



Engineering the development of democratic citizenship education curriculum in the global era: A few perspectives from theoretical frameworks

Suyato *

Civic Education and Law Department, Universitas Negeri Yogyakarta, Indonesia

suyato@uny.ac.id |

*Corresponding Author

Article History

Submitted : 20-03-2023

Revised : 30-03-2022

Accepted : 06-04-2022

Published : 30-04-2023

Article Link

<https://journal.uny.ac.id/index.php/civics/article/view/59915>

Abstract

There are weaknesses both from the perspective and effectiveness of Citizenship Education (CE) which are too oriented towards domestic problems in the context of facing global challenges and problems. Today it is necessary to change the orientation of the Civics curriculum which is globally oriented. In other words, it is necessary to engineer the Civics curriculum development. This paper attempts to present theoretical frameworks for engineering the development of a democratic and globally oriented Civics curriculum. There are at least six theoretical frameworks, namely the Birdcage Theory, Crystal Theory, Tree Theory, DNA Theory, Mushroom Theory, and Amoeba Theory. The six theories have different views, implications, and recommendations in curriculum engineering, including the Civics curriculum. This paper ends with the author's recommendations after considering both the strengths and weaknesses of the six theoretical frameworks.

Keywords: curriculum frameworks; democratic education, Deweyan perspective

Introduction

An irony at present, almost in every democratic place, where democracy is highly esteemed as the best form of government discovered thus far but has yet to fully realize this ideal (successfully implemented). As a concept, democracy has become the dominant political aspiration of our time. As a practice, however, democracy remains fragile and contingent upon new and severe challenges. Paradoxically, democracy in the present age is both a winner and a crisis-ridden system. As is well known, following the collapse of Communism, optimistic commentators such as Fukuyama (1992) argued that the current reality demonstrates the universal triumph of democracy, particularly in the form of liberal democracy. The fall of Communism and the defeat of fascism were signs of democracy's success in overcoming two significant obstacles to realizing its ideals. For example, Huntington (2003) wrote about the third wave of democracy, characterized by efforts to challenge authoritarian and militaristic regimes in Europe (Spain, Portugal, and Greece) and through people power movements in developing countries such as the Philippines, Indonesia, and Mexico. On the other hand, political regimes worldwide are tempted to undertake democratic reforms, including joining



supranational organizations such as the European Union, where the implementation of democracy is one of the requirements.

The increasing number of democratic theories, such as deliberative democracy, feminism, and "micro-democracy," indicates the vitality of democracy. However, these ideas have yet to demonstrate their success. In other words, their ideas require concerted efforts to realize them. There are two important notes from the long history of the journey of democracy (Blaug & Schwarzmantel, 2016). *First*, many of the traditional democratic thinkers were not true democrats, as they did not wholeheartedly advocate for a democratic society based on inclusive principles of human equality, and they were often critical of democracy. *Second*, their ideas of democracy have not been universally accepted. In other words, there will always be differences of opinion due to the dynamics and diversity of implementation contexts.

Method

The research based on an interpretive paradigm posits that social reality, including democracy and education, is constructed through "discourses," as understood in the discourse theory proposed by Laclau & Mouffe (2001). Discourse is a system of meaning and values that encompasses language exchange and actions where they intersect. This definition does not reject the existence of materialistic and extra-discursive reality but acknowledges that humans attribute meaning to social reality through a particular discursive configuration. Thus, the assumption is that although ideas, theories, and research on democratic education may be based on non-discursive material data, the meaning attributed to that data is still constructed with certain ontological, epistemological, and axiological assumptions.

This research is a literature review or study limited to content analysis of articles published in reputable international journals. The content analysis used in this research is limited to discourse or themes related to democratic models and their implications for democratic education as proposed by each model. The articles analysed have passed through a series of selection stages. The selected papers are analysed in terms of their content, following the principles of discourse theory with the research questions formulated by the researcher. The texts studied in this research were published in reputable international peer-reviewed journals between 2016 and 2021. The article selection and analysis techniques will be discussed in the following sections.

