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Unearthing the discursive shift in the ‘fCUBE’ policy implementation in Ghana: using critical discourse analysis

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This article analyses selected texts from documents on the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) policy implementation in Ghana to unearth the discursive shift in policy (i.e. from predominantly socialist/social democratic towards neo-liberal ideological policy direction) in recent time. The methodological approach involves the critical discourse analysis (CDA) of extracts selected purposefully from the fCUBE policy documents to show how Ghana’s education policy has evolved over time. Owing to its commitment to enhancing the educational opportunities of the socially and economically disadvantaged, the analyses view fCUBE as a rights-based policy deeply rooted in social democracy. However, the strategies for implementation outlined in the fCUBE policy documents do not appear consistent with the policy goals/intentions. A significant discursive shift in policy direction and language of implementation is uncovered, which the article contends, is due to the emergence of neo-liberal ideological discourses on education wrapped in the rhetoric of ‘skills for the world of work’. The article concludes that owing to its potential to draw on language as a resource for analysing complex social issues, CDA is a useful interdisciplinary methodology for highlighting new textual formations and marginal discourses within policy texts and for tracing discursive shifts in policy implementation processes.

Keywords: ‘fCUBE’ policy; critical discourse analysis; policy implementation; socialism; social democracy; neo-liberalism; ideology; discursive shift; critical policy research

Introduction

The design of education in sub-Saharan Africa undoubtedly went through a cycle of de-privatization during the first post-independence decade in the 1960s and then a cycle of re-privatization in the 1990s (Kitaev cited in Tomasevski 2006). The initial de-privatization, which was described as ‘nationalization’ of education was hugely important for newly independent countries. It (education) was mandated by the law and was seen as the key to nation-building through, especially the state’s control over schools, curricula and teachers. Free and compulsory education was recognized as a human right and was expected to trigger indigenous development (Turner 1971; Nwomonoh 1998; Dei 2004, 2005). However, in Ghana and many other countries in sub-Saharan Africa, hopes that education would attain such laudable social goals were short-lived as in the 1980s and 1990s (owing to World Bank and IMF’s Structural Adjustment Programmes) direct charges in public education were imposed and financial responsibility for education

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was transferred from governments to families and communities (Akyeampong 2009, 179–81).

The effects of the World Bank and the IMF's model of funding education have been written about extensively. In fact, a great deal of critique, in recent times, is directed towards their financing strategies, and the international development literature is littered with exemplifications about the ways their neo-liberal ideological and policy undertones particularly of privatization, consumerism, choice and the rhetoric of skills for knowledge-based economy have led to or lead inevitably to the institutionalization of economic exclusion and thus jeopardizing both efforts aimed at universalizing primary education and poverty reduction particularly in low-income countries (see, for example, Bray 1987; Kadingdi 2004; Tomasevski 2005, 2006; Adie 2008; Akyeampong 2009).

This article continues this important discussion/debate in a slightly different and perhaps innovative methodological manner. It (the article) purports to illustrate, using the context of Ghana as an exemplar, how the introduction of the World Bank's neo-liberal ideology in education, particularly the rhetoric of 'skills for knowledge-based economy' has led to a significant discursive shift in education policy and practice. Specifically, in this article, I analyse three selected extracts from key documents on the Free Compulsory Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) policy using critical discourse analysis (CDA). This is done with the view to unearthing the discursive shift in policy direction and language of implementing the fCUBE policy owing to what I identify as the emergence of neo-liberal ideological discourse on education. The extracts selected constitute a 'time-line' of policy events in Ghana and are intended to show how Ghana's education policy has evolved from predominantly a combination of socialist and social democratic ideals towards predominantly neo-liberal ideological policy direction over time. The rationale essentially is that such an undertaking could open up space for tracing and documenting new textual formations (in the form of discourses) and also for highlighting marginal discourses and 'silences' within policy texts. In methodological terms, this endeavour is intended to exemplify the efficacy of CDA in exploring and providing understanding of policy implementation processes, particularly of how policy implementation issues could be conceptualized ideologically for mediation. Equally, the approach has the potential to serve as an exemplar of critical educational policy analysis and/or research which allows for a thorough investigation and documentation of the philosophical or ideological underpinnings of policies.

In the context of this paper, Small 'f' in fCUBE is intended to show that there are contestations regarding the notion of 'free education'. The 'f' demonstrates the Government of Ghana's commitment to meeting what is referred to as 'public costs' of education whilst parents/guardians take up the 'private costs'. The CDA, on the other hand (and for the purposes of this paper), is defined as an approach to analysis which adopts 'a discourse-based view of language which involves looking not just at isolated, decontextualized bits of language but rather examining how bits of language combine with social processes to contribute to the making of complete texts' (see McCarthy and Carter 1994; Wodak 2001; Fairclough 1995, 2001a, 2001b, 2003, 2005 for further discussion of what constitutes CDA).

The article is organized as follows. The next section provides an overview of the fCUBE policy context. Thereafter, the theoretical context or resource of/for the article is presented. Next comes the methodological approach, followed by the CDA of selected texts from the fCUBE policy documents and summary and conclusion, respectively.

The fCUBE policy background

The fCUBE policy is a constitutional requirement and a comprehensive sector-wide programme designed to provide good quality basic education for all children of school-going age (i.e. from 5 to 13 years) in Ghana (Ministry of Education (MOE) 1996). The acronym fCUBE was derived from the wording of Chapter 6, Section 38, Subsection 2 of the Fourth Republican Constitution of 1992 of Ghana whose formulation and passage into law gave rise to the initiation of the fCUBE programme (see extract 1 in the appendix for the actual wording of the 1992 Constitution).

The 1992 Republican Constitution came into effect officially on the 7 January 1993 and in line with the constitutional provision enshrined within the Constitution itself, the then government of the National Democratic Congress (NDC), through the MOE and the Ghana Education Service (GES), came out in April 1996 with a policy document to implement the fCUBE policy officially. The policy implementation process took off in 1996 and was expected to have been completed by 2005.

At the heart of fCUBE was government's commitment to:

- make schooling from basic stage 1 through 9 (5–13 years), free, compulsory and universal for all school age children by the year 2005;
- improve the quality of teaching and learning: recognizing the fact that 22% of children of school-going age (that is, P1–P6) were not in school, 29% of students in Junior Secondary School (now Junior High School) were not in school and that there were less vacancies for students who qualify to enter Senior Secondary School (now Senior High School) (MOE 1996, 1998; GES 2004).

