniment of educational benefits found in contemporary communitarianism and civic

republicanism in schools. These are characterised by distributive justice that serves the interest of their learning needs, collectivism and freedom as non-domination.

Chapter 6 presented the critical analysis of the education policy comprised the *South African White Paper on Education and Training* (DoE, 1995), *SASA* (DoE, 1996), and *CAPS* (DoE, 2011). The tenets of transformation as a means of changing economic, political and social structures, acceptability and accessibility were used as a lens. The central argument of the chapter was that education policy is overemphasised in classical liberalism's elitism (meritocracy), atomisation, reductionism, reason and rationality, which inherently individualise. Conversely, it is underemphasised in contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism in educating learners with mild-intellectual disabilities. Its contribution to the subject field is that the packaging of the education policy is too constricted in the conventional route of formal education from the foundation phase in primary schools with no equal efforts in practice towards the acquisition of civic skills from the foundational grades.

The evaluative analysis of the White Paper on Education and Training (DoE, 1995) determined the policy to be established on a balance between contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism in its premise. The evaluative analysis of SASA (DoE, 1996) also showed insight into a balance between contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism. The evaluative analysis of CAPS (DBE, 2011) found that it is expressed voluminously in contemporary civic republicanism. By implication, the overall analysis showed the potential to propel citizenship as a status, feeling and practice to improve the adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

The theoretical analysis based on areas of agreement depicted the education policy to be implemented across the widespread commitment to lifelong learning and education that schools must prioritise. However, in areas of disagreement, the education policy highlighted the thin line between civic republicanism's notion of rights and responsibilities and liberalism's interpretation of rights in individualistic terms, which has contributed to vast exclusions. The areas of contestation raised questions centred on the National Qualification Framework and the level of efficacy of the National Quality Authority in resolving the status quo in post-apartheid schools. In corroborating the central argument of the study, the education policy is implemented upon the strands of classical liberalism. As a contribution

to the subject field in line with the study's central argument, the chapter asserted that the education policy is too constrained in formal education in primary schools. Essentially, there is a lack of equal efforts in practices that advance the civic skills of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities in these formative years from the foundation phase.

Chapter 7 critically analysed the inclusive policy comprising the report by the *National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training* (DoE, 1997), *EWP6* (DoE, 2001a) and the policy on *SIASt* (DBE, 2014). The tenets of adaptability, viewing disability through a social model and viewing disability as a form of diversity were used as lenses to analyse policy. The chapter's central argument asserted that inclusive policy is overemphasised in classical liberal practices of self-determinism, neoliberalism and limited state involvement, which consequently reinforces individualism. The chapter contributes to the subject field in that the inclusive policy exemplifies a paradox of community involvement (shared values that affirm their sense of identity under collectivism notions) and the supremacy of justice (to govern said communities). Essentially, these ideas are found at polar ends of the spectrum in terms of what schools should inculcate.

The evaluative analysis of the National Commission on Special Needs in Education and Training (DoE, 1997) report revealed a strong emphasis on contemporary communitarianism with elements of contemporary civic republicanism in its premise. The evaluative analysis of the EWP6 (DoE, 2001a) predominantly expressed a dominance of contemporary civic republicanism in the emphasis on care as a moral and political value. The evaluative analysis of the policy on SIAS (DBE, 2014) was represented by the prominence of contemporary communitarianism. It is represented by the intersections that inform the individual learner (intrinsic factors, home and school contexts) and a holistic approach to enacting learning strategies. By implication, the overall analysis showed the potential to propel citizenship as a status, feeling and practice to improve the adaptive functions of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities.

The theoretical analysis based on areas of agreement showed the strengths of inclusive policy to be on community involvement and integration. The areas of disagreement revealed much emphasis on the supremacy of the law, self-sufficiency and limited state interventions. The grey areas that arose were those that questioned where these learners fit in the national picture. In corroborating the central argument of the study, the inclusive policy is that it is

implemented and expressed in classical liberalism. Thus, the educational benefits of the underemphasised contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism based on mutual customs, shared values, group consensus, group solidarity, commonwealth and cooperative dependence are neglected.

Part 3, which presented Chapter 8 (normative), foregrounded the context of post-apartheid citizenship education and practice, which made connecting points to the central argument and aim of the thesis. In reconciling the areas of concern, the section asserted that the citizenship education policy idealised on inclusive, contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism-based policy shows noble intent. However, it peddles an illusion through these policy idealisations that all learners (and, by implication, those with mild-intellectual disabilities) will be affirmed in their citizenship as a status, feeling and practice if rights, community responsiveness and support services are centred in the learning process. The strategies proposed responded to the key areas of concern, which are liberal democracy, freedoms, reason and rationality, state neutrality, elitism (meritocracy), atomisation, reductionism, classical liberal justice as supreme, neoliberalism and self-determinism identified in Chapters 5 to 7. In alignment with the theoretical framework, the specific strategies across the individual, community and state education levels were submitted relating to contemporary communitarianism and civic republicanism.

As a scholarly contribution and a forward-looking reconceptualization, citizenship education in schools under communitarianism in a civic-orientated RSA was proposed as the philosophical panacea. It asserts that not all hope is lost in the reality of learners with mild-intellectual disabilities being left in an abyss of passivity. It validates the value of marshalling active citizenship that influences education stakeholders in post-apartheid education to engage in democratic politics that promote equal participation. To conclude, future research is suggested for a study to be undertaken on the epistemic feasibility of citizenship education policy as a standalone subject that would converge citizenship, education and inclusive policy in post-apartheid schools through a framework underpinned by social justice and human rights.

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