Result and Discussion

The Concept of Democracy

Schumpeterian vs. Deweyan in contemporary literature, there are two dominant views regarding democracy. First, the view is Schumpeterian, where supporters see democracy solely as a political system. Second, the view is known as Deweyan, where proponents see democracy as a way of life. These two streams of thought examine the concept of democracy almost separately, which is not surprising considering the significant divide in the literature on democracy and democratic education and its further implications. Furthermore, what was initially an academic distinction - on one side, the belief that democracy is a way of decision-making, and on the other side, the idea that democracy is a way of life, stating that the essence of democracy goes beyond merely being a form of government.

Meanwhile, Waghid (2013, 2014) argues that various untamed variations of democratic education are necessary. In other words, democratic education should not be one-size-fits-all but contextual, where its encompassing aspects need to be considered for the process of democratic education to be meaningful and effective.

The Concept of Democracy in Education

The concept of democracy in education begins with essential questions aimed at advancing democracy through educational institutions that serve the public. There are two crucial discussions related to their relationship: functional and ideological purposes of

education. For example, questions about the ideological function of education have three perspectives. The following is an elaboration of the two practical purposes referred to.

Public education's functional purpose is to prepare students for life in society. Some perspectives related to the functional purpose of education include the fulfilment and advancement of gender equality, education for peace, education for the integration of diverse nations, inter-human and international relations, environmental education, civic education, and various vocational education. In other words, the functional purpose emphasizes efforts to provide functional capabilities for individuals, groups, or communities to live in society.

As mentioned above, the ideological purpose of public education is closely related to its philosophical foundation. There are three ideological characteristics related to education and society, including conservative, liberal, and radical purposes. These three perspectives on education and society and the ideological objectives of education can be explained as follows.

The conservative perspective on education and society views society as a melting pot where all students are assimilated into a common culture. The stability of culture and society is ensured through the social and cultural reproduction of knowledge, beliefs, and values that are historically shared. In this view, certain historically dominant groups seek to use public education (i.e., schools) to reproduce their culture (Bowles & Gintis, 1976; Kalidjernih, 2005). These groups believe that schools are the most influential institution to realize these aspirations. Concerning educational reforms, according to this perspective, schools need to be reformed when they fail to fulfil their mission of reproducing the dominant culture or fail to provide opportunities to maintain conservative viewpoints.

The liberal perspective on education and society believes that schools play a role in reproducing dominant values and culture, believed to be based on Eurocentric views related to knowledge, beliefs, and values. However, there is one fundamental difference between conservatives and liberals, which is the social responsibility to address the inequality that occurs both in schools and in society among individuals. Liberals shift the blame from individuals to groups. It differs from the *laissez-faire* view of conservatives, as liberals expect all levels of government to be active in preserving shared culture and eliminating social ills. In this context, government regulation is needed to achieve these goals, as only the government has the power to confront powerful interest groups that may have goals beyond just equality. Another fundamental difference relates to the educational purposes of advancing awareness and appreciation of non-Western cultures. In the eyes of liberals, individuals should also value the heritage and history of non-Western cultures and adhere to dominant Western knowledge, beliefs, and values (Kincheloe & Steinberg, 1997).

Regarding school management and practices, the liberal perspective allows for a broader range of school management and pedagogy. It includes open school inclusion, child-centered learning, and diverse assessment methods. Educational reforms, according to the liberal perspective, become important when individuals fail to become part of the dominant cultural group due to the gaps created by society. From this perspective, government intervention is necessary to address these gaps. One common perspective shared by various radical ideologies is the belief that the goals of education and the essence of a democratic society are not exclusively based on knowledge, beliefs, and shared cultural values that are Eurocentric. Instead, individual and cultural diversity is valued, and a democratic society and education system are seen as inherently pluralistic. In a pluralistic democracy, culture and common interests are dynamic concepts constantly negotiated and mediated by a concern for social justice, ethics of care, and democratic participation.

In the context of radical education, the passive acquisition of knowledge, beliefs, and values from authoritative figures like teachers is rejected. Instead, individuals are encouraged to develop critical awareness, which empowers them to resist all forms of oppression actively.