With financial assistance from the World Bank, the fCUBE policy implementation focused on two main activities. On the demand side, investments were channelled to support education policy and management changes with key areas targeted including: increasing instructional time, reducing fees and levies, improving headteachers' management skills and motivation levels and improving school supervision. On the supply side, investments were focused primarily on improving physical infrastructure and increasing the number of school places through the large-scale construction of additional classrooms and schools (World Bank 2004; Akyeampong 2009). These activities were re-developed into an 'fCUBE' implementation plan which adopts a range of strategies often referred to as the objectives of the 'fCUBE' programme. These strategies revolve around three main components namely:

- improving quality of teaching and learning
- improving management efficiency
- improving access and participation (MOE 1996, 1998).

From the year 2000 onwards, owing largely to Ghana's participation and endorsement of the Millennium Development Goals agreement in Dakar in 2000 and other global Education for All policy imperatives, new policy initiatives intended to strengthen and revitalize the fCUBE policy implementation have been introduced. Notable among these policies are the 'capitation grant', the 'school feeding programme', the '11-year basic education policy' and the 'free uniforms' and 'exercise books' initiatives (GES 2004; MOE 2005, 2006). The 'capitation grant' concept entails giving 40,000 cedis (the equivalent of less than £2) by government to each

child per year to offset the burden of the ‘private’ cost of education on parents/guardians. As aptly noted by Agbenyaga (2007, 42), the capitation grant concept is designed to reinforce the existing fCUBE policy through attracting and retaining children in school. A total amount of 95 billion cedis, an equivalent of US\$10.4 million, is reported to have been allocated for the capitation grant in the 2006 fiscal year (GOG 2006). The ‘school feeding programme’ provides at least a decent meal a day for vulnerable school children in deprived settings whilst the ‘11-year basic education policy’ has extended basic education in Ghana from 9 to 11 years (comprising 2 years kindergarten; 6 years of primary schooling and 3 years of Junior High School). The ‘free uniform’ and ‘free exercise books initiatives’, like the capitation grant concept, are intended to make primary education really ‘free’ by off-setting the private costs of education on poor and poverty-stricken families.

Ironically however, a critical review of the fCUBE policy documents in its 16th year of implementation suggests that the policy guidelines and strategies do not appear consistent with the overall policy aims and/or goals. For example, whereas the 1992 Republican Constitution (from which the fCUBE policy derives the wording of its title) talks of free, compulsory and universal basic education provision for all Ghanaian children of school-going age, the documents produced as part of the implementation strategy (i.e. after the formal initiation of the policy in 1996) appear to be emphasizing the discourse of economic change and its rhetoric of ‘skills for the world of work’. In other words, a critical review of the fCUBE policy documents reveals a significant disjuncture or disconnect between the policy intentions and purposes, and the strategies and guidelines designed to assist implementation. Through the analysis of selected extracts from key documents on the fCUBE policy, this article purports to trace and document this shift in policy direction and language of implementing the policy as one of the teething issues confronting the realization of the fCUBE aims and objectives. This is done with a view to deepening understanding of the constraints to universal primary education provision in sub-Saharan Africa and to show (through the analyses) the ways by which these issues could be re-conceptualized ideologically for mediation.

Theoretical framework/resource

Granted that this article aims principally to unearth the discursive shift in policy direction and language of implementing the fCUBE policy in Ghana (from predominantly socialist and social democratic undercurrents towards neo-liberal ideological policy direction), it is imperative to outline a kind of theoretical framework or resource which will distil the key features of these ideological positions. This will ensure that the evidence emanating from the article is well grounded in the analysis and not based on mere speculations.

Socialism is a Left-wing ideology founded on the use of the state (local or national) or other collective means (such as through workers’ control/ownership) to limit or change the power of the ruling capitalist class (Trowler 1998; Hill 2001a). This ideology is based on the belief that capitalism ultimately can and must be transformed and replaced by/with socialism – collective and non-exploitative control of the economy. Adherents of this ideology (called socialists and/or Marxists) believe in the collective good, in contrast to an emphasis on selfish individualism. The major objective of socialism include: social and collective control of the economy, the egalitarian redistribution of wealth, income and power in favour of working people and their families. Crucially, the goal of equality

for socialists/Marxists, and in the words of Hill (2001a, 11), is to achieve not only the equality of opportunities but far more equality of outcomes too.

The social democratic ideology shares common idealism, features language and values with socialism particularly regarding education (i.e. personal development and social co-operation) (Trowler 1998; Hill 2001a; Lynch and Lodge 2002). However, in this context, the difference between these two ideological positions rests in the fact that whereas the social democratic ideology is strongly committed to social justice and its related concepts such as inclusion, equality, equality of opportunities (and of outcomes) and fairness, what is referred to in the context of this article as socialism, advocate the use of local and national state to achieve a socially just (defined as egalitarian) anti-discriminatory society. In education, the social democratic principles require among other things: comprehensive schooling; expansion of educational opportunities and provision; local community involvement in schooling; a commitment to policies of equal opportunities; a degree of positive discrimination and redistribution of resources within and between schools; a curriculum and education system that recognizes issues of social justice (Hill 2001a, 14).

Theoretically, neo-liberalism offers a criticism against the intervention of the State and Government (welfare state) based on a number of presumptions which are perceived and condemned as collective, socialist and economically misguided (Hatcher 2001; Chitty 2003; King 2004; Olssen, Codd, and O'neil 2004; Adie 2008). The neo-liberal ideology has as its basic tenet, a belief in competitive individualism, an ideological representation of a 'reduced' role for the state and a maximization of the market. The thinking behind this ideology is that by minimizing state powers, market mechanisms will be able to operate to ensure economic prosperity, the maximization of individual freedom and its provision of a base for all social interactions (Olssen, Codd, and O'neil 2004, 136). Thus, broadly speaking, in neo-liberalism, the state seeks essentially to create an individual who is enterprising and a competitive entrepreneur (Dale 1986; Trowler 1998; Hill 2001b; King 2004; Adie 2008). The terminology used by Trowler (1998, 64) to capture this ideology in terms of educational discourse is 'enterprise education'. It is concerned primarily with developing people in terms of transferable core skills to be 'good, compliant, ideologically indoctrinated, pro-capitalist workers' (Hill 2001b, 39). The major principles of neo-liberalism, particularly on education, include among other things: national standards; regular national tests; international benchmarking; competition between schools to raise standards; parental choice; resources linked results; preparation for work; skills for knowledge-based economy; active and lifelong learning and citizenship.

The key features and principles of these three ideological perspectives as espoused in relevant literature are illustrated in Table 1.

Methodological approach

The increasing importance of language in social research in recent times has led to the use of various forms of discourse analysis in critical policy research. The analysis contained in this article draws on Norman Fairclough's theories of CDA (e.g. Fairclough 2001a, 2003), which combines what he refers to as 'textually' and 'non-textually' oriented discourse analysis, to demonstrate how the application of CDA 'allows for detailed investigation of the relationship of language to other social processes'. Essentially, the article aims to trace the discursive shift in language and policy direction in implementing the fCUBE policy. For this reason, the analysis is intended, among

Table 1. Contrasting features/principles of the three ideological perspectives.

