A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Area Studies

Nurturing Deliberative Democracy in Public Secondary Schools in Malawi:
School Governance and Pedagogies

マラウィの公立高等学校における熟議民主主義の育成
―学校管理と教授法をめぐって―

Antonie Lyson CHIGEDA

March 2015

A Thesis Submitted for the Degree of Doctor of Area Studies

Nurturing Deliberative Democracy in Public Secondary Schools in Malawi: School Governance and Pedagogies

マラウィの公立高等学校における熟議民主主義の育成
—学校管理と教授法をめぐって—

Antonie Lyson CHIGEDA

Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies

Kyoto University

March 2015

DEDICATION

To my loving wife Mavis, my wonderful son Tamandani and my lovely daughter Talandira for all your sacrifices and love

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

LIST OF TABLES

LIST OF FIGURES

ABSTRACT

This dissertation investigates the potential contribution of public education in nurturing student values, and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement as a democratic citizenship ideal in Malawi. The study is motivated by the growing concerns on the passive nature of the emerging democratic citizenship in Malawi; the importance of adolescence as a time when political values and skills that shape political behavior later in adulthood are formed; and the civic mission of the school to prepare students as democratic citizens in their society. Premised on these considerations, the study investigates the extent of public secondary schools provisions of opportunities for student active participation and democratic engagement in schools, to nurture their democratic values and capacities. The study focuses on availability of potential democratic spaces in school governance and pedagogical practices to nurture these values, and capacities among students. The study further examines issues shaping the current discourse on student participation in school governance in Malawi, to understand current challenges and opportunities for students' active participation and democratic engagement in schools.

The study adopted a parallel mixed methods research design based on the nature of the research questions as well as data triangulation to validate the study's findings. To ensure maximum variation in the sampled schools, research data was collected from four types of secondary schools; national, district boarding, government day and community day secondary schools in the South East Education Division in Malawi. A multi-stage cluster sampling procedure was used to select a total of 332 students from 17 schools for participation in a survey. Purposive sampling procedures were used to select 10 schools from where 10 Social Studies lessons were observed, and four schools where focus group interviews with teachers and students were conducted. Quantitative data was analyzed using both descriptive and inferential statistics to understand

opportunities for participation across school types. Qualitative data was analyzed using preselected themes as follows; governance practices: student consultation and participation in decision making, accommodation of student voices, free assembly. Classroom practices: common teaching methods, quality of classroom interactions in terms of encouragement for critical thinking and rational discussions, as well as challenges to deliberative participation in classroom pedagogies.

The study found that teaching practices in most schools focused on learner centered approaches. These provided a lot of opportunities for student active participation in the lessons, however, the study found significant challenges in the effective use of these strategies. Teacher's characteristics such as facilitation skills, lack of adequate instructional materials, language challenges significantly affected the quality and level of critical reasoning and rational debate observed in the lessons. Teachers focused on low level, short response questions that failed to challenge students to think critically or engage in significant discussion on the subject content.

Further, the study found that public schools hardly provide opportunities for students' active participation and engagement outside the classrooms. Students are excluded from participation in any significant decision making processes either directly or through representatives even when such decisions directly affect them. The study found that despite the perceived advantages of student participation in decision making among teachers, which rarely reflected democratic concerns, there is limited commitment to put this into practice in schools.

The study also found that lack of clear guidelines on students' roles in decision making, poor attitudes among teachers regarding student participation, conservative cultural views, perceived immaturity of students, and misunderstanding of democratic values were found as factors explaining students' exclusion from governance participation. Most schools are perceived by students as authoritarian in their

governance practices, offering limited opportunities for accommodating students' views and voices in decision making.

Overall, the study found limited evidence to suggest significant provisions of opportunities in school governance and pedagogical practices in public secondary schools to nurture students' values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement as citizenship ideals in a democratic community. In view of these limited opportunities, the dissertation find significant evidence to suggest a very weak contribution of these aspects of public schooling to the overall process of democratization particularly among the students as youth in Malawi. This study therefore argues for the need to deliberately create opportunities for students' active participation and democratic engagement in schools. To this end the dissertation proposes governance practices based on the ideals of deliberative democracy and an integration of deliberative pedagogies in instructional practices as a potential practice to increase school's contribution to democratic citizenship formation of their students.

The findings in this study cannot be generalized to all schools or all aspects of public schooling in Malawi. The findings pertain to the aspects of public schooling studied and as such should be interpreted within these aspects of public schooling. The results though not representing all schools in Malawi serve as an important indicator of potential issues and challenges to the civic mission of the school in democratic Malawi.

Table of Contents

CHAPTER 1:

OUTLINE OF THE RESEARCH PROBLEM AND RATIONALE

1.0 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to describe the research study. It outlines the research problem focusing on the challenges of the emerging democratic citizenship in Malawi, the importance of adolescence as a stage in democratic citizenship formation and the civic mission of the school to provide a context for the research problem. This is followed by problem statement, research purpose and questions as well as a justification of the research. The section concludes with a presentation of the background context and the evolution of citizenship education in Malawi.

1.1 The Research Problem

1.1.1 Emerging Citizenship in Post-democracy Malawi

In 1994, Malawians voted for a democratic government, ending three decades of one party state. The one party state was itself preceded by over seven decades of colonial rule under Britain. Thus the modern democratic state in Malawi rose from a century old political landscape characterized by a long history of colonialism and one party dictatorship. The colonial system and one party dictatorship both are well known for their endemic denial of the general citizenship opportunities for any meaningful participation in the political governance of the society (Chingaipe & Msukwa, 2014; Diamond, 2008; Divala, 2007; Heater, 2004). Commenting on the nature of colonial rule in Africa, Heater (2004: 126) makes the following observation;

> The very practice of imperial rule was erected upon the unquestioned proposition that the colonialists were bringing the inestimable benefits of western including Christian civilization to the benighted peoples of the …tribes of Africa…this attitudes of mind is a far cry from the notion of citizenship: it is a conviction of superiority, a policy of paternalism not belief, certainly not in the foreseeable future in citizenship as equal participation in a civic enterprise.

Thus the colonial practices not based on mutual participation excluded the masses in the governance of their territories. Heater (2004) further argues that the British operated a policy of indirect rule in the colonies. This resulted in the creation of an elite class among locals who would then help to rule the masses as a standard practice in the colonies such as Malawi. For the people of Malawi this exclusion of the masses from active participation continued well after the fall of colonialism. Chingaipe & Msukwa, (2014: 1) contends that "the political institutional architecture of the one-party state" constituting " the totality of the basic political rules that determined how political power was configured and how state authority was discharged, removed any spaces where ordinary citizens could engage with government in a genuine contestation of policy. Policymaking became the personal terrain of the president and this was sustained by a framework of four cornerstones – unity, loyalty, obedience and discipline-". Thus the exclusion of the masses from active participation was carried on into the new state after independence. This background arguably planted seeds of passive citizenship that would continue to plague democratic citizenship after 1994 in Malawi. In other words both the colonial and post colonial political situation provided a weak democratic background in Malawi. Tsoka (2002) argues that in general, democracy in Africa has been installed against weak supporting institutions, attitudes and perceptions thus recognizing the democratic challenges inherent in the political history of many African nations like Malawi.

Chinsinga, (2006, 2008) argues that the emerging citizenship in post-democracy Malawi continue to be characteristically passive. He argues, "…Malawi still grapples with a political culture of docility which was systematically cultivated during the one-party era" (Chinsinga, 2008: 15-16). He illustrates this point by noting that numerous constitutional changes mostly serving the narrow interests of the political regimes have been made to the country's democratic constitution since 1994. However, these

changes did not result in any significant public outcry. Overall, the passive nature of the emerging citizenship in Malawi is a result of both the colonial and post colonial practices as well as traditional cultures that excluded the masses from any meaningful political participation (Chinsinga, 2006, 2008; Divala, 2007; Chirwa, Kanyongolo & Patel, n.d.). Arguably this passive citizenship poses significant challenges to the process of democratization as the country moves from democratic transition to democracy consolidation.

Powell & Powell (2005: 2) has defined democratization as a "transformational process from a non democratic regime to a procedural democracy to a substantive democracy". Similarly, de A Samarasinghe (1994: 14) described democratization as "a process of political change that moves the political system of any given society towards a system of government that ensures peaceful competitive political participation in an environment that guarantees political and civil liberties". From these definitions it can be noted that democratization is a process rather than an event. As a process it takes place over time. However, its success will determine whether democracy will be fully established or not in a given society. This is more also as the society seeks to consolidate its democratic gains. It can be argued therefore that the challenges of passive citizenship in Malawi can be properly understood as challenges of the democratization process since 1994.

Rakner, et al., (2007: 7) outlines three stages in the process of democratization. First is the liberalization phase. This is when a previous authoritarian regime opens up or crumbles; the second is a transition phase. This stage often culminates to the country holding its first competitive elections. The last stage is the consolidation phase. During this period democratic practices are expected to become more firmly established and accepted by most relevant actors. They further note that "this final phase is essential for establishing durable democratic regimes". Arguably Malawi is currently grappling with

the third phase of democratization. The authoritarian regime of the past crumbled and the country has since gone through several democratic elections marking the first two phases of the democratization process according to Rakner, et al., (2007).

Successful democracy consolidation in Malawi remains a critical step if the democratic gains of the past are to be sustained into the future. Failure to successfully consolidate the current democracy in Malawi, will pose significant challenges to the future of democracy and democratic culture in the country. Rakner, et al., (2007: 7) contends that "democratization processes need not be linear, and in a number of cases democratic openings and transitions have not resulted in consolidated democracies. Instead, many regimes end up 'getting stuck' in transition or reverting to more or less authoritarian forms of rule". As a process, democratic consolidation cannot be achieved by any single institution alone, rather it represent a sum of the contributions by different institutions, programs and processes that would jointly lead to democratic consolidation. One such institution expected to positively contribute to democratization and democracy consolidation is the public education system, in what has been described as the civic mission of the school. What role does the public school system in Malawi play in nurturing democratic values and behaviors within the student community?

1.1.2   The Civic Mission of the School

Public schools bear a special and historic responsibility for the development of the civic competence and civic responsibility. Schools fulfill that responsibility through formal and informal curriculum beginning in the earliest grades and continuing through the entire education process according to the Centre for Civic Education (1994). Consequently various researchers have discussed and investigated the role of education in citizenship and democracy (Harber & Mncube, 2012; Evans & Rose, 2007; Miles,

2006**;** Wright, 2003, Milligan, et al., 2003; Torney-Purta, et. al., 2001, McGettrick, 2001). For instance, Harber & Mncube (2012: 106) contends that "as far as anybody is aware, human beings do not have any genes determining whether they are democrats or autocrats, therefore democratic or authoritarian values and behaviors must be learned". This view brings education in its most general form to the discourse on democratic citizenship formation. Education may take the form of civic education activities done on different issues by such institutions as nongovernmental organizations, various state agencies and even the public schools. However, the civic mission of the school particularly refers to formal education or schooling.

It follows therefore that formal education or schools by their very nature dealing with young members of the society, contribute to the democratic formation of the youth by providing opportunities to cultivate values, attitudes and skills for democratic living. This view does not suggest that the public school in and of itself would provide solutions to the whole problem of passive citizenship in a country like Malawi. However, within its limitations as social institutions, public schools have a role to contribute to the overall democratization process of the society. Torney-Purta, et. al., (2001: 176) contends that;

> Educational practices play an important role in preparing students for citizenship. Schools that operate in a participatory democratic way, foster an open climate for discussion within the classroom and invite students to take part in shaping school life are effective in promoting both civic knowledge and engagement. Many students, however, do not perceive this participatory climate in their classrooms or these opportunities in their schools.

Student involvement in the governance and pedagogical processes in schools present opportunities to shape students values, attitudes and skills for participation and democratic engagement. However, as pointed out these practices and opportunities are not always available in schools. This begs a question why do schools find it hard to create democratic spaces for students' participation? Are there any specific reasons that would explain lack of opportunities for student participation in schools? How is the

situation like in public schools in Malawi? What is the potential contribution of public schools in Malawi to the development of democratic abilities of the students? These questions are all pertinent in view of the democracy consolidation process Malawi is currently going through. Understanding whether public schools support democratic practice or not will contribute to possible strengthening the possible contribution of the public school in the democratization process in Malawi. This is even more important in view of the fact that secondary schools deal with the youth who are at a critical stage laying a foundation that impacts their future political behaviors.

1.1.3 The Importance of Adolescence in Democratic Formation

Most students in public secondary schools are adolescents, who are below the minimum age for full citizenship participation in Malawi. These students therefore are excluded from citizenship participation through voting during elections. However, adolescence has been recognized as a very critical stage in the political and social responsibility development that impacts their adult life (Flanagan, 2014; Wray-Lake, & Syvertsen, 2011). Flanagan (2004) argued that it is during this period when adolescents form their concepts about "democracy, authority, self-determination, laws, liberty, loyalty, collective action, social trust and the common good that are highly relevant to politics" Flanagan (2014: 2-3).

Similarly, Wray-Lake, & Syvertsen, (2011: 21) contends that "social responsibility is consolidated during adolescence when cognitive, emotional, and identity development converges with exposure to modeling, value messages, and opportunities for practice across contexts". Thus the role of public education, particularly at secondary school level is crucial in contributing to shaping future political practice of the nation through its impact on the youth. If the schools fail in this responsibility it will have contributed to a poor democratic foundation that will have

long term impacts on the overall democratic culture of the nation.

According UNICEF (2013) report, 52% of Malawi's population is less than 18 years of age. Arguably this suggests that over half of Malawi's current population is excluded from democratic participation as defined by voting. However, realizing the importance of adolescence in the democratic formation, the dominantly youthful population in Malawi presents a rare opportunity in laying a solid foundation for the future democracy in Malawi. In this effort, public schools have an important role to play. School need to provide appropriate opportunities to model democratic values and skills. Gutmann & Thompson, (2004: 61) contends, "From a deliberative perspective, the single most important institution outside government is the educational system. To prepare their students for citizenship in a deliberative democracy, schools should aim to develop the capacities of students to understand different perspectives, communicate their understandings to other people, and engage in the give-and-take of moral argument".

Flanagan (2014) further contends that for adolescents politics is embedded in their experiences of membership, of exercising prerogatives and of assuming obligations-experiences that are played out in the mediating institutions (schools, community based organizations, volunteer work etc.). In consideration of the challenges to emerging citizenship in post-democracy Malawi, the civic mission of the school and the importance of adolescence in citizenship formation, there is need to understand how the public education in Malawi provide opportunities for student participation in their practices to foster positive development of values, attitudes and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement as citizenship ideals in Malawi.

1.2　Problem Statement

This dissertation investigates the potential contribution of public education in nurturing student values, and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement as a democratic citizenship ideal in Malawi. The study is motivated by the growing concerns on the passive nature of the emerging democratic citizenship in Malawi; the importance of adolescence as a time when political values and skills that shape political behavior later in adulthood are formed; and the civic mission of the school to prepare students as democratic citizens in their society. Premised on these considerations, the study investigates the extent of public secondary schools provisions for opportunities for student active participation and democratic engagement in their practices as democratic citizenship ideals in Malawi. The study focuses on school provision of democratic spaces in their governance and pedagogical practices to nurture these values, and capacities among their students. The study further examines issues affecting student participation, to understand current challenges and opportunities for students' active participation and democratic engagement in schools.

Understanding how public schools contribute to enhancing democratic culture particularly among the students as youth is critical to our understanding of the contribution of public education in the democratization process in Malawi as part of the schools civic mission. The findings of the study would therefore provide an important platform for re-structuring school governance practices and classroom instructional activities to enhance opportunities for student active participation and democratic engagement as a democratic ideal in public schools. The study's primary argument is that a robust democratic culture in schools, backed by pedagogies and governance practices in the framework of deliberative democracy would significantly enhance public schools contribution to a positive development of students' values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement in Malawi.

1.3   Research Purpose and Study Questions

1.3.1   Research Purpose

The purpose of this study is to examine the extent of democratic provisions for student active participation and engagement in governance and pedagogical practices in public secondary schools in Zomba district of southern Malawi. The study attempts to understand public schools contribution to students' democratic formation in post-democracy Malawi.

The primary research question examined is: To what extent do governance and pedagogical practices in public secondary schools, explain public schools' contribution to the democratic formation of the students and the democratization process in Malawi?

1.3.2   Study Questions

The following subsidiary questions guided the process of data collection and analysis in study;

1. To what extent do students perceptions of school governance and pedagogical practices suggest significant opportunities for active participation and democratic engagement in public secondary schools?

2. How do teachers and students classroom interactions during lesson discussions relate to quality deliberative talk in classrooms?

3. What are the common issues shaping the discourse on student participation in school governance and decision making in public secondary schools in Malawi?

1.4   Justification of the Study

Englund (n.d) argues that civic education is a relatively new phenomenon in Malawi and one of those things that define 'new' Malawi. He notes that independent civic education could not take place during the one party era and that primary schools taught civics that "gave deliberately unspecific view of government. At the same time

the Malawi Young Pioneers (MYP) visited villages to impose physical and agricultural training on adults. He further notes that as much of else of what took place in public, the glorification of the country's life president was an integral part of this activity (Englund, n.d: 4-5). This summarizes what may be called citizenship education broadly conceived during Malawi's one party era.

However, Chingaipe & Msuku, (2014: 2) have argued that since the coming of democracy in 1994, "citizen participation has been a constitutional issue and a policy concern for the government of the people of Malawi". They further notes that the republican constitution in Malawi through the bill of rights enshrines people's right to participate in governance. In terms of policy, citizen participation has also been highlighted in national development strategy papers; Poverty Alleviation Program (PAP), the Malawi Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (MPRS) and the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MGDS).

These observations underscore the importance the democratic government in Malawi places on citizenship participation as a democratic ideal. However, Evans & Rose (2007b: 907) have argued based on their study in primary schools in Malawi that not only has the teaching of democratic knowledge been weak, but also the style of teaching has tended not to encourage critical thinking or participation in ways that might be considered necessary to promote values associated with a democratic political culture. They argued that authoritarian approaches to teaching and learning have continued following the introduction of democracy in Malawi. This situation has been made worse by large numbers of students per class in lower grades of primary school and lack of adequate teaching and learning materials. These arguments suggest challenges to provision for active participation and democratic engagement in primary schools in areas of teaching and learning and general life in the schools. It is however, not clear if similar challenges exist at a higher level such as the secondary schools.

Mattes & Mughogho (2009: 4) in a similar study argued that "while there is considerable evidence of a positive contribution of formal education to various elements of democratic citizenship in western societies, formal education has yet to play such a central role in empirical research outside of the industrialized west". This study is therefore justified based on its contribution to this emerging research on formal education contribution to democratic citizenship in a developing country in sub Saharan Africa. The study considers a higher level than the primary school, where it may be argued that the level of maturity of students is higher than that of primary schools. This makes participation even more desirable at this level.

Haber, (1994: 257), argued that "if democratic institutions in Africa are to be sustained by a supportive political culture then schools will have to consciously educate for democracy rather than support authoritarianism". Similarly, Freire, (1970: 74) argued that "teaching methods need to capture the essence of democracy and freedom if learners are to embrace liberation". The study contributes to explicating the democratic nature of school culture in public schools and whether it provides for nurturing democratic values among the student population.

The secondary school level represents a terminal point for many students in Malawi given the limited opportunities for tertiary education. It therefore offers a good vantage point for understanding school impact on democratic citizenship values and beliefs as students leave public schooling. Majority of students at secondary school are at the stage where soon they will attain the age of full citizenship status. Thus the secondary level provides a better opportunity to assess the nature of preparation students get as they mature to full citizenship status. This is more important considering the probability of students transferring the values and skills learnt into their newly attained status as citizens.

The findings of the study will inform education practitioners on the potential impact of public education on the development of students' values and skills for active participation and democratic engagement. The results will therefore provide a platform for possible restructuring of school activities and practices to enhance their impact as a means of developing and nurturing students' values and skills for democratic citizenship.

Huddleston (2007:5) defines 'school governance' to encompass all aspects of the way a school is led, managed and run – including: a school's rules and procedures, its decision-making structures, the behavior of its personnel and how they relate to each other. He further notes that this includes the school curriculum and methods of teaching and learning as well as school ethos, management and development planning. In this respect the study investigates issues that are shaping the discourse on students' participation in schools. In a related study, Mattes & Shin (2005: 23) argued that "traditional values do shape popular attitudes to democracy in Asia and Africa even in modernized setting like South Africa". McGettrick, (2001: 3) further contends that "the concern for Education for Citizenship emphasizes the importance of education in its cultural context. This cultural context is not only a matter of "place", but the nature of those relationships which create communities which give life to these communities, and which inspire change and growth in them".

Within the different schools, the cultures of the schools or *the school ethos* may either support or work against provision of opportunities for students' participation especially in the governance and decision-making processes in the schools. Thus by inquiring into the issues shaping the discourse on student participation in schools the study will unveil the dominant cultures in the schools and how these impact on provisions for student participation in schools. The results will contribute to highlighting inherent challenges and opportunities for participation in schools. These

results will be relevant to institutions and organizations interested in supporting democratic culture in schools to understand challenges and opportunities in school communities for better programming of their activities. The results may further contribute to possible policies on student participation in schools.

From their review of literature on citizenship education, Deakin-Crick et. al., (2004: 32) argue that "learning and teaching strategies should explicitly recognize the need for a more facilitative, conversational pedagogy, where dialogue and discussion are the norm" for citizenship teaching to have impact on students. Thus investigating actual teaching practices, the study provides some insight into the pedagogical challenges posed by classroom instruction strategies. The results may be of interests to pedagogical specialists in exploring alternative instruction practices to build students skills in critical thinking and rational argumentation as a democratic ideal. In view of these considerations the three questions of the research have both theoretical and practical relevance in the development of education for democratic citizenship in Malawi.

1.5   Malawi: Contextual Background

1.5.1   Geographical Context

Malawi is a landlocked country, located in sub Saharan Africa on latitude 13° 30' S and longitude 34° 00' E. It extends some 840km from north to south, varying in width from 80 km to 160 km, see figure 1.1 below. It has a total area of 118,484 km^2, including 24, 208 km^2 of inland water. The country is administratively divided into three main regions: Northern, Central and Southern Regions. The regions are further sub-divided into 28 districts. Malawi has an estimated population of 16.36 million as of 2013. The country is aligned along the southern continuation of the east African rift

valley system. It has land borders with Tanzania to the north, with Zambia to the west and Mozambique to the south and east.

Figure 1.1:   Malawi location map showing the research site Zomba district
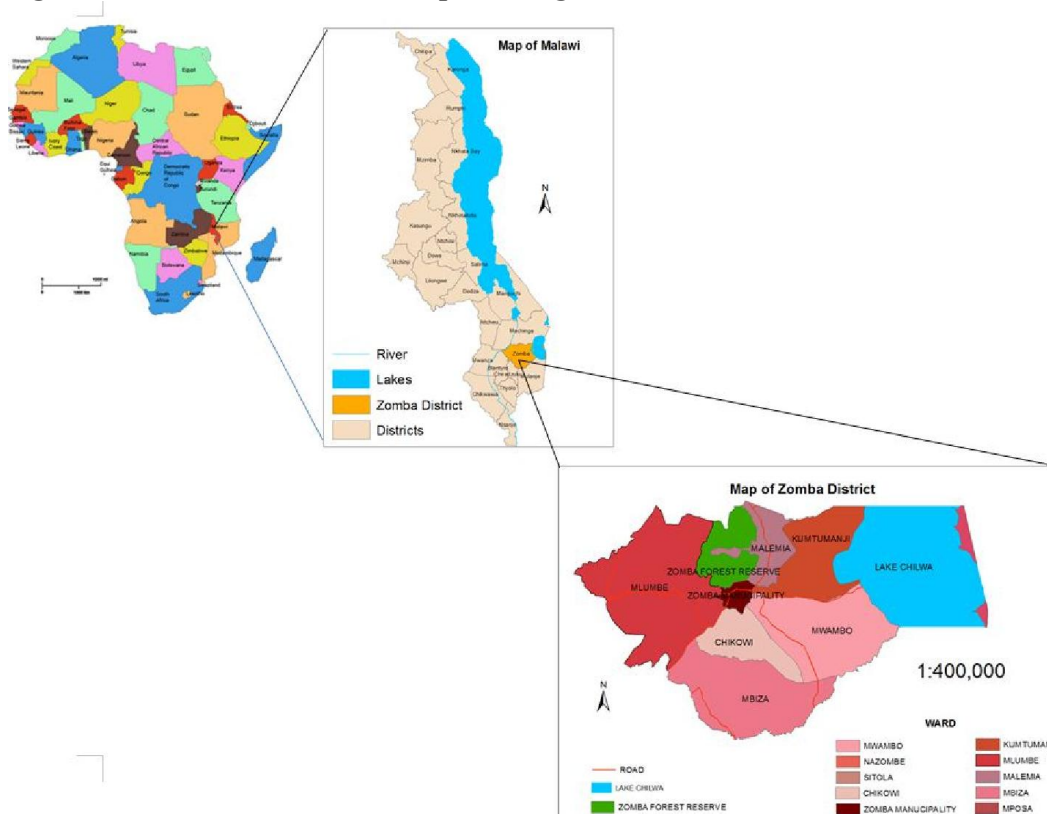
Malawi occupies a plateau with varying height bordering the deep rift valley trench, which averages 80 km in width. Lake Malawi covers the two thirds of the north part of the rift valley floor. The lake is 568 km long and varies in width from 16 km to 80 km, with mean surface of 472 m above sea level. The plateau surfaces on both sides of the rift valley lie between 760 m to 1370 m. Mt. Mulanje, the highest mountain in central Africa rises to 3,050 m above sea level. The great variations in altitude and latitudinal extent are responsible for wide range of climatic, soil and vegetation conditions of Malawi. There are three climatic seasons; cool season from May to August with mean temperatures of 15 – 18 degree Celsius, September and November a

hot season with increasing humidity. Temperature ranges from 27 – 37 degree Celsius in the low lying areas, and the rainy season lasts from November to April. Over 90% of annual rainfall occurs during this period. Rainfall rages from 760 mm to 1,525 mm for higher plateau areas (Hutcheson, 2008).

1.5.2 Sociopolitical Context

The political history of Malawi is well summarized by Sanger, (1969). Malawi was declared a British protectorate in 1891 and continued as a colonial state until its independence on 6th July 1964. The name Malawi commemorates an earlier African empire, which stretched from Zambezi River from the port of Quelimane up as far as Mombasa. The earliest arrivals coming from the north saw upon lake Nyasa, current Lake Malawi, its surface glowing like fire from the early morning sun, from which the name *Malawi* meaning 'flames' was derived in their local language. The people were known as 'aMaravi'. Their kingdom extended over large parts of present Tanganyika, Mozambique, Southern and Northern Rhodesia (present Zambia and Zimbabwe). There is no date fixing the fragmentation of the Malawi Empire into autonomous units. These small units however were no match to the Swahili Arab slave traders, the Ngoni and Yao conquerors who later came to Malawi.

The coming of Whites to Nyasaland started with Dr David Livingston in the 1850's. In 1874 White missionaries started coming into Nyasaland. In 1904, the British Colonial Office took over the responsibility for administration of Malawi after chiefs signed a protection treaty with Queen Victoria (Sanger, 1969). In 1907 White settlers were admitted into the legislative assembly with traders being the largest interest group.

In 1915 John Chilembwe an American trained missionary led an uprising in protest against wartime conscription of the Africans and although the rising was short lived Chilembwe is remembered as one of the first nationalist in Malawi. In 1928 and

again in 1939 Africans protested on the debate for closer association between Nyasaland and Rhodesia leading to shelving of the plans. When the issue resurfaced again in 1948 the people appealed to Britain against the federation but despite assurances, the federation was imposed in 1953 leading to protests and riots in Nyasaland. From June 1958 Dr. Banda led a campaign mobilizing opinion across the country against federation fearing that if the federal government achieves full independence, Nyasaland would lose protection of the British. In 1959 there were country wide popular uprising which the colonial secretary denounced as 'massacre plot' and invited federal troops to come to Nyasaland and help restore order. Following a commission of inquiry led by Mr. Justice Devlin, the report concluded that there was no massacre plot only that hatred for the federation was universal.

With the coming of Ian Macleod as the colonial secretary and resulting policy changes, in 1960 an agreement was reached at Lancaster house conference in London for a new constitution of Nyasaland giving the Africans a larger legislative council majority and probably some parity in the executive council (Sanger 1969). In August 1961, the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) won 23 of the 28 seats and getting the right to all 5 unofficial seats defeating the United Federal Party (UFP) that got no African vote save the 5 predominantly white seats. Following a new constitution agreed in 1962, in 1963 Dr. Banda became the prime minister of Nyasaland with his own appointed cabinet. Malawi became independent sovereign state on 6th July 1964.

Following independence, Dr. Banda, an American and British trained physician presided over one of the very repressive regimes in Malawi. He adopted a "messianic vision of his post independence role". He was declared "Life President" in 1971 and he ruled through a combination of paternalism, intimidation and violent suppression. The pillars of his rule were captured in the motto of the Malawi Congress Party (MCP) as

"unity, loyalty, obedience and discipline". Obedience and discipline in particular shaped Malawi's political life throughout Banda's lengthy rule (USAID, March 2013).

In 1992, the government faced unprecedented criticism from the influential Roman Catholic Church and its bishops who published a pastoral letter condemning the state's abuses of human rights. Pressure increased following the meeting of some 80 Malawians who were in exile in Lusaka, Zambia to work out a plan for political reforms in Malawi. This was followed by industrial unrest in southern city of Blantyre, which soon escalated into violent anti-government protests spreading to the capital Lilongwe claiming over 40 lives in the process. This coupled with a suspension of humanitarian aid by the international donors pushed the government to reconsider respecting human rights (Hutcheson, 2008). This led to the establishment of two pressure groups Alliance for Democracy (AFORD) and United Democratic Front (UDF) in the country, as laws at the time did not allow any political party other than the Malawi Congress Party (MCP). Dr. Banda was forced to call for a referendum in 1993.

The majority of Malawians voted for the re-introduction of multiparty politics in the country. This was followed by the first multiparty general elections in May 1994, where the UDF won with Dr. Bakili Muluzi as its president. UDF ruled for two terms when its president tried in vain to have the constitution changed to allow him a third term in office but failed. In 2004 Bingu wa Mutharika became the second president of the new democratic Malawi. His first term was marked with success but in his second term the country veered from its earlier track record of solid democratic and economic progress as the president became increasingly intolerant of dissent and with a majority in parliament he enacted legislations that reflected a tendency towards authoritarianism. This culminated in nationwide anti-government demonstrations that resulted from civic unrest leading to 20 fatalities (USAID, March 2013). Mutharika died in office in April 2012, and was succeeded by his estranged vice president Dr. Joyce Banda, who was

expelled from the party in 2010 after objecting to plans by President Mutharika to have his young brother succeed him. The 2014 elections saw Dr. Peter Mutharika, a younger brother of the former Mutharika win as a third democratically elected president of Malawi since 1994 in an election rocked with heated claims of irregularities and disputes.

The political evolution of Malawi paints a picture of a population that given space would actively want to be engaged in the political life of their society. From the colonial times Malawians have demonstrated a tendency to rise up when fed up with the excesses of the political system. In as much as democracy in Malawi was helped by pressures from outside, it can be safely argued that the success of this pressure depended on the local Malawians ardent desire to see democratic change in their country. It may further be argued that Malawians since the colonial times have demonstrated willingness to dare change in the political course of their society. Howbeit this has sometimes taken long to materialize.

The country's democratic experiences after 1994, continues to show how entrenched authoritarianism has been in the country's political history. The assertion that the emerging citizenship after 1994, in Malawi continues to be politically passive (Chinsinga, 2006, 2008; Chirwa, Kanyongolo & Patel, n.d.) may thus be a manifestation of what may be called a manufactured passivity in the country's political past. The oppressive political system in the post independence era is a case in point. People were threatened and punished for expressing themselves against the political establishment. Thus dealing with authoritarianism, and the manufactured passivity remain critical goals of the democratization process and democratic consolidation in Malawi. This is even more important among the youth who should grow up to be active citizens in their society. This dissertation contributes to these efforts by addressing

itself to the role of the public schools in nurturing active participation and democratic engagement among the youth.

1.5.3 Educational Context

The history of education in Malawi is well captured in the writings of Banda (1982) and Pachai (1973). Pachai outlines a detailed history of education from the pre-colonial days. He notes that the provision of primary and higher education in Malawi originated from many sides with the European missionaries contribution being in the fore front. The first school was opened in Malawi at Cape Maclear in 1875 by the Livingstonia mission. Systematic education followed in 1976 when the Livingstonia mission received a party that included four African teachers. In the first 25 years of missionary education there was no single organization responsible for coordinating education in the country or overlooking matters of education policy. Each mission station conducted its education endeavors as it saw fit.

The colonial government took no part in the education endeavors going on in the country until much later. The lack of a common body to oversee education matters meant that issues like the curriculum and the general organization of the school system remained fragmented at best. Around 1900 missionaries started coming together to deliberate about education in their various missionary stations, creating the beginning of organized education management in Malawi. In 1910 a consultative board recognized by the colonial administration was set up to deal with matters of education policy, but still missionaries remained the primary providers of education in the country. Following the establishment of an Advisory Committee on African Education by the British Government in 1923, the Phelps Stokes Commission visited Malawi in 1924 to report on the education system and facilities. Among the recommendations of the commission was the setting up of a department of education and an Advisory Board on

African education. The department of Education was set up in 1926 marking the formal involvement of the colonial administration in education matters.

Banda (1982), however, notes that it was not until the 1940's that secondary education came to be part of the education provision in Malawi (Nyasaland as it was known then). On 30th April 1941 the first secondary school, the Blantyre Secondary School was opened in Malawi. Over the years the number of secondary schools has continued to increase. Banda (1982) further notes regarding the curriculum and pedagogical approaches used in secondary education from this time;

> In all the subjects presentation was theoretical and pupils' only activities were answering teacher's questions and writing homework. How far the curriculum and the school encouraged qualities of initiative, independent thinking, individual potentialities and personality characteristics which were not at variance with the values traditionally cherished by the society would be difficult to assess […] the curriculum of both the primary and secondary schools continued to remain academic until 1968 when it became government policy to include Agriculture in the curriculum (Banda, 1982: 92-93).

The pedagogical approaches noted generally reflected teacher dominated lessons with learners passively following the lessons. The teacher would in this case hold an elevated position as the final source and arbiter of truth in the lesson. On his word hangs the truth. Current constructivist approaches to teaching stand in sharp contrast to this pedagogical approach (Pritchard & Woollard, 2010). Arguably the approaches could hardly address themselves to nurturing students' capacities for critical thinking and rational deliberation. Exploring how pedagogical practices currently serve the development of critical thinking and rational deliberation would be informative in assessing the potential impact of classroom practices on these important democratic skills.

Following independence in 1964, Malawi Government invited the American Council of Education to conduct a survey to inform the country's education plans. The survey's main objective was to determine Malawi's education needs for social and economic progress. The survey, which assessed all levels of formal education,

influenced the development of Malawi from 1964 until 1972 and subsequent planning exercises up to 1994 when the country became a multiparty democracy (MoEST, 2008). Since independence education in Malawi has been directed by four key education policies.