Through this crucial consciousness, individuals become aware of how power operates and impacts their lives and take action to challenge oppressive uses of force. As empowered individuals with critical consciousness, students develop post-formal abilities to analyze the complex cultural, economic, and political structures that support dictatorial tendencies in schools. Responsible citizens work towards eliminating societal oppression (Steinberg et al., 1999). In the context of educational reform, radicals advocate for schools to be spaces where students can develop critical knowledge and skills to cultivate critical consciousness that can be used to resist oppression both within schools and in society.

The following question is what type of democracy should be cultivated in schools. Different ideological perspectives hold varying agendas based on their beliefs. The issue arises when each party, through their respective agendas, believes they have the sole mission to realize their idea of democracy. Conservatives prioritize individualism within a market-driven economy. Liberals emphasize the role of government intervention in promoting equality and the common good in complex societies. Radicals underscore the importance of critical consciousness and citizen participation. However, when one ideological perspective dominates and governs over others, negative impacts may arise in the concept of democracy.

One response to the concerns above is to adopt a critical pragmatic view of the goals of schooling and the nature of democracy. One alternative to the cycle of dominant ideologies can be understood through Dewey's ideas on education and democracy. Dewey saw the relationship between education for developing a democratic society, as opposed to education for advancing narrow special interests, and a democracy that aligns with fundamental democratic ideals (particularly for American society).

While there are various interpretations among Deweyans regarding John Dewey's ideas in *Democracy and Education*, at least five common threads can be identified from the findings of this research.

First, growth is a concept of education. According to Dewey, as quoted by Wang (2019), this concept is related to Darwin's ideas on evolution, which essentially emphasize the importance of continuous readaptation. "Continuity of life means continual readaptation of the environment to the needs of living organisms" (2029, p. 24). Just as organisms require nourishment for their survival, the life of society requires education for its continuity. To explain the connection between the sustainability of society and education, Dewey introduces two concepts to explain immaturity. These two concepts are dependency and plasticity. Their level of dependency and adaptability primarily determines the sustainability of human beings as supporters of society. Therefore, education is necessary to address deficits in these two areas.

Second, Individual Freedom and Participation. The interconnection of these two concepts in education can be explained as follows. Dewey believes in the uniqueness and intrinsic significance of every developing experience. He believes that the main principle of democracy is an appreciation of the "intrinsic significance of every developing experience." However, he also believes that individuals will not be complete without the social component. In other words, individual potential can only be realized through transactions in social life associations. Participation and individual freedom are prerequisites for the growth and development of individuals and society.

Third, Standards of Democracy. Dewey builds the standards of democracy based on internal and external criteria. Internal criteria refer to the extent and diversity of shared interests. Meanwhile, external criteria refer to the extent of fullness and freedom of mutual influence in various forms within social associations (Wang, 2019, p. 31).

Fourth, Equality of Opportunity and Participation. Consistent with his views on the importance of individual uniqueness and participation in social life, Dewey also emphasizes the importance of equality of opportunity and participation in the democratic process.

Fifth, School as a Means of Social Reconstruction. As mentioned earlier, Dewey sees schools as the embryonic form of society. Therefore, one of the functions of schools is seen as a means of social reconstruction.

Because Dewey views democracy not merely as a way to establish public decisions but as encompassing all aspects of individual life, democracy should be understood as a way of life where subjectivity formation, idea attainment, attitude development, and individual habits occur (Rivero, 2007).