Political ideological terminology	Socialism/Marxism	Social democracy	Neo-liberalism/ economic rationalism
Educational ideological terminology	Social re-contructionism	Progressivism	Enterprise
View or purpose of education	Empowering marginalized groups and changing the status quo in the interest of equity	Social justice (personal and social development)	Increasing human capital
View of pupils	Change agent	Entitlee	Raw material
View of parents	Could be involved in pressing for change	Partners	Supporters, consumers
View of teachers and other stakeholders	Can either hinder or facilitate change	Partners	Some teachers are too anti-business. Industry and commerce should be partners
Role of Government	First among equal partners but usually repressive	Partners	Minimal
Appropriate curriculum	Developing critical thinking and linking theory and action	Student-centred	Vocational/technical (skill for the world of work)
Key principles	<p>a. State intervention is paramount to achieving a key goal of equality of opportunities</p> <p>b. Favours an education system, the aim of which is the flourishing on the collective society, community and individual</p> <p>c. Aims at fostering cultures within classrooms, schools and communities</p>	<p>a. There is a need for intervention by state into most aspects of social provision, including education</p> <p>b. Without regulation social inequalities will become exacerbated and the disadvantaged will become relatively worse off</p> <p>c. Encourages pluralistic decision-making with the involvement of all stakeholders</p>	<p>a. This is an individualistic or anti-collective ideology, It sees the individual pursuing hi/her own interests as the key to happiness</p> <p>b. The free market should be left to its own devices with very minimum Government intervention</p> <p>c. Attempts at social planning are doomed because of the complexities of society</p>
Principles applied to education	a. Encourages egalitarian redistribution of resources within and between schools including affirmative action for underachievers	a. Education is an important means by which social inequality can be mitigated and made more meritocratic	a. Schools and individuals should compete with one another

(Continued)

Table 1. (Continued)

Political ideological terminology	Socialism/Marxism	Social democracy	Neo-liberalism/ economic rationalism
	b. Encourages increase in powers of education authorities in the development of policies for equality of outcomes	b. Encourages and promotes local community involvement in education	b. Parents are consumers and should be given information needed to make intelligent choices
	c. Favours the creation of educational institutions as centres of critical debate	c. Education leads to greater levels of social mobility based on merit, particularly intelligence and hard work	c. Diversity within the education system should be encouraged in order to provide extensive choice
Key points	a. Views education as a force for creating an improved individual to address prevailing social norms and help change them for the better	a. This ideology rejects elitism and favours mass access to higher education	a. Education is primarily concerned with developing people to be good and efficient workers
	b. Shares with progressivists, a preference for active, problem-solving pedagogy.	b. The role of education is to give a 'step-up' to disadvantaged individuals and groups where there are concerns about social inequality.	b. 'What will it help us to do' is the key question in deciding what should be taught.
	c. Favours the use of local and national state to achieve a socially just anti-discriminatory society	c. 'Student-centred' in the sense of valuing students' participation in planning, delivering, assessing and evaluating courses	c. There is considerable emphasis on transferable 'core skills': communication, IT, literacy, etc.

Note: Adapted and revised from Trowler (1998) and Hill (2001a).

other things, to show how linguistic and semiotic features of text combine with inter-textual properties (mainly discourses) to produce and sustain meaning.

The methodological approach involves the analysis of selected extracts from three key documents on the fCUBE policy. The documents from which extracts are taken for analysis are in the public domain and include: the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana (GOG 1992); the Programme for Implementing the fCUBE Policy (MOE 1997) and the White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee (MOE 2005). (See the appendix for full text selected for analysis.) The selection of documents from which extracts are taken for analysis is not done capriciously. This is done diligently and with the view to providing a 'time-line' (i.e. from 1992 to

present) expressing an overview and chronology of the major ‘landmarks of events’ regarding the fCUBE policy formulation and implementation. The first of these documents (the 1992 Constitution) is the document from which the wording of the fCUBE policy title is derived. It is thus selected to explicate the constitutional and democratic requirements the policy was initiated to fulfil. The second document (the Programme for Implementing the fCUBE Policy) forms part of the strategic guidelines introduced to inform and assist the implementation of the fCUBE policy. It is selected therefore to highlight the broad ideological stance of the government in power at the time of the initiation of the fCUBE policy regarding the purposes and goals of the policy. In addition to highlighting the ideological position of the-then government of Ghana, the third document (the White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee) is selected with the view to predicting and/or forecasting the future direction of ‘basic education’ provision in Ghana, particularly after the initial 10-year period allocated constitutionally for the implementation of the policy had elapsed.

The extracts taken from these three documents for analysis were carefully selected bearing in mind Macdonald’s (2001) text eligibility criteria as well as van Dijk’s (2001), ‘text–context theory’. The former’s eligibility criteria comprise four main factors namely authenticity, credibility, representativeness and meaning of the texts. The latter’s ‘text–context theory’ refers to the process by which the topics under investigation inform the type of sources likely to be relevant in the selection procedure. It also requires due consideration to be given to the context within which the text was produced and the audience for which it is acknowledged. So while the focus on extracts from three documents on the fCUBE policy (and also the focus on certain linguistic features as the analysis of texts/extracts will later show) could be considered potentially limited, the choice is informed and grounded, particularly in van Dijk’s (2001, 99) advice on carrying out CDA. He suggests that rather than subjecting an entire piece of text for analysis, it makes sense to concentrate on analysing those factors which enable the speaker or writer to exercise power: stress and intonation, word order, lexical style, coherence, local semantic moves (such as disclaimers), topic choice, speech acts, schematic organization and rhetorical figures.

The analysis of text is informed by Fairclough (2001b, 2003) and Taylor’s (2004) model of doing CDA and is carried out at two levels: linguistics and interdiscursive tiers. The former centres on the linguistic and semiotic choices made in writing and laying out the fCUBE policy texts. These are understood in extended sense to cover not only the traditional levels of analysis within linguistics but also the analysis of ‘textual organization above sentence, including inter-sentential cohesion and various aspects of the structure of texts’ (Fairclough 1995, 188). The latter level of analysis focuses mainly on identifying ideological discourses drawn in the texts and analysing how these work out together with the linguistic tier to produce meaning. In other words, the interdiscursive analysis of texts in this paper allows for the connection between language and social context to be mediated.