According to MoEST, (2008), the first education plan in Malawi covered the period from 1973 to 1980. The policy was intended to guide the development on primary, secondary and teacher education and to some extent technical and vocational training which came around 1976. The policy did not address itself to all subsectors of the formal education system but marked an important departure in education planning in independent Malawi. Among the key objectives of the policy were: a) basing educational development, in particular post-primary education, on the needs of labor market, b) aligning the curricula relevance to the socio-economic and environmental needs, c) maximizing utilization efficiency of existing resources and facilities, and d) equitably distributing education facilities and resources. The second education sector development plan (1985 – 1995) incorporated all levels of formal education as well as various parastatal organizations associated with the Ministry of Education, Science and Technology at that time. The overall objective of this plan was to consolidate policies so that a proper balance would maintained in the levels of physical and human resources allocated to all levels of education system. Precisely the plan aimed at equalizing educational opportunities, promoting education systems efficiency, improving physical and human resources, and judiciously utilizing the limited resources to the education sector (MoEST, 2008).

From 1995 to 2005, the Policy and Investment Framework (PIF) guided the education sector development and Medium Term Expenditure Framework (MTEF). Specifically, the PIF aimed at a) increasing access to educational opportunities for all Malawians at all levels of the system, b) ensuring that Malawi's education system does

not intensify existing inequalities across social groups and regions, c) maintaining and improving the quality and relevance of education, d) developing an institutional and financial framework that will sustain Malawian schools and students into the future, and e) intensifying financing pathways and strengthening of financial managerial capacity within the education sector and at all levels. The Policy and Investment Framework has been succeeded by the National Education Sector Plan (NESP) extending from 2008 to 2017.

The National Education Sector Plan is informed by the previous education development plans as well as long term development perspective for Malawi, the Vision 2020 and other regional and international protocols. Particularly it draws on the Malawi Growth and Development Strategy (MDGS) broad educational goals of equipping students with basic knowledge and skills to enable them to function as competent and productive citizens in a free society, and for students with disabilities to be able to live an independent and comfortable life, to provide the academic basis for gainful employment in the informal, private and public sectors, and to provide high quality professionals in all fields. In general the policy focuses on three priority areas: access and equity, quality and relevance and governance and management.

One key important observation is that education policies since independence have hardly addressed themselves to citizenship issues as an important objective of the education system, an aspect that is reflected in the current education policy key goals. This may be indicative of how the issue of citizenship has evolved overtime. Suffice to say that it is currently been recognized as an important goal of public education. However, although the current policy does recognize the role of education in the development of a free and productive citizenship, it is not clear how this goal is reflected in actual school practices. This study, by examining the role of education in nurturing active participation and democratic engagement as citizenship ideals

contributes to explicating how current education practices contribute to this task of developing a free and productive citizenship in Malawi.

1.5.4   The Evolution of Citizenship Education in Malawi

Citizenship and citizenship education are elusive concepts that render themselves to a multiplicity of definitions as well as descriptions (Abowitz, & Harnish, 2006; Kerr, 2003; Wright, 2003; Enslin, 2000). However, at the basic level citizenship according to Enslin, (2000),

-i-   give membership status to the individual within a political unit,

-ii-   confers an identity on individuals,

-iii-   constitutes a set of values usually interpreted as a commitment to the common good of a particular political unit,

-iv-   involves practicing a degree of participation in the process of political life,

-v-   implies gaining and using knowledge and understanding of laws, documents, structures and processes of governance

Thus citizenship defines the way members of a political unit or social grouping relate to one another as members of a common group and to the group as a whole. It includes shared knowledge, values as well as mutual participation in the group decisions.

Similarly, citizenship education according to Jackson & Steel (2004) comprises a wide range of terms that denote a form of teaching and learning that in some way encourages good citizenship. They further note that civics, social studies, life skills and moral education have all been used to describe citizenship education. In addition, there are connections with a variety of subjects (e.g. history, geography, economics, politics, languages, environmental studies and religious education). Discussion of citizenship education therefore encompasses a diverse and complex curriculum area in schools. Other authors have conceived citizenship education in Africa in very broad terms of the

informal tribal education through which cultural heritage and other values on good citizenship were passed on to new members of the society (Mhlauli, 2012).

However, in Malawi, the history of citizenship education in the sense conceived by Jackson & Steel (2004) above can be traced to the beginning of formal education in Malawi. As noted under the education context above, formal education in Malawi came with missionaries and the colonial administration joined much later. On this account one would argue that at the very earliest citizenship education in Malawi was constituted by the religious and moral education formerly taught in the Christian mission schools. Missionary education served primarily religious interests rather than political interests. Such education would have limited focus on the development of political values and skills such as participation and engagement. Later with the coming in of the colonial administration citizenship education would reflect the influence and interests of the colonial administration.

The colonial education system for Africans was based on a policy to ensure the development of the native in such a way that he will come as little as possible into competition with the white man socially, economically and politically and it excluded the majority of the citizens (Samoff, 1999; Merryfield & Tlou (1995). This suggests that citizenship education during colonial period was more of preparing the African to accept his secondary position in the society rather than to work towards freedom and equality. It may be argued therefore that citizenship education in the colonial period emphasized the status quo rather than fostered active participation which would be seen as a threat to the colonial conditions.

Merryfield & Tlou (1995) examined primary school social studies in Botswana, Kenya, Malawi and Zimbabwe. In this study, they note that education in Nyasaland (as Malawi was formerly known) was grossly neglected by the colonial government. For example, at independence in 1964 less than 9% of the population had any primary

education and only 50 Malawians had a college education. In addition they argued that Malawi inherited a British education system dominated by Christian missions at independence. During this period social studies, a subject that caters for citizenship education was taught as geography (grades 1-6), history (grades 3-6) and civics (grades 5-6). Apart from the changes in teaching about Malawi's new government, new national symbols' and national history there were no substantial curriculum reforms until the 1980's and 1990's. They further report that the 1982 syllabus (History and Civics) devoted a section to citizenship in terms of proper attitudes, rights and duties as well as local government (the village headman, the traditional authority and the district council). It also contained a number if prescribed behaviors' such as honesty and loyalty.

Merryfield & Tlou (1995) further observes that a social studies syllabus appeared for the first time blending history, civics and geography in 1991. A major change in the syllabus was the considerable attention given to behaviors of a good citizen, such as following safety rules and protecting the environment through conservation. It is clear from the above description that citizenship education in Malawi focused more on knowledge about citizenship rather than the cultivation of values and skills for active participation as a citizenship ideal.

Evans & Rose (2007: 907b) in a related study argued that in Malawi, civic education was in principle taught in primary school, although it is reported that teachers were afraid to teach it as criticism of the regime could lead to imprisonment without trial. This situation reflects citizenship education during the one party era. However, they further note that not only has explicit teaching for democratic knowledge been weak, but also the style of teaching has tended not to encourage critical thinking or participation, in ways that might be considered necessary to promote values associated

with a democratic political culture. The observation here suggests pedagogical challenges in cultivating skills for critical thinking.

Another related study by Divala (2007) examining curriculum materials used in citizenship education in democratic Malawi, agrees with observations by Evans & Rose (2007) above. The study found that the conceptualizations of democracy in citizenship education materials focuses on facts about democracy and fails to emphasize the importance of active participation through deliberation and meaningful respect of difference. This poses possible challenges to role of education in fostering active citizenship skills and values in democratic Malawi. Wright (2003) argued that the task of education in a democracy is to help students learn how to deliberate with others about the nature of the public good and how to bring these goods about. Deliberation about the good will often involve conflict, will always involve argument and judgments and will inevitably result in value laden conclusions.

To achieve this, citizenship education need to emphasise participation and critical thinking to develop these skills among the students. Such education would help students learn to think for themselves and engage with issues fairly. In view of the observations above, inquiring whether school practices provide significant opportunities for active participation, democratic engagement would aid in our understanding of the extent of possible challenges and how they may be dealt with to enhance the impact of the public school on citizenship values and skills.

Samoff, (1999) contends that there are two sharply divergent perspectives on education and development in Africa. He notes,

> In one, education's role is transformative, liberating, and synthetic. Education must enable people to understand their society in order to change it. Education must be as much concerned with human relations as with skills, and equally concerned with eliminating inequality and practicing democracy. Education must focus on learning how to learn and on examining critically accepted knowledge and ways of doing things. Favouring innovation and experimentation, that sort of education is potentially liberating, empowering, and as such, threatening to established structures of power, both within and

outside the schools. This orientation has remained the minority view….. the second and dominant perspective understands education primarily as skills development and preparation for the world of work (Samoff, 1999: 12).

Emphasising the fact that education generally has not been about nurturing critical thinking in most African states (Mhlauli, 2012; Samoff, 1999) argued that research conducted in sub-Saharan Africa has shown that most of the curriculum and education policies adopted in most post African colonial societies have failed to develop a critical mind in learners. At independence most African countries set out to reform or restructure their education systems through adjusting education cycles, increasing access, changing curriculum content and aligning education and training to the perceived requirements for national and socio-economic development. Formal education through schooling was therefore charged with the responsibility of developing citizens by preparing young Africans for their roles in the global economy through providing them with knowledge, skills and work discipline. These concerns are well reflected in the education policies Malawi had since independence.

As Malawi forges ahead with democratization and democratic consolidation there is need to continue re-imagining the contribution of the public education in the development of values and skills for active democratic citizenship. In this process the observation by Hyslop-Margison & Thayer (2009) is quite pertinent:

> The prevailing education agenda prepares our children for a predetermined 'social reality' that excludes students as future citizens from meaningful political participation…our role in education is not to prepare students for a new economic reality designed by others but to prepare them to shape social reality in more progressive sorts of ways…elections may afford a necessary condition for democracy but they do not in any way shape or form, provide a sufficient condition for creating a democratic society and our students should not be duped to believing they do (Hyslop-Margison & Thayer, 2009: xvii-xviii,).

This study therefore contributes to explicating the role of current education practices in public schools in Malawi in nurturing students' values, attitudes and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement as citizenship ideals in democracy.

27

1.6 Organization of the Dissertation

Chapter 1: Describes the study. It outlines the context of the research, and provides statement of the problem. It presents the purpose of the study, and the research questions. It also discusses the rationale for the study. The chapter also discusses the contextual background of the research focusing on Malawi. *Chapter 2:* Presents a review of the related literature. It discusses Democracy and deliberative democracy as a theory, the concept of citizenship and citizenship education. It reviews studies on school governance and participation as well as pedagogies and their impact on citizenship development. The chapter also summarizes research on citizenship education to further situate the research problem. The chapter concludes by a discussion on the theoretical framework adopted in this study and its justification. *Chapter 3:* Presents research methodology, design and methods used in the study. It discusses the philosophical underpinnings of both qualitative and quantitative research to highlight the advantages of mixed methods research adopted in this study. The weaknesses inherent in these approaches as well as the specific research questions of the study are presented as a justification for choosing mixed methods research. The chapter further discusses research design and methods employed in data collection and analysis as well as the scope and delimitations of the study.

Chapter 4: Presents the quantitative part of the study. It presents data analysis and the findings from the survey. It explores students' views on political interests, role of the school in this interest. This is followed by presentation of results on students' perceptions on provisions for student participation in school governance and pedagogical practices. Variations across schools are examined to understand the contribution of school types in the nature of school provisions for these practices. The chapter concludes by findings on students' beliefs about democratic deliberation in decision making. This chapter forms the primary chapter on the findings of the research

which are further complemented and elaborated by qualitative findings in the following chapters. *Chapter 5:* Presents qualitative findings on common classroom instructional practices and the opportunities to nurture students capacities for critical thinking and rational deliberation based on classroom observations. The findings focus on how teaching and learning reflects accountability to the learning community, accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning and accountability to knowledge as three key aspects of quality deliberative talk in class. The chapter highlights challenges inherent in classroom practices to cultivating critical thinking and rational deliberation skills among students.

Chapter 6: Presents qualitative findings based on interviews with teachers and students on opportunities for student participation in school governance and decision making. The chapter focuses on student representation and participation in decision making bodies, school discipline practices, and the role of the students' council in school governance. The chapter highlights issues that are currently shaping the discourse on student participation in school governance in secondary schools in Malawi. *Chapter 7:* Presents an integrated discussion of both the quantitative and qualitative findings of the previous chapters. It highlights the key findings of the three chapters to establish corroboration and complementarities of the findings in response to the overall research question of the study. The discussion draws on literature from other studies to establish to veracity of the research findings, and provides an interpretation of the findings of the study. *Chapter 8:* Presents summary, conclusions and implication of the findings. It highlights of the key questions of the study, the findings of the study and the study's conclusions. The chapter then presents the possible implications of the findings on both theory and practice in citizenship education in Malawi. The chapter concludes by highlighting possible further research from the study's findings.

1.7 Chapter Summary

This chapter has described the research study. It outlined the research problem focusing on the challenges of the emerging democratic citizenship in Malawi, the importance of adolescence as a stage in democratic citizenship formation and the civic mission of the school to provide. The chapter also presented the purpose of the study and the research questions and the overall justification of the study. The context of the study focusing on geographical, sociopolitical and education context of Malawi and finally the evolution of citizenship education in Malawi has been presented. The next chapter presents a review of related literature as well as the theoretical framework of the study.

CHAPTER 2:

LITERATURE REVIEW AND THE THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.0   Introduction

This chapter presents a review of literature related to the study. It begins with definitions and a discussion on the concept of democracy. It highlights the dominance of the liberal view as constituting democracy in modern political understanding. The challenges posed by the liberal view of democracy are highlighted to explain the rise of deliberative democracy as a complimentary theory focusing on the necessity of discussion in democratic decision making. The chapter then discusses the concept of citizenship and citizenship education from a historical perspective. This is followed by a discussion on the current research on democracy and citizenship education, school governance and participation. The chapter concludes with a discussion on the theoretical framework of the study based on the theory of deliberative democracy.

2.1   The Concept of Democracy

2.1.1   Defining Democracy

The concept democracy is essentially a contested concept with many meanings attached to it (Weal 2007; Crick, 2002). As a contested concept many definitions abound without any single definition claiming to be the ultimate definition of democracy. The Encyclopaedia Britannica Volume 7, (1973: 215) list four different uses of the term democracy reflecting different conceptualizations of the concept:

   i. A form of government where the right to make political decisions is exercised directly by the whole body of citizens, acting under the procedures of majority rule, this is known as direct democracy

   ii. A form of govt. where citizens exercise the same right not in person but through representatives chosen by and responsible to them, this is known as representative democracy

iii. A form of govt. usually a representative democracy where the powers of the majority are exercised within a framework of constitutional restraints designed to guarantee the minority in the enjoyment of certain individual and collective rights such as freedom of speech and religion, this is known as liberal or constitutional democracy

iv. Often used to characterise any political or social system which regardless of whether or not the form of govt is democratic in any of the first three senses, tends to minimize social and economic differences, especially arising out of unequal distribution of private property. This is known as social or economic democracy.

As noted in these definitions above, each definition relates to a particular conception of democracy. The first two directly link to the broad classifications of democracy, direct and indirect democracy. The third definition is a variation of representative democracy. These three relate to political democracy. The last one does not directly relate to political organization but rather a social view of democracy. Gruel, (2002:13-14) observes that direct democracy draws from the Athenian legacy of popular government within a small city state and the renaissance republican tradition, championed by Rousseau in the 18th century, who argued for citizens to decide laws and make public policy without the mediation of political representatives. On the other hand representative democracy is concerned with ensuring democratic rights for the community as a whole. The tradition of representation draws on the liberal idea of the individual as having a right not an obligation to participate in politics. By infusing the tradition of liberalism into democracy it suggest that the goals of democracy are best served by protecting the autonomy of the individual. This republican ideal from the classical times was rediscovered in the communitarian traditions of European Middle Ages and later reformulated in the 17th and 18th centuries in England and North America according to Gruel, (2002).

At the heart of democracy as noted in the definitions is the belief that citizens need to participate in the political governance and decision making processes of their society. It is the definition of participation and how it may be practically implemented

what has resulted in the various definitions, traditions and classifications of democracy. Suffice it to say that any meaningful definition of democracy must necessarily entail participation of some kind. Developing the requisite skills for effective participation in democracy is a matter of education conceived in the broadest sense without confining it to formal education alone. As Harber & Mncube (2012: 6) contends that as far as anybody is aware, human beings do not have any genes determining whether they are democrats or autocrats, therefore democratic or authoritarian values and behaviours must be learned. Gutman (2007: 521) argues that all types of democracy presume that people who live together in a society need a process for arriving at binding decisions that takes everybody's interests into account. One common justification for democratic rule lies in the premise that people are generally the best judge of their own interests and that equal citizenship rights are necessary to protect those interests. She further notes that popular rule expresses and encourages the autonomy, or self-determination, of individuals under conditions of social interdependence, where many important matters must be decided collectively. This underscores the centrality of citizen participation in the various definitions of democracy.

Probably one of the best definition of democracy is given by Aristotle (*Politics,* book iv, ch4, 1290b, 1291b) who states,

> A democracy is a state where free men and the poor, being the majority, are invested with the power of the state…the most pure democracy is that which is so called principally from that equality which prevails in it; for this is what the law in that state dictates that the poor shall be in no greater subjection than the rich; nor that the supreme power shall be lodged in either of these, but that both shall share it. For if liberty and equality as some persons suppose, are chiefly to be found in democracy, it must be so by every department of government being alike open to all; but as the people are the majority, and what they vote is law, it follows that such a state must be a democracy (The Encyclopaedia Britannica Volume 7, (1973: 216).

This definition highlights the centrality of liberty, equality, and freedom as foundation for democratic participation and how power is exercised in democracy. This

underscores the dominant political nature of the term democracy. Form the earlier definitions Aristotle's definition reflects direct democracy where all participate.

One challenge inherent in democracy is how participation is to be implemented. In modern large scale democracies direct participation obviously poses significant problems making it almost impractical to have all eligible citizens gather and deliberate on public policy (Weal, 2007; Carr & Hartnet, 1996). Thus this ancient democracy may not resemble modern democracy that is dominantly representative democracy. It is also important to note that democracy as conceived in ancient times did not rule out slavery, in fact it was compatible with it. Women, children and slaves were excluded from active participation. Thus democracy recognized the equality of citizens but failed to recognize the equality of humanity (The Encyclopaedia Britannica Volume 7, (1973: 216).

This study adopts a definition of democracy that reflects democracy as a type of behavior. This definition from Gruel, (2002: 12), states "to be a democrat is to have faith in people, to believe that people have inalienable rights to make decisions for themselves, and to be committed to the notion that all people are equal in some fundamental and essential way". This definition is consistent with the school as the context of the study rather than a political society. In school settings having faith in the different members of the school community to be capable of make decisions and translating this belief in actual governance practices would enhance democratic culture in schools. This democratic culture most likely would influence positive values, attitudes and beliefs among students towards democratic participation and engagement.

2.1.2 Democratic Theory

The diversity in the conceptualizations of democracy and the inherent contestation in the meaning of the concept have resulted in numerous theories of

democracy (*see Dahl, et al., 2003 for a discussion on different theories of democracy*). Weal, (2007) argues for the need to have a typology to organize the many definitions and aid in understanding the various theories about democracy.

In a similar line of thought, Crick, (2002) provides a framework for analyzing the democracy. He notes: "There is democracy as a principle or doctrine of government; there is democracy as a set of institutional arrangements or constitutional devices; and there is democracy as a type of behavior, they do not always go together" (Crick, 2002: 5). He argues that democracy as an ideal is reflects the common usage among the Greeks (Plato and Aristotle). Etymologically democracy originates from two Greek words, *demos* (the mob, the many) and *Kratos* meaning rule. Thus at this basic definition democracy would mean the rule of the people specifically the majority. This view has not been always supported. For example in Plato argued against this view as a rule of the poor and ignorant over the educated and knowledgeable. His distinction was between knowledge and opinion and democracy was seen as the anarchy of opinion. Aristotle attempted to modify this view. He argued that good government was a mixture of elements, few ruling with the consent of the many. However, the few must have excellence or *arete* while the many qualify for citizenship by virtue of education and some property as necessary conditions for citizenship.

Democracy as a doctrine of government is illustrated in the Roman republic, 17th Century English and Dutch republicans, early American republic (Crick, 2002). Under republicanism good laws to protect all were seen not to be good enough unless subjects become active citizens making their own laws collectively. The argument lay in the moral understanding of man as an active individual, a maker and shaper of things not just a law abiding well behaved accepter of and a subject to traditional order. Thus the Greek and Roman traditions of democracy reflect the direct democracy or republican view of democracy.

The second view considers democracy as a type of behavior. Crick (2002) notes that this view was characteristics of the French revolution and the writings of Rousseau. Rousseau argued that everyone regardless of education or property had a right to make his or her will felt in matters of public concern. Thus individual participation was emphasized in this understanding of democracy.

Finally Crick, (2002) notes that democracy as a set of institutional and legal arrangements is captured in the American constitution and in new constitutions in many countries. This view argues that everyone can participate if they care but they must then mutually respect the equal rights of fellow citizens within regulatory legal order that defines, protects and limits those rights. This common modern definition of democracy combines the power of the people and the idea of legally guaranteed individual rights. This understanding is at the core of the liberal view of democracy.

The above framework suggests that democracy is both a political as well as a social ideal. As a political ideal it relates to the formal organization and political decision making practices. As a social ideal it relates to democracy as a way of life and managing social relations. It is however, the political understanding of democracy that has dominated debates about democracy over the years obscuring the social ideals of democratic society. In this study however rather than seeing the political and social as separate, the position taken is that both aspects are necessary for a vibrant democratic practice. Democracy need not only be about political governance. It ought to be reflected in the way of life in the society. This will enable citizens to extend participation not only in political matters but also in social life of their communities. This will make participation more meaningful beyond mere voting on political issues.

2.1.3   The Liberal and Republican Models: Implications on Education

Theories of democracy fall under two main categories liberal and republican

theories. Liberal theories have evolved out of indirect democracy while the republican tradition represents direct democracy. Habermas, (1996: 21) summarizes the differences between the liberal and republican traditions or theories. He observes that liberal democracy helps to condition government to satisfy the interests of the people. Government is a means of public administration and society comprises a market structured relations among private persons. In this politics helps to summarize peoples interests and push these to government which can then help to secure the collective interests of the people. On the other hand under republicanism democracy refers to processes involving the society as a whole, where politics is seen as a form of substantive ethical life. This process provides a means through which separate communities realize their mutual dependence through deliberations as citizens, to shape and develop the existing relationships into an association of free and equal consociates under law. He further notes that the civil society independent of public administration and market mediated private commerce is seen as a precondition for the practice of self determination.

However, although liberal democracy developed as one strand of democratic theory, through the social changes following the First World War, by the end of the Second World War liberal democracy was no longer seen as one strand of democracy: it represented the only version of democracy (Peter, 2009; Dahl, et. al., 2003; Crick, 2002; Gruel, 2002; Carr & Hartnet, 1996). In other words it became synonymous with democracy itself. Gruel, (2002: 6) notes the assumption that democracy means liberal democracy was the normative underpinning of most studies on democratization until the mid 1990. This was generally taken to mean holding of elections, the existence of a multiparty political system and a set of procedures for government

The liberal view expresses modern democracy proposed by Schumpeter (1976) which rejects the classical or republican view of democracy. Schumpeterian democracy

argues that under the classical view, "the democratic method is that institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions which realizes the common good by making the people itself decides issues through the election of individuals who are to assemble in order to carry out" (Schumpeter, 1976: 5). This classical view of democracy is then rejected arguing that there is no such thing as a uniquely determined common good that all people could agree on or be made to agree on by the force of rational argument due to lack of mutual agreement on what constitutes the common good.

He then proposes an alternative theory of democracy as follows; "our chief troubles about the classical theory centered in the proposition that ''the people'' hold a definite and rational opinion about every individual question and that they give effect to this opinion—in a democracy—by choosing ''representatives'' who will see to it that that opinion is carried out" (Schumpeter, 1976: 9). He further notes that this selection of representatives is secondary to the primary purpose of democracy which is vesting power in the people deciding on political issues. He proposes turning this so that deciding issues by the people becomes secondary to selecting representatives who will now decide. Now the role of the people is to produce a government. He thus advances a view of democracy that define a democratic methods as an "institutional arrangement for arriving at political decisions in which individuals acquire the power to decide by means of a competitive struggle for the people's vote" and that in this "we are provided with a reasonably efficient criterion by which to distinguish democratic governments from others" (Schumpeter, 1976: 9).

Schumpeter's minimalist view of democracy is defended by Adam Przeworski as a system in which rulers are selected by competitive elections, and that is it is the only system in which citizens can get rid of governments without bloodshed (Przeworski, 1999: 12). He argues: "it is the result of voting, not of discussion that authorizes

governments to govern, to compel. Deliberation may lead to a decision that is reasoned: it may illuminate the reasons a decision is or should not be taken Further; these reasons may guide the implementation of the decision, the actions of the government. But if all the reasons have been exhausted and yet there is no unanimity, some people must act against their reasons. They are coerced to do so, and the authorization to coerce them is derived from counting heads, the sheer force of numbers, not from the validity of reasons" (Przeworski, 1999: 15). It is clear that the dominant argument for representative democracy is its practical and efficient ability to make decisions. In this practice decisions making through voting takes the centre stage. This view of democracy has also been described as aggregative democracy (Peter, 2009).

This shift from direct to indirect democracy shifted the role of the general population in determining public policy. Representative democracy made "competition between political elites (for the right to exercise political power) and not participation in decision making the essence of democracy and the criterion that allows democratic method to be distinguished from other methods of political decision making" (Carr & Hartnett, 1996: 42)." Citizens would now choose among competing policy options advanced by different political elites in the same way they make choices about goods and services in a market economy. Citizens' choices would be represented by a vote, where preferences are aggregated by counting votes in favor of particular decisions.

Representative democracy regards participation by an informed citizenry actually as a barrier to effective government. It thrives on political apathy and a general lack of political interest among the people as necessary for maintaining stability in democratic societies (Carr & Hartnet, 1996). It is therefore not surprising that Barber (1984) argues against liberal democracy's emphasis on representation noting that it destroys participation and citizenship. He argues that active citizens govern themselves directly, not necessarily at every level and in every instance but frequently enough and

in particular when basic policies are being decided and significant powers are being deployed (Barber 1984: 151).

In general the liberal and republican views on democracy, posit different linkages to the role of education in democratic formation. Carr & Hartnett (1996: 43-44), argues that a classical or direct democracy has a direct linkage to education. It requires learners to develop appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes required for effective participation in the society. This would require a curriculum that encourage the development of critical and explanatory knowledge to enable the learners reappraise existing social norms and reflect critically on the social, political and economic institutions of contemporary society. Similarly it would require a pedagogical approach that is participatory rather than instructional in order to encourage the development of skills and attitudes necessary for democratic participation. It follows from this observation that education both through teaching methods as well as content has potential to shape the democratic formation of the students. This is an important observation in the light of challenges to participation in modern democracies.

Due to its lack of emphasis on citizenship participation indirect democracy makes no any intrinsic connection between education and democracy. This is lack of connection reflected in the liberal view that since political decisions are made by the rulers, political ignorance and apathy is seen as essential to social stability. Carr & Hartnet, (1996), notes that political education under liberal democracy tends to be narrowly defined and have a marginal status in the curriculum corresponding to the marginal status of political participation in the society. Since indirect democracy reflects market economy, the curriculum is usually directed to the society's economic needs and focus on preparing the masses for their future roles in the economy as producers' workers and consumers. Correspondingly pedagogical approaches tend to be authoritarian and competition plays an essential role.

2.2   Deliberative Democracy

2.2.1   The Rise of Deliberative Democracy in Modern States

One of the major challenges to the liberal view of democracy focuses on its aggregation of preferences through voting. Although this method is efficient, it robs citizens' opportunity to discuss their preferences and revise preferences in the light of evidence before making a decision. Peter, (2009) contrast this procedure to deliberative democracy as follows;

> Aggregative democracy treats voting as the constitutive ingredient of democratic decision making and does not attribute significance to the deliberative process. Deliberative democracy, by contrast, makes the process of public discussion and the exchange of reasons central to democratic decision making. Since deliberation even under ideal circumstances cannot be expected to lead to consensus, many deliberative democrats still treat voting as a necessary feature of democratic decision making but one to which they attribute less normative significance than aggregative democrats (Peter, 2009, p. 3-4).

Gutmann & Thompson (2004:13) states "The deliberative conception, as we have indicated, considers the reasons that citizens and their representatives give for their ex-pressed preferences. It asks for justifications. The aggregative conception [of democracy] by contrast, takes the preferences as given. It requires no justification for the preferences themselves, but seeks only to combine them in various ways that are efficient and fair". As noted, representative democracy offers an efficient means of decision making however, as Barber (1984) argues it destroys participation and citizenship by making its focus simple voting. Gruel, (2002: 22) argued that this view of democracy can lead to an assumption that systems are democratic because elections are relatively free, parties exist and liberal freedoms are enshrined in a constitution, even though violence, exclusion and repression may be the daily realities for the majority of the population. Thus representative democracy fails to foster active citizenship engagement through discussions on the issues affecting them.

In view of the challenges faced by liberal democracy in modern nations, political theorists have turned to the theory of deliberative democracy as a complementary theory to the modern liberal democracy (Benhabib, 1996; Dryzek 2000; Elster 1998; Gutmann & Thompson 1996; Delli Caprini, et.al 2004; Mendelberg, 2002). Mendelberg, (2002: 156-157) makes the following observation;

> There are growing calls for remedies to the high level of citizen alienation (Fishkin, 1997; Putnam, 2000). There is a resurgent interest in the study of political participation broadly conceived (Barber, 1984; Rosenstone & Hansen, 1993; Sapiro, 1999; Verba et al., 1995). There are more opportunities for citizens to participate in bureaucratic governance (Rossi, 1997). … Finally, there is a shift in U.S. politics from what government does for citizens, to what citizens do for themselves. These developments have come hand in hand with a growing sense that democracies should build significant opportunities for citizen deliberation about politics.

The observation highlights the citizens' alienation from the political system and the calls for increased opportunities for citizens to participate. Increasing active involvement in the social and political life is seen as one way to solve the challenges facing liberal democracy in contemporary societies. Within this discourse deliberative democracy rises as a complementary democratic theory seeking to enhance active participation in democratic decision making processes. But what does deliberative democracy entail?

2.2.2   Defining Deliberative Democracy

According to Weal, (2007), proponents of deliberative democracy fall into various groups however "their views are often presented in terms of an understanding of what democracy is supposed to be in essence, namely a political system in which issues of public policy and political choice are resolved by discussion" (Weal, 2007: 25). Chambers (2003: 308) states "deliberative democratic theory is a normative theory that suggests ways we can enhance democracy and criticize its institutions that do not live up to the normative standard". Frost, (2001: 373) defines it as "a political practice

of argumentation and reason giving among free and equal citizens, a practice in which individuals and collective perspectives and positions are subject to change through deliberation and in which only those norms, rules and decisions which result from some form of reason based agreement among the citizens are accepted as legitimate. Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia (2015) summarizes the key points distinguishing deliberative democracy from other forms of democracy as follows;

> Deliberative democracy holds that, for a democratic decision to be legitimate, it must be preceded by authentic deliberation, not merely the aggregation of preferences that occurs in voting. Authentic deliberation is deliberation among decision-makers that is free from distortions of unequal political power, such as power a decision-maker obtained through economic wealth or the support of interest groups. If the decision-makers cannot reach consensus after authentically deliberating on a proposal, then they vote on the proposal using a form of majority rule (Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia , 2015).

The definition points out discussion leading to rational consensus as one distinguishing characteristic of deliberative democracy. In this it clearly appeal to various modes of direct participation consistent with direct democracy. However, the definition also note that deliberative democracy does not exclude decision making through voting except that voting will be preceded by discussions. This clearly suggests the compatibility of deliberative democracy with both representative and direct democracies although its leaning is so much on the side of direct democracy. As such deliberative democracy can better be understood as complementary theory of democracy rather than an alternative to either liberal or republican traditions. The definition also sets the conditions necessary for deliberative engagement as maintaining a level of equality among participants during a discussion.

However, it is also important to note that deliberative scholars have also tended to focus their definitions of deliberation by focusing on its differences with other conceptualizations of democracy. Bohman (1998) points out that deliberation in its early formulation was conceptualized in opposition to the liberal practices of

aggregation, bargaining and voting. Deliberation was seen as "embodying the will of the people formed through public reasoning of citizens" (Bohman, 1998: 401). Chambers (2003: 308), contends that

> Democratic deliberative theory begins with a turning away from liberal individualist or economic understandings of democracy and toward a view anchored in conceptions of accountability and discussion. Talk-centric democratic theory replaces voting-centric democratic theory. Voting-centric views see democracy as the arena in which fixed preferences and interests compete via fair mechanisms of aggregation. In contrast, deliberative democracy focuses on the communicative processes of opinion and will formation that precedes voting. Accountability replaces consent as the conceptual core of legitimacy. Thus, accountability is primarily understood in terms of "giving an account" of something that is, publicly articulating, explaining, and most importantly justifying public policy.

Rational deliberation as opposed to aggregation of preferences is seen as a key advantage of democratic deliberation compared to competition, as is the case in voting-based democracy. However, deliberative democracy though focused on reasoning, it does not necessarily replace representative democracy or becomes an alternative to it (Delli Caprini, Cook & Jacobs, 2004). Thus by focusing on discussion deliberation provides an opportunity to deepen the understanding of participants of the issues at hand. This gives deliberation and educative effect. Deliberation requires that decisions be made after a process of argumentation and reasoning where the force of a better argument determines the decisions. The process need to be inclusive of all parties potentially affected by the issue at hand (Guttmann & Thompson, 2004; Benhabib, 1996; Young, 1996; McLaughlin, 1992; Cohen, 1997).

This definition articulates a dominantly political understanding of deliberation as a decision making process. The tentative end point of deliberation is captured in the decisions made. This understanding would easily overlook the inherent importance of a deliberative process as an educative endeavor leading to a more enlightened community through the exchange of reasons on the issues that matter to them members.

2.2.3 Theories of Deliberative Democracy

Cooke (2000) identifies three main strands of the theory of deliberative democracy, i.e., the communitarian version (Barber, 1984; Taylor, 1989), the liberal version (Cohen, 1996) and the discursive version (Habermas, 1996; Benhabib, 1996). The communitarian version places its emphasis on the common good. It argues that by practicing public reasoning with others who owe their identities to the same values and traditions, an individual become aware of and consolidate his/her co-membership in a collective form of life.

The liberal version focuses on community creating or consolidating. It argues that by requiring justifications acceptable to others, deliberative democracy serves the ideal of a community as it "expresses the equal membership of all in the sovereign body responsible for authorizing the exercise of that power" (Cohen, 1996: 102). The discursive version focuses on the community generating power of public deliberation. It conceives deliberation as an "ideal role taking in which participants are forced to think of what could count as good reason for all others involved in or affected by the decision under discussion" (Cooke, 2000: 950).