Another way to discuss the findings of this research is by comparing them with the findings of other studies, for example, the interviews conducted by Jorgensen with fifteen education experts compiled in the book *Discovering John Dewey in the twenty-first century*. Some of the findings from these interviews can be summarized as follows. First, the interview with Larry Hickman states that there are four basic elements that represent Dewey's ideas, namely theme-based learning, peer-based learning, the teacher as a coach, not an influential expert, and the concept that the student is not to be viewed as an empty filling cabinet for information or facts (Jorgensen, 2017). Regarding democracy and education, Hickman argues that education needs to encourage students to think, not in dogmatic, ideological, or hypercritical ways, but by questioning, for example, who we are as a nation, what our values are (Jorgensen, 2017). Linda Darling Hammond, when interviewed by Jorgensen, states that she strongly encourages teachers to teach real things, particularly real experiences, real people, and real events, in order to promote pedagogy that opens the door to understanding our current society and the importance of mastering ways to acquire knowledge in order to understand it (Jorgensen, 2017). The conclusion of the interview with Michael W. Apple states that he reminds teachers to follow Dewey's steps by using active issue-centered learning strategies in reflective, critical, meaningful, and engaging ways (Jorgensen, 2017). Lastly, Garrison's statement that Dewey's emphasis is on education through work, not for work (Jorgensen, 2017).

Based on Miller's (2020) concept of post-democracy, we live in an era where almost all regimes claim to be democratic. However, the idea that participatory democracy fulfills the principles of democracy, viral sovereignty, and political equality is seriously challenged and requires critical reflection. For example, the general positioning of citizens as politically insignificant and ongoing is considered not politically significant. Miller (2020, pp. 62-65) offers a philosophical and political philosophy-based solution as therapy, drawing on Epicurus' belief that "in general, a happy life is best secured outside of politics" (Miller, 2020, p. 71).

On the other hand, McKenna (2007) still hopes for the important role of schools as institutions, stating that Dewey did not formulate an education plan but hoped that these institutions and school curricula would change with the times, places, and needs so that all institutions are expected to be responsive to our continuous development and growth. In line with this, Noddings, in an interview with Jorgensen, warns that

'So there's no denying that Dewey could have been clearly more succinct. But there was a warning in the 1920s that there wasn't just one best way of education. It is a matter of learning from one another, trying things out, and seeing how they work for you with these kids in this place at this time, which, to me, is so powerful (Jorgensen, 2017, p. 89).

Curriculum Engineering for Global Democratic Citizenship Education

What I mean is global democratic citizenship education that is adjusted to the demands that arise from individual, national, and international perspectives. Based on research findings on John Dewey's ideas and their implications, one recommendation that can be offered is contextual education. Therefore, it is necessary to consider Cheng's suggestions regarding the new paradigm of education engineering that can be applied to the engineering of civic education in Indonesia. Cheng's (2005) theories include the Theory of Birdcage, Crystal, Tree,

DNA, Mushroom, and Amoeba Theory. The recommendations from these six theories can be explained as follows.

Theory of Birdcage

How to avoid globalization's overwhelming and dominating impact at the national and local levels often becomes a significant concern in globalization and modernization. This theory is often seen as one of the alternative approaches to address this issue to strengthen local knowledge in the increasingly globalized world of education. This theory states that, like the function of a birdcage, advancing local knowledge can be open to the influx of global resources and expertise. Still, at the same time, efforts must be made to limit or incorporate local development and interactions with the outside world into a fixed framework, that is, within a birdcage. It means that to advance local knowledge in the increasingly globalized world of education, and a regional framework is needed to filter or screen incoming external knowledge and protect local development from negative global influences.

Curriculum for schools located in traditionally conservative areas that are not ready to accept values from outside cultures. For example, recommendations based on the Theory of Birdcage may be worth considering in remote areas. As known, this theory views the educational process as open to the influx of external knowledge but limited within a fixed framework. To advance local expertise in the globalized world of education, a regional framework is needed to protect and filter it. According to this theory, the ideal citizen is a local individual with global connections who acts locally with filtered global knowledge.

The advantage of curriculum engineering based on this theory is that the established framework can help ensure local relevance to global knowledge or education, thereby preserving local identity and interests amidst global pressures. However, the weakness is that this type of engineering is difficult to determine the boundaries of culture and society as a filtering framework for global influences. The boundaries may be too strict or rigid, potentially closing off possibilities for global powers and limiting local development. Alternatively, determining the filtering framework may require frequent revision or reassessment to keep up with the dynamics in the field. This logic can be used to develop civic education praxis in Indonesia.