Thus, the rationale for methodological approach and in particular the version of CDA adopted in/by this paper is significant for two main reasons. First, the choice is grounded in the contention that no analysis of text, content and meaning can be carried out satisfactorily if such an analysis fails to attend to what Fairclough (2001b, 2003) refers to ‘the content of texture/form’. Secondly (and as a complement to the first point), the analytical method employed adopts ‘a discourse-based view of language which involves us looking not just at isolated, decontextualized bits of language but rather examining how bits of language contribute to the making of complete texts’ (McCarthy and

Carter 1994, 38). Touching on the relevance of this approach, Taylor (2004, 436) points out aptly that this model of CDA is particularly appropriate for critical policy analysis because it allows a detailed investigation of the relationship of language to other social processes and of how language works within power relations.

Analysing the fCUBE policy texts

As noted earlier, the texts selected for analysis constitute a ‘time-line’ of activities concerned with the fCUBE policy implementation. The idea is that analysing extracts from three different sources and timescales will enhance the understanding of the context, purposes, influences and interests that underpin the initiation and implementation of the fCUBE policy.

Extract one: Article 38, Subsections 1 and 2 of the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana (GOG 1992)

This extract is taken from the 1992 Constitution of Ghana from which the fCUBE policy derives the wording of its title. The document (i.e. the 1992 Constitution) ushered in what is popularly known in Ghana today as the ‘Fourth Republic’. That is, the return to constitutional and multi-party democracy for the fourth time in the country’s history.

Linguistic analysis

The text has two subsections, each with its own syntactic composition. In the case of ‘Subsection 1’, the second clause is seen as simply qualifying the first as follows:

[The state shall provide educational facilities...]

To whom shall it make these facilities available?
[...to all its citizens].

The second subsection of the extract uses a single complex proposition with a constellation of prepositional phrases (PPs). These PPs are inserted between ‘shall’ and the phrasal verb (Ph. V) ‘draw up’ and after the noun phrase (NP) in objective place. This representation is illustrated below:

NP1	aux/f.t.	PP1	PP2
[The Government]	[shall]	[within two years]	[after Parliament first meets]
	PP3	Ph. V	NP2
	[after coming into force of this constitution,]	[draw up]	[a programme]
PP4	PP5	PP6	
[for implementation]	[within the following ten years]	[for a free, compulsory,	
		universal basic education].	

From the analysis above, PPs 1, 2 and 3 are inserted in between ‘shall’ (an auxiliary and a future tense marker) and the Ph. V ‘draw up’, which together constitute the main verb of the proposition. PPs 4, 5 and 6, on the other hand, are suffixed to the NP ‘a

programme' and therefore by function and categorization are a part of the whole nominal phrase in objective place.

Whilst this style of writing could be seen as a way of keeping what hitherto would have been more than one sentence brief, precise and as one proposition, its use in the extract has another possible function. Four of the six PPs (namely PPs 1, 2, 3 and 5) denote the specific timeframe and the chronological sequence within which a 'major' action is to be carried out. In other words, the PPs in question appear to exemplify the kind of work that needs to be done before the programme of/for the free compulsory universal basic education takes off. PPs 4 and 6 perform a different function. They give the rationale for the action described by the predicate. Thus, the constellation of PPs in Subsection 2 of the extract generally constitute what Ventola (1987, 3) describe as 'goal-directed language events'. That is, they describe social encounters within which social processes unfold in stages in achieving the intended goals and purposes of texts.

Apart from the difference in the syntactic composition between the two halves of the extract, there is also a strong sense of urgency demanding quick response from the State and its institutions of governance. This urgency → response picture is typified by the use of the lexical item 'shall' which, apart from its grammatical functions in the text as a future tense marker and an auxiliary to the main Ph. V 'draw up', is also a characteristic feature of the genre used:

The State [shall] provide educational facilities at all the levels. . .and [shall] to the greatest extent feasibly make these facilities available to all the citizens.

The Government [shall] . . . after Parliament first meets, after coming into force of this constitution, draw up a programme for implementation within the following ten years for free, compulsory, universal basic education.

This sense of urgency is perhaps a response to the falling standards of education in Ghana in the 1980s which culminated in the initiation of the 1987 Education Reform Programme of which the fCUBE is a formidable part. However, this urgency → response fails to establish clearly the linkage between the urgency itself and the desired change. The unidirectional and declarative stance adopted in the extract does not mention in explicit terms what issues have necessitated the change and also how the provision of a programme of/for a free compulsory universal basic education could be said to be the suitable remedy to these issues.

Similarly, the urgency → response structure of the text appears to be mitigated by the phrases 'the greatest extent feasibly' and 'educational facilities' which features prominently in the first half of the extract. The former expression arguably moderates to a considerable extent the kind of constitutional demand on the State and its institutions of governance. In particular, the phrase is seen as one of the features of legal documents, and a strategy employed to point out that the State and its institutions cannot be single-handedly responsible for the provision of education to its citizens, and can as a result not be blamed for not having achieved the desired outcomes of the change envisioned. The expression is thus seen as a way of indicating that 'all things being equal', that is, when the economy is in good shape or depending on the resources available, the desired change is bound to happen. The latter expression appears vague and nebulous in the sense that the text neither explains what it means by 'educational facilities' nor does it give details about

the procedures and strategies to be taken to ensure equity in the provision and delivery of such facilities.

Also visible in the text is the use of a figure of speech – personification – by which non-animate entities namely the ‘State’, ‘Government’ and ‘Parliament’ are given attributes, qualities and responsibilities as if they are human. Given the urgency → response nature of the text and the fact that the desired change, the setting up and implementation of the fCUBE programme, was to be done in fulfilment of a constitutional mandate, the use of this figure of speech is intended to serve persuasive and promotional purposes. In particular, this figure of speech is intended to justify and emphasize the democratic processes that are to be engaged in to ensure that this purpose is achieved. This thus reinforces the alternative democratic/participatory view of policy (Shulock 1999) by which policy is seen as a language for framing political discourse and thus encouraging the participation of stakeholders in the process of change.