As noted public reasoning or exchange of reasons is a common theme in deliberative democracy regardless of the version of representative democracy or direct democracy involved. In public discussion individuals are expected to voice and justify the reasons for which they prefer particular social states and both the content of the preferences and their justifications are scrutinized by participant discussants (Peter, 2009: 32). Peter, (2009: 38-39) argued that deliberation hinges on two key ideas: that citizens are free and equal persons and the idea of society as a fair system of cooperation. Human beings are considered rational and capable of knowing what is good and acting accordingly.

This notion is rooted in Kantian notion of practical reason "the capacity to

deliberate about ends, to evaluate, prioritize and if necessary revise them in addition to the capacity to choose the best means to reach a given end" (Rawls, 1993: 50 cited in Peter, 2009: 38-39).Within this framework, as people are able to respect their own views and also those of others they can reasonably pursue their interests. The idea of reasonable is quite central in deliberative democratic theory. On the other hand deliberative democracy draws on Habermas's discourse ethics and its concerns with the inter-subjective rational justification of moral norms (Peter, 2009: 42). The ideal discourse in this case is inclusive in that it seeks to take the perspective of all participants into account and to allow for free deliberation undeterred by the influence of power. Steenburg et al., (2003) identified participation equality, justification rationality, common good orientation, respect and agreement, interactivity, constructive politics and sincerity as foundational standards for deliberation.

2.2.4   Models of Democratic Deliberation

As noted in the previous section "deliberative democracy does not signify a creed with a simple set of core claims. Those who seek to advance the cause of democratic deliberation do not unanimously agree on what the democratic ideal is or how it should be fostered" Macedo (1999: 4). Thus different models of deliberative democracy exist each trying to implement deliberation under different situations. Common versions or models of deliberative democracy are captured in the works of (Fishkin, 2009; Fiskin & Laskin, 2005; Cohen, 1997; Gutman & Thompson, 1996; Benhabib, 1996) among many others.

Delli Caprini, Cook & Jacobs, (2004), see deliberation as an idealized notion in what they call 'discursive participation'. In their conceptualization they highlight five key principles of discursive participation as primarily hinging on discourse with other citizens that is talking, discussing, debating and/or deliberating. This form of discourse

46

is seen as a form of participation "where individuals may express their views, learn the positions of others identify shared concerns and preferences and come to understand and reach judgments about matters of public concern" (Delli Caprini et al. 2004: 319).

Fishkin & Laskin, (2005) argues that a deliberative discussion should be informed, balanced, conscientious, substantive and comprehensive. These views are further expanded in Fishkin, (2009, 2013) who outlines five characteristics essential for legitimate deliberation as; information, substantive balance, diversity, conscientiousness and equal considerations. During a deliberative encounter accurate and relevant data should be made available to the participants for informed deliberations. Substantive balance entails that different positions are compared based on their supporting evidence. Diversity requires that all major positions relevant to the matter at hand and held by the public are considered. Conscientiousness calls for participants to weigh all the arguments and finally equal consideration means that views of participants are weighed based on evidence and not on the special circumstances of the speaker. This model of deliberation defines the key characteristics of the process of deliberation. To ensure that members are free and rationally debate matters it argues for the necessity of equality. It would be difficult for people to freely express themselves if other considerations are made other than the veracity of the arguments themselves.

A similar model by Cohen (1997) point out that ideal deliberation should be free, participants should clearly explain their reasons, equality among participants in the discussion should be maintained, and that deliberation should aim at some rational consensus. He explains that participants would be free in two ways. Participants should consider themselves bound solely by the results and preconditions of the deliberation, and not any other prior norms or considerations. Second participants suppose that they can act on the decisions made with the deliberative process as sufficient reason to

47

comply with the decisions reached. Parties to a deliberation are required to state reasons for their proposals and proposals are accepted or rejected based on the reasons given as the content of the very deliberation taking place. A third characteristic is that of equality. Members are equal in two ways. First is formal equality in that everyone can put forth proposals, criticize and support measures. In other words, there is no substantive hierarchy. Second is substantive equality which entails that members are not limited or bound by certain distributions of power, resources or pre-existing norms. This would ensure that deliberation is among free equals. The last characteristic is that deliberation should aim at rationally motivated consensus. It should seek to find reasons acceptable to all who are committed to such system of decision making. When consensus is not possible a majoritarian decision making process may be used.

On the other hand Gutman & Thompson (2004) describes democratic deliberation focusing on four key characteristics of a deliberative process i.e. reason-giving, accessibility of given reasons to all participants, the development of an obligatory outcome, and the presence of a dynamic process. In this model, the first and the most important characteristic is the reason-giving requirement. This requires members to give reasons in support of their positions and decisions and respond to reasons given by other members. In this way members are able to express mutual respect to each other.

The second characteristic requires that the reasons given in deliberation must be accessible to all the members to whom the reasons are addressed. In other words the reasons given must be comprehensible to those participating or concerned with the matters being deliberated. This requirement implies that deliberation must be open or public rather than in one's mind and that the content of the reasons must be such as can be understood by the other members. This signifies a sense of reciprocity in the deliberation. Guttmann & Thompson (2004) acknowledge that sometimes it may not be

possible to give all the reasons at the time of deliberation for example where secrecy demands so.

However in such cases opportunity to challenge the reasons or evidence on which the reasons were based should be provided at a later stage. The third characteristic of deliberation is that it aims at producing a decision that is binding on the members for some period and remains open to challenge. In other words deliberation is a process geared at influencing some decisions and not just deliberation for its own sake. At some point deliberation temporarily ceases and those responsible proceed to make a decision. The forth characteristic of deliberation is its dynamic nature. Although it aims at justifiable decisions but it does not presuppose that the decisions or the reasons will remain justifiable forever. It thus keeps open the possibility of continuing dialogue and criticism of earlier decisions. This means that all decisions made are essentially provisional rather than final.

Putting the three models of deliberation together, one would note that that effective deliberation according to these models is premised on equality among the participants, freedom to freely participate without any hindrances material power or otherwise, the moral requirement to state reasons based on evidence accessible to others participants, willingness to be bound or to respect the outcomes of the deliberative process as valid and legitimate decisions. It also calls for willingness to further debate matters should the need arise to do so. This practice may be difficult in to implement in large scale situations particularly since it calls for face to face interaction among the members. However, it is highly feasible in small groups where representatives of the people are involved. Fishkin (2013) gives practical examples of deliberative polling and mini publics as some ways this view has been implemented in practice.

Within the school setting, deliberation would be an ideal way to increase student active participation and engagement in the decision making processes of the schools. More importantly it would provide significant opportunities to cultivate students' values and skills in rational and democratic decision making. Arguably students and teachers or administrators are not equal. But this is equality in terms of the positions they occupy in the school. They otherwise share equality as human beings. It is also important that deliberation does not require equality in positions or occupations as necessary to a deliberative discussion. Rather, it seeks to de-emphasize these occupations and the power associated with these as determinants of a deliberative process. This would ensure fair and reasonable discussions where all views are respected on the basis of the reasons attached to them. School teachers and administrators though not equal in terms of occupations with their students, they can and should create situations where deliberation proceed without undue influence of their respective positions. This is the essence of deliberative democracy.

To effectively implement deliberation within the school, there is need for schools to recognize the small groups that represent student interests as necessary and important in the promotion and maintenance of democratic culture in schools. School authorities should deliberately create opportunities to engage students through these smaller or representative groups in significant decisions affecting student life in the schools. One such group is the student council which should not only exist in principle without any significant take of key decisions affecting the student community. Through this practice schools would promote a cultivation of values and skills for active participation in very practical ways in the schools. Following the ideas of deliberative poling and mini publics (Fishkin, 2013) schools can create student forums that would have full rights to jointly participate in particular decisions with the school leaders as part of student participation in school governance and decision making.

Torres, (2006) argues that deliberative democracy strengthens citizen voices in governance by including people of all races, classes, ages and geographies in deliberations that directly affect public decisions. As a result, citizens' influence and can see the result of their influence on the policy and resource decisions that impact their daily lives and their future. A similar situation could be said of student participation in schools.

The practice of deliberation could as well be extended to classroom interactions. The procedures and practices underlying classroom pedagogies ought to provide ample opportunities at classroom levels for student engagement and participation as a means to develop their capacities for deliberative democracy. Steiner (2012: 4) notes that "a learning process takes place in the sense that actors learn in common debate what the best arguments are, but it is rather through mutual dialogue that best arguments are expected to emerge". Thus providing spaces for mutual dialogues among students in classrooms offers opportunities to develop skills necessary for rational argumentation.

In this study deliberation is conceived as an expression of student participation in the governance and pedagogical practices in the school. Such participation is understood in this study to be educative in the sense of exposing students to positive experiences towards development of deliberative capacities that may be transferable in later life to other situations in the country's democratic processes. In view of the long histories of authoritarian tendencies in most schools, this dissertation seek to understand the extent to which current practices in schools have responded to the political democracy in Malawi to provide opportunities to build students capacities for democratic participation.

2.2.5   Challenges to Democratic Deliberation

Despite the advantages associated with the practice of democratic deliberation, it has its challenges as well. McGregor (2004) argued that deliberative theory with its

emphasis on rationality and autonomy fail to recognize issues of human relationship and care. "The emphasis on reason and lack of consideration of emotive, relational qualities that are necessary to fully deliberate moral and ethical practice are apparent in these models (McGregor, 2004: 94.). Similarly, Young (1996) argues that deliberative democracy by its insistence on 'rationality' tends to assume a culturally biased conception of discussion that tends to silence or devalue some people or groups. These arguments are valid given the cultural variations in ways of expressing one's views across cultures. Rationality is seen as predominantly a western cultural reality.

However, it should be noted that these arguments are not necessarily against deliberation as a democratic practice rather they are against how deliberation is conducted. In this case the arguments are not seeking to negate the role of deliberation in democracy but rather suggesting the importance of engaging in deliberation in a culturally sensitive and inclusive manner relevant to all participants by embracing the different modes of reasoning and argumentation. Consequently Bächtiger, et al. (2009) includes storytelling and deliberative negotiations as valid ways of engagaging in deliberation.

Fishkin (2009: 80) argues that when participation in a community is voluntary there is usually substantial participatory distortion—the better-off and the more educated tend to participate more. In this situation deliberation will entail some voices being left out. He also argues about the idea of achieving political equality via mass participation. In the large-scale context, there is little to effectively motivate informed voting or citizen deliberation. One can achieve political equality by equally counting votes or opinions, but the scale of mass democracy leads to the politics of the disengaged audience rather than the empowered participation. Combining political equality with deliberation requires that the deliberation take   place on a human scale, on the scale of face-to-face democracy.

These challenges much as they pose challenges in large scale deliberations, they do not present challenges in small scale contexts like those of the school. The school setting provides many opportunities for small group face to face interactions and thus offers better opportunities for an effective implementation of deliberative democracy.

However, within the school it is important to note that equality between students and administrators may not be conceived in the same way as equality between citizens in the community beyond the school. Teachers and school leaders occupy positions of authority requiring them to exercise power over the students who naturally are expected to obey and follow orders and decisions. Students do not elect the school leadership, as is the case in political situations. However, this does not mean schools cannot create spaces where students or their representatives exercise equal influence with the school leaders in deliberating particular aspects of student life in the school. As argued in previously, the required equality holds in the context of a deliberative engagement. The specific powers of individuals are bracketed off for the sake of mutual participation towards reasoned consensus. The willingness of the school leaders to bracket off their powers for purposes of engaging in democratic deliberation with students will mark a significant commitment on the part of school leaders to promote democratic culture in their schools.

2.3 Citizenship, and Citizenship Education

2.3.1 Defining Citizenship and Citizenship Education

Kerr, (2003: 6) argues that citizenship, and by association citizenship education, is a contested concept. That is it renders itself to so many different definitions. He notes that at the heart of the contest are differing views about the function and organization of society. Because education is accepted as central to society, it follows that attitudes to education, and by default to citizenship education, are dependent on the

particular conception of citizenship put forward. In general, citizenship education seeks "to develop knowledge, skills and attitudes and values which enable students to participate as active and informed citizens in their society and within an international context (Kerr 2003:7). But what is citizenship itself? Abowitz, & Harnish, (2006) argues that citizenship is not a natural idea but an invented concept that shifts with economic, political and social changes.

Leydet, (2014), in his discussion of the concept of citizenship, notes that the concept citizenship is composed of three dimensions; legal status, political agency and membership to a political community. Citizenship as a legal status is defined by the political and social rights that enable one to freely act according to laws and claim the protection of the laws. Citizens as political agents refer to the citizens actively participating in a society's political institutions. The third considers citizenship as belonging to a political community which affords one a source of identity. These three dimensions capture the primary senses in the use of the term citizenship. In contemporary society two dominant models of citizenship are the liberal and republican Habermas (1996). As pointed out in the previous sections liberal and republican refers to the dominant conceptions of democratic societies. Thus these models of democracy tend to view citizenship differently.

The key principle of the republican model of citizenship is civic self-rule (Leydet, 2014, Habermas, 1996). As Habermas (1996: 23) explains "political rights--preeminently rights of political participation and communication-are positive liberties. They guarantee not freedom from external compulsion but the possibility of participation in a common praxis, through the exercise of which citizens can first make themselves into what they want to be-politically autonomous authors of a community of free and equal persons." In this situation the role of the state is to "guarantee of an inclusive opinion-and will-formation in which free and equal citizens reach an

54

understanding on which goals and norms lie in the equal interest of all"(Habermas, 1996: 23). This notion of citizenship is well illustrated in the classical institutions and practices like rotation of office that emphasizes Aristotle's characterization of the citizen as one who is capable of ruling and being ruled in turn.

This ideal of civic rule as Lydet, (2014) further observes was also central in Rousseau Social Contract where citizens join together in the formulation of laws or the general will that made the citizens free and the law legitimate. It is through active participation in the process of deliberation and decision making that makes individuals citizens and not subjects. In the republican model citizenship as political agency is thus emphasized.

On the other hand, the liberal view of citizenship originated in the 17th century and onwards. This view considers citizenship primarily as a legal status (Lydet, 2014; Habermas, 1996). According to this view citizenship status is determined "primarily according to negative rights they [citizens] have vis-a-vis the state and other citizens. As bearers of these rights they enjoy the protection of the government, as long as they pursue their private interests within the boundaries drawn by legal statutes--and this includes protection against government interventions" (Habermas, 1996:23). Political liberty is considered very important as a means to protecting individual freedoms from interference by other individuals or authorities. Citizens exercise this freedom mainly through private associations and attachments rather than in the political domain. In a world where the liberal view of citizenship hold sway in modern constitutional democracies, the republican view of citizenship continues to question the passive citizenship in the republican model.

Different arguments have been advanced on the practicality of the republican citizenship in the modern democratic societies. The size and complexity of the modern

states precludes the kind of civic engagement characteristic in the republican model. Another reason has been the diversity in modern democracies which make it practically difficult to achieve moral unity and trust that has been argued as one condition that made ancient republican institutions to function. However, Leydet, (2014) argues that the two systems are not necessarily incompatible they can go together in modern democracies, noting there are times when citizens need to be passive and times when they need to be active citizens.

2.3.2   Dimensions of Citizenship Education

Deakin-Crick, et al., (2005), points out four distinct elements of citizenship education emerging from literature. These are; concepts, values and dispositions, skills and aptitudes, and knowledge and understanding. As pointed out at the beginning of this section, the conceptualization of citizenship determine the nature of citizenship education as well as. Kerr (1999: 12) distinguishes between education *about* citizenship, education *through* citizenship and education *for* citizenship. He contends that Education *about* citizenship involves developing knowledge and understanding of national history and the structures and processes of government and political life. Education *through* citizenship requires a more active approach on the part of students, where they participate in school and community life; this practical experience reinforces the knowledge component.

Education *for* citizenship includes the two approaches already described, but also equips pupils with skills, aptitudes and values which enable them to take an active and responsible role in adult life. He further observes that Education *about* citizenship is closest to the 'minimal' end of the continuum described by McLaughlin, and is clearly the easiest to deliver. McLaughlin explains that this 'minimal' interpretation is open to a number of objections; the most notable being '...that it may involve merely an

unreflective socialisation into the political and social *status quo*, and is therefore inadequate on educational, as well as other, grounds' (McLaughlin 1992: 238). There is considerable support for a more 'maximal' interpretation of citizenship education.

These aspects of citizenship education reflect the different conceptualizations of citizenship from passive to active citizenship. Thus citizenship where knowledge only is emphasized, this will results in citizenship that is characteristically passive. On the other hand active citizenship is possible if citizenship education emphasizes active participation as in education *for* citizenship and education *through* citizenship. What model of citizenship is reflected in Malawi's public schools? How do schools practices model citizenship behaviours? What approaches and practices promote active citizenship in schools?

2.3.3   Relationship between Education and Citizenship

Literature on citizenship recognizes the important role education has in citizenship formation particularly among the youth. It has been argued that education needs to deliberately educate for democratic citizenship by giving opportunities to students to practice the values associated with democracy while in school. It has been suggested that schools need to have education provisions organized and governed in line with democratic principles to ensure that students learn from these experiences what it means to live in a democratic community (Enslin, Pendleburry & Tjiattas, 2001; Evans & Rose, 2007; Haber, 1994; Mattes & Mughogho, 2009; Mattes, David & Africa, 2000; Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). However, bearing in mind the prevailing democratic challenges, we may still question to what extent are schools deliberately educating for democratic citizenship? How relevant are students' school experiences in exposing them to democratic values within the schools? The role of the school in citizenship formation is particularly important in emerging democracies of the

developing countries where school is still a major source of information on democracy and democratic citizenship to most students.

Among the many other factors contributing to students' beliefs, attitudes and skills for democratic citizenship within the school setting, school culture or ethos as exemplified in school governance practices, and pedagogies in use have been identified as some of the key variables (Mattes & Shin, 2005; Haber, 1994; Banks, 2008; Semela, Bohl & Kleinknecht, 2013; Evans & Rose, 2007, Freire, 1970). For example it has been argued that citizenship teaching practices that tend to focus on content and knowledge like structure of the political system, its processes, systems of government and constitution and whose pedagogical focus is on didactic transmission of knowledge results in minimalist understanding of citizenship (Semela, Bohl & Kleinknecht, 2013). This underscores both the relevancy of not only the curriculum content but also the methods used in teaching as having a bearing on the development of students' capacities towards democratic citizenship. Extending this view one may argue that the extent to which democratic deliberation forms part of the teaching practices as well as the general school ethos will determine opportunities for developing students' capacities towards active participation and democratic engagement.

Looking at school ethos, Huddleston (2007: 5) defined democratic school governance by noting that school governance "encompass all aspects of the way a school is led, managed and run including a school's rules and procedures, its decision-making structures, the behavior of its personnel and how they relate to each other". He further notes that "this includes the school curriculum and methods of teaching and learning as well as school ethos, management and development planning". Huddleston further notes that democratic refer to "the empowering of individuals to take an active part in the operational life of the school through consultation or actual decision-making powers".

This definition is adopted in this study, because school governance viewed in this way provides a means through which school practices may easily be evaluated to establish whether they provide space for nurturing democratic capacities among its members including the students. Looking at school governance practices, Haber (1994) has argued that schools in Africa are generally authoritarian in nature following the influence of the bureaucratic model of organization favored by the colonial masters for its efficiency. Thus investigating the role of public schools in the democratization process in Malawi would allow a closer understanding of the extent of this authoritarianism in the current education practices. This information would contribute to efforts to realign school practices with democratic principles that are the current ideals in Malawi.

In consideration of this, school governance and pedagogical practices offer a vantage point to understand public educations role in the formation of values and skills for democratic citizenship in general and democratic deliberation in particular. When students are exposed to participation and deliberation in schools, this offers them valuable experiences of what it means to live and participate in a democratic society. Similarly the pedagogical practices utilized by teachers are both carriers of messages of what is believed in the school about power and authority, as well as the place of critical discussion, respect for difference and tolerance in the school community. Extending this view, Audigier (2000: 22) notes as follows on education for democratic citizenship "in addition to various general intellectual capacities, for analysis and synthesis for example, we would stress two capacities of particular relevance for democratic citizenship: the ability to argue, which is related to debate and the ability to reflect, i.e. the capacity to re-examine actions and arguments […] to reflect on the direction and limits of possible action, on conflicts of values and of interests". Classroom discussions and debates reflecting the ideals in democratic deliberation offer good opportunities to

develop these democratic citizenship skills among students in schools. The practice of democratic deliberation with its emphasis on reasoned discussions would offer students' greater opportunities to actively participate in school governance practices as well as pedagogies, and thus enhancing opportunities for democratic formation.

2.3.4 Trends in Citizenship and Education

The global interest and growth of citizenship education in the contemporary world is easily noticeable in literature, particularly among the developed countries of the west. Multi-country thematic studies have been conducted in Europe under the IEA Civics Education Project (Amadeo, et al. 2002; Torney-Purta, et al., 1999; 2001). Education policies for education for democratic citizenship (EDC) have been considered and implemented in European countries (Bîrzéa, 2000; Crick Report, 1998). Studies have argued for the positive impact education has on different aspects of democratic citizenship (Leung & Yuen, 2009; Hoskins et. al., 2008; Evans & Rose, 2007; Huddleston, 2007). However, some studies have also argued for the apparent limited impact of education on democratic citizenship (Goboers et. al. 2013; Mattes & Mughogho, 2009; Bratton and Mattes, 2001). In the sub Saharan Africa however research on citizenship education is still in its infancy. Few studies have addressed the question of democratic citizenship and education in the region (Mattes & Mughogho, 2009; Evans & Rose, 2007b; Divala, 2007; Bratton and Mattes, 2001).

In Malawi Divala (2007) investigated the curriculum materials used for citizenship teaching both in and out of schools. He found that the notion of citizenship contained in these materials reflected a minimalist understanding of citizenship where knowledge about government and its processes had a centre stage. However, the curriculum materials did not significantly address issues of active participation and meaningful respect of difference. One would argue the materials reflected what

McGettrick, (2001) describes as the *curriculum model* of citizenship education. It tends to emphasize on civic knowledge confusing it with citizenship. Evans & Rose, (2007b) investigated whether schooling matter in Malawi's support for democracy. Their findings suggested that schooling in Malawi affects support for democracy primarily through its impact on the cognitive processes and values without regard to the specific content. These findings suggest that the impact on attitudes and practices has more to do with practices in school instructional or otherwise beyond the content. Does this suggest that content is not a relevant factor always in learning about citizenship?

Mattes & Mughogho (2009: 2) argues that education affect citizenship following three specific paths: first it may affect attitudes and behavior via a "positional path" by sorting citizens into differing social networks, situations and classes. Second, it may promote democratic citizenship through a "socialization path" whereby children are explicitly trained to see democracy as preferable to its alternatives, accept the authority of the democratic state and its officials, and take part in the duties of democratic citizenship. Finally, formal education may facilitate democratic citizenship via a "cognitive path," increasing both people's verbal and cognitive proficiency, as well as their ability to construct their own ideas and critical thoughts. In view of the findings from Evans & Rose, (2007b), it is difficult to discount the impact of actual content particularly when it comes to the cognitive path. It is possible in the study that school content itself was not relevant but it does not rule out alternative sources of other content that could explain the cognitive impact. It is also possible that the time that passed after the sampled participants left school, some developments outside schools might have contributed to their views reported in the study.

The latter views is plausible considering that Evans & Rose (2007b) acknowledges in their report that the findings of their study are based on data collected 5 years after the coming of democracy. The results would there measure impact of

school well after the school days allowing other intervening variables to influence the results. This poses a methodological challenge in the study. Investigating actual practices directly in the schools is likely to give a better estimate of potential impact of the school. Similarly, a study by Divala (2007) considered only the curriculum materials. It did not investigate school context factors such as governance practices or school ethos, and pedagogies which have been identified as equally relevant in understanding education's impact on democratic citizenship values and practices (Goboers et. al. 2013; Mattes & Shin, 2005; Haber, 1994; Banks, 2008; Semela, Bohl & Kleinknecht, 2013; Evans & Rose, 2007, Freire, 1970).

Arguing from the limited impacts of education on democratic citizenship, Mattes & Mughogho, (2009) raises a number of questions. They ask "whether is it the content of the curricula that fails to provide any greater knowledge or stimulate interest and engagement? Or is it the style of teaching that fails to kindle debate and greater critical thinking? Or does a lack of resources and massive overcrowding simply overwhelm both students and faculty and nullify the impact of an adequate curricula and pedagogy?" (Mattes & Mughogho, 2009: 31). These questions are very pertinent in our quest to understand the impact of formal education on democratic citizenship. This study contributes to exploring these questions further by focusing on school governance and classroom instructional practices in public schools to understand the potential contribution of public schools to nurturing values and skills for active participation and democratic citizenship in Malawi.

2.4   Nurturing Deliberation: School Governance and Participation

Student participation and opportunities to develop deliberative capacities are not limited to the classroom alone. Backman & Trafford (2006) describe democratic school governance as part of school leadership. They note that "democratic indicates that

school governance is based on human rights values, empowerment and involvement of students' staff and stakeholders in all important decisions in the school" (Backman & Trafford, 2006: 9). Halasz, (2003) states that "governance is used for stressing the openness of schools and education systems […] we govern those things or beings the behavior of which cannot be predicted totally (because of, for instance the existence of autonomous units capable to assert their interests and negotiate alternative solutions)" (as cited in Backman & Trafford, 2006: 9). The definitions suggest that democratic governance is characterized by open participation of the members of the school community. Underlining a democratic deliberation is the idea of rational participation as noted area. In this case democratic school governance infused with deliberative practices would offer a model for students' development of deliberative capacities and skills.

Democratic school governance necessarily needs to create space for student participation in school governance. Backman & Trafford (2006) argue there are ethical as well as political reasons for involving students in governance. They point out that in recognition of the equality of all human beings the Universal declaration of the human rights 1948 holds that "the child who is capable of forming his or her views has the right to express those views". They further note that "a genuine striving for democracy in a country must be evident and practiced from an early age" and that "increasing information in the modern world necessitates that they young are educated to select and judge for themselves through "critical and self governed thinking" (Backman & Trafford, 2006: 10). They further argue that "to enhance interest in active citizenship therefore we have to prove to our children throughout their formative years that taking part in common decisions is worth the effort" (Backman & Trafford, 2006: 10-11). Participation in school governance thus has a bearing on students' interests in participation beyond the school days. Apart from shaping students interest in active

citizenship which may be seen as a long term objective there are also some immediate benefits within the school system that are related to student involvement in school governance.

Student involvement in school governance is one way to improve school discipline. Backman & Trafford (2006) argue that as students participate in decision making they develop trust and responsibility which enhances learning, reduces conflict i.e. differences and lack of understanding can lead to intolerance, discrimination and violence. It further make the school more competitive, and secures the future existence of sustainable democracies because children learn from what they see happening in the school. The extent of student involvement in governance is portrayed in this view as related to the overall school discipline.

Flecknoe (2002) in a study examining democracy and citizenship through the school student council underlined the importance of a democratic community as a centre of educational leadership. He noted that including students in matters pertaining to school leadership and management enhanced teacher sensitivity to students' views and created a culture where students listened to each other. He concluded that democratic participation must centre on real issues, not peripheral ones, in order to change behaviors' and develop an inclusive agenda. He suggested that the development of pupils through engagement with democratic procedures is a missing dimension in schools. Faour (2013) investigating citizenship education schools argued that schools run by authoritarian principals do not welcome freedom of expression, respect for diversity of opinions, creativity, and innovation. These schools do not even allow students to participate in decision-making at the school and community level or to organize extracurricular activities or student groups without the consent of the administration Faour (2013: 4).

In the years following democracy in 1994 in Malawi, there have been increasing reports of students' discipline cases that have at times resulted into violent demonstrations. An opinion in one of Malawi's online newspaper (Malawi Voice, September 2, 2012) titled *Moral decay in our schools wake up call for parents and teachers,* recounts a story regarding students' destruction of school property following disagreements with the school administration on account of firing of an English teacher while the students were preparing for their final examinations. The writer notes "what I find strange is that they chose not to go into dialogue in order to sort out their differences".

The Malawi voice (February 17, 2014) carried a story of 140 students who were expelled from school following running battles with their senior students in the school following a water problem at the school. (Malawi Voice, June 13, 2014) reports about students damaging school property following some grievances they had with the school authorities. In another related incident students torched a discipline master's house in protest against regulations on student relationships within the school. They burned property resulting in six students being arrested by police. These incidences are becoming very common particularly in secondary schools.

There could be multiple explanations for these occurrences. However one common explanation has been that students misunderstandings of what democracy and freedom means is responsible for the breakdown in school discipline (Kuthemba-mwale et al., 1996). However, one thing not clear in the explanations is the role of school governance in mitigating students' grievances and encouraging dialogue between students and school officials to find productive ways of dealing with school related problems. It is not clear to what extent students' voices and views are accommodated in the various decision making arrangements in the schools. How do school deal with the issue of student participation in decision making? What democratic values underlie

school governance? Beckman & Trafford, (2006: 76) argues "In an authoritarian school discipline is an objective in itself. Obedience is a virtue. In a democratic school students take ownership of their rights and responsibilities –and thus take responsibility for their behavior and discipline".

2.4.1   Models of Participation

Democratic governance requires participation. Different models of participation exist expressing varying levels of involvement of the participants in the decision making processes. Two of the common models of participation are given by Arnstein (1969) and Hart (1992). Arnstein (1969), discussing adult participation outlines an eight step typology on participation: manipulation, therapy, informing, consultation, placation, partnership, delegated power, and citizen control. The first two steps are indicative of non participation where decisions are made by power holders for the people who have no say in these decisions. The next three steps she referred to as tokenism where participants are allowed to hear and have a voice but cannot insure that their views will be heeded by the power holders. The last three steps indicate an increasing influence of the participants' voice on the decision made. For instance partnership indicates that participants can engage in negotiation with the power holders, while delegated power and citizen control represent the highest levels of involvement.

On the other hand Hart (1992) discusses children participation using a somewhat similar typology albeit with some changes in the stages. He notes, "children are undoubtedly the most photographed and the least listened to members of society. There is a strong tendency on the part of adults to underestimate the competence of children" (Hart, 1992: 9). He analyzes children participation on eight steps:

1) Manipulation. Children are consulted but given no feedback at all leaving children ignorant of how their views were used,

2) Decoration. Children are simply used to bolster adults cause,

3) Tokenism. Children are given a voice but in fact have little or no choice about the subject or no opportunity to formulate their own opinions.

These three steps define what he calls non participation. Genuine participation extends from

4) Assigned but informed. Children understand the intentions of the activities, and who decided on their involvement and why and their role is more meaningful than decorative.

5) Consulted and informed. Although adults run the decisions, children understand the process and their opinions are treated seriously.

The next steps are indicative of participation in the true sense.

6) Adult initiated shared decision with children. Although adults initiate activities, the decision making is shared with the young people.

7) Child initiated and directed. With supportive conditions children decide on things and carry them out.

8) Child initiated shared decisions with adults. Children design or plan activities and involve adults in their decisions.

These typologies are not deterministic but rather help in analyzing the nature of participation members are exposed to and how they relate to the overall decisions. As Hart (1992) notes in the following;

> There are many factors affecting the extent to which children participate [...] The ability of a child to participate, for example, varies greatly with his development [...] Also, it is not necessary that children always operate on the highest possible rungs of the ladder. Different children at different times might prefer to perform with varying degrees of involvement or responsibility. The important principle again is one of choice: programmes should be designed which maximize the opportunity for any child to choose to participate at the highest level of his ability (Hart, 1992: 11).

Arguably within the context of schools there are bound to be limitations on student involvement in decisions. However, the extent to which these limitations are

put in place should not remove students' opportunities to participate and be heard in matters they feel they have an opinion in the schools. In this study Hart (1992) model of participation will be important in making sense of challenges to participation in school practices. It will provide a framework for understanding participation in schools as a democratic ideal.

2.5 Assessing Democratic Deliberation

Chambers (2003) notes that "deliberation is debate and discussion aimed at producing reasonable, well informed opinions in which participants are willing to revise preferences in light of discussion, new information, and claims made by fellow participants" (Chambers, 2003: 308-309). Schugurensky & Myers (2003: 3) contend that

> Citizenship education should not only promote passive citizenship (most frequently expressed in the uncritical acquisition of information about historical, legal and institutional facts), but also active citizenship, which is about revitalizing democratic public life, including school life. The development of informed citizens is a necessary but insufficient condition for the development of democratic societies. Citizenship education should nurture well-informed citizens who are also caring, responsible and engaged, and have critical thinking skills.

As noted earlier, the concept of citizenship entails a corresponding citizenship education to prepare individuals to take up their roles as citizens commensurate with the prevailing constitution. Similarly in democracies, citizenship education is required to prepare individuals for active participation required in a democratic society. Similarly deliberation as an expression of democratic practice requires provisions for cultivating appropriate capacities among citizens to engage successfully with other members of their community. For the education system the issue is how should deliberation be provided for in school practices? What practices would ensure the development of students' capacities for democratic deliberation in schools?

Attempts to bring deliberation from a philosophical debate to practical ideal, different assessment approaches have been used to measure the quality of deliberation (Stromer-Galley, 2007; Steenburgen, et al. 2003; Bächtiger, et al. 2009). The well known approach has been the discourse quality index (DQI) (Steenburgen, et.al. 2003). The tool was developed primarily to measure the quality of political deliberation and they applied it to measuring quality of deliberation in such political forums as parliamentary discussions. The discourse quality index starts from the assumption that real acts of deliberation can be placed on a continuum that runs from no deliberation, at one extreme, to ideal deliberation, at the other extreme. In this case real speech acts can fall anywhere on this continuum (Steiner et.al. 2004: 55). The Discourse Quality Index by Bächtiger, et.al. (2009) outlines nine core elements of democratic deliberation as follows: participation equality, justification rationality, common good orientation, respect and agreement, interactivity, constructive politics, sincerity, storytelling and deliberative negotiations. In as much as these standards for deliberation are quite informative on analyzing speech acts, the direct application to classroom deliberation is difficult because these aspects reflects dominantly on political type of communication which may not obtain in classroom situations.

However, deliberation within education discussions has been captured under the various pedagogical positions under the umbrella term of deliberative pedagogy (Cooper, 2008; Doherty, 2012), deliberative talk (Michaels et al. 2007). Michaels et al. (2007) discuss 'deliberative talk' as a pedagogy geared at helping students learn with understanding focusing on classroom discussions. They argue that in ideal classroom discussions students have the right to speak and the obligation to explicate their reasoning providing warranted evidence for their claims so that others can understand and critique their arguments. They propose three standards of deliberative talk in classrooms as follows.

a) Accountability to the learning community is demonstrated by classroom talk that "attends seriously to and builds on the ideas of others; participants listen carefully to one another, build on each other's ideas and ask each other questions aimed at clarifying or expanding a proposition. … Participants listen to others and make contributions in response to those of others, they make concessions and partial concessions and provide reasons when they disagree or agree with others. They may extend or elaborate someone else's arguments or ask for some elaboration of an expressed idea" (Michaels et al., 2007: 4).

b) Accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning is demonstrated by classroom talk that **"**emphasizes logical connections and drawing of reasonable conclusions… It involves searching for premises, rather than simply supporting or attacking conclusions" (Michaels et al., 2007: 5).

c) Finally, accountability to knowledge is demonstrated by classroom talk that is "explicitly based on facts, written texts or other publicly accessible information that all individuals can have access". Participants "make an effort to get their facts right and make explicit the evidence behind their claims or explanations. They challenge each other when evidence is lacking or unavailable" (Michaels et al., 2007: 7).