Theory of Crystal

Several countries, including Indonesia, may feel anxious about the total onslaught of globalization. Globalization is feared to have negative impacts, such as the loss of local values and identity, and therefore, they are more focused on localism. For schools in areas with low readiness to accept values from foreign cultures, such as rural areas, curriculum engineering in Civic Education (PPKn) based on the Crystal Theory may be worth considering. As known, the primary process of education based on this theory is that local seeds will crystallize and accumulate global knowledge along the existing local order. Advancing local knowledge is done by collecting global knowledge about local seeds to crystallize and accumulate them. The implication for the PPKn curriculum is that the design and learning of PPKn should identify core values as the essential seeds to accumulate relevant global knowledge. The ideal citizen that will be produced is locally rooted but globally minded, acting and thinking locally with an increasingly global perspective. The advantage is that there is no conflict between local values and international knowledge development. It is relatively easy to identify what local citizens want and does not want amidst globalization's demands. The weakness, however, is that it is not easy to reconcile a set of local values that can be used to crystallize and accumulate or localize global wisdom and knowledge that is strong enough.

Theory of Tree

Recommendations based on the Tree Theory may be worth considering for schools in areas that are ready to accept values from foreign cultures, such as urban areas. As known, the characteristics of this theory emphasize the belief that the education process has roots in local

Suyato

values and traditions but also absorbs relevant and beneficial external sources to develop beyond regional boundaries. In other words, developing globally-oriented education requires a solid cultural local root. In the Civic Education (PPKn) curriculum, local culture and values remain assets, but they also absorb global culture and knowledge to develop local citizens. The selection of international expertise in learning dramatically depends on the local community's perceived needs and cultural preferences. The expected outcome of education is the creation of individuals with global perspectives who act locally and grow globally. The advantage of this theory is that local communities can maintain their traditions and cultural values. The weakness, however, is that if local values and culture are narrow and weak, the development of individuals and local communities may be limited. The conversion of global knowledge and values into local knowledge and values can be very selective and limited due to cultural bias. This theoretical framework can be analogized to the struggle between religious and secular values.

Theory of DNA

Recommendations based on the DNA Theory may be worth considering for schools in metropolitan areas ready to embrace values from foreign cultures. As known, according to this theory, the education process involves identifying and transplanting or grafting the best global elements to replace weak local components in local development. The development of local knowledge is carried out by replacing irrelevant local knowledge with vital global understanding. Therefore, the Civic Education (PPKn) curriculum design should be selective in local and global components to select the best elements. Understanding the strengths and weaknesses of both local and global elements is crucial in the field of education. Students are encouraged to be open to all positive aspects, even if they come from outside. The desired outcome is a citizen who can combine the best elements from local and global sources and act and think with a blend of local and global elements. The advantages of this approach are that it provides an efficient way to learn and improve local practices and development. However, the weakness may lie in the assumption that identifying the strengths and weaknesses of local and global elements is culturally and socially easy. It may be overly mechanistic, disregarding potential local resistance to the transplantation of global and local elements. Nevertheless, this theory can provide a foundation for the praxis of Civic Education in Indonesia.

Theory of Fungus

For schools located in areas that are open to receiving values from foreign cultures, such as metropolitan cities, recommendations based on the Mushroom Theory may be worth considering. As known, this theory assumes that the education process involves digesting specific global knowledge as nutrition for local and individual development. Developing local knowledge means outlining global knowledge as nutrition to be converted into local knowledge and community development. The expected learning process enables students to absorb worldwide culture and knowledge as nutrition for their growth and community development. The desired outcome is citizens who possess specific global knowledge and act and think relying on relevant global knowledge. The advantages of this approach are that it is easy to absorb and digest global knowledge from the beginning. The root of knowledge growth and development is global knowledge, not local knowledge. However, the weakness is that the process is primarily one-way, absorbing and digesting global knowledge. Its contribution to the development of local knowledge is limited. Identifying local knowledge and identity as the basis for its development is challenging, as it depends on global resources and knowledge. In specific contexts, this logic can guide the praxis of Civic Education in Indonesia.