Interdiscursive analysis

The central theme of this extract is about ‘change’, a change from existing educational conditions to a more dynamic and comprehensive one in which a ‘level playing field’ (in terms of educational privileges) is provided for all the citizens to develop themselves to the best of their abilities. In the process of putting this message of change and its modalities involved across, the text draws on the underpinning tenets of socialism. The socialist ideology advocates the use of the local and national state to achieve what Hill (2001a, 16) refers to as a ‘socially just (defined as egalitarian) anti-discriminatory society’. Trowler (1998, 63) refers to this in educational ideological terms as ‘social reconstructionism’ and argues that it shares common idealism and features with the social democracy regarding personal development and social co-operation. Essentially, the socialist discourse drawn upon in this context, calls on the State to change the status quo by empowering the marginalized and the disadvantaged groups in the Ghanaian society through education and in the interest of equity:

[The State] shall provide educational facilities at all the levels and in all the regions of Ghana and shall to the greatest extent feasibly make those facilities available to all citizens

Evident in the extract also are social democratic ideological imports referred to in educational ideological terms as ‘progressivism’ (Trowler 1998; Hill 2001a). These progressive ideals reject elitism and favour mass access to education. In particular, where there is a concern about social inequality, the concern of progressivism is that education should give what Trowler (1998, 62) describes as ‘step up’ to disadvantaged individuals and groups in the largest numbers possible. Lynch and Lodge (2002, 7) describe this social democratic tenet as the concept of redistribution – a concept that has gained pre-eminence in egalitarian theory and has strong roots in materialist and economically based concepts of social justice. They argue that the redistributive perspective gives primacy to the concept of having material goods and services or having opportunities to access, participate or succeed in a particular sphere. Explicit in the text, however, the weaker rather than the stronger model of distributive justice has gained pre-eminence. The focus in the text is on ‘equalizing opportunities and/or resources’ rather than ‘equalizing outcomes’:

The State shall provide educational facilities at all the levels and in all the regions and shall . . . make these facilities available to all the citizens.

The Government shall . . . draw up a programme for implementation . . . for a free, compulsory, universal basic education.

The phrases ‘at all the levels’, ‘all the regions’ and ‘a programme for a free compulsory universal basic education’ exemplify the equity intent in terms of equalizing opportunities as well as resources. That is, offering all the children equal opportunities to life chances.

Implicit in the above extract is also what some Ghanaian (and indeed African) authors and historians refer to as a ‘decolonizing agenda’ (Turner 1971; Nwomonoh 1998; Dei 2004, 2005). This refers to the idea of using education as a tool for unifying and disabusing the minds of the citizens regarding the past colonial histories, experiences and vestiges. Dei (2005, 268), for example, contends that schooling and education in Ghana have been approached in terms of contributing fundamentally to national development. He observes that the process of decolonization necessitated the unification of the people (through education) on national basis, using the strategic radical decision to remove from them their heterogeneity. Thus, reference in the extract to the effect that education was/is to be provided for all Ghanaian children of school-going age irrespective of their differences suggests invariably that education is being considered as an avenue through which the current generation is to be empowered to prevent the colonial vestiges from recurring in the future. However, owing to the emphasis on socialist and social democratic ideals alluded to earlier, this decolonizing agenda appears to have been competed with and confined to the implicit level.

Extract two: The Programme for Free Compulsory, Universal Basic Education (fCUBE) by the year 2005 (MOE 1997, 18)

The document from which this extract is taken is part of a series of documents published by the MOE in collaboration with GES on the fCUBE implementation process. The document thus *contains* the rationale – purpose, goals and constraints of basic education – as well as the practical approaches and strategies which serve as the back-drop to the fCUBE policy formulation.

Linguistic analysis

This extract bears the hallmark of both informational and explanatory text. This classification of the extract is characteristic of the ‘persuasive’ and ‘promotional’ functions it sets out to perform. Its persuasive function concerns the reduction of the potential threats of resistance that the stakeholders on whom the change impinge are likely to advance towards the fCUBE programme. It does this by overtly appealing to the citizenry to accept and/or ‘buy into’ the fCUBE policy initiation. The promotional intent of the text relates to the public information the text provides about the new policy direction the ‘government of the day’ was taking and the possible benefits therein.

The structure of the text itself fits into the general → particular structural pattern (Winter 1977, 1978; Hoey 1983) of text organization in which a generalization is followed by more specific statements exemplifying the generalization. This general → particular pattern is exhibited by the use of three main sections. The first section opens with a general claim about the role and functions of basic education and thus

sets the stage for a preview → detail relation (Hoey 1983) of the text in which the beginning of the text serves as a precursor to what is to be deliberated upon:

The Government of Ghana recognises basic education as the fundamental building block of the country. A participatory, literate citizenry is the foundation . . . of a nation's population. In recognition of this, the Government of Ghana is committed to providing free, quality education from Basic Stage (BS) 1 through 9 to all school-age children

Given the dual purposes the text sets out to perform, the above exemplification falls in line with the 'persuasive' intent by which it (the text) aims or seeks to impress on the citizenry to accept the change the Government was advancing.

The second and third sections of the extract fulfil the other half of the general → particular structure. They provide detailed information and explanation about the kind of education being referred to in the first section. They exhibit the promotional intent of the text and therefore have a different syntactic composition. Specifically, these two sections present the goals and purpose of the fCUBE initiative respectively and are therefore seen as a way of selling the fCUBE policy ideas to Ghanaians. They both make use of a constellation of declarative propositions which reveal the 'voice' of the Government and therefore portray the strategy being used to get the message of change across:

The long-term national goal to which fCUBE will contribute is an empowered citizenry effectively participating in the civil, social and economic life of the country . . . The central goal of the education system in Ghana is to ensure that all citizens are equipped with the fundamental knowledge and skills that will enable them to be full stakeholders in and beneficiaries of development.

. . . the Government wishes to ensure that all graduates of the basic education system are prepared for further education and skills training. The expansion and reforms planned . . . are designed to equip future generations of Ghanaians with the fundamental knowledge and skills

As partly informational, the text employs the simple present tense in putting the message of change across. This is exemplified by the use of simple verbs such as 'recognizes', 'is', 'contribute' and 'wishes'. Also featuring prominently in the text are a number of 'passivized' forms. These are explicated in propositions by the derivational forms of the verbs such as 'is committed', 'are designed' and are intended to portray the impersonal presentation of the text. These together with simple verbs are used to achieve the persuasive – promotional intent of the extract. For example, the use of the items 'recognizes' and 'is committed', as they occur in the first section of the text, are used persuasively to justify to the citizenry why the fCUBE initiative has come about at that point in time, whilst the other lexical items, namely 'will', 'is', 'wishes' and 'designed', appear to be employed to portray the intentions and projections of Government and are thus aimed at meeting the promotional intent of the text:

The Government of Ghana [recognises] basic education as the fundamental building block of the country . . . In recognition of this, the Government of Ghana [is committed] to

The long-term goal to which the fCUBE [will] contribute is an empowered citizenry effectively participating in civic, social and economic life of the country . . . The central goal of

the education system in Ghana [is] to ensure that all citizens are equipped with the fundamental knowledge and skills

Similarly, the use of the expressions, ‘the fundamental building block’, ‘the foundation’, ‘fundamental knowledge’, ‘skills training’ and ‘empowered citizenry’ appear to work perfectly with the persuasive – promotional intent of the text. The expressions emphasize the importance of basic education and strongly make a case for the introduction of the fCUBE initiative as a means of building a literate, empowered and well-informed citizenry.