They argue that students, who learn school subject matters in classrooms guided by Accountable talk standards, are socialized into communities of practice in which respectful and grounded discussion, rather than noisy assertion or uncritical acceptance of the voice of authority, are the norm.

Forms of discussion that are accountable to knowledge and to acceptable standards of reasoning are heavily discipline dependent. However, talk that is accountable to the community cuts across disciplines and creates environments in which students have time (and social safety) to formulate ideas, challenge others, accept critique, and develop shared solutions. Combining the three aspects of

Accountable talk is essential for the full development of student capacities and dispositions for reasoned civic participation (Michaels at al. 2007). These standards of classroom discussion are themselves linked to the formulation of democratic deliberation based on Habermas discourse ethics. Although in their studies these standards are used to examine students learning with understanding, this study finds these approaches equally relevant in assessing the potential in classroom discussion to foster students' capacities for democratic deliberation. Unlike the standards proposed under the discourse quality index that tend to focus exclusively on political talk, the standards of deliberative talk are developed and conceptualized within classroom practices and thus offer an advantage to using these standards in classroom discussion. These standards are employed in this study to analyze lesson observations to determine the deliberative potential of classroom discussions as a tool for fostering development of student capacities for deliberation.

Recent research, according to Antal & Easton (2009), on the methods and effects of democratic civic education in industrial countries has demonstrated that certain forms of civic education are more likely than others to be successful in developing the propensity to engage in civic behaviors and positive attitudes towards the political processes. Further they observe that among the various approaches to nurturing democratic citizenship, evidence suggests that the most effective formal civic education programs are those that seek to align medium and message by employing program practices and teaching methods that are more democratic in inspiration and use learner-centered and participatory pedagogy. This observation points out that not only the content of citizenship but also the methods used in its delivery and the general practices in the school environment are both related to the nature of knowledge, attitudes and values as well as the practical participatory skills that citizens will have with respect to democracy.

Pedagogy arguably provides opportunities for students to engage in debate, deal with evidence, analyze views, form opinions and most importantly offer experiences to practice these elements that would contribute to shaping skills and behavior towards participatory citizenship among the students. Thus in understanding the impact of public education on citizenship pedagogy offers a unique position to assess how practices in classrooms offer opportunities to nurture these skills and values.

In this study, capacity for democratic deliberation is considered an important aspect of democratic participation and providing experiences to develop this capacity among students as one important contribution of the public education system to the democratic formation of the students. Deliberation has potential to afford citizens a stake in the social and political life of their communities. In as much as representation is necessary at higher levels of society for purposes of ensuring efficiency in modern democracies due to size, it does not negate the importance of deliberation at various levels of a democratic society involving the members who are to be represented.

If representation is to truly reflect the needs of the represented masses, then participation by the represented is necessary and deliberation affords citizens this fundamental right. Carr & Hartnett, (1996: 43-44), argues that for learners to develop appropriate knowledge, skills and attitudes required for effective participation in their society will require a curriculum that encourages the development of critical and explanatory knowledge to enable the learners reappraise existing social norms and reflect critically on the social, political and economic institutions of contemporary society. Such a curriculum must be supported by a pedagogy that models such values and is participatory rather than instructional. In view of these observations the theory of deliberative democracy as a normative theory provides the standards against which elements of school culture, governance systems and classroom teaching practices in the proposed research will be investigated and analyzed. The theory thus guides the

research questions being investigated as well as the analysis of the data from the study.

2.6   Theoretical Framework of the Study

The study's theoretical orientation is provided by a proposed theory on African philosophy of education (Waghid, 2014). Waghid (2014), in his book *African Philosophy of Education Reconsidered: on being,* argues for an African Philosophy of Education constituted by a communitarian, reasoned and culture dependent action. The philosophy focuses on developing a conception of education that can contribute towards imagination, deliberation and responsibility. He argues that by "provoking students towards imaginative action and a renewed consciousness of possibility they learn to acknowledge humanity in themselves and others, by encouraging students to work cooperatively through sharing, engagement, and remaining open to the new and unexpected they contribute towards cultivating learning communities" (Waghid, 2014: 1-2).

Cleary the conceptualization of the theory inspires a focus on active citizenship in the broad sense. As students learn to cooperate with others towards mutual common goals they learn to contribute towards the common good of their community. Through engagement and being open to the unexpected they demonstrate ability to engage in discussions with others towards reasoned conclusions. The concepts underpinning the thinking behind the proposed African philosophy reflect the essence of democratic deliberation (See Gutmann & Thompson, 2004). In other words the proposed African Philosophy of Education seems to be giving an African voice to the general theory of democratic deliberation and more importantly shifting from a purely political dimension to education. This is achieved by blending deliberation with a "communitarian understanding of '*Ubuntu'* (African humanness and interdependence)" to provide a justification for an African philosophy of education. *Ubuntu* is viewed in

this theory as a humanistic, philosophical as well as political concept. As a humanitarian concept it leads to cooperative and harmonious human relations. As a philosophical concept it contributes to cultivating respect and care, while politically it leads to human interdependence for transformed social political action.

The philosophy is cognizant of the diversity inherent among Africans. African people have different and oftentimes conflicting traditions, different cultures, languages and customs, ethnicities and religions. This makes it impossible to think of Africanizing education and knowledge. For instance, Waghid (2014: 3) notes that "Africanization of education cannot simply be about invoking the African voice and identity because that would imply that there exists a single homogenous, monolithic African culture and identity". From this premise he proposes an integration of African knowledge and thought systems to those from the external world like the west. This is exemplified in blending of democratic deliberation with *Ubuntu,* an African communal philosophy. He notes that countries in Africa cannot simply ignore knowledge on how democracy works in the west for example, simply because they believe in local ways of governance. He proposes integration of western and local ideas, and in this case of the need to see the two governance systems as complementary rather than opposing. Thus integration of local thought and knowledge systems with those from outside provides a way of Africanizing knowledge while at the same time being sensitive to the diversity characteristic to African thought.

The African philosophy of education argued is founded on three key principles: being reasonable in ones articulation, demonstrating moral maturity, and being attuned to deliberation (Waghid, 2014: 5). The philosophy in other words focuses on rational deliberation among equals, moral maturity points to the openness necessary for rational deliberation where respect for each others views demonstrates care for each other in a deliberative process. Rational argumentation in the philosophy is concerned with the

74

procedures according to which life experiences or stories are narrated and not necessarily with the validity of the beliefs themselves. It is concerned with the "lucidity and argumentation that will present reasons for one's views" (Waghid, 2014: 7). By focusing on rational argumentation the philosophy clearly demonstrates its close link to democratic deliberation as conceptualized in the western tradition. However, the theory differs from the western understanding of rationality as equal to a strict adherence to the rules of logic.   African philosophy is concerned with the application of "minimalistic logic in ordinary conversations without being conversant with formal rules, noting that 'rationality is culture dependent' (Waghid, 2014: 9).

The limited stress on formal rules of logic that defines rationality from a western perspective, a view that has tended to make deliberation seem as an elite enterprise (See Young, 1996), is reflected here by allowing multiple forms of deliberation within the confines of what is culturally reasonable. This marks a unique blending of western thinking and thought patterns characteristic of African thought. It recognizes that rationality is not necessarily the same thing as formal rules of logic. Formal rules of logic may be an expression of rationality within the western tradition without necessarily being equal to it. This position admits alternative forms of rational discourse defined by other cultural realities based on what is culturally considered as satisfactory justification for one's articulations. This broad conceptualization of rationalization is very pertinent when considering deliberation within the African context. Waghid (2014: 9) further notes "structures of dialogue and argument are constitutive of what African philosophy of education as a social practice is about and that any discussion that does not address these structures of dialogue and argumentation does not do justice to what constitutes an African philosophy of education".

Concerning African philosophy of education as a pedagogical practice, Waghid (2014) stresses that teaching and learning should move from making prescribed texts as

master texts. Students as reasonable people should be encouraged to be "more open to interpreting, analyzing and looking beyond texts". This will make students "less likely to insist on final and certain conclusions and be more able to deliberate with other students and teachers" (Waghid, 2014: 11). The proposed approach shifts from traditional teaching dominated by the teacher and texts as final arbiters of what is valid knowledge and final answers to issues, requiring students to mechanically accept this as knowledge. It focuses on encouraging rational discussion in the process of learning. This is akin to a view of deliberation as a knowledge production process within the classroom, while at the same time providing learners a valuable opportunity to develop capacities for deliberation. Learners are encouraged to question knowledge propositions during lessons and search for reasonable understandings while keeping the debate open for further enquiries. Teaching in this way is likely to encourage respect for others views as well as one's own and thus promote equality of views. It will encourage reasoned talk during lessons. More importantly as learners experience a deliberative environment in class, they learn the importance and place of deliberation in building up a learning community. Beyond the classroom, this pedagogy is likely to cultivate values and skills for democratic deliberation as a practice.

This pedagogical practice requires teachers to be reasonable themselves by cultivating ability to listening to students as well as cultivating communicative skills to elicit students responses and nurture them to become self-critical and deliberative. Waghid, (2014: 11) notes, "when teachers and students reason together, they give each other an account of their reasoning and show their ability and willingness to evaluate reasons for actions advanced to one by the other so that they make themselves accountable for their endorsement of practical conclusions of others as well as their own conclusions". Teachers demonstrate their moral maturity by engaging in joint learning with their students through deliberation leading to "respect between teachers

and students which is a condition for a deliberative pedagogical activity, and respect is a form of agreeing to disagree" (Waghid 2014: 12). Although respect entails agreeing to disagree, he points out that it does not necessarily mean accepting everything as fine. Such uncritical acceptance of others' views is against the very spirit of deliberation. He notes "deliberation requires that teachers and students do not just accept given educational problem definitions with predetermined ends that need to be instrumentally engineered or controlled" (Waghid, 2014: 13). In other words, agreeing to disagree would leave matters open ended for further enquiries and deliberation as more information becomes available. It prevents teachers and students from putting finality to their deliberation. By remaining open they remain democratic to the process of knowledge production.

Not much can be said about the use of the present African philosophy of education as a theory in research studies being a very recent proposed theory. However this in itself does not present a disadvantage but rather an opportunity to explore application of the theory. The present study creates such opportunity to examine the practical utility of the theory. In this study on the role of public education in nurturing students' capacities for deliberative democratic citizenship and participation in Malawi, the choice of the theory on African philosophy of education is based on its close linkage to deliberative democracy to which the study is addressed in its broad conceptualization. The theory addresses the elitist challenges in deliberative democracy from its dominantly western perspective rooted in western notions of rationality. The present theory recognizes the cultural dependency of the meaning of rationality and thus embraces alternative forms of rational discourse that is evident in contexts like those of Africa. In addition the theory addresses itself to education practice and offers insight into possible pedagogical practices relevant to nurturing deliberation as a pedagogical practice.

The present study addresses itself to education focusing on pedagogy as well as school governance. The theory provides a pertinent framework for organizing the research. It informs the research questions on students' participatory experiences in school governance and pedagogies of instruction to understand how these provide opportunities for developing students' capacities for democratic deliberation as a citizenship value and practice in democracy. The pedagogical practice proposed by the theory further provides a framework for analyzing the data of the research to assess the contribution of public education to nurturing deliberation capacities in Malawi. The theory is very relevant because it blends the ideals of democratic deliberation to an education setting rather than a political and further addresses the strict understanding of rationality that otherwise makes the theory of democratic deliberation elitist in nature, while attending to possible challenges of a wholesale adoption of democratic deliberation as a theory of democracy in a non-western setting.

2.7   Chapter Summary

This chapter has reviewed literature on concepts of democracy, citizenship, and citizenship education. It has discussed the challenges inherent in democracy citizenship and education to situate the present study. A discussion on the impact of education on citizenship, the role of school governance and pedagogies in fostering active participation and democratic engagement has also been discussed. In particular the importance of deliberative democracy as underpinning possible enhancement of democratic practice in schools is highlighted. Finally a theoretical framework for the study has also been discussed providing a background on which the rest of the study is premised. The next chapter discusses methodology, and methods adopted in the conduct of this research.

CHAPTER 3:

METHODOLOGY AND RESEARCH DESIGN

3.0   Introduction

This chapter discusses the methodology and research design used in this study. It presents an overview of research methodology focusing on the philosophical underpinnings of positivism and interpretivism research paradigms, and how these inform mixed methods research. A discussion of the challenges associated with qualitative and quantitative research approaches is presented to justify the choice of mixed methods in this study. The methodology section is followed by a discussion on research design and methods as well as their justifications in the study.

3.1 Methodology

3.1.1   Philosophical and Theoretical Issues in Research Methodology

Research methodology is distinguished from research methods. Methodology refers to "the philosophical and theoretical underpinning of research that affects what the researcher counts as evidence" whereas methods are "the actual techniques […] and procedures used to quantify and to collect data" (Balnaves & Caputi, 2001: 52). In other words methodology provides the theory behind the methods chosen in a given study. Although conceptually different the two are related in that methodology affects the choice of methods in a given research study. The core part of methodology is related to the view of what counts as reality or truth. Social reality or culture can be understood from two key perspectives: from outside by creation of general classifications or laws –*nomothetic*– and from inside –*ideographic*. The nomothetic view is characteristic of empirical or positivistic research where quantitative approaches are primary. The ideographic approach assumes that culture or social reality is unique and no single law or classification can cover it all. Research following this

approach lean much on qualitative approaches (Balnaves & Caputi, 2001: 52). Thus the two key research traditions, quantitative and qualitative, represent different approaches to understanding social reality.

The difference between the two views is further highlighted in the underlying assumptions of qualitative and quantitative approaches. Schutz, 1962, (cited in Balnaves & Caputi, 2001) argued that natural scientists deal with objects of first order interpretation. For instance the objects that natural scientist deal with have not interpreted themselves until the scientists arrive to interpret them. On the other hand human beings already have interpretations about themselves before the social scientist arrives to study them. This means that the social scientist interprets the interpretations people have already made about their lives and cultures. In other words the social scientist deals with second order interpretations.

Extending this argument, Sacks,1995 (cited in Balnaves & Caputi, 2001: 7) argues that cultural data is unique. It is not only distinct from nature; it has also unique orderly properties and that when analyzing culture one needs to remember that it is 'orderly at all points'. In other words cultural data does not depend on a representative sampling to identify patterns that are otherwise assumed to be present at an aggregate level. In cultural data order is present in details at a case-by-case basis such that it does not depend on sample size.

Sacks argument leads to an understanding that it is a philosophical error to treat social and cultural phenomena such as human experiences as if it were natural phenomena. However, as Sacks would argue, the methods that follow from that error cannot change the orderly cultural properties since cultural phenomena is orderly at all points and will exhibit this order regardless of the methods used in studying it. In other words data from human experience is resistant to sampling errors. It follows therefore that in qualitative research truth is not a function of sample size as the particular views

are equally valuable and thus represent the reality according to the particular subject, which is accepted as true on that basis. This will likely allows depth of information as individual experiences are considered and not merely an aggregate of experiences as would be the case in quantitative research.

Rossman & Rallis (2003) further contends that the different methodologies give rise to the various epistemologies that inform research paradigms, where a paradigm refers to a worldview or shared understandings of reality. They note two key paradigms represented as continuums, as foundational to research approaches.

The first continuum concerns the nature of reality. On one extreme reality is viewed as objective i.e., fixed and fact-based, while on the opposite end it is viewed mainly as subjective, i.e., constructed by human agency. This difference in the worldview is reflected not only in the varied epistemological positions but also on views about the nature of reality, and human agency in research and methodology of research. For instance objectivists believe that reality exists independent of the human mind and that social science should concern itself with uncovering important facts and processes that constitute reality. Reality is out there waiting to be uncovered.

Subjectivists hold that humans construct understandings of reality through their perceptual and interpretive faculties. They see social reality as continuously created by human interpretations. These interpretations do not constitute reality itself but merely concepts that describe it.

Similarly, human agency in research, objectivists hold that human actions are predictable and thus can be controlled. That breaking down social reality into variables and causal models is possible and desirable in research. On the other hand subjectivists hold that human agency shapes the social patterns, and that unpredictability is a primary characteristic of human action. In terms of methodology, pure objective assumptions tend to favor quantitative approaches in search of general laws governing

reality and making predictions about behavior. On the other hand subjectivists tend to move towards qualitative research focusing on participants' experiences and generating subjective understandings of the subjective world.

The second continuum according to Rossman & Rallis (2003) concerns the nature of society or models of understanding society. On one extreme is *status quo* a view that society is structured and functionally coordinated. Researchers holding this view focus on "fine tuning the social functioning of society to better meet the needs of the systems and the individual" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003: 43). On the other hand are researchers who hold the *radical change* view. They see society as characterized by contradiction such as 'structures of domination and oppression' and thus need change to better human conditions. Researchers holding this view focus on radical transformation of society. Putting together these continuums results in four key research paradigms as follows; positivism, interpretivism, critical humanism and critical realism as shown in figure 3.1 below.

Figure 3.1 Four research paradigms
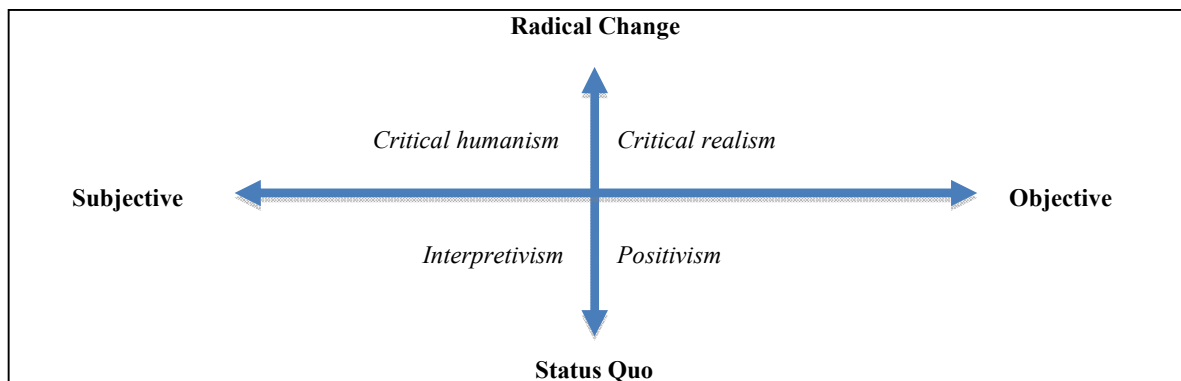
Source: Rossman & Rallis (2003: 45)

3.1.2   Quantitative and Qualitative Research Paradigms

Positivism takes a rational view of the social world, and focuses on quantitative research procedures characteristic of natural sciences. Rossman & Rallis (2003: 8) note, quantitative research "posit[s] a physical and social reality independent of those who

experience it, a reality that can be tested and defined objectively [they] define reality by testing hypotheses through experiments or quasi experiments or correlations. Variables are controlled, and subjects are chosen through statistically determined methods of randomization. Positivism believes in a world of fixed laws of cause and effect. They try to use objective research methods to uncover the truth by testing theories.

However, as Muijis (2004), rightly observed the challenge with positivism and by extension realism is that researchers are part of the reality they are trying to uncover. It is not possible to strictly detach oneself from what one is researching. In other words a pure objective stance in research is not possible. Researchers are always bound to shape and influence the research process, i.e. what is researched and how it is researched. This raises important challenges to how objective a research in this tradition would be.

The interpretive paradigm on the other hand assumes status quo assumptions about the world and a subjectivist epistemology. Research in this paradigm seeks to understand the social world as it is through individuals' experiences focusing on qualitative approaches. Qualitative research focuses on the natural world, uses multiple methods, focuses on context, and systematically reflects exquisite sensitivity to personal biography. The research process is emergent rather than fixed or predetermined. It relies on sophisticated reasoning that is multifaceted, iterative and interpretive. Qualitative research "describes and interprets rather than measures and predicts" as is the case with quantitative research (Rossman & Rallis, 2003: 8-11).

The subjectivist epistemology in the interpretive paradigm points out the role of human subjectivity in the process of research. It admits that reality is partially constructed by humans since there is no preexisting objective reality. "The process of our observing reality changes and transforms it and therefore subjective and relativistic" (Muijis, 2004: 4). For a discussion on critical humanism and critical realism (see Rossman & Rallis, 2003).

Describing further qualitative research, Rossman & Rallis (2003), contends that it begins with questions, and that its ultimate purpose is to learn. Philosophically it is linked to empiricism which argues that knowledge is obtained by direct experience through the physical senses. Aristotle proposed that ideas are concepts derived from experience with actual objects, beings and events. He taught that nothing exists in our minds that we have not first perceived with or experienced through our senses. We use our cognitive reasoning to organize and imbue those experiences with meaning to make sense of the sensory experiences.

In a similar line of thought, Plato argued that knowledge residing a *priori* within our minds shapes the images we receive. Thus qualitative researchers use their experience and intuition as they make sense of worlds they explore. Qualitative research also has roots in philosophical traditions like phenomenology (questioning the structure and essence of lived experiences) and hermeneutics (questioning the conditions that shape interpretations of human acts or products (Rossman & Rallis (2003: 7).

Another characteristic of qualitative research is "naturalistic and interpretive and it draws on multiple methods of inquiry" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003: 6). In other words qualitative research is done in natural settings rather than laboratories and assumes that humans use their senses to make meaning of social realities. At the heart of qualitative research is reality that is multilayer, interactive and a shared social experience interpreted by individuals. Qualitative researchers believe that reality is a social construction and that individual or groups derive or ascribe meanings to specific entities such as events, persons, processes or objects. Qualitative research attempts to understand phenomena from the participants' perspective. This understanding is acquired by analyzing the many contexts of the participants and by narrating participants' meanings for these situations and events (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001:

84

396). "All researchers enter the field with a perspective. This perspective is usually articulated in the conceptual framework. The theories that inform this framework, offer questions and potential categories and themes, at the same time qualitative researchers are open to the unexpected and let the analytic direction of the research emerge" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003: 274).

Positivism and interpretivism as major paradigms associated with quantitative and qualitative approaches to research have their own limitations in our attempts to understand and know reality. For instance, Muijis (2004) argues that qualitative methods include a range of methods some of which lie outside the realistic end of the spectrum. This implies that some qualitative methods are not necessarily pure in that sense.

Similarly there are various epistemologies underlying theory and practice in quantitative research. For instance post-positivist views accept that we cannot observe the world we are part of as totally objective and disinterested outsiders and accept that natural sciences do not provide the model for all social research. Consequently rather than search for certainty and absolute truth they focus on 'representing reality as best as they can' (Muijis, 2004: 4).

On the other hand, experimental positivism claims that we cannot observe the world in purely objective way because our perception itself influences what we see and measure (Muijis, 2004: 26). In contrast to subjectivists they believe that there is a limit to our objectivity. These views essentially point out the fact that social reality cannot be limited to the purely objective reality. As noted even within the positivist traditions there are some differences in defining 'objective'. Reality in this case admits some subjectivity in as far as our attempts to know reality are concerned. Appreciating this limitation makes an important case for subjectivist views on research as another valid paradigm. However in the same way reality cannot be conceived wholly as qualitative.

It seems fair to suggest that reality extends from the subjectivist position all the way to the objectivist positions. As Balnaves & Caputi (2001: 7) observes, "qualitative and quantitative exist on a continuum and not as strict alternatives". What does this mean for qualitative and quantitative research?

Qualitative and quantitative researches are suited to answering different kinds of research questions (Connolly, 2007; Muijis, 2004). For instance, quantitative research is best suited to answer four types of research questions; when we want a quantitative answer, numerical change (both descriptive), or finding out the state of something, or trying to explain phenomena, or when testing hypotheses. In other words quantitative research is more suited to addressing inferential problems, where generalizing research results is the focus.

On the other hand quantitative research is not best suited for problems like; when, for instance, we want to explore a problem in depth. Quantitative research gives us the breadth from a large sample but does not give us the depth (Connolly, 2007). It is limited as well when we want to develop hypotheses or theories through exploratory research. Further, if issues to be studied are complex, an in-depth study would be preferable to quantitative because there is a limit to how many variables can be studied in a given research. In general quantitative approach is when it comes to studying cause and effect [while] qualitative is good at looking at meaning of particular events or circumstances (Connolly, 2007; Muijis, 2004).

3.1.3   A Case for Mixed Methods Paradigm

The limitations of both quantitative and qualitative research approaches and their perceived strengths in exploring different aspects of a problem make a good case for mixed methods research. Mixed methods research is "a flexible approach where the

research design is determined by what we want to find out rather than by any predetermined epistemological position" Muijis, (2004: 9).

Recognizing the inherent limitations of both qualitative and quantitative approaches, mixed methods research emerges as a third research paradigm blending the two approaches and allowing investigation of questions in a single study that appeals to the two modes of investigation. Mixed methods research is based on pragmatism as its key philosophical position. In pragmatism,

> The meaning and truth of any idea is a function of its practical outcomes. It opposes the absolutism they see as a key part of most other philosophical beliefs and put themselves in opposition to other philosophies … which are totally rejected, there is no definite truth in pragmatic philosophy. Truth is constantly changing and being updated through the process of human problem solving, the key question for pragmatists is not is it true or is it right but does it work (Muijis, 2004: 9).

From this pragmatic position the choice of research methods is dictated by the practical requirements of the problem being studied and not particular epistemologies selected prior to the study. It allows flexibility in the use of both qualitative and quantitative approaches in the same study. Recent decades have seen a growing interest among researchers in the use of mixed methods research (Cresswell, 2012; Tashakkori & Teddlie, 2009). However, the rise of mixed methods research has not been without controversy. Given the strong traditions for qualitative and quantitative research paradigms, mixed methods became a subject of different criticisms, mostly in paradigm debates centering on an alleged incompatibility of the two worldviews represented by the qualitative and quantitative research traditions.

The debate on incompatibility between quantitative and qualitative research was based on the differences in philosophical assumptions inherent in qualitative and quantitative researches as discussed earlier. However, as Creswell (2012), contends, these arguments diffused when advocates of the mixed methods tradition argued that the incompatibility argument tended to create a false dichotomy that does not hold

under close inspection as also pointed in the preceding discussion. They noted that subjective and objective reality coexists. For example in a classroom, there is the objective reality, the classroom, but different individuals see different things in the same classroom, meaning that subjective reality is present at the same time. In this case the methods are simply "more closely associated with one worldview than the other, but to categorize them as 'belonging' to one worldview more than another creates an unrealistic situation" (Creswell, 2012: 537).

It has also been argued that pragmatism as a philosophy with its primary focus on what 'works' provides a philosophical foundation for mixed method research. The focus on what works, in pragmatism makes it necessary and desirable to utilize a mixed methods approach if and when given research problems cannot be well-addressed using one approach (Creswell, 2012). More importantly mixing research methods allow for triangulation of data and research findings from the multiplicity of methods and thus ensuring trustworthiness of research results.

3.1.4   Justification for the Choice of Mixed Methods Approach

This study examines the potential contribution of formal education in the democratization process in Malawi. It focuses on understanding the potential impact of school governance and classroom instructional practices to nurturing students' values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement. Consequently student experiences in actual classrooms, perceptions on practices as well as their experiences in schools form the substance of the study. A comprehensive understanding of these aspects cannot be achieved in one research paradigm discussed above. Qualitative approaches would be necessary to explore classroom experiences as well as general experiences in school practices. On the other hand to capture trends and patterns across schools is better approached using quantitative approaches.   These

aspects are also expressed in the specific research questions being examined in this study. The experiences and views of students are better approached from a qualitative paradigm because these do not constitute an objective reality that can be fully captured in purely quantitative approaches. Experiences represent a human constructed reality. Thus learning from students about their experiences in the school, how school authorities organize and manage the schools as well as what students feel about the various processes going on in the school, is better studied using qualitative research approaches.

On the other hand the study seeks to establish patterns and trends across schools regarding the provision of potential experiences for active participation and democratic engagement as well as examining the impact of school type and gender variables on students' general beliefs about deliberative decision making, participation and engagement. Studying perceptions will require collecting data and examining patterns and trends. This will require aggregated data to establish patterns and trends which are better examined quantitatively. These aspects of the research question require use of quantitative approaches in the study. Thus the nature of questions examined in this study provides a primary justification for the use of mixed methods in this study. In addition to the inherent limitation of qualitative and quantitative approaches combing methods will also allow for possible corroboration of the study's findings. This corroboration and triangulation of the findings further contributes to ensuring trustworthiness in the research findings and conclusions.

3.2   Methods

3.2.1   Research Design

Mixed methods research design is "a procedure for collecting, analyzing and 'mixing' quantitative and qualitative methods in a single or a series of studies to

understand a research problem" (Creswell, 2012: 535). This study utilized 'parallel mixed methods' **QUANT— qual.** research design (Teddlie & Tashakkori, 2009). In this design qualitative and quantitative strands of research are conducted at the same time and data is analyzed separately. The qualitative and quantitative results are then integrated during discussion and interpretation of the findings. In addition, the quantitative results play a dominant role with qualitative taking a secondary role, providing explanations and expanding on the quantitative results. Quantitative data on students' perceptions on school governance and classroom instructional practices as well as their beliefs on the importance of democratic deliberation in decision making was corroborated and expanded on with data from interviews and classroom observations during discussions and interpretation of the findings.

The design is chosen on the basis that quantitative is suited to examining broad trends and patterns but as Connolly (2007: 80) noted "quantitative research rarely provides definitive answers to anything". It does not tell us why certain things happen and this necessitates further exploration through qualitative data. This study is concerned with examining the potential contribution of public school practices in the democratization process in Malawi, by exploring and describing students perceptions on opportunities presented in school governance and classroom practices for active participation and democratic engagement. But beyond this, the study seeks to gain a deeper understanding of the particular experiences and perspectives on key issues that influence how their schools provide or fail to provide opportunities for student active participation and democratic engagement. Capturing a comprehensive picture of these issues requires the integration of quantitative and qualities results which is better provided in the parallel mixed methods design.

3.2.2   Study Area and Sample Population

This study was conducted in public secondary schools in Zomba district of southern Malawi. Education in Malawi follows 8 years of primary, 4 years secondary and 4 years university. Public secondary schools are administered through what are known as education divisions. The country is divided into six education divisions: Central Eastern, Central Western, Northern, Shire Highlands, Southern Eastern, and Southern Western divisions. Zomba district is one of the four districts making up the Southern Eastern Education Division (SEED). Each division is headed by a division manager, who is answerable to the central ministry of education, and is responsible for public secondary schools in his or her jurisdiction. Public secondary schools in these divisions fall under two main categories; conventional secondary schools (CSS) and community day secondary schools (CDSS).

Conventional secondary schools include national and district schools with full boarding facilities as well as day secondary schools. Conventional secondary schools were purposely established and as such they tend to have better and adequate teaching and learning facilities. They are also comparatively well resourced, and they mostly have qualified teachers with higher qualifications compared to CDSS schools although the later is slowly changing. National secondary schools represent the country's top schools. Best students in the national primary school leaving certificate examination (PSLCE) administered nationally, are often selected into these schools. This implies that students in these schools have a relatively higher academic ability.

District boarding secondary schools come second in the ladder of secondary schools. However unlike their national counterparts, these schools draw the majority of their students from the district in which they are located. A few students might be found in these schools from other districts as well; particularly those who did well but could not make it to the national secondary schools. The students in these schools may

come from both urban and rural areas of the same district. The students again are of mixed characteristics in terms of social economic statuses. District boarding conventional secondary schools share similar characteristics with day conventional school except that the former has boarding facilities.

CDSS's on the other hand represent the lower level type of secondary schools. The majority of these schools used to be centers of distance education that were converted by government policy in 1999 to become secondary schools. This policy was enacted to deal with rising pressure on the secondary school sector that resulted from the 1994 policy on free primary education in Malawi. This implies that most of the Community Day Secondary Schools were not purposefully planned as secondary schools at their inception. Community day secondary schools although funded by government, face challenges in infrastructure, teaching and learning facilities as well as teaching staff in terms of numbers and qualification. Students selected into these secondary schools are dominantly those whose performance is comparatively lower to the ones selected to conventional secondary schools. The schools are generally perceived as low level schools compared to their conventional secondary schools counterparts. By extension students from well-to-do families usually prefer to join private secondary schools than community day secondary schools. This generally implies that the majority of students in community day secondary schools tend to be from lower social economic status with a relatively lower academic achievement.

National and district secondary schools' being boarding schools means that students stay fulltime in the school campuses for any given school term. During this time student movement outside the school premises is controlled by special permissions from school authorities. This creates a situation where the school directs students' life around the clock. The students are cut from the external environment of the school as most boarding schools do not allow use of radios in some cases even mobile phones or

92

such other devices in the dormitories.

The variation of secondary schools chosen in this study was therefore deliberate to capture this diversity of school contexts, student caliber, resource constraints, and student social economic status, which may have a bearing on the nature of practices in the school processes.

3.2.3   Sampling Procedures

3.2.3.1 Research site

Sampling decisions for the research site were guided by non-probability sampling procedures (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001). The Southern Eastern Education Division (SEED), was purposively selected from the six education divisions in Malawi and Zomba district was also purposively selected out of the four districts of the Sothern Eastern Education Division (SEED) as the site for this research. The choice of research site was dictated by logistical considerations. The researcher utilized support from Chancellor College of the University of Malawi located in Zomba district; consequently it was easier to access schools in this district while maintaining support from Chancellor College.

Population refers to "the potential set of values for an entity of interest" (Balnaves & Caputi, 2001: 176). A population of interest in a study may be too large to observe all instances of a population variable. This necessitates observing from a limited set of values from the population through a sample of the population. The study sample for this research is drawn from urban and rural secondary schools from Zomba district of the Southern Eastern Education Division. The division has a total of 106 secondary schools. Out of these 22 are Conventional Secondary Schools (CSS). These include 4 national boarding schools, 6 district boarding schools, and 12 district day schools. The remaining 84 are Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSS).

93

3.2.3.2 Sample selection for quantitative research

For the quantitative part of the study, cluster sampling technique was applied to identify schools for inclusion in the sample. Flick (2011) describes a cluster sample as one where the empirical units, i.e. the actual respondents in the study, are not the same as the sampling elements i.e. in the case of this study, the schools from which respondents are located. The different school types formed the clusters from which respondents were selected using simple random sampling procedures. One important advantage of cluster sampling technique is the taking into consideration the context of respondents in the sample and possibility of using the clusters as basic units for data analysis.