Theory of Amoeba

Recommendations based on the Amoeba Theory may be worth considering for schools in metropolitan areas where labor mobility and competition are already global. As known, this

theory views the process of education as fully utilizing global knowledge with minimal local barriers. Strengthening local knowledge means fully accumulating global knowledge in the local context. The implications for curriculum development and learning are that curriculum developers should incorporate worldwide knowledge and perspectives. Local barriers can be minimized with the hope that students can be fully open to global culture and knowledge. The desired profile of citizens is those who are flexible and open without local identity, who act and think globally and fluidly. The advantages of this approach are being fully available and flexible to foreign or global exposure, with minimal local barriers. The disadvantages are the potential loss of local identity and values. There is a potential risk of local communities losing direction and social solidarity in this era of globalization. It is unclear what contribution local culture and knowledge can make to developing local culture and learning. Expressly, curriculum praxis based on this theory can be set for specific segments of society, although still limited.

In this context, Culp's (2019) statement that democratic education is needed in today's globalized world that is not domestically biased is worth considering. As known, the mainstream discourse on democracy education within the civic education framework is still oriented towards the domestic (national) level. According to Culp, there are several weaknesses of this domestically biased civic education, including (1) inapplicability in non-democratic domestic contexts; (2) inapplicability in non-democratic international, transnational, and supranational contexts; (3) counterproductivity for domestic democracy; and (4) counterproductivity for international, transnational, and supranational democracy (Culp, 2019, pp. 92-99).

The Vital Role of Teachers in Curriculum Development

As McCowan (2009) stated, curriculum as an idea goes through three leaps from development to implementation. In this journey, the teacher's vital role as the actual curriculum creator lies. The first leap from ends to means can be explained as follows. It has long been believed that a curriculum must have clear objectives. According to this view, the curriculum should not be left to the discretion of the implementers due to tradition but should always be linked to clear goals. This view is known as the technical-rational approach to curriculum planning, usually associated with Ralph Tyler and American researchers in the early and mid-20th century. Tyler brought about a significant change with his opinion that the learning materials should be decided based on explicit objectives, objectives that have been predetermined. Learning experiences, according to this opinion, should be created based on explicitly formulated goals, then managed in such a way as to achieve maximum impact or outcomes, and ultimately evaluated and modified if necessary. This model, also known as the "product" or "objectives" model, emerged as the opposite of the "content" model (Kelly, 2004), which bases its approach to learning on the body of knowledge that already exists or on the tradition to transmit culture or based on the intrinsic value beliefs of a particular discipline.

The concepts of proximity and rationale are known regarding the relationship between objectives and the means of achieving them. There are three levels of proximity: separation, harmony, and unification (McCowan, 2009, p. 95). There are four types of rationale: empirical evidence, authority/tradition, moral imperative, and logical connection (McCowan, 2009, p. 96). In terms of rationality, these four rationales, when related to the three models of curriculum design, can be explained as follows. The "content" approach may be more appropriate based on the rationale of tradition.

In contrast, the "product" approach is based on empirical evidence, and the "process" approach is based on moral imperative. All forms of rationality are compatible with the modes of separation and harmony, while unification does not require a rational foundation as the process is identical to the objective. It is important to note that a curriculum can simultaneously display multiple forms of proximity and rationale, for example, based on both authority and empirical evidence, and, at different times, demonstrate separation and harmony (McCowan, 2009, p. 97).

Regarding this second leap, there are many empirical studies on the transformation that occurs when curriculum programs are implemented in practice (Benavot & Resh, 2003; Fullan & Pomfret, 1977; Resh & Benavot, 2009). Much research on curriculum implementation focuses on the alignment between what is intended and what is practiced and the factors that facilitate or hinder this implementation. Study by Benavot & Resh (2003) differentiated between *macro* and *meso* factors that influence the implementation of Jewish and Arab secular school curricula in Israel.