There is also an extensive use of figures of speech, notably personification and repetition, to promote the promotional and persuasive agenda. The phrase ‘the Government’ appears in each of the three sections of the extract and has been personified.

In terms of ‘semiotics’, the extract has two main features which warrant description. It has a title, ‘THE PROGRAMME FOR fCUBE’, which is written in capitals and formatted using ‘Bold’. Underneath this heading are two subheadings, ‘Goals of the Initiative’ and ‘Purpose of the fCUBE Initiative’, which are numbered 5.1 and 5.2. These are used in the text for two reasons. First, these features are used to promote the user-friendliness of the document. Second, they are intended to serve as a point of demarcation from the other components and strategies designed for the implementation of the fCUBE programme contained in this document and are therefore reader-instructive.

Interdiscursive analysis

Implicit in this text is the urgency for revamping basic education in Ghana to meet the demands and aspirations of ‘modern’ times. This urgency for change is premised on the importance of education in building a viable, economic and democratic state and portrayed, therefore, as the driver for change:

The Government of Ghana recognises basic education as the building block of the country. A participatory, literate citizenry is the foundation of democratic processes, economic growth and social well being of a nation’s population. In recognition of this the Government of Ghana is committed to providing free, quality education . . . to all school-age children by the year 2005.

In putting this message of change across, the text draws on social democratic ideals of inclusion, equity and equality of opportunities as being the underlying motives of the desired change. Thus, by using inclusion laden expressions such as, ‘all school-age children’, ‘all of its citizens’, ‘all Ghanaians’, ‘all graduates’, ‘free, quality schooling’, the text appears to suggest that the socio-economic development of the country does not lie only in the hands of a few privileged elites. Rather, it suggests that this is a collective responsibility of all Ghanaians (irrespective of their gender, religion, ethnicity, political affiliation or linguistic (dis)abilities), who are to be ‘equipped with fundamental knowledge and skills that will enable them to be full stake-holders in, and beneficiaries of development’:

. . . In recognition of this, the Government of Ghana is committed to providing [free, quality education] . . . to [all school-age children] by the year 2005.

. . . The Government is committed to ensuring that [all of its citizens] participate in the political, social and economic life of the country . . . The central goal of the education

system in Ghana is to ensure that [all citizens] are equipped with fundamental knowledge and skills that will enable them to be full stake-holders in and beneficiaries of development.

By requiring that [all Ghanaians] receive 9 years of [free, quality schooling], the Government wishes to ensure that [all graduates] of the basic education system are prepared for further education and skills training.

Visible also in the text is the neo-liberal discourse of economic change. In neo-liberalism, the state seeks to create, mainly through education, an enterprising and competitive individual entrepreneur as an agent of economic change (King 2004; Olssen, Codd, and O'neil 2004; Adie 2008). In the context of this analysis, basic education is portrayed as a means to acquiring knowledge and skills that inevitably will lead to achieving economic growth. The terminology used to capture this ideology in educational ideological terms (according to Trowler 1998; Hill 2001b) is 'enterprise education', and it is concerned primarily with developing people in terms of transferable 'core skills' – communication; IT; literacy – to be good and efficient workers. The thinking behind this position is the belief that 'knowledgeable, innovative and creative workers are needed within a diversified economy to remain competitive in the global market' (Adie 2008, 251). However, this neo-liberal idea is expressed alongside classical social democratic ideals of citizenship, social well-being and participation in democratic processes and as such appears to be dominated by them:

A participatory, literate citizenry is the foundation of democratic processes, [economic growth] and social well being of a nation's population

. . . The expansion and reforms planned under the fCUBE are designed to equip future generations of Ghanaians with the fundamental [knowledge and skills] necessary . . . to play a functional role in society as informed, participatory citizens, [economic producers] and to pursue self-determined paths to improve the quality of their lives.

Also present in the text is the rhetoric of education as an essential tool for the process of democratization. Education is seen in this context as a very important means of empowering citizens to participate in the civil, social and economic life of the country. However, this rhetoric of empowerment and democratization through education becomes so dominant in the text to the extent that the real purpose of the fCUBE in giving equal opportunities to all Ghanaian children to participate in the educational process becomes dominated and/or hybridized:

. . . A participatory, literate citizenry is the foundation of democratic processes, economic growth and social well being of a nation's population.

The long term national goal to which fCUBE will contribute is an [empowered citizenry] effectively [participating in civil, social and economic life of the country]. The Government is committed to ensuring that [all of its citizens participate in the political, social and economic life of the country]

Again, significant 'silences' and 'omissions' are identified within the text. The extract fails to explain what it identifies as 'fundamental knowledge and skills' and how these certainly will transform the citizenry to become (as the text calls them) 'stakeholders in, and beneficiaries of development'. Similarly, by saying explicitly that the Government wishes to ensure that all graduates of the basic school system are prepared for further education and skills training, the text is silent on what it refers to as 'further

education and skills', who the providers are and also who bears the cost of all these. Arguably, Government's readiness to provide all these could be seen as implicitly hidden in the way the text is constructed. However, the analysis identifies the emphasis on 'skills training for economic production' as the introduction of neo-liberal rhetoric of 'business agenda for schools and in schools' (Hill 2001b) which is gradually being introduced under the guises of empowered citizenry.

Extract three: Government's White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee (MOE 2005, 9–10)

This extract is taken from the government's White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee findings. The document was published by the government of the New Patriotic Party (NPP) through the MOE in 2005 to endorse officially the findings and recommendations of the Education Reform Review Committee. This committee was set up in January 2002 to review education reforms in the country and had by October that same year submitted its report to government for action. The document thus shows the future direction of education, at least for the period that the NPP government was in power in Ghana (i.e. from 2001 to 2008).

Linguistic analysis

This extract exhibits a hybrid genre. Explicit in the text is a policy genre, interwoven with political and promotional elements. The imports of policy genre are manifested in the public information the text provides on the education policy direction, targets and expectations of the education sector under the 'new dispensation'. Additionally, the text reveals government's intention and commitment to restructuring the education system with the view to building a knowledge-based economy where people are trained and empowered to take control of their lives and also participate in democratic processes:

... Ghana's new system of education, especially for the youth between age 12 and 19 should be reformed to support a nation aspiring to build a knowledge-based economy within the next generation ...

The political characteristic of the text, on the other hand, rests in the fact that the text reveals the government of the NPPs own philosophy on education policy. Government's interpretation of the Review Committee's findings reveals the NPP's own ideological stance on education as the desire to building a knowledge-based economy where individuals will be enterprising and adaptable to the demands of a fast changing world:

Government endorses the recommendations of the Committee on the philosophy of Education in Ghana ... As workers of a country aspiring to great economic ambitions they should be trained to become enterprising and adaptable to the demands of a fast changing world driven by modern science and technology.