Zomba district has a total of 40 secondary schools. These include 3 national boarding, 3 district boarding, 6 day secondary schools and 28 community day secondary schools (*based on school data from SEED*). Of the 40 schools, 23 community day secondary schools are located in Zomba rural, while 8 conventional secondary schools are located in Zomba urban. Three clusters were formed as follows; Conventional secondary school boarding (CSSB) this clustered included both national and district schools. The chief characteristic of the cluster was boarding element. Second cluster was the Conventional secondary school day (CSSD). These included all conventional secondary schools without boarding facilities. The last cluster was the Community day secondary schools (CDSS). From these three clusters simple random sampling was used to select schools as well as students from the classes' senior classes in the individual schools for participation in the study. The table 3 below summarizes the sample for the quantitative part of the research.

Table 3.1:   Sample for quantitative research

School type	Number of schools	Respondents	Gender	
			Male	Female
CDSS	10	200	100	100
CSSD	4	80	40	40
CSSB	6	120	60	60
Totals	**20**	**400**	**200**	**200**

From each school a simple random sample of 20 students comprising 10 girls and 10 boys to ensure gender balance were selected from senior level students for participation in the study. A total of 400 students from the 20 schools were selected for the quantitative survey in the study. A sample of 400 students was deemed satisfactory for quantitative analysis based at $p < 0.05$ adopted in this study.

3.2.3.3 Sample selection for qualitative research

Non probability sampling procedures were used to select study sample for the qualitative part of the research. Muijis (2004: 40) notes that convenience sampling is the most common sampling method used in educational research. In this approach researchers consider the ease of access to particular sites in their choices. The challenge with convenience sampling however, is that since samples are not representative, the results cannot be generalized. In this particular study, this weakness is countered by the fact that qualitative data is used to expand and explain quantitative findings as such its purpose is not to generate generations but to add to explanation and give depth to the quantitative results.

Maximum variation sampling was utilized to identify schools to conduct lessons for observations and schools for conducting focus group discussions with teachers and students. McMillan & Schumacher, (2001: 402) describes maximum variation sampling as a "strategy to illuminate the different aspects of the research problem". They further note that "this is not probability sampling or representative sample because the

researcher is merely using this strategy to describe in detail different meanings of the issue". Social Studies as a subject was selected as a subject of choice in the lesson observation because it is one of the key subjects in the current secondary curriculum where issues of democracy and participation as taught. It thus made more sense to observe how the teaching of this subject in the curriculum seeks to practice what it purports to teach. School for lesson observation were identified from original 20 schools used in the quantitative part of the study as presented in the table 3.2 below;

Table 3.2: Lesson observation sample

School Type	No of Schools	Lessons observed
CDSS	3	3
National boarding	3	3
District boarding	2	2
CSSD	2	2
Total	**10**	**10**

Note that CSSB group is split into national boarding and district boarding to ensure that this variation is represented in the lessons observed

Four secondary schools were purposively selected for the focus group discussions. A purposeful sampling is done to increase the utility of information obtained from small samples. McMillan & Schumacher, (2001: 401) note "The power and logic of purposeful sampling is that few cases studied in-depth yield many insights about the topic whereas the logic of probability sampling depends on selecting a random or statistically representative sample for generalization to larger population". Miles & Huberman (1994: 29) equally note that in this sampling strategy participants are chosen based on the conceptual framework and research questions and not based on the need for representativeness. In this case each of the four schools represented a different context based on CSSB (national and district boarding schools), CSSD and CDSS school categories.

One national boarding school located in a rural setting, one district boarding

96

school is located in an urban setting, one day secondary school located in an urban setting, and one community day secondary school located in a rural setting were selected for focus group discussions. All the four schools are mixed sex schools. This selection was deemed appropriate to ensure maximum variation of context, location, and student caliber among others. From each school 12 students, with equal numbers for boys and girls were selected from the final year class. The selection included student leaders. The teachers sample targeted 4 teachers including teachers involved in social studies teaching in the schools.

3.2.4   Data Collection Procedures

Quantitative data for this study was collected through questionnaires while qualitative data was collected through interviews and lesson observations. The researcher developed all data collection tools used in the study as described below.

3.2.4.1 Survey Questionnaire

The questionnaire had 60 items. Item responses were based on 5 point likert scales (Singh, 2006) for opinions and perceptions while the rest of the question was based on categorical responses. Likert type scales are grouped under summated scales for attitude or opinion measurement. They are developed based on 'item analysis approach' where "a particular item is evaluated on the basis of how well it discriminates between those persons whose total score is high and those whose total score is low" (Kothari, 2004: 84). Here total scores of each respondent on a particular construct are used to determine an individual's position on a particular issue.

Although Likert scales is the most commonly used scale in social attitudes studies they have some key limitations as well as advantages. Among its advantages are that it is considered more reliable because respondents answer all questions in an instrument and thus it generates more information and data than does other scales. It is relatively

easy and takes less time to construct. However its key challenges include the fact that the total score of a respondent has little clear meaning being a composite of several responses. However comparing results from Likert scales with data from other methods can offset this.

The questionnaires first section focused on understanding students' sources of political information to establish the place of the school as a key contributor to students' political knowledge attitudes and understanding. This section contained 10 items looking at the media and the school as sources of political information.

The second section focused on exploring instructional practices to understand how classroom practice provides potential opportunity for significant student participation and development of capacities for deliberation. This section had 11 items.

The third section focused on exploring school governance practices and how they provide potential opportunity for significant student participation and democratic engagement in decision making. This section had 12 items.

The fourth section generated data on students' beliefs about the importance of democratic deliberation in decision making as a democratic ideal. Questions in this section checked students' levels of agreement and disagreement with various practices associated with deliberative decision making. This section had a total of 11 items. The last section focused basic demographic information of the students. It comprised 7 items.

The questionnaires were administered through a survey. The researcher visited the study schools where selected students were given the questionnaire to complete in the presence of the researcher. This was advantageous in that it was possible for students to seek clarification whenever they needed some explanations on the questions. It also ensured that defaulting in returning questionnaires was minimized. Surveys are considered advantageous in that it is possible to describe a situation, study relationships

between variables, and it is easier to generalize the findings to real world settings as this is where the research takes place. In addition it is easy to gather large amounts of data with reasonably low cost and effort when using surveys. Surveys are also suitable for canvassing opinions and feelings about particular issues and the use of standardized questions allow for easy comparability or respondents (Muijis, 2004: 45).

However, surveys are also weak in that by their very nature it is difficult to come to deeper understanding of processes and contextual differences, through standardized questionnaires as they are limited in length and depth of responses.

This apparent weakness in this study was offset by the use of qualitative methods to give depth and context to the survey data. This combination was deemed necessary to provide depth as well as breadth to the data in responding to the study questions. The use quantitative and qualitative approaches further contributed to the trustworthiness of the study and its findings through data triangulation (Crewell, 2012).

3.2.4.2 Lesson Observations

Observation as a data collection tool gives direct access to social interaction useful to learning what actually happens in a setting rather than what participants report. It gives the researcher an opportunity to observe a wide range of situations in different ways (Muijis, 2004: 52). However, he also notes that observations are prone to observer bias, as well as participants changing their normal behaviors because of the observations. Muijis, (2004: 55) discusses "descriptive observation record" and "rating scales" as two key observation methods.

For descriptive observation record, the observer writes down everything relevant happening during an observation. This approach helps observers to identify factors that were not thought about before and consequently the method provides rich and detailed data. The challenge, however, is that it is difficult and time consuming to code the data

due to the large volume of data. It also makes it difficult to compare across observations. Most importantly the method is highly subjective and biased.

On the other hand in a rating scale, the observer rates occurrences or quality of observed factors. This approach is sometimes referred to as high inference observation instrument because the observer makes judgments on what is observed. The high inference observation is contrasted with low inference observation instrument where observers are just asked to count behaviors. Low inference observation involves far less decision making on the part of the observer and therefore tends to be more objective and unbiased as the observer subjectivity is minimized. However, low inference observation limits what can be observed in that the rating scale has factors to be observed and cannot take advantage of things that are particular to a given observation such as the quality of interactions.

In view of the challenges inherent in observation methods, this study adopted a descriptive observation record. The choice was made to ensure rich and detailed information in the various settings of the observed lessons. A single lesson was chosen to avoid a situation where teachers and students would get accustomed to the observations, which would impact on the quality and validity of the observed data. All lessons were video and audio recorded for later transcription analysis. The use of video recordings of the lessons also helped to reduce bias as observations across lessons could easily be verified from the records.

3.2.4.3   *Qualitative Interviews*

Further, data was also collected through focus group discussions with students and teachers in selected schools. The interviews focused on generating data on students' experiences in pedagogy and governance practices focusing on opportunities for active participation and democratic engagement. Separate focus group discussions were held

with teachers including social studies teachers and students in the selected schools. Qualitative interviews were used to generate data from the focus group discussions. Barbie (2010: 318-320) describes qualitative interview as an interaction between an interviewer and a respondent in which the interviewer has a general plan of inquiry, including the topics to be covered, but not a set of questions that must be asked with particular words and in a particular order at the same time as is the case with survey interview.

Guiding questions under each topic were used but these were not followed strictly in the course of discussion in each session. Respondents' issues and responses were explored in the discussions. The key topics for the interviews were governance practices focusing on student participation and representation in decision making, opportunities available to engage with school authorities on various issues affecting students, challenges to student participation in schools were explored among others. All interviews were audio recorded and later transcribed for analysis. Student focus group discussions were also video recorded to aid in analysis. In addition to the above qualitative strategies field notes were also used to collect data.

3.2.5   Trustworthiness of the Study

Validity "refers to the degree to which explanations of phenomena match the realities of the world" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 407). It points to the level of agreement between what is reported and explained in the research and what obtains in the field. In qualitative designs validity or 'trustworthiness of a study' is "the degree to which the interpretations and concepts have mutual meanings between participants and the researcher" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 407). Achieving validity in qualitative designs is a function of the data collection and analysis techniques, prolonged field work, multiple strategies, verbatim accounts, low inference descriptions, negative case

search. Primarily multiple methods strategies ensure validity through triangulation. "Triangulation broadly refers to use of multiple researchers, multiple theories or perspectives to interpret the data" as well as "multiple data sources [to] corroborate data and multiple disciplines to broaden ones understanding of method and phenomena of interest" (McMillan & Schumacher, 2001: 407).

On the other hand in quantitative research validity is concerned with whether researchers are measuring what they want to measure in a given study, and various kinds of validity like content, face, criterion, predictive as well as concurrent validities are used (Muijis, 2004). However in general terms validity in quantitative research is classified as internal and external validity. Internal validity focus on how far changes in the dependent variable can be attributed to the dependent variable and not other confounding variables. Internal validity in quantitative research is derived from the control of other possible confounding variables to ensure that the effects of the independent variables on dependent variable are consistently accounted for by reducing possibility of alternative explanations from the confounding variables. Thus variable control is the key to internal validity. Further, randomization in sample selection also contributes to this internal validity of a study.

On the other hand external validity is a condition permitting generalization or inference of the sample findings to the population from which it was selected (Singh, 2006: 80-81). However, he further notes that increasing representation through sampling procedures tend to reduce the certainty of internal validity through sampling errors. In this study trustworthiness or validity was focused on the use of multiple strategies to collect data: interviews, observations and survey. The blending of data collection methods as well as data interpretation provided for triangulating the study results. As noted earlier, triangulation in qualitative research is one strategy to ensure that findings are trustworthy.

For the quantitative survey, sampling ensured that 50% of the total number of schools in Zomba district was sampled for the study and cluster sampling which included random sampling at school level were utilized in the study. The study sample was deemed representative enough for the schools in Zomba district as well as for the significance level of $p < 0.05$ adopted in the study. Further, data collection tools were reviewed by other researchers to achieve face validity before administering them in the field. Through these approaches, the study ensured that data for the study as well as the findings remains trustworthy and valid.

3.2.6   Data Analysis Procedures

Qualitative and quantitative data were concurrently collected and the analysis of the data was done separately for the quantitative data and qualitative data according to the study's design. Following the separate analyses of data, qualitative and quantitative findings were integrated during discussion and interpretation of the findings.

Quantitative data analysis began with data entry into *SPSS* a software for quantitative analysis, and data cleaning was done prior to the analysis. Frequency distributions were used to check wrong entries and other problems in data entry. All 'I don't know' responses were re-coded as missing data and excluded in all analyses. Descriptive statistics; Means and standard deviations, frequencies and percentages, and cross tabulations were used to summarize, explore and get a feel of the data. Inferential statistics ANOVA and MANOVA were used to examine differences of means between schools types and gender to understand the influence of these variables in the various school practices under investigation.

On the other hand Rossman & Rallis (2003: 278) observes that qualitative data analysis is the "process of bringing order, structure and meaning to the mass of collected data". They outline stages in qualitative analysis by noting that the process

involves making some judgments about 'how to reduce the massive amounts of data collected. In this process the researcher selects some incidents and events to give them priority. Further the researcher has to be deeply immersed in the transcripts from interviews, field notes and related materials collected in the study, and sorting these into different groups to identify common themes and patterns emerging from the data. Finally, organizing the common themes and patterns is done to bring out meaning and a clear story linking the themes (Rossman & Rallis (2003: 270). In this study qualitative data from videos and audio recording were first transcribed. The transcripts were then loaded into *ATLAS ti.7*, software for qualitative data analysis. Data was read and re-read to develop familiarity with its contents. From this categories were identified and coded. Both preselected themes and emerging themes were developed from the categories.

Two types of analytical frameworks are suggested for qualitative data analysis. These are categorical and holistic analysis. "Categorizing strategies identifies similarities and differences among the data, coding and sorting them into appropriate categories". On the other hand "holistic analysis builds connections among the data in the actual context" (Rossman & Rallis, 2003: 273-274). In the categorical analysis the researcher focuses on the development of analytic categories from the data. In other words key issues emerging from the data are developed into categories that are used to generate meaning in the study. On the other hand holistic analysis focuses on description of the various issues arising from the research data. Rossman & Rallis (2003) explain the differences between themes and categories in qualitative data analysis. They note that a theme describes an aspect of lived experiences while a category can be a word or phrase describing some segment of the data. Usually categories may be reflected in interview questions or observation protocols while themes emerge from the data during analysis.

In this study qualitative data analysis moved from identifiable categories from the interview transcripts as well as lesson observation transcripts. The topics and questions formed the basis from which emerging themes were identified in the data. The deliberative potential in classroom instruction practices were analyzed based on a framework for deliberative talk in class (Michaels, et al.,, 2007). They identified three aspects of deliberation that can be observed in classroom discussions: Accountability to the learning community. This is demonstrated through students listening to one another and building on ideas of others in making their contributions, as well as providing clear reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with other students' views. Accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning is demonstrated through when students are able to make logical connections and draw reasonable conclusions in lesson discussion. Students being able search premises rather than simply attacking conclusions of others in discussions. Finally, accountability to knowledge is demonstrated when students talk based on facts, texts or other publicly accessible information that all individuals have access. In addition students make explicit the evidence behind claims. This provided a basis for assessing the deliberative potential of the lessons.

The study acknowledged the challenges involved in using only categorical analysis that individual voices of the study participants are lost as data is summarized in categories, whereas a holistic analysis preserves this aspect of the study. In this respect the study utilized both holistic and categorical analysis to highlight general themes as well as particular experiences of some individual participants in the study to illuminate further the meanings generated through categories. This created a context for understanding the emerging categories and themes. This is viewed as advantageous in that it balances participant's experiences and voices in the study without overlooking the overarching issues the data represents.

3.3   Scope and Delimitations of the Study

This study covered schools in one district within one education division out of six. The limited sample therefore suggests that no generalization of the results is intended beyond the district and the education division in which the study was conducted. However it is expected that the findings of the study are still informative on understanding the role of public education in the democratization process in Malawi in general. The study further recognizes the multiplicity of avenues through which students understanding of democratic processes may be acquired beyond the school and the curriculum. In this respect the study should be understood as focusing on the role of education as an institution amidst other similar institutions and avenues that are equally relevant in the democratization process.

The study also recognizes that currently, Malawi has no direct policy that require schools to provide for student participation in their governance practices. Thus the study's findings should be understood within this policy context.

3.4   Ethical Issues

Conducting research in an ethical manner is one important consideration in research. Rossman & Rallis (2003) discusses various ethical theories and issues guiding an ethical conduct of research: the ethic of consequences, the ethic of rights and responsibilities, the ethic of social justice, the ethic of care. But more importantly they highlight privacy and confidentiality, deception and consent as well as trust and betrayal as key ethical issues in field research. Privacy and confidentiality requires researchers to protect the identities names and roles of specific individuals as well as what they share with the researcher i.e., not sharing it with others using the individual's names. In this study anonymity was maintained in all responses and no personally identifiable information was obtained except through video records which were

obtained with consent. These are planned for destruction at the end of the research.

On deception and informed consent they observe that informed consent is crucial for the ethical conduct of research. Informed consent entails that participants are fully informed about the study's purpose and audience, and that they understand what their agreement to participate entails. They give consent willingly and understand that they may withdraw from the study at any time without prejudice. This ensures that participants are not deceived about the study and participation is voluntary.

In respect of ethical conduct of research the following steps were taken to ensure that the process was ethical. Accessing participants and research site, formal permission was obtained from the Southern Eastern Education Division as custodians of secondary schools falling under their division. Permission was obtained from the responsible officers to access the research sites and participants.

Participants, both teachers and students, were fully informed of the nature and purpose of study and their voluntary participation was obtained. Participants were told that they were free to drop out at any time of the study, should they decide to do so. They were further informed that they will not be personally identified in the study report or any publication arising from the research.

Data collection ensured minimum disruption to the routine of the research sites for instance focus group discussions with students were conducted at the end of the school day whenever it was practical to do so. Efforts have been made to ensure that data is honestly reported without any alterations to fit any purposes outside the academic interests of the study. Resources used in the conducting of the study as well as writing the report are duly acknowledged in the research report.

3.5   Chapter Summary

This chapter discussed the methodology and methods employed in the conduct of

this study. It discussed the qualitative and quantitative paradigms of research and their theoretical underpinnings. It highlights the inherent challenges in each of these research paradigms. From this, mixed methods as a research paradigm that attempts to capitalize on the strengths of both quantitative and qualitative research paradigms has been presented as well as its justification in this study. Research design and methods have also been discussed to demonstrate how the research was actually conducted and data analyzed. The next chapter begins the presentation of the results of the study beginning with the results from the survey.

CHAPTER 4:

GOVERNANCE PARTICIPATION AND PEDAGOGY: IN SEARCH OF DELIBERATIVE SPACES

4.0   Introduction

This chapter presents a quantitative analysis and findings of the study based on survey data. The chapter focuses on the first question of the study; to what extent do students perceptions of school governance and pedagogical practices suggest significant opportunities for active participation and democratic engagement in public secondary schools? The chapter is organized based on a series of questions on pedagogical practices followed by governance practices. The presentation begins with an examination of students' interests in social and political issues and the place of the school in this interest to contextualize the role of the school in the democratic formation of the students. This is followed by an examination of the classroom instructional practices and their provisions for opportunities for developing student values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement. The last part examines school governance participation to understand the democratic space provided in these practices to nurture values for active participation and democratic engagement. The chapter concludes with a summary of the key findings and issues of the chapter. All analysis in this chapter is based on respondents' actual responses only. All *don't know* responses in all the survey questions were re-coded as missing data. This allowed the analysis to proceed with only the expressed opinions of the respondents in the study.

4.1   A Summary of Sample Characteristics

The survey was conducted among senior students from public secondary schools in Zomba district of the Southern Eastern Education Division in Malawi. Boys and girls were sampled as respondents in the study. The majority of the students were in late adolescent stage, suggesting that they were quickly moving on to become full citizens

at age 18. This would enable them to participate in democratic processes such as voting in elections. Figure 4.1 summarizes respondents' age distribution.

Fig. 4.1: Respondents' age in years
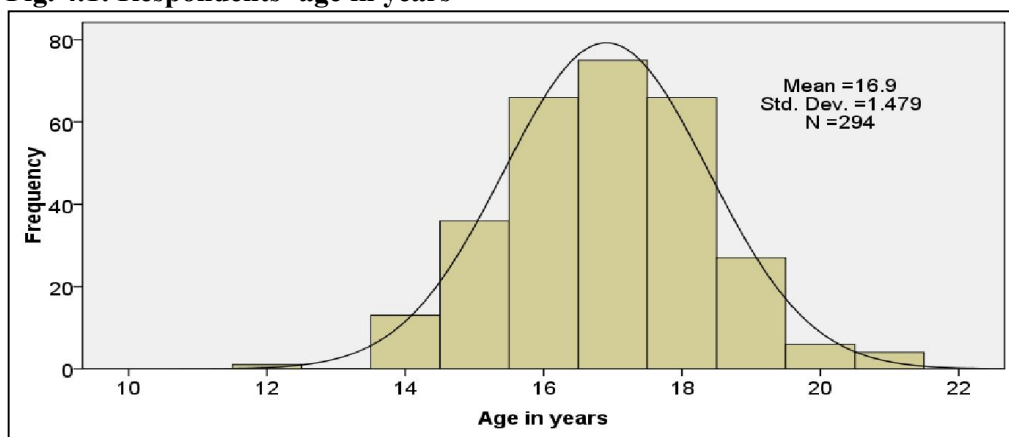
N=294 (38 respondents did not indicate their age on the questionnaires)

The figure above shows respondents' ages as normally distributed with a mean of 16.9 years and standard deviation of 1.479. Most students are within one year to attain the legal age of voting in Malawi and thus assume full citizenship status. In view of the fact that high school may mark a terminal point for most students academically; this age group is particularly important when considering the contribution of formal education to the democratization process in Malawi. The group offers a vantage point for assessing the impact of public schooling on values, and capacities for democratic participation and engagement in Malawi. It has been argued that adolescence is a critical time in political formation because it lays down the foundation for political behavior in adulthood (Flanagan, 2014).

As pointed out in table 4.1 below, data used in this chapter came from a total of 17 public secondary schools. The schools represented Conventional secondary school boarding (CSSB), Conventional secondary school day (CSSD) and Community day secondary schools (CDSS) representing the main categories of public secondary schools in Malawi. Out of the 17 schools sampled for the survey, 41.2% were CDSS, 35.3% were CSSB and 23.5% were CSSD. Generally there are more CDSS's schools

than there are CSS schools in Zomba district just as is the case in the country. This is reflected in the larger number of CDSS schools included in the sample. The schools are located both in urban and rural settings of the district offering a variety of contexts for the study.

Table 4.1: Respondents characteristics

School type	Number of schools	Respondents	Gender	
			Male	Female
CDSS	7	120	66	56
CSSD	4	81	36	41
CSSB	6	120	52	56
Totals	**17**	**332**	**154**	**153**

Note: 25 respondents did not indicate their gender when completing questionnaires.

Data collection coincided with the end of the academic year with both local and national examinations about to begin and schools preparing for the end of year break. This resulted in challenges with getting students to complete the questionnaires in few schools. The author physically administered almost all the questionnaires on site to increase the rate of return by minimizing loses and non-return of the questionnaires. This not only facilitated return of questionnaires but also ensured that students could immediately seek clarifications when faced with any problems in responding to the questionnaires.

The challenges posed by the timing of data collection led to a decision to include senior level students (i.e. year three and year four students) rather than final year students only as this was not possible given the timing and the national examinations that were about to begin. However this adjustment had no effect on the quality of the data as both year three and year four students follow a unified senior level curriculum, are generally taught by the same subject teachers, and student leadership is selected in year three serving up to the end of second term in year four. Based on these

considerations the author saw no significant problem in utilizing the available year three students in schools where year four students were inaccessible.

In total 335 students out of the targeted 400 students completed questionnaires representing approximately 84% of the targeted sample. 332 representing 83% of the original sample returned the questionnaires. This return rate is well above the acceptable return rate for questionnaires (Barbie, 2010). The returned questionnaires, 154 were from males while 153 were from females. 25 respondents did not indicate their gender.

The next section presents a descriptive analysis of the data exploring students' views on political interest, sources of political information, school governance and instructional strategies.

4.2 Students interest in social and political issues and the role of the school

The study first considered the extent to which secondary school students demonstrate interest in social and political issues in Malawi. To answer these question students were asked how much time on an average day in a week they spent watching, listening, or reading news about social and political issues. In addition they were asked to indicate the frequency if they ever discuss social and political issues with their friends at school. Responses were given in 0.5 hour intervals on a scale of 0-7 and frequency of discussions were given in 3 times intervals on a scale of 0-7. Means and standard deviations are used to describe the results as well as to compare variations across the three school types Conventional Secondary School Boarding (CSSB), Conventional Secondary Schools Day (CSSD) and Community Day Secondary Schools (CDSS) in the study. The table 4.2 below summarizes the results.

Table 4.2: **Time spent watching, listening, reading and discussing about social and political issues**

School type		TV watching	Radio	Newspaper	Discussions
CSSB	Mean	.76	1.10	1.00	3.20
	N	75	72	93	114
	Std. Deviation	1.063	1.313	.676	2.191
CSSD	Mean	2.17	2.52	2.12	2.73
	N	70	77	72	79
	Std. Deviation	1.911	1.896	2.034	2.017
CDSS	Mean	1.94	2.28	2.08	2.37
	N	112	123	112	124
	Std. Deviation	1.629	1.720	1.572	1.689
Total	**Mean**	**1.66**	**2.04**	**1.73**	**2.76**
	N	257	272	277	317
	Std. Deviation	**1.675**	**1.766**	**1.575**	**1.990**

The means indicate that CSSD (m = .76, sd = 1.06) students spent less time watching news about social and political issues compared to CDSS (m = 1.94, sd = 1.63), while CSSD (m = 2.17, sd = 1.91) appear to spent relatively more time than the two. Similarly, CSSB (m = 1.10, sd =1.31) spent less time listening on the radio to news about social and political issues. CDSS (m = 2.28, sd = 1.72) followed and CSSD (m = 2.52, sd = 1.90) relatively spent more time than the two. On the other hand CSSB (m=1.00, sd = .676) again spent less time on reading news about social and political issues than their counterparts. CSSD with (m= 2.12, sd = 2.03) spent almost similar time like the CDSS (m = 2.08, sd = 1.57) on reading news about social and political affairs.

These findings indicate that CSSB students consistently spent less time on reading, watching and listening to social and political news than both CSSD and CDSS who are day students as opposed to staying in the school as boarding students does. However, when it comes to discussing politics with friends at school, students in CSSB (m = 3.20, sd = 2.19) reported a higher frequency compared to students in CSSD (m = 2.73 sd = 1.69) and CDSS (m=2.37, sd = 1.69).

On average, secondary school students in the study spent more time listening to news about social and political issues on the radio ($m = 2.04$, $sd =1.766$) than reading ($m =1.73$, $sd=1.575$) and watching ($m= 1.66$, $sd =1.675$). In addition they actively discussed politics with friends at school ($m=2.76$, $sd=1.99$). These results suggest that secondary school students spent on an average weekday 1.02 hours (2.04 *0.5) listening, 0.87 hours (1.73*0.5) on reading, while 0.83 hours (1.66*0.5) hours were spent on watching news about social and political issues. Similarly, students on average discussed social and political issues with friends at schools 8.1 times (2.7*3) in a given month.

The results suggest that public secondary school students in Malawi demonstrate considerable interest in social and political issues happening in the country. This interest suggests that students tend to develop political interest before they attain the official age to assume full citizenship rights. This finding further suggests an important window to lay down the foundation for future political behavior. This finding raises important questions on how schools provide opportunities to direct the proper development of political attitudes and capacities among students.

Exploring the above results further seems to indicate some variations across the different types of schools. CSSB students had lower means on reading, listening and watching news about social and political issues than the CSSD and CDSS in the study. However, they had the highest mean on discussing political issues with friends in schools than the CSSD and CDSS. One possible explanation for this variation could be that boarding school students spend most of their time in school campuses with little access to televisions, newspapers and radios. The lower means in this group on these three aspects may therefore be indicative of limited access to these facilities rather than lack of political interest. This view is supported by this group's higher mean score on discussing social and political issues with friends. This may suggest a form of

114

compensating for the lack of access to radios, television and news paper which would be easily accessible to CDSS and CSSD students who come to school from homes.

To further explore the importance of the school system as a source of social and political information that not only informs students about politics but also inspires their beliefs about democratic practice, students were asked their most frequently used sources of social and political information both in and outside school. The figure 4.2 below summarizes the results on the most frequently used sources of information on political and current affairs among students.

Fig 4.2: Most frequently used sources of information
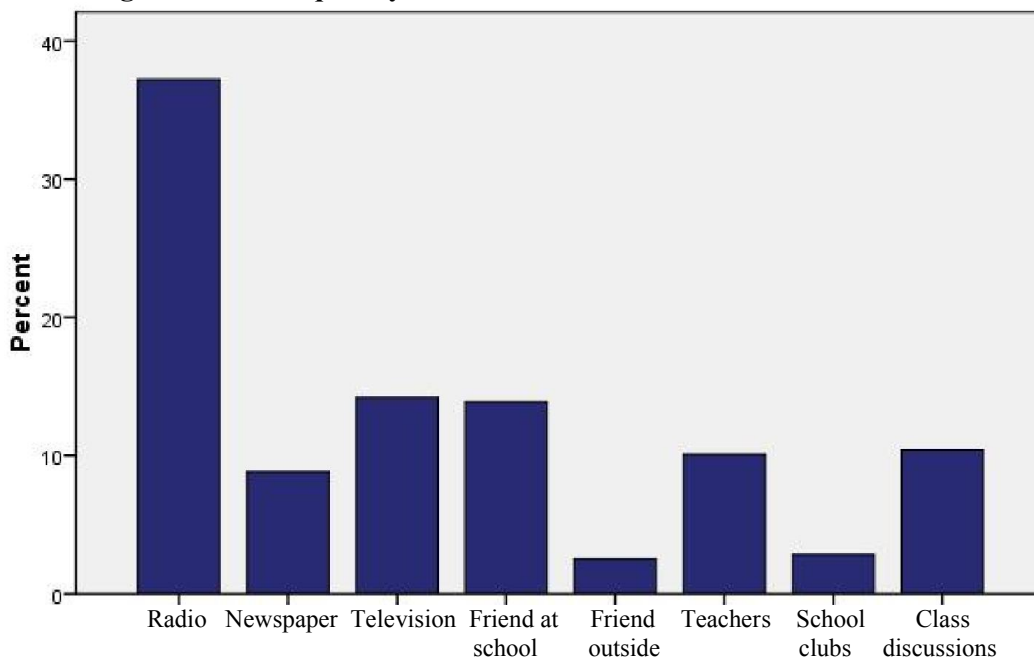
Radio accounted for 37.5% of the students as the most important source of information on social and political issues. Television came at 14.2%, friends at school at 13.9%, teachers at 10.1% while class discussion accounted for 9.9%. Combing friends at school, teachers and class discussion as representing the school, it is clear that the school accounted for 33.9% as an important source of social and political information. This make the school second only to the radio as an important source.

The importance of the radio in this case agrees with the earlier finding that students spent more time listening to social and political news on the radio compared to

watching television and reading newspapers. This may point to the fact that radios are readily available in most homes than televisions and newspapers that require regular buying. This may also indicate that most students come from homes with limited access to televisions and newspapers indicating a generally lower social economic status of most students' backgrounds.

However, the importance of the school as a source of information on social and political issues among students is quite considerable. This finding suggests the important role the school needs to play in shaping students attitudes and beliefs about political behavior and democratic society.

In view of the earlier finding that students in boarding schools tend to have limited opportunities for television, radios and newspapers indicated by their time spent on watching, listening and reading about social and political issues, this finding may suggest the school as the primary source of information for this group. Consequently, it may be argued that the school in general continues to occupy an important position in Malawi, in the social and political development of the young. However the extent to which this advantage is recognized and utilized in public schools in Malawi remains to be established.

The findings in this section show that public secondary school students have a significant interest in social and political issues happening in Malawi. As noted earlier the variations in amount of time spent listening, reading and watching news on social and political issues particularly lower in CSSB points to challenges of access rather than a lack of political interest among CSSB students. This limited access is compensated by increased frequency of political discussions with friends in this group. Students' political interest in study agrees with the observations that young people develop their values and beliefs about democracy and politics before adulthood and that their experiences during these adolescent years shape their political values and

116

behaviors in adulthood (Flanagan, 2014). The findings therefore suggest the importance of providing opportunities to inform students' democratic experiences within the public school system.

In view of the established students' active interest in social and political issues in their society, and the role of the school providing information on students social and political development, the study proceeded to examine the potential impact of public secondary schools governance participation and classroom instructional practices to nurture students attitudes, beliefs and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement in support of the ongoing democratization process in Malawi.

4.3   Classroom Instruction Practices

This section presents findings on students' perceptions on classroom instructional practices. The section focuses on examining the space given to student participation and experiences in instructional practices that build their values and interest as well as capacities for democratic engagement. The sections considers use of class discussions, student involvement, perceptions on teachers openness to students participation in class discussions, and the general provision for experiences to foster democratic engagement and participation in and out of classrooms.

4.3.1   Participation in class discussion

The study sought to explore the extent to which class discussions provide opportunities for significant participation and engagement. Three aspects related to class discussions were examined as follows; frequency of class discussions, students participation, teachers openness to student participation during class discussions.

To establish the extent of class discussions in classrooms, students were asked the frequency of group and/or class discussions in lessons attended the previous month. Three categories were used to report on the frequency of discussions (0 – less than half

the lessons, 1- about half the lessons, 2- more than half the lessons). Cross tabulations were used to compare the distribution of student responses in the three types of schools. The contingency table 4.3 below summarizes students' responses.

Table 4.3: **Cross tabulation: School type and frequency of group and/or class discussion**

School Type		Frequency of discussion			Total
		0	1	2	
CSSB	Count	52	22	44	118
	% within school type	44.1%	18.6%	37.3%	100.0%
CSSD	Count	36	12	33	81
	% within school type	44.4%	14.8%	40.7%	100.0%
CDSS	Count	49	14	66	129
	% within school type	38.0%	10.9%	51.2%	100.0%
Total	Count	137	48	143	328
	% within school type	41.8%	14.6%	43.6%	100.0%
	% of Total	41.8%	14.6%	43.6%	100.0%

Overall, 43.6% of the students indicated that group and/or class discussions were used in more than half of the lesson attended the previous month, while 14.6% reported discussions used in about half of the lessons. This was against 41.8% who reported that group discussions were used in less than half of the lesson attended the previous month. Generally, the results suggest group and/or class discussions were used in half to more than half in 58.2% of the lessons attended the previous month, making this teaching strategy one of the popular and teaching strategies in secondary school classrooms. Minimal variations were noted across the three school types. Students in CDSS, about 62%, reported group and/or class discussions used in half to more than half the lessons attended the previous month, against 58.9% in CSSB schools and 55.6% CSSD schools.

Group and/or class discussion as a teaching strategy reflects adherence to constructivist pedagogies with its emphasis on student participation and creation of knowledge as a joint activity. The teacher assumes the role of a facilitator guiding the students to the discovery of knowledge cooperatively. Discussing in groups as reported above provides learners with opportunity to interact with fellow students in dealing

with common tasks. This provides opportunity to foster cooperative attitudes and practices in the students.

Utilized effectively, discussions provide opportunities to learners for developing such skills for cooperation, communication as well as tolerance of different points of views towards a group consensus. These aspects underlie democratic participation.