The perspective on implementation also becomes an interesting study, known to have three approaches. The first approach compares the intended curriculum with the implemented curriculum, known as the fidelity approach. This approach contrasts the adaptive or mutual adaptation approach, which focuses on the complexity of change processes vis-à-vis how innovations are developed or occur during implementation.

Conclusion

From the perspective and its effectiveness, domestic-oriented Citizenship Education has some weaknesses. In facing globalization, for example, some problems and challenges cannot be handled properly. Accordingly, it is timely and urgent to develop a proper curriculum. In other words, today it is necessary to change the orientation of the Civics curriculum which is globally oriented. In other words, it is necessary to engineer the Civics curriculum development. This paper presents theoretical frameworks for engineering the development of a democratic and globally oriented Civics curriculum. There are at least six theoretical frameworks, namely the Birdcage Theory, Crystal Theory, Tree Theory, DNA Theory, Mushroom Theory, and Amoeba Theory. The six theories have different views, implications, and recommendations in the engineering Civics curriculum. The role of a Civics teacher in choosing, modifying, and implementing the Civics curriculum is vital. A teacher is a significant factor in this endeavor. Unfortunately, teachers' voices are unheard.

References

- Benavot, A., & Resh, N. (2003). Educational governance, school autonomy, and curriculum implementation: A comparative study of Arab and Jewish schools in Israel. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 35(2), 171–196. <https://doi.org/10.1080/0022027022000022856>
- Blaug, R., & Schwarzmantel, J. (2016). *Democracy: A reader*. Edinburgh University Press.
- Bowles, S., & Gintis, H. (1976). *Schooling in capitalist America: Educational reform and the contradictions of economic life*. Routledge & Kegan Paul.
- Culp, J. (2019). *Democratic education in a globalized world*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780367136550>
- Fukuyama, F. (1992). *The end of history and the last man*. Penguin.
- Fullan, M., & Pomfret, A. (1977). Research on curriculum and instruction implementation. *Review of Educational Research*, 47(2), 335–397. <https://doi.org/10.3102/00346543047002335>
- Huntington, S. P. (2003). *The clash of civilizations and the remaking of world order*. Simon & Schuster.
- Jorgensen, C. G. (2017). *Discovering John Dewey in the twenty-first century*. Palgrave Macmillan US. <https://doi.org/10.1057/978-1-137-58950-7>
- Kalidjernih, F. K. (2005). *Post-colonial citizenship education : a critical study of the production and reproduction of the Indonesian civic ideal* [Dissertation]. University of Tasmania.
- Kincheloe, J. L., & Steinberg, S. R. (1997). *Changing multiculturalism*. Open University Press.

- Laclau, E., & Mouffe, C. (2001). *Hegemony and socialist strategy: Towards a radical democratic politics*. Verso.
- McKenna, E. (2007). Pluralism and democracy: individualism by another name. In *Education for a Democratic Society* (pp. 143–153). BRILL. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401203999_015
- Miller, C. R. (2020). *Living under post-democracy*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780429317446>
- Resh, N., & Benavot, A. (2009). Educational governance, school autonomy, and curriculum implementation: diversity and uniformity in knowledge offerings to Israeli pupils. *Journal of Curriculum Studies*, 41(1), 67–92. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00220270802446826>
- Rivero, C. M. (2007). John Dewey and the necessity of a democratic civic education. In *Education for a democratic society* (pp. 11–19). BRILL. https://doi.org/10.1163/9789401203999_003
- Steinberg, S. R., Kincheloe, J. L., & Hinchey, P. H. (1999). *The post-formal reader cognition and education*. Psychology Press.
- Waghid, Y. (2013). *African philosophy of education reconsidered*. Routledge. <https://doi.org/10.4324/9780203538166>
- Waghid, Y. (2014). Philosophical remarks on Nelson Mandela's education legacy. *Educational Philosophy and Theory*, 46(1), 4–7. <https://doi.org/10.1080/00131857.2013.874625>
- Wang, L. (2019). *John Dewey's Democratic education and its Influence on pedagogy in China 1917-1937*. Springer Fachmedien Wiesbaden. <https://doi.org/10.1007/978-3-658-27568-6>