Essentially, the education process should lead to improvement in the quality of life of all Ghanaians ... and also raise their living standards to the levels that they can observe through the global interchange of images, information and ideas ...

In promoting this political agenda, the text takes on what is suggested earlier as 'urgency → response' structure. Visible within the text is a sense of urgency for the restructuring of education which demands a quick response. This urgency is set up by reference to the words 'should' and 'needs'. These words, respectively, express a

sense of necessity and obligation on the part of government to have the educational system restructured in order to provide all Ghanaians with the kind of education that will enable them to live meaningful and worthwhile lives:

Government accepts that education [should] result in the formation of well balanced individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values and aptitudes . . . As workers of a country aspiring to great economic ambitions, they [should] be trained to become enterprising and adaptable

. . . To this end, greater emphasis than hitherto [needs] to be, and will be placed on Technical, Agricultural, Vocational education, and on structured Apprenticeship training.

Also, in showing the government's policy direction, the text makes use of a number of declarative/assertive propositions. These are used as a means through which the intention to restructure the educational system is declared to the public, and hence a strategy employed to solicit the support and involvement of the masses in the process of change:

Government endorses the recommendations of the Committee on the philosophy of education in Ghana . . . As the workers of a country aspiring to great economic ambitions they should be trained to become enterprising, and adaptable to the demands of a fast changing world

There is also an interesting and effective use of various kinds of pronouns – personal (*they*), possessive (*their*) and reflexive (*themselves*) – in the text to support the promotional intent of the extract. The interesting thing, of course, is that all these pronouns are antecedents of the NPs 'all Ghanaians', 'citizens', 'the workers of a country' and 'the people', revealing the potential identity of the beneficiaries of the new education reforms being advocated:

As the workers of a country . . . *they* should be trained to become enterprising and adaptable to demands of a fast-changing world driven by modern science and technology.

Essentially, the education process should lead to improvement in the quality of life of *all Ghanaians* by empowering *themselves* to overcome poverty, and also raise *their* living standards to the levels that *they* can observe through the global interchange of images, information and ideas

Also present in the text is the use of both personification and repetition. The lexical item 'the Government' is personified and repeated for the purposes of emphasis. That is, to make a case for restructuring the educational system to meet the demands, challenges and aspirations of 'modern times':

Government endorses the recommendations of the Committee on the philosophy of education in Ghana. *Government* accepts that education should result in the formation of well-balanced individuals with the requisite knowledge, skills, values, aptitudes and attitudes to become functional and productive citizens.

Interdiscursive analysis

Dominant in this extract is neo-liberal ideological discourse of knowledge economy. Education in this context is viewed and redefined in utilitarian terms (Hill 2001b;

Chitty 2003). It is described as a means to ‘personal fulfilment’. It is expected to lead to the creation of wealth and the empowerment of the individual to become enterprising to overcome poverty, raise their own living standards and adapt to the demands of a fast-changing world:

... As the workers of a country ... they should be trained to become enterprising and adaptable to the demands of a fast-changing world driven by science and technology.

... education process should lead to improvement in the quality of life of all Ghanaians by empowering the people themselves to overcome poverty, and also to raise their living standards to the level that they can observe ...

Also featuring in the text is the rhetoric of globalization. This is portrayed as an inevitable global phenomenon which could be attained and/or enhanced through reforms and adjustments in education. King (2004, 48) refers to this as the ‘exchanges that transcend borders and which occur instantaneously and electronically’:

Essentially, the education process should lead to improvement in the quality of life of all Ghanaians and ... also raise their living standards to the levels they can observe through the global interchange of images, information and ideas.

Also explicated in this extract are social democratic imports. These are set-off by reference to expressions such as ‘all Ghanaians’ and ‘empowering the people’. These expressions invoke social justice ideals by which equal opportunities are to be offered to all the citizens to create wealth through their own efforts and as a result contribute towards the socio-economic and political transformation of the country. However, these social democratic ideals are premised on economic change – creation of wealth, reduction of poverty and raising living standards – and as such have become marginalized by the neo-liberal discourse of building a knowledge-based economy. Emphasis in the text appears to be on what Hill (2001b) sees as the ‘production of ideologically compliant but technically skilled workforce for capitalist enterprises’.

There are also ‘unfilled gaps’ and ‘silences’ within the text. For example, no mention is made of ‘who’ actually provides the educational services identified to the people. In other words, although the government is very clear on how education should be restructured – *the citizens should be trained, equipped and empowered to take control of their own lives and as a result contribute directly to national development* – it is unclear whose responsibility it is to provide these services to the people to enable them to meet the challenges identified. Similarly, by identifying that more emphasis than hitherto needs to be placed on a particular subject in the school curriculum, the government again fails to say whether that emphasis should come from the government itself or the other stakeholders, notably parents, students or businesses who benefit either directly or indirectly from the education system:

... the education process should lead to ... empowering the people themselves to overcome poverty, and also raise their living standards ... They should be equipped to create ... wealth that is needed for a radical socio-economic and political transformation of the country ... emphasis than hitherto needs, and will be placed on Technical, Agricultural, Vocational education, and on structured Apprenticeship training.

Whilst in a sense the government’s responsibility of education provision could be said to be covert in the text above, it is argued that this is one aspect of neo-liberal

discourse on education. This arguably signifies the rolling back of the state and the creation of common markets with its attendant consequences of competition, privatization and choice. Seen in this light, the extract appears implicitly to have purchased a neo-liberal ticket for schools in Ghana.

Furthermore, the analysis identifies a discursive shift in discourse from what is perceived as the Review Committee's position on the philosophy of education in Ghana, to the government's of the NPP's own ideology on education. Whilst it is explicit in the extract that the Review Committee's position on the purpose of education is the total development of the 'self', the NPP government's interpretation of the committee's report reveals its ideological beliefs as far as education is concerned. The reference to expressions such as 'productive citizens'; 'economic ambitions'; 'knowledge-based economy'; 'global interchange' among others suggest that government's own philosophy differs from that of the Committee. Such expressions suggest that government's philosophy is on preparing the youth to enter the world of work (Dale 1986; Chitty 2003) and therefore a reinforcement of the business agenda (Hatcher 2001; Hill 2001b) in and for schools. This agenda aims at ensuring that schools produce compliant, ideologically indoctrinated, pro-capitalist, effective workers. That is to ensure that schooling and education engage in what Hill (2001b) calls ideological and economic reproduction.

Summary and conclusion

In this article, I have traced and documented the discursive shift in policy direction and language of implementing the fCUBE policy owing to what I suggest as the emergence and impact of neo-liberal ideological discourse on education. The methodological approach involved the selection and analysis of extracts from three key documents on the fCUBE policy implementation using CDA.