However, prevalence of group and/or whole class discussions alone does not tell us much about the extent of individual student participation across the schools. To explore this aspect further, students were asked about the frequency of their personal contribution in the lessons attended the previous month. Students were asked to indicate the frequency of answering a question, asking a question or commenting during the lessons attended as a measure of their individual participation. Student responses were categorized (0- participated in less than half the lessons, 1- participated in about half the lessons, 2- participated in more than half the lessons). Cross tabulations were used to compare the distribution of students' responses across the three types of schools. The results are presented in table 4.4 below.

Table 4.4:   Cross tabulations: School type and level of student participation

School Type		Level of student participation			Total
		0	1	2	
CSSB	Count	14	20	84	118
	% within school type	11.9%	16.9%	71.2%	100.0%
CSSD	Count	15	11	53	79
	% within school type	19.0%	13.9%	67.1%	100.0%
CDSS	Count	27	9	90	126
	% within school type	21.4%	7.1%	71.4%	100.0%
Total	Count	56	40	227	323
	% within school type	17.3%	12.4%	70.3%	100.0%
	% of Total	17.3%	12.4%	70.3%	100.0%

The results show that overall the majority of the students, 70.3% reported actively participating in more than half the lessons attended the previous month by asking questions, answering questions or commenting during the lessons. The results appeared consistent across the three school types in the study. This and the previous

finding suggest a fairly consistent picture on opportunities for participation available to students through instructional practices.

The nature and quality of student participation and contributions in lessons may be a better indication of the possible impact of instruction practices on students' development of skills for critical thinking and rational argumentation. These aspects however are hard to establish based on survey data. Similarly, it is difficult to examine the impact of teachers' characteristics on the nature and level of classroom engagement and its implications on the cultivation of skills and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement. This notwithstanding, these findings suggest plausible reason to assume that classroom instructional practices offer considerable opportunities likely to make a positive impact on student skills and capacities for participation and engagement.

4.3.2 Teachers' openness to free discussions in classrooms

Exploring further classroom instructional practices the study investigated students perceptions on teachers' openness to student participation in classrooms. The focus was to find out whether students feel comfortable and encouraged to participate in class discussions without fear of being embarrassed by negative comments and such other elements from teachers or fellow students during discussions.

Provision of opportunities alone would not encourage open discussions unless the environment is open and accommodative of different views with mutual respect. Consequently, in examining classroom potential provisions for participation students were asked whether teachers in their classrooms freely accommodate students' views without unnecessarily exciting in the student fear of ridicule or embarrassment. Student reported their perceptions on the level of their teacher's free openness to encourage free

participation on a five point likert scale. Table 4.5 below presents findings across the three school types and gender.

Table 4.5:   Teachers accommodation: school type and gender

School type	Gender	Mean	Std. Deviation	N
	male	3.3922	1.15028	51
CSSB	female	3.0727	1.15237	55
	Total	**3.2264**	**1.15703**	**106**
CSSD	male	3.1944	1.26083	36
	female	2.7805	1.10707	41
	Total	**2.9740**	**1.19179**	**77**
CDSS	male	3.2727	1.24709	66
	female	2.9821	1.28617	56
	Total	**3.1393**	**1.26828**	**122**
Total	male	3.2941	1.21332	153
	female	2.9605	1.18981	152
	Total	**3.1279**	**1.21126**	**305**

The results show that students in CSSD (*m=2.97, sd = 1.19*) had lower perceptions on teachers' openness to accommodate students' participation, compared to CDSS (*m= 3.14, sd =1.27*) and CSSB (*m=3.23, sd = 1.16*). There was equally an apparent gender variation. Female students (*m=2.96, sd=1.19*) reported lower perceptions compared to males (*m=3.29, sd=1.21*). The overall findings (*m= 3.13, sd =1.2*) suggest that students generally perceived their teachers to be relatively open and accommodative of students' participation without unnecessarily making it difficult for some students to participate and thus feel excluded in class discussions.

However across the schools and gender, perceptions appeared to vary as noted above. To further examine the significance of these variations a factorial ANOVA was calculated to compare the effects of school type, gender as well as the interaction of school and gender on students' perceptions on teachers' accommodation. Table 4.6 below presents results on tests of between-subjects effects.

Table 4.6:   Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Dependent Variable: Accommodation

Source	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Corrected Model	11.411[a]	5	2.282	1.570	.168
Intercept	2842.170	1	2842.170	1955.372	.000
Gender	8.527	1	8.527	5.866	.016
Schtyp	2.669	2	1.334	.918	.400
Gender * Schtyp	.185	2	.092	.064	.938
Error	434.602	299	1.454		
Total	3430.000	305			
Corrected Total	446.013	304			
a. R Squared = .026 (Adjusted R Squared = .009)					

A 3 (school types) x 2 (gender) between subjects factorial ANOVA was calculated comparing students perceptions on classroom environment being conducive to participation for students in three different types of schools (CDSS, CSSD, CSSB) and who are male or female. The main effect school type was not significant (F (2,299) = .918, $p >$ .05). The main effect gender was significant (F (1, 299) = 5.866, $p <$ .05). The interaction of school type and gender was not significant (F (2,299) =.064, $p >$ .05). Thus it appears that neither school type nor the interaction of school type and gender had any significant effect on students' perceptions on teachers' accommodation of student views in classroom discussions. However students' gender had an effect on how students perceived teachers accommodation in classroom discussions. Male students (m=3.29, sd = 1.21) perceived teachers as more accommodative than female students (m=2.96, sd = 1.19).

A possible explanation of this gender difference could be that culturally girls tend are shy compared to boys; as such they may be more sensitive to teacher's practices regarding their participation. Depending on teachers' behaviour through comments or otherwise, girls are more likely to find classroom environment less accommodating and thus discourage girls' participation in classroom discussions.

4.3.3 Variations in School Provisions for Active Participation and Engagement

Further exploring available opportunities for student participation and engagement, the study examined variations in experiences available across schools. Students were asked to indicate whether in their schools they had opportunities for the following as part of their class or school activities: Contacting an elected official (e.g., local MP) about something that concerned them; participate in simulations (such as mock parliament, mock elections, or mock court); make speeches or give presentations; conduct interviews on an issue of concern; analyze political communications (such as political cartoons, articles, pamphlets, or commercials) in class; discuss controversial issues (such as abortion, death penalty, gay rights etc); felt encouraged to express personal opinions freely to others; develop a plan of action for a public problem, social concern or community issue, and participate in a demonstration or fundraiser for a social or political problem. Students' responses are presented in table 4.7 below

Table 4.7: Experienced Opportunities for Active Participation and Democratic Engagement

	Contact elected official (%)	Simula tions (%)	Speeches/ presentatio ns (%)	Conduct interview s (%)	Analyze communic ation (%)	Controve rsial issues (%)	Freely express opinions (%)	Develop a plan of action (%)	Demonstr ations or fundraisin g (%)
0	**72.3**	**79.1**	36.6	**63.3**	46.6	15.1	15.2	45.5	**67.4**
1	19.3	10.8	26.9	22.6	23.5	22.0	12.3	20.5	18.2
2	8.4	10.1	36.6	14.1	29.9	**62.8**	**72.5**	34.0	14.4
Total	100	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0	100
N	*285*	*278*	*290*	*270*	*281*	*304*	*309*	*288*	*291*

0= not at all; 1= about once; 2= more than once

The results show that students had the least experiences in activities involving them beyond the classroom. For instance most students indicated that they never participated in any effort to contact an elected official on issues that concerned them, 72.3%, similarly 67.4% of the students never had opportunity to participate in any local mobilization linked to active citizenship such as demonstrations or fund raising for a particular cause of concern. About 79.1% did not participate in simulations that depicted the operations of various democratic institutions in the society. Students equally expressed limited opportunities to engage in gathering information about social

issues through activities like conducting oral interviews 63.3%. With the exception of participating in simulations which could be done at classroom level, the rest involve engaging students beyond the classroom. On the other hand students reported participating in discussions on controversial issues 62.8% and felt encouraged to express opinions freely to others 72.5%. These two aspects are closely linked with classroom practices.

Arguably, the results suggest school opportunities for active participation and engagement is generally limited to the classroom environment. Provision beyond the classroom and the immediate school community seem to be lacking in schools practices. This suggests a significant disjuncture between school and the community around it in post-democracy Malawi as compared to pre-democracy situation. One is reminded of the 'Youth Week' prior to the country becoming a democracy in 1994.

'Youth Week' was a yearly national program where the youth joined with members of their local communities to engage in common development projects. During this period schools national wide suspended lessons for one whole week to allow students opportunity to participate in the various development activities in their local communities. In these projects students joined the members of the communities surrounding their schools to build foot bridges, school blocks, bus shelters, clear the streets and paths, market places among others. The program was to promote a spirit of self-help and community participation among the youth (Jimu, 2008). This program was perhaps the only large scale school youth engagement with their communities.

However, this practice ended with the coming of democracy. This has implications on cultivating social concern and interest to be involved as members of a community. It may be argued that schools are not political institutions to be engaged with social and community issues. However, this view would directly go against the

civic mission of the schools and its role in preparing capable citizens for the society ahead.

Exploring the variations across school type in these practices, a composite variable based on mean scores for each student's responses in the previous items was computed. A summary of student views on schools provisions are presented in table 4.8 below.

Table 4.8:   Descriptives: Participation and engagement

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Min	Max
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
CSSB	77	1.7229	.33895	.03863	1.6460	1.7999	1.11	2.67
CSSD	39	1.8746	.45326	.07258	1.7277	2.0216	1.11	2.89
CDSS	69	1.8019	.34080	.04103	1.7201	1.8838	1.22	2.78
Total	185	1.7844	.36909	.02714	1.7308	1.8379	1.11	2.89

Overall results (m=1.78, sd=.37) suggested that schools minimally provide opportunities for active participation and engagement in their pedagogical practices. Across the schools CSSB (m =1.72, sd = .34), differed from CSSD (m =1.87, sd =.45) and CDSS (m =1.8, sd =.34). A one-way ANOVA was calculated to explore whether these differences across the three school types were significant. The results are presented in table 4.9 below.

Table 4.9:   ANOVA: Participation and engagement

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	.630	2	.315	2.345	.099
Within Groups	24.436	182	.134		
Total	25.066	184			

A one-way ANOVA was computed to analyze variations in school's provision of experiences exposing students to active participation and democratic engagement in the three school types (CSSD, CSSB, and CDSS). No significant difference was found

125

(*F* (2,182) = 2.345, *p*>0.05). The three schools means; CSSB (*m* = 1.72, *sd* = 0.34*),* CSSD (*m* = 1.87*, sd* = 0.45) and CDSS (*m* = 1.8*, sd*= 0.34) were not significantly different from each other. Thus the results suggest that student views on provisions for experiences exposing them to active participation and democratic engagement did not differ significantly in the three types of schools.

This lack of variation across schools may be indicative of the similarities in school practices in their limited provisions of experiences for active participation and democratic engagement in the studied schools. A possible explanation could be the similarities in teacher experiences and hence provision of these experiences. Malawi has few teacher training institutions such that most of the secondary school teachers share similar backgrounds in their training and educational experiences as teachers.

Teachers' common background may point to the lack of significant orientation differences in as far as active participation and democratic engagement is concerned. This factor may equally suggest that teachers in their preparation may not have been prepared to be considering these aspects quite important in the education of their students. This may suggest the importance of teacher preparation as a factor in provision for active participation in schools. In addition schools share similar cultural contexts, which may possibly explain the lack of variation in the school practices in this regard.

This section has examined the possible impact of common pedagogical practices in public secondary schools on nurturing students' values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement. The results have highlighted the opportunities presented by common pedagogical practices for cultivating these skills and capacities. The findings suggest that class discussions offer considerable opportunities that could contribute to the development of students' skills and capacity for active participation and engagement.

However impact on democratic engagement skills and capacities is dependent on quality and nature of discussions. This aspect is further examined in a later chapter focusing on lesson observations. The results have also highlighted challenges in provision of active participation beyond the classroom. It would appear that much of the impact of pedagogical approaches would be limited to the classroom level. Gender has also been identified as a factor explaining how students perceive teachers' classroom accommodation and therefore opportunities for participation during discussions. On the other hand, school type appears to be less significant in as far as classroom provisions for participation and engagement are concerned. The next section presents results on governance participation.

4.4 School Governance Participation

This section presents results on school governance participation. The results examine the potential in school governance practices to provide democratic space for nurturing student values and skills for active participation and engagement as a democratic ideal. Governance participation was examined in the following practices; student representation in decision making bodies, consultation of student leadership on decisions affecting students, school administration openness and respect for student voices and students beliefs about the importance of democratic deliberation in decision making.

4.4.1 Student representation in decision-making

Student representation in decision-making was examined focusing on two aspects; whether students are involved in decision-making committees of the schools and whether school administrations consult student leadership on decisions affecting students. Variations in school practices from students' perceptions were also examined.

The school discipline committee handles matters regarding student discipline and recommends to school management its decisions for further action. This committee deals with matters that have direct relevance to students' interests in the school and was chosen on this basis as one key committee where student representation would be ideal. Regarding representation, students were asked if they knew any student in their school who sits on the school discipline committee as a member. Three response categories were given (none at all, at least 1, more than 1). Cross tabulations were used to compare students' responses across the schools. Table 4.10 below presents the results

Table 4.10: Cross tabulation: School type and student membership in discipline school committee

			Student representatives			
			None at all	At least 1	More than1	Total
School type	CSSB	Count	70	17	13	100
		% within school type	70.0%	17.0%	13.0%	100.0%
	CSSD	Count	27	26	16	69
		% within school type	39.1%	37.7%	23.2%	100.0%
	CDSS	Count	47	34	28	109
		% within school type	43.1%	31.2%	25.7%	100.0%
Total		Count	144	77	57	278
		% within school type	51.8%	27.7%	20.5%	100.0%

Overall 51.8% of the students reported that they do not know any student in their schools as representatives on the school discipline committee. However, there was variation across schools. In CSSB 70% reported that they do not know any student in their school sitting on the school discipline committee. This was against cumulatively, 56.9% of students in CDSS and 60.9% in CSSD reporting that they know at least one student who is a member of their schools discipline committee.

There could be several explanations for this variation. One possible explanation of this could be a possible confusion among students of representation and being called as a witness to a disciplinary hearing as is customary in most cases. Another possible explanation could be that different practices may actually prevail in individual schools on student representation. In this case day schools seem to provide for student representation but boarding schools seem not to provide for this. This situation would

raise questions on why boarding schools would prefer not to have student representative in a situation where students are most of their time in schools. Students staying in boarding form a school community given the length of their interactions that would benefit from such representation more than in day schools.

Failure to provide for student representation does not only deprive students' opportunities for active participation in decision making but also leads to a lack of accountability in the operations of this committee to the general student body. It is easy for students to believe the committee makes arbitrary decisions especially where significant disciplinary measures are meted out to offending students. This may contribute to distrust and suspicions on the legitimacy of the committee in students eyes. The issue of student representation is further explored using data from interviews in a later chapter.

Examining further the issue of student participation, the study investigated the extent to which student leadership is consulted when decisions affecting students are made in the schools. The student leadership as a representative body of all students is expected to act as a link between the general student body and school administrators. Student perceptions on the extent of school administration consulting student leadership on decisions directly affecting students were rated on a 5-point likert scale. The results are presented in table 4.11 below.

Table 4.11:   Descriptive statistics: Student consultation

	N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Min	Max
					Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
CSSB	116	2.5690	1.11296	.10334	2.3643	2.7737	1.00	5.00
CSSD	77	2.3896	1.28918	.14692	2.0970	2.6822	1.00	5.00
CDSS	125	2.6480	1.37522	.12300	2.4045	2.8915	1.00	5.00
Total	318	2.5566	1.26401	.07088	2.4171	2.6961	1.00	5.00

Overall the results (*m=2.56, sd=1.26*) suggested students took a neutral position on whether school does consult student leadership or not on decision affecting students.

Across the schools, students in CSSD (m=2.39, sd =1.29) disagreed that student leadership is consulted on decisions affecting students. Students in CSSB (m=2.57, sd = 1.11) and CDSS (m=2.65, sd =1.38) were generally non-committal on their schools providing opportunities to consult student leadership on decisions affecting students. A one-way ANOVA was calculated to compare means on students' perceptions on opportunities for consultation with students across the three school types (CDSS, CSSD, CSSB) if they were significantly different. Table 4.12 below shows the results of one-way ANOVA.

Table 4.12:   ANOVA: Student consultation

	Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Between Groups	3.209	2	1.605	1.004	.367
Within Groups	503.272	315	1.598		
Total	506.481	317			

One-way ANOVA was calculated to compare students' perceptions on availability of opportunities for student council to consult with school administration on issues affecting students across the three school types (CDSS, CSSD, CSSB). No significant difference was found (F (2,315) = 1.0, p > .05). Students' perceptions on opportunities available for student leadership consultation did not differ significantly across the three school types.

As noted earlier, lack of significant variations in the schools may reflect the contextual similarities of the schools that tend to make practices similar in most cases. Suffice it to say that schools seem not open enough to warrant student being clearly aware of the practice when it comes to providing opportunities for students' consultation in decision making. A possible explanation could be the impact of cultural values that may not respect views of the young preferring to control and direct them rather than to engage and deliberate with them on decisions. In most African cultures children have no voice in decision making.

130

4.4.2   School openness to students' voices in decision-making

The study further examined the extent to which students find school administration open to students' voices in decision-making. Students' perceptions were sought on; schools willingness to listen to students, schools accommodation of student voices in decision-making and whether schools freely allow students to assemble and discuss their problems without fearing reprisals from school administrators. Student responses were measured on a 5-point likert scale. The table 4.13 below presents results on student views on possibility of schools listening to student voices.

Table 4.13:   Descriptives: School listening to students

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Min.	Max
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Listening	CSSB	115	2.5913	1.36302	.12710	2.3395	2.8431	1.00	5.00
	CSSD	77	3.2078	1.41735	.16152	2.8861	3.5295	1.00	5.00
	CDSS	118	3.3051	1.27774	.11763	3.0721	3.5380	1.00	5.00
	Total	310	**3.0161**	**1.38054**	.07841	2.8618	3.1704	1.00	5.00

Listening ($m = 3.02$, $sd = 1.38$) the results show that students generally agreed that schools listen to student voices. However the extent of these positive perceptions appeared to vary across the schools. For instance, CSSB ($m = 2.59$, $sd = 1.36$) differed from CSSD ($m = 3.21$, $sd = 1.42$), and CDSS ($m = 3.31$, $sd = 1.28$). A one-way ANOVA was calculated to examine the significance of the variations in students' perceptions on the willingness of the schools to listen in the three types of schools (CDSS, CSSD, CSSB) were significant. Table 4.14 below presents the results.

Table 4.14:   ANOVA: School listening to students

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Listening	Between Groups	33.436	2	16.718	9.240	.000
	Within Groups	555.484	307	1.809		
	Total	588.919	309			

A significant difference was found among the three school types ($F (2,307) =$ 9.24, $p < .05$). Students' views in CSSB, CSSD and CDSS on schools willingness to listen to student views were significantly different. Tukey's *HSD* was used to determine the nature of these differences between school types. Table 4.15 below presents results from Tukey's *HSD*.

Table 4.15:   Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) School type	(J) School type	Mean Differenc e (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval	
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound
Listening	CSSB	CSSD	-.61649*	.19807	.006	-1.0830	-.1500
		CDSS	-.71378*	.17626	.000	-1.1289	-.2987
	CSSD	CSSB	.61649*	.19807	.006	.1500	1.0830
		CDSS	-.09729	.19706	.874	-.5614	.3668
	CDSS	CSSB	.71378*	.17626	.000	.2987	1.1289
		CSSD	.09729	.19706	.874	-.3668	.5614

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The analysis revealed that students from CSSB (*m* =2.59, *sd* = 1.36) views were significantly different from both CSSD (*m* =3.21, *sd* =1.42) and CDSS (*m* =3.31, *sd* =1.28). However views of students' in CDSS were not significantly different from those in CSSD. Although CSSB students had views significantly different the views were towards agreeing that schools somehow show interest to listen to students views. Exploring, this aspect further, students views on whether their voices are actually accommodated or have influence on school decisions was examined. The table 4.16 below summarizes the findings.

Table 4.16:   Descriptives: School Accommodation

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Min.	Max
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Accommodation	CSSB	116	2.0345	.89376	.08298	1.8701	2.1989	1.00	5.00
	CSSD	79	2.4937	1.19693	.13467	2.2256	2.7618	1.00	5.00
	CDSS	122	2.5820	1.32266	.11975	2.3449	2.8190	1.00	5.00
	Total	317	2.3596	1.17328	.06590	2.2300	2.4893	1.00	5.00

The results on accommodation ($m = 2.36$, $sd = 1.17$) shows that students disagreed that schools accommodate their voices in decisions making. In other words students' voices have no significant influence in the actual decisions made. Across the different school types some variation was evident in students' perceptions. CSSB ($m = 2.03$, $sd = .89$) disagreed more compared to CSSD ($m = 2.49$, $sd = 1.20$) and CDSS ($m = 2.58$, $sd = 1.32$). A one-way ANOVA was calculated to examine the significance of the variations in students' perceptions on schools accommodation of students' views in decision making in the three types of schools (CDSS, CSSD, CSSB). Table 4.17 below presents the results from ANOVA.

Table 4.17:   ANOVA: School accommodation

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Accommodation	Between Groups	19.714	2	9.857	**7.453**	**.001**
	Within Groups	415.289	314	1.323		
	Total	435.003	316			

A significant difference was found among the three school types ($F(2,314) = 7.453$, $p < .05$) on accommodation of student views in schools decision making. Tukey's *HSD* was used to determine the nature of differences between school types. The results are shown in table 4.18 below.

Table 4.18:   Multiple Comparisons

Tukey HSD

Dependent Variable	(I) School type	(J) School type	Mean Difference (I-J)	Std. Error	Sig.	95% Confidence Interval Lower Bound	95% Confidence Interval Upper Bound
Accommodation	CSSB	CSSD	**-.45919**[*]	.16776	.018	-.8542	-.0641
		CDSS	**-.54748**[*]	.14914	.001	-.8987	-.1963
	CSSD	CSSB	**.45919**[*]	.16776	.018	.0641	.8542
		CDSS	**-.08830**	.16608	.856	-.4794	.3028
	CDSS	CSSB	**.54748**[*]	.14914	.001	.1963	.8987
		CSSD	**.08830**	.16608	.856	-.3028	.4794

*. The mean difference is significant at the 0.05 level.

The analysis revealed that students from CSSB (m =2.03 , sd = .89), disagreed more than students from both CSSD (m =2.49 , sd =1.20) and CDSS (m =2.58 , sd =1.32). However students' in CDSS were not significantly different from those in CSSD. CSSB students disagreed that their views have any influence on school decisions. It is rather surprising that students earlier felt schools show willingness to listen but at the same time felt that their voice are not accommodated in school decisions. This may suggest that either school leaders only appear to listen to student on non essential decisions but cares less when it comes to key decisions. In this case a mere semblance of appearing to listen to students is implied as no significant influence is expected from these views. Equally important is the fact that CSSB students spend more time in schools and are more likely to experience this lack of accommodation than their counterparts in the other school types. Finally the study considered perceptions on allowing free student assemblies in schools. Suffice to say that generally schools seem to exclude student views in decision making.

Finally possibility of students freely assembling and discuss common problem without fearing reprisals was examined to understand how open schools are in providing opportunities for active participation and mutual engagement in resolving problems. The results are presented in table 4.19 below;

Table 4.19: Descriptives: Free assembly

		N	Mean	Std. Deviation	Std. Error	95% Confidence Interval for Mean		Min.	Max
						Lower Bound	Upper Bound		
Assembly	CSSB	116	1.9138	1.12342	.10431	1.7072	2.1204	1.00	5.00
	CSSD	78	1.9744	1.31894	.14934	1.6770	2.2717	1.00	5.00
	CDSS	126	2.3016	1.46571	.13058	2.0432	2.5600	1.00	5.00
	Total	320	**2.0812**	**1.32245**	.07393	1.9358	2.2267	1.00	5.00

Results on assembly (m= 2.08, sd = 1.32) show that overall students disagreed that schools freely allow students to assemble and discuss their problems as students in

the schools. Across the individual schools level of disagreement appeared to vary. For instance, CSSB (*m* = 1.91, *sd* = 1.12) disagreed more than CSSD (*m* =1.97, *sd* = 1.32) and CDSS (*m* = 2.30, *sd* = 1.47). A one-way ANOVA comparing students' perceptions on the extent of their schools allowing free assembly from three school types (CDSS, CSSD, and CSSB) was computed to find out if the differences were significant. Table 4.20 below presents ANOVA results.

Table 4.20:   ANOVA: Free assembly

		Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Assembly	Between Groups	10.261	2	5.131	**2.970**	**.053**
	Within Groups	547.626	317	1.728		
	Total	557.888	319			

ANOVA found no significant differences among the three school types (*F* (2,317) = 2.97, *p* > .05). The students from the three types of schools did not differ significantly in their perceptions on the extent of their schools allowing students to freely assemble in the schools. Students found their schools not allowing student to freely assemble and discuss their concerns without fearing reprisals from school administration. Why do schools fail to freely let students assemble and deliberate on their common concerns? There is a possibility that schools fear the outcomes of such assemblies. For instance, student assemblies may be perceived as breeding grounds for students' unrests in schools, if they feel schools are not listening or addressing their problems. This might be a potential challenge in schools to maintain a balance between discipline and encouraging democratic participation and engagement among students.

However, in doing this schools fail to utilize such open forums to engage and direct their students towards healthy and peaceful resolution of conflicts. This would equally encourage the development of appropriate skills in the students rationally present their views in a public setting and learn to listen to the voice of reason.

Putting the above findings together CSSB students scored lower on all the three aspects of school openness to student voices in decision-making. This suggests that comparatively boarding schools tend limit opportunities for student active participation and engagement in decision making than day schools. This may point preference for control and directing than democratically engaging with students and their concerns. This deprives student opportunities to learn to speak out on issues and be open to alternative views based on rational exchange. It is however, good to note that schools appear to be willing to listen to student views. This is an opportunity that can be built upon to encourage student participation by ensuring that their voices have clear consequences on decision made. Where such is not possible students should be aware of the reasons behind the decisions. Failure to do this would make this willingness to listen a mere tokenistic gesture.

4.4.3   Students' beliefs about the importance of deliberation in decision making

The final section of this chapter investigated students' beliefs about deliberative decision making. Student's beliefs were examined on four variables related to the concept of deliberative decision making. Students were asked to state their level of agreement on selected practices in deliberative decision making; the importance of rationally discussing views and opinions before settling to vote in decision making, whether opinions of senior people should be given priority on that basis in democratic decision making, whether all opinions should be treated equally and whether students desire to be involved in school decision making processes. A 5-point likert scale was used to capture students' level of agreement or disagreement. Table 4.21 below presents the summary statistics on students' responses.

Table 4.21:   Descriptive Statistics: beliefs about democratic deliberation

	N	Min	Max	Mean	Std. Deviation
	318	1.00	5.00	4.0597	1.07431
Discuss then vote					
Deference to seniority	309	1.00	5.00	2.5405	1.49104
Equality of opinions	313	1.00	5.00	3.7284	1.19818
Desire to be consulted	306	1.00	5.00	2.0948	1.20416
Valid N (listwise)	284				

The results show that students strongly agreed with the importance of deliberating to generate a consensus before decisions are finally settled through voting (m = 4.06, sd =1.07). Similarly, students supported the ideal of equality of opinions in deliberation i.e. opinions to account on basis of their merit and not the particular circumstances of the speakers (m = 3.73, sd = 1.20). However, students appeared neutral on showing deference to opinions made by people based on their seniority in a deliberative situation (m =2.54, sd = 1.49). On the other hand students in general expressed disagreement with desire to be consulted in school decision making processes (m = 2.09, sd = 1.20).

It came rather as a surprise that although students favored deliberation in decision making as a democratic ideal, they were non committal on giving deference to opinions based on the particular circumstances of the speaker in this case seniority. Similarly surprising was students' lack of interest to be actively involved in decision making processes in their schools. It is possible that the strong influence of cultural values that demand showing great deference to senior people are involved in these views. Students may have had challenges to reconcile the need to consider all opinions equal and on merit against the cultural dictates of respecting opinions of older people. Malawian cultural values regard seniority as a mark of experience and wisdom and attach great value to opinions coming senior people. Thus the students' views on this question may be indicative of this cultural influence.

Similarly, students' lack of interest to be involved in general could be indicative of the passive attitude to public issues that is sometimes argued to be characteristic in Malawi (Chinsinga 2006). If this be the case, then there is need for school practices to try and address this passive attitude by encouraging active participation among students in the affairs of their school community. On the other hand this lack of interest may also be explained as a manifestation of students' feelings of helpless to make any difference in the way their school communities function. These feelings of helplessness to make any difference may actually influence the existing passive attitudes as well. It also just might as well indeed mean that students do not want to be involved in decision making processes of their schools. The real course of this lack of desire to be involved in decision making may need to be further explored in future research. However in the context of the current research this is assumed to be a manifestation of feelings of helplessness among students conditioned by their current experiences.

Exploring students' beliefs about deliberation in decision making, the study further examined whether students' gender and school type had significant influence on students views about the importance of deliberation in decision making. A MANOVA was calculated to examine the effect of school type and gender, as well as the interaction of school type and gender on students' beliefs about deliberation in decision making. Table 4.22 below presents the results of the multivariate tests.

Table 4.22: **Multivariate Tests[c] : beliefs about democratic deliberation**

Effect		Value	F	Hypothesis df	Error df	Sig.
Intercept	Pillai's Trace	.969	2032.541[a]	4.000	256.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	.031	2032.541[a]	4.000	256.000	.000
	Hotelling's Trace	31.758	2032.541[a]	4.000	256.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	31.758	2032.541[a]	4.000	256.000	.000
Schtyp	Pillai's Trace	.242	8.829	8.000	514.000	.000
	Wilks' Lambda	*.766*	*9.120[a]*	*8.000*	*512.000*	*.000*
	Hotelling's Trace	.295	9.411	8.000	510.000	.000
	Roy's Largest Root	.256	16.442[b]	4.000	257.000	.000
Gender	Pillai's Trace	.035	2.291[a]	4.000	256.000	.060
	Wilks' Lambda	*.965*	*2.291[a]*	*4.000*	*256.000*	*.060*
	Hotelling's Trace	.036	2.291[a]	4.000	256.000	.060
	Roy's Largest Root	.036	2.291[a]	4.000	256.000	.060
Schtyp * Gender	Pillai's Trace	.075	2.506	8.000	514.000	.011
	Wilks' Lambda	*.926*	*2.504[a]*	*8.000*	*512.000*	*.011*
	Hotelling's Trace	.079	2.503	8.000	510.000	.011
	Roy's Largest Root	.055	3.562[b]	4.000	257.000	.008

a. Exact statistic

b. The statistic is an upper bound on F that yields a lower bound on the significance level.

c. Design: Intercept + Schtyp + Gender + Schtyp * Gender

A one way MANOVA was calculated examining the effect of school type (CSSB, CSSD, CDSS) and gender (Male, Female) on students beliefs about the importance of deliberation in decision making. A significant school type effect was found (*Lambda* (8,512) = .766, $p < .05$). Similarly, a significant effect of the interaction of school type and gender was found (*Lambda* (8,512) = .926, $p < .05$. However, a no significant gender effect was found (*Lambda* (4,256) = .965, $p > .05$). Follow up univariate ANOVA are reported in table 4.23 below.

Table 4.23: Tests of Between-Subjects Effects

Source	Dependent Variable	Type III Sum of Squares	df	Mean Square	F	Sig.
Schtyp	Discuss and then vote	9.167	2	4.583	4.212	.016
	Deference to seniority	78.353	2	39.176	21.068	.000
	Equality of opinions	19.130	2	9.565	6.948	.001
	Desire to be consulted	34.258	2	17.129	12.591	.000
Gender	Discuss and then vote	.005	1	.005	.004	.947
	Deference to seniority	10.608	1	10.608	5.705	.018
	Equality of opinions	4.126	1	4.126	2.997	.085
	Desire to be consulted	.043	1	.043	.032	.859
Schtyp * Gender	Discuss and then vote	11.821	2	5.911	5.431	.005
	Deference to seniority	9.089	2	4.545	2.444	.089
	Equality of opinions	4.883	2	2.442	1.773	.172
	Desire to be consulted	.708	2	.354	.260	.771
Error	Discuss and then vote	281.865	259	1.088		
	Deference to seniority	481.607	259	1.859		
	Equality of opinions	356.579	259	1.377		
	Desire to be consulted	352.335	259	1.360		
Total	Discuss and then vote	4720.000	265			
	Deference to seniority	2242.000	265			
	Equality of opinions	4082.000	265			
	Desire to be consulted	1562.000	265			

a. R Squared = .067 (Adjusted R Squared = .049)

b. R Squared = .167 (Adjusted R Squared = .151)

c. R Squared = .070 (Adjusted R Squared = .052)

d. R Squared = .090 (Adjusted R Squared = .072)

Follow up univariate ANOVAs indicated that students beliefs about the importance of deliberation in decision making were significantly influenced by school type (F (2,259) = 4.21, p < .05. Students beliefs about the importance of showing deference to opinions based on seniority were significantly influenced by school type (F (2,259) = 21.07, p < .05. Student beliefs about the importance of respecting the equality of opinions in democratic decision making were significantly influenced by school type (F(2,259) = 6.95, p < .05), and students desire to be involved in school decision making on matters affecting them was significantly influenced by school type (F(2,259) = 12.59, p <.05.

The results potentially suggest the important influence the school exerts on what students believe about democratic practices. This influence could be both positive and negative depending on the nature of experiences students have in their schools. The results further point out that this influence is not dependent on student's gender. This makes the school an important variable in students' beliefs about deliberation as democratic ideal.

Follow up univariate ANOVAs further indicated that only beliefs about the importance of discussing issues before voting, were significantly influenced by the effect of the interaction between school type and gender ($F(2,259) = 5.43$, $p < .05$. However beliefs about the importance of deference to opinions based on seniority were not significantly influenced by effect of the interaction between school type and gender ($F(2,259) = 2.44$, $p > .05$, beliefs about the importance of respecting the equality of opinions in deliberation were not significantly influenced by the interaction between school type and gender ($F(2,259) = 1.77$, $p > .05$, and finally beliefs about the need to be consulted on matters affecting them were not significantly influenced by the interaction of school type and gender ($F(2,259) = .26$, $p > .05$. These results confirm the earlier finding that school type is an important variable in understanding students' beliefs about deliberation in decision making as a democratic ideal.

4.5   Chapter Summary

This chapter has focused on the first question of the research: what do students perceptions on school governance and classroom instructional practices suggest about opportunities for cultivating students values and skills for active participation and democratic engagement in public secondary schools in Malawi? The quantitative findings presented in this chapter suggest significant challenges in the overall provisions for opportunities to nurture values and skills for active participation and

democratic engagement as a democratic ideal within the public schools. However, the findings point to significant opportunities for participation at classroom level through the use of participatory teaching strategies but notes challenges when it comes to participation beyond the classroom.

The chapter acknowledges that the quality of deliberation within the classrooms discussions which is necessary to assess the nature and extent of engagement between students and their teachers cannot be adequately addressed through survey data. This issue is taken up in the next chapter. The chapter has also highlighted particular challenges students experience in terms of participation in school governance. It notes the apparent exclusion of students in decision making processes in the schools. However, found also that schools are seen as willing to listen to students although this is not reflected in the actual decisions made. The chapter also identifies school type as an important variable in understanding school provisions for active participation in public schools. Finally the results indicate that students believe in the importance of deliberative decision making as a democratic practice in as much as they express limited desire to be involved.

CHAPTER 5:

DELIBERATIVE POTENTIAL IN INSTRUCTIONAL PRACTICES: A CASE OF SOCIAL STUDIES LESSONS

5.0   Introduction

This chapter presents findings on the potential contribution of classroom instruction practices to build students capacities for democratic engagement. Focusing on data from lesson observations, the chapter addresses the second research question of the study; how do teachers and students classroom interactions during lesson discussions relate to quality deliberative talk in classrooms? The analysis follows a framework on deliberative talk in class drawn from Michaels, et al., (2007). The framework identifies three ideals through which deliberative potential in class discussions may be manifested in a lesson. These are;

1. Accountability to the learning community (this is manifested as students listen to one another and build on ideas of others, make contributions in response to others, and provide reasons for agreeing or disagreeing with others)

2. Accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning (this is manifested through logical connections and drawing of reasonable conclusions, students search premises rather than simply attacking conclusions in their contributions)

3. Accountability to knowledge (this is manifested through talk based on facts, texts or other publicly accessible information that all individuals have access, and students make explicit the evidence behind claims).

The finding begins with a summary of the data sources. This is followed by a presentation of the findings from lesson observations on each of the three aspects of deliberative discourse, illustrated with a few cases sampled from the lessons. The chapter concludes with challenges and opportunities for significant deliberative talk in classroom discussions.

5.1 Lesson Observations Approach

The primary sources of the data used in this chapter were the lesson observations conducted in 10 sampled schools. In each school a single Social Studies lesson delivered by a teacher in the final year class was observed. The approach was to stretch across schools to identify general patterns rather than focusing on a single classroom for an in-depth view of an individual teachers practice. This approach would ensure that data is not contaminated by teachers and students getting used to the observation and being forced to 'stage' lessons. All lessons were observed were in Social Studies as a primary subject dealing with issues of democracy in the current secondary school curriculum in Malawi. Lessons were audio and video recorded for analysis. The details of the lessons observed are presented in table 5.1 below.

Table 5.1: Summary of lessons observed

Lesson code	Lesson time in minutes	Teacher gender	School type and Class composition	Reference material	Teaching methods used			
					Lecture	Interactive lecture	Whole class discussion	Group work
SS1	80	M	CSSB/nat. Mixed	Used		✓		✓
SS2	40	M	CSSB/dist. Mixed	None		✓		✓
SS3	40	F	CSSB/dist. Mixed	None		✓		✓
SS4	80	M	CDSS Mixed	Used	✓	✓		✓
SS5	35	M	CSSD Mixed	Used			✓	
SS6	35	F	CSSD Mixed	None	✓			
SS7	40	M	CDSS Mixed	None		✓	✓	
SS8	35	M	CDSS Mixed	None		✓		✓
SS9	40	F	CSSB/nat. Girls	None		✓		✓
SS10	40	M	CSSB/nat. Girls	Used		✓	✓	
Totals (out of 10)					2	8	3	6

N=10

Lessons were observed in 3 CDSS, 3 CSSB-national schools, 2 CSSB-district boarding school and 2 CSSD schools. The summary further show that interactive lecture and group and/or whole class discussions were the most common instructional strategies teachers used in the lessons. In interactive lecture the teacher explains the subject matter of the lesson interspaced with questions or short tasks for students. In group and/or whole class discussions students are divided into small groups and are assigned topics for discussion. At the end groups present the results of their discussion

in a plenary for a general discussion. The dominancy of these approaches may suggest strong influences of participatory teaching approaches emphasized in constructivist approaches to teaching. The next section summarizes the observed lessons and identifies key characteristics of the lessons as they relate to deliberative talk in classrooms.

5.2   A Summary of Lessons Observed and their Characteristics

The following summaries give an overview of the basic characteristics in the observed lessons. These serve to highlight the main pedagogical practices in the various classes observed.   The SS stand for secondary school here coded nominally from 1 through 10. The bold letters indicate the titles of the lessons observed followed by a summary of the lesson.

SS1: Characteristics of developing countries. This lesson was observed for 80 minutes in a mixed sex national secondary school. The lesson was delivered by a male teacher. The lesson began with a question and answer session reviewing the previous lesson. The development of the lesson was through student discussing in groups followed by a plenary session when students presented the results of their discussions to the rest of the class. Presentations were integrated with questions arising from the discussion. Students were divided into 9 groups for the discussion. Handouts with questions were given to the groups and discussions were based on selected pages of the textbook that served as reference information. The lesson introduction had students refer to a textbook map when answering teachers' questions.   In this lesson accountability to knowledge resulted from reference to the textbook information in responding to questions which were accessible to all allowing anyone to query responses based on this reference text. A moderate accountability to acceptable

145

standards of reasoning was encouraged by the teacher demanding students to explain their understanding of different terms used based on the information.

This allowed students to correct their responses following teachers probing of the responses. However display of accountability to learning community remained minimal as students responded to the teacher but made no observable linkage to other students' views or responses either by challenging or building up on these responses. However, a few groups during the plenary did manage to connect their responses to what other groups presented and so in a way building up on these lines of thought. Apart from this connection to others responses was rather indirect as the teacher controlled the flow of the question cutting opportunities for students to interact with each other's views directly. Towards the end of the lesson the teacher was pressed with time to have all groups present before the end of the lesson. This led to almost no time for detailed responses or discussion. This lesson based on these considerations was considered as moderately providing for deliberative discourses in the lesson

SS2: Population change. The lesson was observed at a mixed sex government day secondary school for 40 minutes. The lesson was delivered by a male teacher. The lesson introduction engaged students by asking them recall questions about the pervious lesson. The questions asked required recalling of simple facts from the previous lesson. Students addressed their responses to the teacher and no clear student reactions to each other's response was not evident in this lesson. The introduction was followed by student discussing in groups and presentation of the results of their discussion. It was not clear what background information students needed to engage in the discussion as no reference material was assigned.

The presentation of the group results was no different from the question and answer in the introduction. The simple recall of facts offered no significant opportunities for students to explain their understanding of the content or explain the

evidence on which their answered were based. There was no clear effort to encourage students to form logical connections of facts in their responses as the teacher placed no such demands on the students. To lesser degree the introduction allowed accountability to knowledge as students were expected to provide facts based on a previously taught lesson which can be assumed to all students and thus would be able to engage based on this information. However, the lesson development to its conclusions hardly displayed accountability to learning community as there was no explicit building on previous comments or answers nor engaging with each other's views as students gave responses to the teacher. Failure to engage with students' responses offered limited opportunity for assessing this aspect of deliberative discourse .Similarly, lack of any clear reference point for the group discussions it would be difficult to assess how accountability to knowledge could be established in this class. Towards the end groups had limited time to state their results forcing the teacher to simply rush on to finish on time.

SS3: Morality in the society. The lesson was observed at a mixed sex government boarding secondary school for 40 minutes. The lesson was delivered by a female teacher. The lesson introduction engaged students in question and answers recalling information from the previous lesson. Teacher asked questions and students were nominated to respond. Responses were brief statements by students which the teacher frequently repeated after the student before accepting the response and asking another question. The questions placed no demand on students to give a well reasoned explanation possibly with evidence to support the responses. Apparently the responses were based on information shared in the previous lesson. The introduction was followed by students being assigned to groups for discussion. No particular reference materials such as textbook were used for background information in the discussions. Every two groups were assigned similar questions and there were 8 groups in total. Plenary followed group discussions where students reported to the class results of their

discussions. The plenary was basically non-engaging. Students basically read a list of points with no detailed explanation to justify why those responses. The teacher asked no question nor invited questions from the other students but simply moved on to the next group. After all groups had presented the teacher simply readout her own list of responses and there was no time to for explanations as she concluded the lesson. Generally this lesson did not provide opportunities for students to engage in any deliberative discourses.

SS4: International Organs for dealing with international conflict. The lesson was observed at a mixed sex community day secondary school for 80 minutes. The lesson was delivered by a male teacher. The lesson was delivered dominantly through question and answer from the introduction through lesson development to the conclusion. However, the teacher answered and explained the key questions of the lesson and only let students respond to questions requiring simple responses. No clear efforts to get the learners think critically about the questions and provide reasoned answers. Teacher was satisfied with simple answers. Failure to engage the learners also resulted in difficulties assessing learners' accountability to the accepted standards of reasoning and articulate reasons as well as providing factual information to support the answers.

Lack of engagement also made the lesson fails to give students chance to build up on others response or make any concessions in their responses. This would have been possible if the teacher gave the students chance to respond to each other's questions without the teacher always moving in to provide the answer before students had a chance to debate it. Reference materials used in the lesson were School Atlases which were referred to in one section of the lesson. Apart from this the rest of the discussion had no clear background information to help students in formulating their responses. In this lesson students simply responded to teachers' questions without

generating any debate on the issues where students could demonstrate their thinking and understanding of the substance of the lesson.

Generally the teacher provided most of the answers during the discussion. Consequently Accountability to knowledge, reasoning and learning community did not feature as strong points of this lesson. The lesson was characterized by less references to other views contributed in the lesson as a basis for new positions (accountability to the learning community), less reference to any organized source of knowledge expect in one instance where the teacher distributed school atlases for students to find out countries that are members of SADC. Few parts of parts of the lesson engaged learners in exploring responses guided by teachers' questions as illustrated in the introductory part of the lesson

SS5: Causes of conflict. The lesson was observed at a mixed sex government day secondary school for 35 minutes. It was delivered by a male teacher. Briefly the teachers stated what was learnt before and quickly moved into the development of the lesson. Developing the lesson the teacher asked questions and student checked in the textbook and gave a response based on what was written in their textbook. The teacher expanded on this information and summarized it by writing it on the chalk board. Student responses to teacher's questions were properly based on what they were reading from the textbook. The teacher basically asked questions whose responses the learners picked from the book. The lesson progressed in a similar fashion from introduction to the end. By giving responses based on facts and information that was accessible to the rest of the class, students demonstrated accountability to knowledge. The student's responses fairly displayed some level of reasoning and basing their response on evidence from the books. There was also occasions where students were able to build on others views to explain a situation this fairly demonstrated some accountability to the learning community.

SS6: Financial Institutions. This was 35 minute lesson observed at a mixed sex district boarding school. The lesson was delivered by a female teacher. This lesson was a good example of a lesson where the teacher dominated. The teacher explained the lesson with minimal student participation. The teacher generally answered all questions from students alone. The teacher asked a few questions of her own that required in some cases one word answers like a name of a bank. Student responses were limited to brief responses to teacher initiated questions. No serious demand was placed on the students by the teacher to explain, justify, or build up on other views in the lesson. This lesson was low on all the three aspects of deliberative discourse.

SS7: Market forces. This was a 40 minute lesson observed at a mixed sex community day secondary school delivered by a male teacher. The class was tightly packed with about 60 students. The lesson introduction had the teacher ask the students to state what they recall from the previous lesson. Clearly students responded based on this common knowledge from the previous lesson. During lesson development to the end, the teacher listed terms associated with marketing and finance and asked students to explain what they know about those terms. There was no reference material at hand for student use. The teacher appealed to students' general knowledge which apparently would not be accessible to all in the same way to allow debating this information. Students' explanations were relatively probed by the teacher but usually a different student would respond and not necessarily the one who gave initial response being allowed to explain why they said a particular answer. In the absence of clear references to the source of information and facts discussed it would be a challenge to assess how this class dealt with issues of accountability to knowledge. However students were able to offer improvements on others responses following teachers' prompts demonstrating moderate accountability to the learning community. However, not much in terms of

logical connections and arguments could be discerned in the discussion making the lessons low on accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning

SS8: Financial institutions. The lesson was observed at a mixed sex community day secondary school for 35 minutes. The lesson was delivered by a male teacher. In this lesson from the introduction to the end the teacher dominated, with students participation limited to brief answers to teacher's questions. As the lesson progressed the teacher asked students to discuss in groups but no clear plenary was made for students to report results of discussion. As students responded to questions no serious effort to probe the responses or let student react to other students' responses was seen. Beyond the simple responses students gave in the lesson it cannot be said that this lesson represented a deliberative discourse in any of the three senses of accountable to acceptable standards of reasoning, accountable to the learning community in class or accountable to reasoning. Perhaps the lack of material and students limited general knowledge on the subject prevented the teacher from demanding more than the bare minimum from the students in the lesson

SS9: Conditions for sustainable development. The lesson was observed at a national girl's secondary school for 40 minutes. The lesson was delivered by a female teacher. The introduction engaged learners in a review of previous lesson. The teacher asking questions based on the previously taught lesson. This was followed by group discussion where student were asked to brain storm on conditions for sustainable development. After a five minute discussion group leaders were invited to present to the class responses from their groups. Student used no textbooks as reference nor made reference to any information source in the class. It was difficult to establish if student's responses were from previous reading or general knowledge and therefore difficult to establish the accountability to knowledge in this group. The teacher took up commenting after each group presentation. Apart from brief questions no real

151

opportunity was provided for students to discuss the points or other students being asked to question the group presentation before moving onto the next group. This progression of the class gave little evidence on provision for deliberative discourse.

SS10: Human rights violations. The lesson was observed at a national girl's secondary school for 40 minutes. The lesson was delivered by a male teacher. The lesson was introduced through a question and answers review of the previous lesson. The development continued with the same trend up to the conclusion of the lesson. The lesson was dominantly presented as an interactive lecture in which the teacher took a centre stage. The teacher dominated the lesson by spending considerable time explaining through lecturing to the students. Where questions were asked and answered these focused mostly on simple and brief responses. The teacher to a great extent did not demand detailed responses from the students. A little section of the lesson got learners disagreeing about treatment of refugees however the teacher failed to utilize this opportunity to encourage debate by students by allowing them to explore their disagreement preferring to offer ready answers to the questions. This compromised display of learners' accountability to the learning community through building up on each other's arguments or making changes to their own arguments based on other views in the lesson. It also compromised a display of learners' ability to construct logical arguments and weighing evidence in making conclusions. In a single instance learners referred to textbooks on numbers of person who are displaced in the various continents and used this background information in responding to the teacher initiated questions. This allowed learners to offer factual responses based on text book information rendering accountability to knowledge on this aspect of the lesson evident.

This section has briefly summarized the general characteristics of the observed lessons and the interaction between teachers and students. A brief commentary on how lessons were able to demonstrate or not the different aspects of deliberative talk in

classrooms is also given. The next section considers how the lesson fared on deliberative talk.

5.3 Assessing Deliberative Talk in Classroom Instruction Practices

This section analyzes the deliberative potential in the observed lessons. It begins by analyzing how deliberative talk was demonstrated in the lessons observed to ascertain the deliberative quality of class engagement. This is followed by an illustration through brief lesson excerpts on how class interactions fostered or failed to foster significant deliberative quality.

5.3.1 Quality of Classroom Interactions and Engagement

The qualitative analysis of lesson observations focused on the general patterns in the students and teachers interaction to identify how instructional practices demonstrated or not the various aspects of deliberative talk in class. Based on these patterns of interaction a qualitative description of high, medium or low was attached to each of the lessons for the different aspects of deliberative talk in classrooms. Drawing on the summaries presented in the previous sections table 5.2 below describes how different aspects of deliberative talk in class were demonstrated in the lessons.

Table 5.2: Deliberative talk in class discussions

Deliberative aspect	SS1	SS2	SS3	SS4	SS5	SS6	SS7	SS8	SS9	SS10
Accountability to knowledge	high	low	low	med	high	low	low	low	low	med
Accountability to reasoning	med	low	low	low	med	low	low	low	low	low
Accountability to learning community	med	low	low	low	med	low	med	low	low	low
Deliberative Potential	**med**	**low**	**low**	**low**	**med**	**low**	**low**	**low**	**low**	**low**

N=10

In the table 5.2 above the lessons were qualitatively coded high, medium or low on each of these three aspects of deliberative talk in classroom. Lessons scoring high on

153

these factors demonstrated a higher deliberative potential. This implied that the lesson offered clear opportunities to encourage in the students the use of appropriate evidence in support of their assertions, clarity of thought and arguments in the process of discussing as well as ability to recognize others points of view and building up on them in ones articulations. This provision equally allowed learners to be in a position to revise their positions based on clear evidence to which they have reasonable access. As noted above the majority of the lessons poorly demonstrated most aspects of deliberative talk. Only 2 of the 10 lessons observed could be said to demonstrate deliberative potential at medium level.

Among the three aspects of deliberative talk in class, accountability to reasonable stands of reasoning suffered the most. On the other hand comparatively lessons did a bit better on accountability to knowledge. Accountability to learning community came in between. Different factors could have accounted for these results. First, in lessons where reference materials such as text books were provided learners did fairly well on accountability to knowledge than in lesson where learners had no reference materials to provide background information during discussions. This may suggest that learners are better able to demonstrate knowledge accountability when clear sources of background information are provided as they can confidently base their contributions on this information. Thus availability of clear sources of background information is probably one important variable when it comes to accountability to knowledge.

The observations also showed that students demonstrated accountability to the learning community in lessons where background information was available in class. Learners could easily notice other students' contribution and acknowledge these in their contributions as well. These two findings arguably point to the centrality of information in achieving quality deliberations. The importance of clearly accessible information in ensuring robust deliberation is well recognized by theorists in deliberative democracy

(Fishkin, 2013, Gutman & Thompson, 2004). These results therefore confirm the importance of background information in ensuring quality deliberation and engagement in classroom contexts.

The findings further show that teacher characteristics have an influence on the level of students' accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning. It was observed that the nature of questions and questioning skills the teacher had determined whether students gave clear and reasoned responses or simply responded with a brief answer. Generating a critical conversation in class require a teacher to have a repertoire of good questioning and probing strategies. This aspect lacked in most of the lessons observed. Teachers mostly used low level recall questions that do not engage the critical faculties of the student and demand of the student a clear reasonable response. This explains why the lessons performed poorly on accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning.

Generally several reasons could explain why teachers mostly used low level recall questions. For instance during plenary teachers were faced with time constraints to have all groups present their results to class before the end of the lesson time. This forced them to briefly comment, or simply rush to the next group. When questions were asked, mostly it was the teacher and not other students questioning their friend's results. This resulted in minimal student to student interactions as only teacher to student interactions dominated as the teacher tried to control the pace of the lessons.

Another possible explanation could be the caliber of the students. This would be particularly in cases where students' linguistic abilities are quite limited. In this situation it would take more time for students to struggle through an elaborate answer in English and thus increasing the risk of the lesson not finishing on time. This aspect was observed in mostly in CDSS as compared to CSSB-national schools. These two school types tend to have students with different academic abilities. CSSB-national

schools are more competitive and are home to the nation's best students as they represent the top notch public schools in Malawi. CDSS are low level and most students are of a lower caliber in these schools. However the validity of this view could be challenged that in some national schools teachers still depended on low level recall questions despite having higher ability students.

It is also possible that teacher practices reflect a weakness in teachers' abilities to efficiently utilize questions to generate critical discussions and demand clear and reasonable responses from students. This remains a possibility in this study's view as evidenced by the commonality of the practice across the three school types. In view of these challenges observed in instructional practices, the study considers these challenges to contribute to the overall quality of deliberative engagement in secondary school classrooms. The next section briefly illustrates some of these challenges from classroom discussions.

5.3.2 Deliberative Talk in Class Discussions Illustrated

This section using excerpts from some of the lessons observed, illustrates how classroom instruction practices reflected the three aspects of deliberative talk in classrooms. In this presentation lessons used were among the best to illustrate the situation of instructional strategies with regard to deliberative talk in classrooms.

5.3.2.1 Accountability to Learning Community and Acceptable Standards of Reasoning

The following excerpt is from a lesson taught at a national girl's secondary school, taught by a female teacher. The lesson was delivered using group discussion followed a plenary. Students were put in groups to discuss conditions for favorable sustainable development. The following is from a plenary as students report to the class the results of their discussions. The lesson excerpt is presented to illustrate how

classroom discussions reflect accountability to the learning community and acceptable standards or reasoning.

Teacher: Okay time up, can we have the group leaders presenting, they are just representing the group, members will be responsible for answering questions. If you are not clear on something raise a hand and they are going to clarify to us. Okay, let's start with P's group, just the first question for you.

Group P: Participation: this involves individual, community, private sector, and public sectors. This is the taking part in the conserving of the environment. For example in the private sectors Carlsberg Malawi company helps in supporting the country by supporting in tree planting since they use as their color green. So they help in the planting of trees. If they are thinking of planting trees, they help those planting trees. Publicly there is the world tree planting day, this is done on 21st of December, everybody is supposed to plant a tree for the conservation of the environment. It's all we discussed in our group (the student tries to demonstrate the issue of participation in conservation. She uses an example of private sector. To support her view she uses the support the company renders to the exercise of tree planting as evidence of private sector participation)

Teacher: Okay let's give them a hand, okay that's really nice they have given us an example of private sector Carlsberg Malawi supporting netball for conserving the environment just to make sure that there is sustainable development, the conservation of the environment and also the public sector. But am not clear about 21st December is it still…, because in our time that was the national tree planting day, these days are we still observing 21st December as a national tree planting day? What is happening now? Yes

St: *I can give an example of last academic year, the students of this school went to Mulunguzi dam to plant trees there, so I think there is a day just set for schools to go and plant there, because there was also a school like Likangala and other schools* (The students tries to defend the position that there is a special day for tree planting. She gives reason for her answer by pointing out evidence of meeting other schools planting trees at the dam the day their school was there).

Teacher: *Okay we can say this time we just have a time when we have enough rains and we can start planting trees we don't have a specific day. We just have a period where they say… may be we have enough rains so we can start planting trees and we can plant for a period of time. Okay am impressed with P's group for being active and participating. Let's hear C's group, what have you come up with* (the teacher stalls the argument on existence of a special day for tree planting by making a general statement to cover the issue and rushes on to the next group)

St: *Education and awareness: they provide knowledge on how to take care or manage the environment. This enables the people to take care of the environment based on the knowledge they have learned. Unlike when people are ignorant they may lack information on how to take care of the environment, therefore this is a favorable condition for sustainable development* (the student makes a clear argument to justify education as an favorable condition for sustainable development. She contrasts two groups to demonstrate the importance of knowledge in environmental conservation as her reason)

Teacher: *Okay, so that's about education, making us to be aware. They have said something on awareness. How can you make people aware of the*

environmental concerns so that there should be sustainable development?
(The teacher tries to probe the learner's response for further explanation).

St: *Like by holding civic education campaigns in rural areas, which do not have the information, and also like including it in the courses in the curriculum so that students may learn and use them*

Teacher: *So she has given us two points; one she has said that civic education in the rural areas may be through dramas so that people will know the importance of conserving the environment for sustainable development and also integrating environmental concerns in the curriculum so that students learn more about the environment. Remember even yourselves in the primary school you learnt something about the environment and even this time. So it's one way of making people to be aware of the environmental concerns so that there should sustainable development. Thank you a lot. E's group what did you discuss* (the teacher explains the issue but these aspects could have been explored as students gave their responses to allow them to explain their answers).

The excerpt above shows how students' were able to make clear arguments in their responses. Learners try to elaborate their responses by giving reasons on which the claims are based. This aspect addresses accountability to reasoning standards where students are able to support their views with clear reasons. It would appear students had background information on the subject looking at their responses perhaps from prior lesson or reading. However, no supporting materials were directly observed in this lesson. It further shows minimal probing of students' responses by the teacher. As shown in the excerpt above, students are contributing to the same topic on conditions on sustainable development. However, students hardly asked questions to each other to clarify or question what is presented. The teacher did not create ample opportunities for

students criticize each other's views during the plenary. This contributed to low accountability to the learning community in this lesson. The lack of clear references that student could appeal to as sources of their responses made the lesson to demonstrate low accountability to knowledge.

The next section highlights accountability to knowledge, and learning community as aspects of deliberative talk in classroom discussions.

5.3.2.2 Accountability to Knowledge and Learning Community

This section illustrates the issue of accountability to knowledge. It focuses on classroom discussions based on factual evidence and where members make explicit their sources of information in the discussion. It also illustrates accountability to the learning community, where students not only listen to others but also acknowledge contributions of others in the own contributions. Accessibility to the sources of evidence used in supporting discussions allows the others members to evaluate this information and to question the evidence in the discussion.

The following lesson excerpt is from a national mixed sex secondary school delivered by a male teacher. The lesson was delivered using group discussions followed by a plenary. Students were assigned groups by the teachers who specifically picked out group leaders and members of the groups as well as assigning questions to each of the groups for discussion. Specific pages from the textbook were assigned to provide background information for the discussion. Following the discussion students reported as depicted in the following.

A group leader makes a presentation on low level of productivity as a characteristic of developing countries:

Student: Low levels of productivity: The total population of developing countries produces less commodities, services and income compared to the number of

people living in the country…like group one has already said that GNP and GDP of developing countries is very low which means that this high population does not produce a lot of income that can be compared to the amount of people living in the country. (The student makes a clear reference to the contribution of the previous group on low GDP and GNP in developing countries. The student then builds up from this observation in making their own contribution below)

The causes of low productivity are lack of capital and technology; we give an example of a developing country where farmers start agriculture with low capital, simple tools and unimproved varieties of crops. They also lack knowledge since there is not a lot of agricultural information in developing countries while in developed countries famers start with huge capital and technology, improved varieties. For example you cannot compare the amount of produce an African makes with a hoe and what a European famer will produce with tractors…(The students makes a clear case backed by clear examples to make his point)

[…] Another factor is that poor nutrition in childhood. As we know in Malawi children may not be eating properly as the book says (The student acknowledges a source of his supporting evidence) *if a child does not eat sufficiently it affects the child growth which means that the populations in developing countries may not be health and strong enough to produce. The book also gives an example of 1997 when the National Product of the world was valued at around $29,000 billion of which $23,000 billion originated from developed nations this shows that 79% of the world total income is produced in developed countries which mean the developing countries makes just a quarter of the whole world national product…*

Teacher: (The teacher makes brief comment on the student presentation). *Unless you have any question we can precede to group number three.* (A student raises a hand to ask a question).

Student: *You have said that in developing countries farmers cultivate little amount of land and that's why they produce less and yet in developed countries farmers use tractors and cultivate large pieces of land and produce more. What about estates? We have estates where many people are employed though not technologically advanced don't they produce more than those famers with tractors?*

Teacher: The teacher put the question to class but ended up answering it and moved on to the next group.

Group 3 presenter male on high population and dependency rates:

Student: *High population density is where there is rapid increase in population compared to the resources available to sustain the lives of people. High population growth in the world it was estimated that the world population was at six billion people in the year 2000 and about 70 % were from developing countries. Reasons leading to this: high fertility rate due to lack of knowledge on contraceptives. The book also gave an example which says that a woman in developing country is expected to bear 4 children compared to a single child in developed countries. To connect this with dependency burden; where a lot of people are financially dependent on an individual who is financially capable. High population lead to large families and large families will lead to high dependency burden… also large population will lead to lack of job opportunities making more people dependent on one person. So dependence burden is also connected to high population*

Teacher: (Comments on the presentation, asks if other have questions, no questions teacher called group number four).

The above excerpt exceptionally illustrates accountability to knowledge. Students presented their results as facts based on the information accessed from the books. The books provided information accessible to all students creating a good basis for other students to counter argue although this did not happen in the lesson. Students made clear reference to the sources of information in their presentations as well as giving facts from the books to back up their contributions. This demonstrated accountability to knowledge. Students were also able to acknowledge what other presenters said and made efforts to build up from these contributions as shown in the first student presentation above. This aspect in a small way demonstrated accountability to the learning community.

However, students' presentations became an end in themselves. The teachers did not use these results as basis for further class discussions. The teacher briefly asked students if they had questions and moved on. If the teacher posed questions that helped the students explore alternative points of view from what the text presented the lesson would have been a beautiful illustration of the three aspects of deliberative talk. However, this was not the case the text became the final arbiter of what is truth in this discussion. This is what Waghid (2014) argues against as noted in the theoretical framework of this study on pedagogical practice. Consequently this lesson fared poorly on accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning in terms of learners' engagement during the lesson. The following section highlights the challenge to accountability to reasonable standards of reasoning.

5.3.2.3 Accountability to Acceptable Standards of Reasoning

The following excerpt is taken from a lesson presented at a girls' national school by a male teacher. The lesson was delivered using interactive lecture. It highlights how class interactions provided room for accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning.

Teacher: *[Refugees] have a right to work. So whenever you have a refugee in the country they have right to work, if they are qualified they can work as teachers, they can work as nurses, they can work in any other profession so long as they are qualified. They can work in any other field. They have a right to do that, apart from that they have right to what…?* (Question poorly phrased).

Student: *Right to education.*

Teacher: *Right to education. It means they can go anywhere and be educated within your country, they have right to education more especially near their camp, you have to establish their own school close to their camp, you have to have primary schools, secondary schools including universities close to where they are do you agree with this?* (The teacher rather than ask the student to explain what this right entails, chooses to explain the right before asking students if they agree with the right as explained).

Class: *No!*

Teacher: *Why? Because we are saying they have right to education, why are you saying no?* (Teacher probes the reasons behind the disagreement).

Student: *May be they should just be going to the universities and not building them a university* (student elaborates what they disagree with in the provision of the right to education)

Teacher: *Why should they not build them their own university?* (The teacher probes further, this gets students to think about the issue)

Student: *I think because when they build their own university they will be like isolated they have to mix up with the others* (Students offers a social reason for the disagreement).

Teacher: *They have to mix up with other people. Yes what about the others? Yes* (teacher expecting additional reasons).

Student: *I think when they have been given the right to education starting from primary; secondary when they are educated and are still here in Malawi, I think they can bring conflict by may be opposing some issues yeah* (Student offers another social reason for disagreeing to right to education as explained by the teacher).

Teacher: *Okay yeah,* (the validity of student objections is not further questioned) *here we have said they have right to education right, but this type of education is not limited primary and secondary it reaches tertially, they have to go to university. If the country has resources, it can even build a university there it's not a problem, but if the country has no resources it might not be possible.* (The teacher stalls the earlier discussion and moves on to another issue).

Apart from that refugees have also right to public relief and assistance, they have to be assisted for example with food if there is hunger, you can go there and give them food, what about government subsidies like coupons they can be given right? (Raises a new issue on whether refugees have right to receive government subsidies, though the question poorly phrased using a leading form)

Class: *Ah! No! No!*

Teacher: *Here they have said they have freedom for public relief and assistance* (students murmuring in disagreement but the teacher moves on to another issue). *Okay they have freedom to courts, they can go to courts right, without any problem if they have done wrong they can go to court, apart from that they have also freedom of movement do you agree with this one*(Another leading question).

Class: *Yes!*

Teacher: *Where do they go up to? Can they move from there to a different camp?*

Class: *No! Yes! They can go?* (Student disagree other agree)

Teacher: *why are you saying no?*

Student: *I think they can bring more crimes may be stealing* (other students talking in disagreement)

Teacher: *Do you mean all refugees are thieves?*

Class: *No! Some! Many not some!* (Different opinions from student)

Teacher: *We are saying government should provide for them so why are you saying no?* (Issue left hanging and not explored further as teacher moves to another issue). *Okay they have also right to identity and travel documents. Travel documents also include passports, they should be given passports*

Class: *No! No! No!*

Student: *Does it mean the refugees now belong to the country for them to be given passports?* (Student opens up an issue about citizenship and refugee status)

Teacher: *They can be given passports that they belong as a refugee, i.e. to say he is a Malawian but a Malawian refugee.*

Student: *So can they be travelling to other countries while they are refugees?*

Teacher: *Yes they can be travelling*

Class: *Ah! Ah!* (Clear disagreement by the class)

Teacher: (students continue disagreeing). *Okay we are saying this is international convention, what the UN agreed these are ideals which countries must do, but if you have challenges later on we are going to look at challenges but these are basic principles which each and every country must do.*

The excerpt above illustrates the influence of teacher characteristics on students demonstrating accountability to acceptable reasoning standards. The class was a very lively one with very active students. The teacher made good efforts to engage students' views by demanding in his questions reasons behind agreement or disagreement in the different points of views in the lesson. Student responded to these calls for reasoned responses rather well considering that no reference texts were seen during the lessons. Students raised important observations and issues. However, the teacher was not systematic in exploring issues and concluding them in the discussions. Many issues were left hanging in the process losing opportunities to engage the student reasoning on the issues. Another challenge was noted in the phrasing of questions. Leading questions which fail to generate meaningful debate beyond mere agreement or disagreement were used. However, the teacher managed to overcome this through probing the agreements and disagreements.

Despite these challenges this lesson compared to most lessons observed made a good attempt at accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning by demanding explanations backed by clear reasons. If the teacher followed argument towards conclusion the learners would have been given more chances at critical reasoning in the process. The excerpt further highlights the importance of teachers' characteristics in this case questioning skills as an important factor in the level and quality of interaction and student engagement in the lessons. Arguably all illustrations have drawn on lessons in national secondary schools and not CSSD or CDSS. This has been the case to highlight opportunities in classrooms and some of the best practices that if built upon to

improve the opportunities for cultivating students' capacities for deliberative engagement in public schools.

5.4 Challenges to Deliberation in Classroom Practices

Lesson observations suggest that classroom instructional practices provided considerable space for student participation. Use of group discussions, class discussions, interactive lectures all point to good efforts teachers make to have lessons that are likely to offer students opportunities for active participation and engagement and thus contribute to the development of these capacities. These approaches agree well with constructivist approaches to teaching that emphasize learner centeredness and favor democratic practices in the classroom (see Pritchard & Woollard, 2010). However, the study also found a number of challenges to high level and quality classroom discussion that potentially could make significant contribution to students' capacities for democratic engagement. These limitations included challenges posed by lack of reference materials, language and facilitation strategies during class discussions.

5.4.1 Lack of Reference Materials

The study found that lack of reference materials contributed to challenges in having well informed and engaging discussions in the lessons. Only in three out of the ten lessons observed were learners seen using reference materials like books to provide background information. It is debatable whether reference materials alone will automatically lead to engaging discussions. However, the results point out that where these are used they offer very good support to the various aspects of deliberative talk in classrooms. In one lesson learners discussed based on the information from the books and were able to provide good factual evidence in support of their observations. If students develop this skill to utilize clear information to support their arguments it

would contribute to developing skills for researching information, evaluating information and utilizing information to support arguments.

However, it was also noted in another lesson, students simply read out from the textbook and the teacher explained the information. One would argue that the impact of the reference materials in these two classes would be different primarily because of how teachers and students use the reference materials in the lessons. In one instance student had no opportunity to process the information and use it in their contributions. They simply read out and the teacher commented. This demonstrated a poor use of reference material that posed a challenge to the level and quality of engagement in the lessons.