As shown, the fine-grain linguistics analysis of the fCUBE policy texts at the linguistics tier focused on the linguistic and semiotic processes and choices made in documenting the fCUBE policy intentions. These, among other things, included the use of figures of speech, moderating words, declarative or assertive propositions, urgency/response structure and general/particular structural patterns of text. The analysis at the interdiscursive level, on the other hand, unveiled the ideological discourses drawn upon and how these worked out with the linguistic analysis to sustain the meaning of the change being advocated. The key ideological discourses explicated in the analysis at this level included socialist, social democratic and neo-liberal ideological discourses.

Taken together, the evidence contained in this paper reverberate strongly how Ghana's education policy has evolved (i.e. from predominantly socialist and social democratic towards neo-liberal ideological policy direction) over time. The analysis shows significantly that although a combination of socialist and 'decolonizing' discourse can be seen as embedded implicitly within the extracts analysed, the fCUBE policy could be viewed generally as a rights-based policy owing to its commitment social democratic values. This is particularly indicative of the call on the State (and its structures of governance) to provide what Trowler (1998) calls 'giving step-ups' to disadvantaged and/or underprivileged children to access primary education. Essentially, this paper views the fCUBE policy as concerned principally with the provision and delivery of primary education of good quality to all Ghanaian children of school-going age irrespective of their (dis)abilities, gender, political coloration, tribal or ethnic

origin or geographical location free of charge. These imports of social justice and its related principles of inclusion, equity and equality of opportunities are thus consistent with the constitutional requirements contained in Chapter Six, Article 38 (Subsections 1 and 2) of the 1992 Republican Constitution of Ghana, whose formulation and passage into law gave birth to the fCUBE policy.

However, in the process of putting the fCUBE policy intentions into the public domain, these social democratic (and arguably socialist) ideals alluded to are expressed alongside neo-liberal ideological discourses of economic change and are therefore competed with, dominated and marginalized by the latter. This hybridization of discourses is particularly apparent in the documents produced as part of the implementation strategy (i.e. after the official launching of the policy in 1996), thus triggering a significant discursive shift in both policy direction and language of implementation. In particular, as a result of this discursive shift, the focus on the fCUBE policy in increasing or promoting access, inclusion, equity and equality of opportunities appears to have shifted to emphasis on ‘outcomes’, particularly the acquisition of ‘skills’ to become economic producers. The analysis pins this discursive shift down to the World Bank’s education financing model and its resultant neo-liberal rhetoric of ‘skills for the world of work’. Adie (2008, 251–2) brings out this argument much more succinctly. She asserts that in response to international trends, Governments worldwide are promoting reforms in their education systems to match global economic and technological advances with the aim of producing citizens who can become productive members of society.

So while the focus of this article primarily has been on tracing and unearthing the discursive shift in the fCUBE policy implementation, the analysis equally presents an important message or lesson for/to Ghanaian policy actors regarding what is described in policy literature and/or studies as the ‘policy implementation paradox’ (i.e. the disjuncture or disconnect between policy intentions and purposes in theory and the outcomes of implementation tasks in practice). Although not conveyed explicitly, the analysis in this paper appears to portray the policy implementation paradox as an inevitable policy phenomenon occurring as a result of the discursive contexts within which policy is enacted. Importantly, the analysis has shown, although implicitly, that the occurrence of this paradox needs to be acknowledged and concerted efforts made to deal with its effects on policy processes by the Ghanaian policy actors.

On the whole (and besides the above policy lesson), the methodological approach adopted also makes an implicit case for the efficacy of CDA as an interdisciplinary analytic tool in critical policy research. The approach demonstrates how social and political theories of discourse can be integrated with linguistically oriented approaches to the study of policy. It also exemplifies how the CDA is useful essentially for highlighting new textual formations and marginal discourses and silences within policy texts and for tracing discursive shifts in policy implementation processes.

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Appendix

Extract one: Chapter 6, Article 38, Section 1 and 2 of the 1992 Constitution of the Fourth Republic of Ghana (GOG 1992)

- (1) The State shall provide educational facilities at all the levels and in all the regions of Ghana and shall to the greatest extent feasibly make those facilities available to all citizens.
- (2) The Government shall, within two years after Parliament first meets after coming into force of this Constitution, draw up a programme for implementation within the following ten years, for the provision of free, compulsory and universal basic education.

Extract two: fCUBE by the year 2005 (MOE 1997, 18)

The Government of Ghana recognizes basic education as the fundamental building block of the country. A participatory, literate citizenry is the foundation of democratic processes, economic growth and social well-being of a nation’s population. In recognition of this, the Government of Ghana is committed to providing free, quality education from Basic Stage (BS) 1 through 9 to all school-age children by the year 2005.

Goal of the initiative

The long-term goal to which fCUBE will contribute is an empowered citizenry effectively participating in the civic, social and economic life of the country. The Government is committed to ensuring that all of its citizens participate in the political, social and economic life of the country, regardless of the geographic region in which they live, their gender, religion or ethnicity. The central goal of the education system in Ghana is to ensure that all citizens are equipped with

the fundamental knowledge and skills that will enable them to be full stake-holders in and beneficiaries of development.

Purpose of the fCUBE initiative

By requiring that all Ghanaians receive 9 years of free, quality schooling, the Government wishes to ensure that all graduates of the basic education system are prepared for further education and skills training. The expansion and reforms planned under fCUBE are designed to equip future generations of Ghanaians with the fundamental knowledge and skills necessary, including literacy and numeracy in selected Ghanaian languages, to develop further their talents through additional education or training and, at minimum, play a functional role in society as informed, participatory citizens, economic producers and to pursue self-determined paths to improve the quality of their lives.

Extract three: Government's White Paper on the Report of the Education Reform Review Committee (MOE 2005, 9–10)

The future direction of education in Ghana

Government endorses the recommendations of the Committee on the philosophy of education in Ghana. Government accepts that education should result in the formation of well-balanced individual with requisite knowledge, skills, values, aptitudes to become functional and productive citizens. As the workers of a country aspiring to great economic ambitions, they should be trained to become enterprising and adaptable to the demands of a fast-changing world driven by modern science and technology. Ghana's new system of education, especially for the youth between age 12 and 19, should be reformed to support a nation aspiring to build a knowledge-based economy within the next generation.

Essentially, the education process should lead to improvement in the quality of life of all Ghanaians by empowering the people themselves to overcome poverty, and also raise their living standards to the level that they can observe through the global interchange of images, information and ideas. They should be equipped to create, through their own endeavours, the wealth that is needed for a radical socio-economic and political transformation of this country. To this end, greater emphasis than hitherto needs to be and will be placed on Technical, Agricultural, Vocational education and on structured Apprenticeship training.