Similarly, where reference materials were used the level and quality of student discussions was relatively higher compared to situations where students depended on general knowledge or other inaccessible information to base their contributions to the classroom. Thus lack of reference materials to support class discussion pose considerable challenges to nurturing capacities for critical thinking through classroom discussions.

5.4.2 Language Used in Class Discussions

The study further noted the challenges posed by language in class discussions. Class discussions were generally done in English, because this is the official language of instruction in schools. However students have different levels of competency in the use of the English language. Some students were noted to have difficulties to express themselves in English when making class contributions. The apparent difficulty in the use of English language most likely posed a challenge to students who are not confident with the language to make contributions in class. Most of these students are likely to shy away from speaking in class for fear of being embarrassed among their peers. This challenge was apparent in community day secondary schools where

students appeared to have more difficulties to express themselves compared to the other national schools. This probably reflects the different academic achievement between the majorities of students in CDSS and their counterparts in national schools. It is also possible that this limitation influenced the demands teachers placed on students for elaborate responses.

5.4.3   Limited Demands for Reasoned Contributions

The study further found teachers' facilitation skills as another challenge in classroom discussions. As noted earlier in the chapter, teachers controlled the discussions by posing questions for discussions. It was observed that teacher could encourage reasoned discussion by posing questions that demanded students to explain the reasoning behind their responses. Where teachers did this students appeared to be more engaged in the discussions, formulating and advancing clear arguments beyond simply answering to the teacher in a brief responses.

However, in most lessons teachers did not pitch their questions so as to motivate or demand reasoned responses that could initiate effective discussions in the class. This was evident both where reference materials were available and where they were absent. The failure by teachers to demand reasoned responses from students led to lost opportunities for debate in lessons. Teachers in all school types minimally explored student responses. Teachers play a bigger role in initiating or curtailing discussions as figures in charge of the progress of the lesson. Thus with few exceptions teachers appeared not keen on deliberative discussions in their lessons. Perhaps, teachers were satisfied with activities that gave a semblance of student participation without using those situations to focus on engaging students' views and thoughts on the products of their group discussions. The next section highlights students reported experiences and views on classroom participation.

5.5   Chapter Summary

This chapter focused on understanding how classroom instruction strategies impact on the development of student capacities for democratic engagement? The findings show that instructional practices make provision for student participation through learner centred teaching practices. However the findings show a weaker potential in classroom instruction practices to significantly provide opportunities for developing in students' capacities for critical reasoning and engagement. Particularly the findings show weakness in modelling accountability to reasonable standards of reasoning posed by the uncritical acceptance of student responses by most teachers in the observed lessons as well as limited demands on critical thinking made by teachers on student responses. Finally the chapter highlighted challenges to significantly engaging discussions in the classrooms. The findings of the chapter therefore suggest limited evidence to support high deliberative capacities in classroom instruction practices.

The next chapter presents findings issues that continue to influence student participation in school governance. The chapter is based interviews with teachers' and students'.

CHAPTER 6:

THE EMERGING DISCOURSE ON STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

6.0 Introduction

This chapter presents findings on core issues shaping the emerging discourse on student participation in school governance. The chapter addresses the final research question of the study; what are the common issues shaping the discourse on student participation in school governance and decision making in public secondary schools in Malawi? The question focus is on understanding student participation experiences in school governance and the factors that support or militate against effective student participation to expand on the findings of the previous chapters. The chapter begins with a summary of data sources, then a discussion on student representation in decision making, student leadership selection practices, the place of students' voices in school governance and emerging issues on student participation in school governance.

6.1 Summary of data sources

Teachers and students from four secondary schools participated in this part of the study. These schools included a national secondary school (CSSB), a district boarding secondary school (CSSB), a day secondary school (CSSD) and a community day secondary school (CDSS). All schools were mixed sex schools. The schools captured the different contexts of secondary schools in the study. Focus group discussions were used to collect data from teachers and students. At total of 14 Social Studies teachers and 48 final year students participated in the focus group discussions in the four selected schools. The table below gives a summary of the respondents.

Table: 6.1 Summaries of study participants

School	CSSB-*National*	CSSB-*District*	CSSD	CDSS	Total
Teacher	4	2	4	4	14
Student	12	12	12	12	48
Totals	**16**	**14**	**16**	**16**	**62**

Source: Fieldwork data (September-November 2013)

The students sample included student leaders and other students in their final year. The choice was made based on the potential richness of data they would offer based on their experiences as student leaders and senior students in the schools. Equal numbers of boys and girls were selected to maintain gender balance. Teachers' focus groups included teachers teaching Social Studies in the schools. Social Studies is the primary subject covering issues of democracy and participation in the current secondary school curriculum in Malawi. It was therefore considered necessary to include Social Studies teachers to draw on their experiences in the schools and their background in the subject in reflecting on the practices in their schools.

All the focus group discussions were conducted utilizing space allocated for the purpose in the study schools. The rooms provided enough comfort for the respondents and the researcher as they interacted in the data collection process. Before starting the discussions, respondents were again informed of the study objectives and their voluntary participation. Their permission was also requested to have the discussion captured using audio and video recording devices.

All focus group discussions were personally done by the researcher using video and audio recording to capture data. The recorded information was later reviewed and transcribed into text. The scripts were analyzed with the assistance of a qualitative data analysis software *ATLAS.ti version 7*. The analysis proceeded from reading and re-reading through the transcripts to become familiar with the data. Various segments of the data were coded and categorized. Categories addressing related issues were

grouped into code families which were then used to develop an explanatory network through linkages and relationships between various code families. The code families as they are referred to in *ATLAS.ti7* represented the emerging themes of the study. The issues shaping the discourse on student participation in school governance were explored under the following themes:

a) Student participation in decision making bodies,

b) Student participation in student leadership selection,

c) The place of student voices in decision making practices,

d) Benefits of student participation in school governance,

e) Democratic practice and the maintenance of school discipline,

f) Issues and challenges to student participation,

The findings and discussions on these themes are presented below.

6.2 Student Participation in Decision Making

The study inquired whether students have opportunities to take part in the decision making processes of the schools through representation on committees where teachers or school administrators are also members. Students and teachers indicated that schools have various committees that assist in the management of the school. However, both teachers' and students agreed that students are generally excluded from participation as representative in the decision making committees of the school where teachers are also members. This exclusion included the school discipline committee where only teachers are members, although the committee is directly related to students in the school. Teachers noted that having student's representatives in these committees is unusual in the schools, as discussed below in the sections below.

6.2.1 Representation on School Decision Making Processes

The study found that among the reasons why students are excluded from participation include customs that have always been in the schools. Most teachers noted that they found these practices as part of the school culture. A teacher from the CSSD expressed this as follows;

No we do not have [students' representation on committees], I think it's by design. I have taught in many schools, but I have never seen students being represented in these committees.

Similarly a teacher from the CSSB-national agreed by saying,

No there are no student representatives. For instance when there is a PTA [Parents Teachers Association] meetings students perform to entertain them and after that they are told to leave the hall so that parents and teachers can discuss on their own, at the same time when teachers are having their meetings there is no student or any member of the student council who attends such meetings.

The comments clearly point to the fact that students are generally excluded from participation in school governing committees. However teachers felt that some opportunities for student participation exist in the schools. Teachers referred to the responsibilities of the various student council portfolios as providing opportunities in governance participation as the following comments suggest. One teacher from the CSSD pointed out that,

During graduation ceremonies, we have a committee which is there and usually it works hand in hand with the students and even in other sectors like sanitation students are there being involved and we usually ask the prefects to take charge in most of the supervision while other members of staff simply assists in those areas.

This was further corroborated by a student from the CSSB-district, who said,

Within the prefects council [there] are different committees like sports, sanitation, entertainment etc. which work with a teacher responsible for that activity and also ensuring that other students are following school rules.

These comments from teachers and students indicate that student participation is usually limited to the various portfolios student leaders hold in the student council, virtue of their office. Different students' leaders are responsible for supervising and monitoring other students in various areas such as school sanitation, entertainment, sports and usually report to a teacher who is responsible as a supervisor of a particular activity.

Arguably these responsibilities given to student leaders provide an avenue to encourage the development of leadership capacities among the students to some extent. However, these portfolios are a primary way through which school authorities extend their control and supervision of the rest of the student body. These portfolios nor their leaders are not represented at any decision making forums of the schools, save through their patrons who are teachers themselves. The fact that the student leaders on these portfolios have no direct way of influencing or negotiating any school decisions as representatives of the rest of the students, they fail to provide significant opportunities for active participation in the decision making processes of the schools. Thus students were found to be excluded from active participation in decision making in the schools.

6.2.2 Discipline Processes and Student Involvement

To further examine the challenge of student exclusion and its impact on decision-making, the study investigated the handling of disciplinary issues by the school discipline committee. The focus was on how democratic the procedures were in dealing with student problems. Teachers reported that generally students are given

177

chance to explain their side of the story and if witnesses are available these are called to give their witnesses. The committee finally decides on the punishment commensurate with the nature of the offense. Punishments included light punishment within the schools, two weeks suspensions or recommendation for expulsion, which has to be vetted by other higher offices beyond the committee. A teacher from a CSSB-national explained the procedures as follows,

Depending on the gravity of the offense we normally begin by hearing their side of the story for example with theft we hear from the complainant, the accused and some witnesses if guilty depending on the nature of the theft we either counsel them or sent them home for two weeks and at the end of two weeks they have to come with their parents and we counsel the student together with the parents

The study found little variation in these practices across the schools. Similar practices were generally followed, as the following comment from a teacher from a CSSD point out,

For smaller issues we simply reprimand the students and in some cases a teacher can give a lighter punishment. A bigger issue will go to the disciplinary committee and parents are notified. A student gets counseled, or may be given suspension like in cases where a student comes to school drunk.

However, teachers' comments also suggested that the disciplinary practices followed are not always open. When teachers were asked what happened when students are found without a case to answer, teachers noticed that it is quite unlikely for this to happen. When it happens the committee still tries to make the student feel scared in one way or another on account of the issue. The following were comments from teachers illustrate this finding,

I do not remember [finding a student not having a case to answer], but sometimes the discipline committee may find a student not wrong but all the same he is still given at least a lighter punishment, just to make sure other students do not see the committee as weak. So if one is booked he may have to get at least a punishment of some sort. It's not always physical punishment sometimes it's just verbal just to make the student feel he is guilty but it is not good.

Another teacher from the same CSSD-school added pointing out to problems where a student has wronged a teacher and the matter is brought to the attention of the disciplinary committee.

I have never seen a student going to disciplinary committee and later being found innocent. It's like you are guilty until proven innocent and not the other way that you are innocent until proven guilty. A student may be genuinely right but because it's against a teacher he cannot win the case. Being heard is just a formality but does not add up to anything much.

This almost near universal conviction of students whenever they appear before the discipline committee raises questions on whether the committee practice respect democratic values of fairness and justice. This challenge is further amplified in the following comment from a teacher the CSSB-national school.

When we find a student not guilty we usually don't communicate to them we just remain silent. Usually, the student wait for the next assembly to hear the outcome so when he hears that his/her name is not called they know that they are free but we do not call them back to tell them that they are not guilty that is not a practice of the school. The aim of announcing is to deter others from the misbehaving, so we announce the person's name, offense and verdict so that others are deterred. A not guilty verdict deters nobody. But it [not telling them

that they are innocent] also makes the person to start taking great care about how he behaves. We just live him in suspense so that he may be thinking that we are still investigating the issue. If they are habitual offender we still give them some internal punishment.

These views were confirmed by students' views. Generally students were suspicious on the workings of the discipline committee. Without student representation they often failed to appreciate the fairness of some decisions of the committee. Students felt that although ones' side can be presented there is no real possibility of any one defending oneself in the process. This makes the operations of the committee fall short of being democratic. The teacher's views were confirmed by what students said about the fairness of the disciplinary practices of the discipline committee in their schools. Students felt the decisions of the disciplinary committee at times could simply be arbitrary. The following views were from students from the CDSS.

We have a discipline committee when you do something wrong they call you to the committee and what happens there is not to counsel you. What happens is that whenever one of us is called to the discipline committee we are almost always sure he will be suspended or given some kind of punishment. They do not sometimes just call one and counsel them on what they need to be doing. This is common and known whenever someone has been called.

Another student from the same school observed regarding one's ability to defend him/herself.

It's just a formality whatever you say does not make any difference on what they have heard it's like they already have a decision. If its suspension they will suspend you no matter what you say. There is no real chance for you to defend yourself.

As noted by both teachers and students, schools in their quest to maintain discipline ensure that any semblance of indiscipline is punished. As far as students are concerned, the committee is more concerned with punishing than promoting just consideration of student cases. These challenges provide more reasons to include students representatives on such committees who will not only ensure that their interest are taken care of but also educate them on the importance of democratically engaging with each other towards legitimate decisions. The case of the discipline committee may easily be extended to other school decisions that students find unfavorable. Thus encouraging active participation in school governance has the added benefit of promoting fairness and accountability as democratic values, which also adds to the legitimacy of decisions affecting students in the schools.

The next section explores further opportunities for student participation in school governance by examining the democratic space in the selection of student leaders.

6.3   Participation in Student Leadership Selection

To further examine opportunities open for student participation, the study examined selection practices in student council members. The focus was to understand if student have an influence on those representing them as members of the student council as an expression of democratic practice in schools. All the studied schools indicated that they had a student council comprising of all prefects (term used for student leaders). The study inquired on practices involved in the selection of these prefects. The roles of this council were also examined.

It was surprising to find that at the centre of student leadership selections are teachers' interests rather than students' interests. Interviews with teachers showed that they manipulate the process to ensure that their expectations on those who become

student leaders are protected. The following excerpt from teachers' interviews highlights some of these expectations.

> *Sometimes there are students who are very popular among their peers, but who may not possess the ability to be leaders depending on their characters, so we scrutinize for such" said one teacher in CDSS.*

Another teacher from the same school, commenting on whether students are given opportunity to vote for their student leaders the teacher said;

> *No, we do not do that because there are two things; if we do that, students will go for those people they feel will not give them problems, people they feel will shield them if they do something wrong. On our part we also have to go for somebody whom we feel can assist us…the one we elect is the one we feel will help the school.*

As noted teacher, entertain a level of mistrust that students given full opportunity to select leaders of their choices they cannot select leaders who are 'good' as far as the teachers see maintenance of school discipline. This view was echoed by another teacher from a CSSD who argued that

> *If we follow that way of students voting whatsoever, remember we are dealing with adolescents, so the people that these people might want to lead them they might be chosen based on certain qualities that the students feel [...] people who will not be strict in enforcing the rules and regulations. It's the responsibility of the administration and other teachers to appoint the prefects by considering their behaviors.*

Maintenance of school discipline is hereby implied as one duty of the student leaders by enforcing school rules and reporting the offenders to the school administration for disciplinary action. It can safely be argued that teachers envisage the role of student leadership among other things as a local policing force in the schools. This view

182

influenced teachers or school administration undue influence to an extent of nominating student leaders as was the case in some schools. This practice raises questions on the democratic participation in the selection of student leaders as a democratic ideal in the schools. It further raises questions on the nature of democratic experience this practice affords to students.

As far as teachers and school administrators student leaders ought to represent the best in the schools in terms of character, academic achievement, and obedience to the school authorities. Teachers accept these leaders to be in a position to 'help the school'. In other words these leaders primarily are to serve the interests of the school authorities. Teachers want to ensure that students who are simply popular among their peers but who do not fit the requirements of the school authorities are kept out of the student leadership as much as possible. This practice underscores the desire to maintain control over students as a primary concern in student discipline in most schools.

However teachers face one challenge and that is how to trust their adolescent students to make the right choices in selecting the student leadership. Teachers believe that their adolescent students are not in a position to make the right choices in selecting appropriate student leadership in the schools. This distrust of the students conditions the various practices followed in schools when it comes to selecting student leaders. It may be argued that there is nothing wrong with teachers desiring the best in the student leaders and rightly so. However, how do teachers in their desire to get the best student leaders by interfering in the selection process affect students understanding of the democratic ideals of active participation in selecting your representatives? This remains a challenge, unless it is not in the interest of the schools to cultivate the values of a democratic society.

6.3.1   Selection Procedures of Student Leaders

To further explore the provisions for student active participation in selecting their leaders, the study examined practices followed in the selection of student leaders. The study found that there is no common procedure for selecting student leadership. Different schools follow different practices that they see fit. Among the practices found are; some schools let students nominate names for the different portfolios and teachers receive the nomination and compile a list of possible candidates. A panel of teachers then sits down to look at the names submitted and they securitize the names based on their requirements and proceed to appoint students to be leaders.

In this case the prerogative remains with the teachers on who actually become student leaders. Teachers further noted that in some cases, the nominated students who have been vetted by the teachers' panel may be invited and interviewed before their appointment as student leaders. In some schools, teachers compile a list of possible candidates and students select from this list through voting for their leaders. A third variation found was that schools ask the outgoing prefects to suggest a list of names of possible successors for their various portfolios. This list is vetted by teachers who may add some names or remove names that they are not convinced fit their requirements. A list of successful candidates is produced who are then appointed as prefects. The following excerpts from the teachers' interviews confirm these practices. One teacher from CSSD noted;

> *Students nominate at least three names for a particular position and a panel of teachers scrutinizes the names, considering their behaviors, performance and they decide who should be the leaders from the nominated names.*

On the other hand the CSSB-district had an interesting version of elections. Student nominated and voted for their leaders. However, this list of voted leaders is first vetted

by a panel of teachers who retain the right to change and replace the names as noted by one of the teachers the practice however looked like secretive and suspicious.

> *On this one yes they are voted by students, but to be open sometimes what happens is that as teachers we choose, students may vote yes but you find that those who are voted by students are not the ones picked ... teachers sometimes with administration will sit and come up with who will be the prefects or members of the student leadership.*

Another teacher from the same school said,

> *Students are involved in choosing [nominating the possible names] after that it's the responsibility of the administration and other teachers who will appoint the prefects by considering their behaviors.*

A comment from a teacher from the CSSD was actually more revealing of the school practices. He stated the following;

> *It's a formality, the teachers have a final say on who goes to which position. Of course voting takes place but it's just a formality whether the student fails or wins it's the teachers who make the final decision. Initial list is drawn by teachers. Students vote and teachers decide finally so it's an artificial democracy, they vote just to have a feel that they voted to own their leaders.*

Similarly the national school lets students nominate but teachers have the final say.

> *We first ask the student body to nominate who they feel should lead them as prefects in a given academic year, then we do oral interviews with them and those who are successful will become prefects.*

A common theme running through the teachers comments is that elections are a formality but the reality is that teachers and school administration decides the student leaders. It would appear that there are very minor various to this general trend. Students generally take a secondary role if anything in the selections of their own leaders in the

school. As pointed out earlier at the centre of these practices are teachers' lack of trust in students' abilities to select right candidates and the desire to control student behaviors in the schools. These practices were equally confirmed by students. One student from the CDSS stated that,

> *Sometimes outgoing prefects suggest names to teachers who then consider the names based on behavior and come up with 32 names. Teachers have the right to remove everyone on the list nominated by outgoing prefects if they do not want that person.*

Another student from the CSSB-district referring to opportunity to vote for their leaders in the school had this to say,

> *No that does not happen, its outgoing prefects and administration they also invite the candidates for interviews and at the end we are just told these are the new prefects.*

The findings suggest limited student participation in the selection of student leaders in public schools. The procedures followed fail to model democratic participation in the choice of student leaders. This situation has implications on the acceptability of these student leaders among students. The next section examined how student received their leaders.

6.3.1 Implications of Selection Practices on Leadership Acceptability

In view of the limited participation of students in the selection of student leaders the study examined how students receive their leaders and whether the practices have any implications on their response. Teachers commented that students may try to resent or resist the imposed leadership indirectly but with the support of teachers and administration behind them the students soon accept the new leaders. However students indicated that they have no choice but to accept the new leaders. Any attempts to show

dislike for the new leaders would be punished by the school; as such out of fear students accept their new leadership.

However, student felt that having a voice in selecting the leadership was more desirable. It would make them easily accept their leaders. This will potentially make the students more accountable to such leadership and may find it easy to obey the leadership. The following comments testify to these observations. A student from the CSSB-district said,

The thing is it comes to us as a command [the new leadership], if there are any students complaining they will pick out some as ring leaders and punish them to set an example to others, as a result we just accept them out of fear.

However teachers had a different view on student resisting the new leaders. The following observation was from a teacher from the CSSB-national.

What has been coming so far are complaints about prefects who are too strict when it comes to enforcing rules and regulations because there are some students who would not like to be reported that they were doing something silly, so they do not like such prefects. Such are the complaints we get and in fact we have been encouraging prefects to be working in such a way.

Student wished there was more direct participation in the choice of their leaders as the following comment from a student in the CSSB-national noted.

If the whole student body was involved in nominating and later voting that would encourage transparency and accountability when we know that we have indeed chosen these people. In my former school we used to meet all the students in the dining hall and teachers would come as polling officers and we chose names and secretly vote. Other students helped the teachers to count the votes and we would be told the winners. It was transparent in the way the votes were handled and not just having teachers do what they wanted.

Open processes in student selection procedures are a good expression of democratic participation that contributes to modeling good democratic behaviors in the students at the previous comments notes. Another student from the same school added by saying that

> *If I know I chose this person, I would not have problems to listen to him or her because sometimes people say I did not choose this person and this causes some problems.*

At the centre of open participation as pointed out in the comment about is the whole idea of legitimacy. Schools by imposing leaders on the student do not only demonstrate undemocratic practices to their learners but they also raise issues of legitimacy in the new student leaders. This as has been noted make schools resort to intimidation to ensure the leadership is accepted among the students.

Teachers' behavior on selection of student leadership raises questions on whether their interests to maintain control over students can be morally justified to warrant the undemocratic practice involved. This question depends will depend on one's ethical views. From a deontological point of view the teachers have a duty to ensure that the student leadership is structured in such a way to ensure a predictable smooth running of the school. But this cannot be guaranteed by leaving the process completely in the hands of the students. Pursuing this line of thought brings teachers conduct into conflict with yet another important question.

Does the school have a moral responsibility to prepare their students as capable members of the society to which they are going? Does this include nurturing democratic values in the present Malawian society? If this is the case, then teachers are faced with two duties that contradict with each other, i.e., maintaining the order through appropriate working of the student leadership, but at the same time helping students become better member of a democratic society by socializing them into appropriate

democratic values. If teachers are to choose between the two duties, which duty will be given priority? Obviously this complicates rather than makes the case simple. If the value of teaching students a democratic way of life supersedes present interests for order, it may be argued that order in the school is necessary in the first place for the school to be in a position to teach the democratic values.

Perhaps a pertinent question to ask would be, are there no other ways to ensure that order is maintained in the school while at the same time allowing student some democratic space in matters like selecting their leadership as a democratic ideal? It follows from this that exploring school' options in the maintenance of school order while upholding democratic values remains imperative.

6.4 The Place of Student Voices in Decision Making Practices

This section further examines whether students interests and views are given any chance in the decision-making processes of the school. It explores available opportunities for integrating student in put in decision-making on matters that directly affect students in the schools and whether students' views have any significant influence in these decisions.

Generally students indicated that there is limited room for them to make their voices heard on issues of concern in the school. This is further made worse with limited powers their student leaders have in representing their voices. Exploring the role of the student leadership in representing students' voices the study found limited evidence of any significant opportunities available for the student leadership to influence any decisions in the schools. Student leaders explained that following their election or appointment the schools conduct orientation seminars to explain the schools expectations on their role as student leaders.

Student leaders explained that during orientation, they are told to always side with the official views of the school on any matters happening in the schools among their peers. This they argued makes them afraid and unable to represents their fellow student views for fear of reprisals from the administration. The study further found that generally students' do not have any direct opportunities to provide feedback on school level decisions. Students have access to their student leadership if they have problems or teachers responsible for their classes but not as a collective body of students.

A system where a teacher is assigned a particular class as responsible issues in that particular class is present in all schools. However, these teachers as class managers are responsible for a single class and act as the primary contact point for issues affecting students in those classes. Students reported that generally they have no opportunities to provide critical feedback or questions on school decisions, arguing that doing so is seen as defiance of authority, one of serious violations in as far as students were concerned. These observations suggest that generally students have limited opportunities to make their views heard, let alone influence some decisions in the schools.

The following views from students illustrate these points. A student from the CSSB-national noted as follows when commenting on what opportunities they have for seeking redress on school rules that they as a student community feel uncomfortable with.

We do not have those rights to criticize the administration so we cannot improve anything in the schools regulations and rules.

Apparently students are not expected to criticize the decisions made by the school let alone having opportunities to seek redress on decision they find unfavorable. Another student from the same school added referring to the role of the prefects,

We have problems to speak openly because of the teachers attitude, perhaps if we could get someone to represent us on the decisions they make, but we fail because of the actions they take upon us, so it affect us that we cannot have any say on it.

Students felt there is needed to give them opportunities to be heard in the school by among other things giving opportunities for leaders of the student council to attend some meetings where some issues concerning students are being discussed. The following views from students suggest creating more opportunities so that student voices are accommodated in school decisions. A student from the CSSB-district said,

It would be good say in a term if members of staff would come and meet the student body say in the school hall and outline to us things they would like us to do that term and we also give our feedback and reasons why we feel something is not right, we would respect the outcomes because we would have participated in these.

This sentiment of having teachers interact with students for purposes of hearing their views was echoed by students' from the CSSB-national argued for the need for the school authorities to open up to student views.

I think it would also be good when they have meetings discussing student issues or about the school to have the head prefects attend those meetings.

Another student from a CSSD echoed this when he suggested that students' views could be collected prior to some management meetings and form the agenda of those meetings. The student stated,

I think when teachers have a meeting discussing students issues they should give us a chance say by asking prefects to collect problems students have which can also be discussed otherwise they will discuss things that have nothing to do with our problems in the school.

Similarly, another student from CSSB-district proposed yet another way of incorporating students' views by suggesting use of suggestion time and feedback processes. The student noted,

> *Another way is to have a suggestion time when we can make suggestions, which can later be responded to, and if we are not satisfied we could send our feedback in the suggestion box because meeting as a whole school with staff may take too much time*

Generally students above see the need to create opportunities when students can provide feedback and engage their school leaders on issues going on within the schools. This would provide opportunities for administration to rationally provide reasons why certain decisions were made and students would react to these reasons. The students noted above that such give and take would likely promote understanding on decisions that are otherwise seen as unfavorable among the students. Adding voice to the above observation one student leader from CSSB-national noted as follows;

> *So you may start wondering what the role of the student council in this is. when we were oriented one time we were told that each and every time we should be on the teachers side, otherwise if you as a prefect you are on the student side you may end up in trouble that is why things are getting worse and worse and some students may begin to feel like they are not loved by the student council, but it's because the student council too has no right to say anything against teachers.*

In view of the students' views on the need to broaden opportunities for participation in the schools, teachers' views on the subject were sought. Teachers indicated that opportunities exist for expanding student participation. They were of the view that schools could try selective participation in a number of areas where students could be allowed to participate. Teachers felt that rather involving the entire student body,

engaging the student leadership would offer a better option. Other teachers however, were against incorporating student representatives in committees as joint members with the teachers preferring an independent student body that could be consulted by school leadership for input on some issues in the school. The following statements from teachers illustrate these views. A teacher from the CSSB-national made the following observation.

> *I would feel that maybe administration can work with the prefects because when selecting them we scrutinize them to see that they are matured enough and in that way I think it's better to work with prefect's council and but not having them as members of the committees but as a body on their own. So if there are issues we can discuss with them and reach a consensus, but to have students say on a discipline committee I think it's not good enough.*

This view suggests that teachers are not comfortable to allow students as members on committees where they sit to make decisions in the schools. They felt separate student committees would be ideal. However, the viability of this view is quite questionable bearing in mind that currently students' council exists in most schools but it is hardly used for this purpose. Another teacher echoed the view by saying,

> *I share the same sentiments, as my colleague maybe discretion should be practiced on which kind of committees should include the students. Maybe not to include them in disciplinary committee but may be in the sanitation committee, entertainment because these are activities which directly affect students.*

It is rather surprising that the discipline committee is not seen as directly of interests to students, when in reality it is primarily about students, and also one perhaps of the most important as students are concerned. Student participation in this committee would ensure demonstrate how accountable this committee is in terms of the legitimacy of its

decisions in as far as students are concerned. But as the above views show, this is one committee which teachers particularly feel students should not be part of. Why teachers particularly protect this committee from student participation is not very clear. The section tried to understand teachers views on the value of student participation in the light of the practices noted previously.

6.5   Perceptions on the Importance of Student Participation

This section focus on understanding the connection between student participation discussed earlier and whether teachers value student participation in governance to seek possible explanations on the limited opportunities for students' participation in the schools. The findings show that both teachers and students' perceive students participation in governance as a very valuable practice.

Teachers noted that giving students a say will ensure that they are well aware of what is expected of them and in the case of student leadership they will be able to communicate the same to their friends clearly. Participation in governance offers good opportunities to develop students' leadership skills and how different issues can be handled. The practice would also allow school authorities opportunity to know what students feel about the different issues and decisions made in the schools. This understanding is likely to promote discipline in the schools as students will be able to provide feedback on issues they otherwise feel not favorable. The following views illustrate teachers' perceptions on the importance of involving students in school governance and decision-making. One teacher from the CDSS noted as follows,

> *It's in both ways i.e. positive and negative; it's good for the students to participate in those committees because they will have a say and be able to inform their friends if there is something that is not in their best interest. They*

can say it right in the committee. They also learn administrative things like how to speak and handle things in other words they learn leadership skills.

Another teacher from the same school added by saying,

It's good for the students because it will ensure that they have a say in what is going on in the school. In so doing they will be able to understand what is expected of them. And being the key stakeholders, they will have a chance to make their views heard which may impact on policies that may be made.

Thus teachers perceived the value of student participation in school governance mainly as offering opportunities for them to be heard and possibly contribute or influence the decisions, allowing students to be more informed on why particular decisions were made and what is expected from them, and learning leadership skills. The results therefore suggest positive views among teachers on student involvement especially through representatives on the committees dealing with matters directly affecting students. The following comment from a teacher from a CDSS concurs with this view.

In committees that deal with issues concerning students I feel it is good to have them as representatives on the committees especially members of the prefects council for us to know their views and not to impose our will on them. I think it is good to have them in the committees as long as the committees are dealing with issues concerning the students.

Adding her voice to this view a female teacher at a CDSS observed that sometimes rules coming to students may not be fair, making it necessary to have input from students. She noted,

I think it's welcome because sometimes some of the rules that are coming to students from teachers may be rules that sometimes may not be fair, it's

important that they can present problems. It will be the duty of the head master

to choose on these matters.

It is interesting to note that none of the teachers' viewed the value of student participation as a democratic idea in a democratic environment. None felt the practice has anything to do with cultivating values on democratic participation among their students. Teachers tend to view the value of participation as contributing to smooth administration of students in the schools. This may point to the fact that teachers hardly see the school as contributing to the democratization process in its own way by providing opportunities for the development of students' values and skills for active participation and engagement as a democratic ideal. Teachers' views in this case raise clear challenges on the school's role to contribute to the democratic socialization of the students.

On the other hand, students agreed with the teachers on the value of participation. They noted that it would contribute to a disciplined student body, as students would have input into the rules governing them in the school, making them feel accountable to these rules. The practice would also help students provide feedback on various school decisions affecting them in such contentious areas as student entertainment for example. The following are some of the views illustrating students' perception on the importance of participating in school governance. A student from the CSSB-national school had this to say,

> *Maybe if students were involved with teachers in making decisions like on*
>
> *entertainment issues, teachers would understand what student likes are and*
>
> *make decisions together, but what is happening now is that they make their*
>
> *decisions and sometimes they feel it's good for the students when students do*
>
> *not like it.*

Another student from the same school added by noting that

If students had a say in the rules and regulations maybe this could have helped

in reducing of some of the discipline cases we have because students could have

been contributed their ideas and they would be better able to follow the rules.

Another student from the CDSS commenting on the value of participation observed;

It helps students to get confidence in doing things without fear; it may also help

them do better in class.

Just teachers views were, student views equally do not suggest that they value participation as a democratic ideal in the way schools are managed. Students tend to see participation as a way of guaranteeing fair decisions that they will be happy with, as well as their personal development but not directly linked to democratic socialization. It may be argued in this case that current thinking about student participation in school governance is devoid of the discourse on democratization as an ideal in a democratic community. This finding was rather surprising particularly among Social Studies teachers who should consider democratic preparations of their students as an important outcome of the schooling process at least from the perspective of their subject areas. It is possible to argue in this case that although teachers support student participation in school governance, they do not seriously consider the issue of active participation as an important educational objective.

6.6   Perceptions on Democratic Practice and School Discipline

In view of the apparent acceptance that student participation in school governance would promote discipline in schools, the study investigated teachers' views on the linkage between democracy in the schools and the maintenance of school discipline. Teachers were asked on the possibility of a democratically governed school being well disciplined at the same time. Surprisingly, teachers despite their support for encouraging student participation in schools were generally of the view that

maintenance of school discipline is not compatible with managing the students following democratic principles.

Teachers argued that school discipline is necessary for good performance of students in the national examinations. They argued that schools that pay more attention to maintenance of student discipline and not to student democratic participation are the ones doing well in national examinations. In their views teachers emphasized the need for strict rules and student control as necessary for good performance. The following observation was made by a teacher from the CSSB- national school.

> *I think with the current Malawian setting, it is not possible to have that [a democratically managed school that is well disciplined]. If you look at most of the schools that are succeeding in national examinations have very strict rules talk of school like Chagwa and Matiti (not actual names of the schools) they have very strict rules where a student cannot come in the open and say I have rights whatsoever. So with the current setting it is not possible to have what we may call democratic principles and at the same time run the school effectively.*

Teachers tend to view student-passing examinations as the most important role of the school and everything else is only valuable as it contributes to that goal. Another teacher from the CSSD concurred on the perceived incompatibility of encouraging democratic participation of students and maintaining discipline at the same time. He said,

> *I do not think so. Because the adolescence which we have sometimes even in class if you try to be democratic they sometimes abuse the privileges so adolescence need to be cautioned. So I do not think in our Malawian context we can have a democratic school and well behaved students at the same time I do not think so. May be if we talk of levels of democracy I am not sure how far.*

The above comment expands on the perceived incompatibility of democracy and school discipline by pointing out that the current situation in Malawi, i.e. where democracy is sometimes misunderstood and the age of the student makes the two practices incompatible. These views were further reflected in the thoughts of another teacher from the CSSB-district school, who said,

> *It's very difficult to have that because people take democracy in Malawi irresponsibly. Much as students have human rights, and freedom they need to exercise responsibility. But to have students do whatever they want according to democracy, to me even with democracy there must be some level of dictatorship some autocratic leadership, blending the two but democracy alone it cannot work. The more democracy you will have the more indiscipline you will have.*

At the core of these concerns is an apparent lack of trust teachers have for their students to act responsibly. Another teacher from a CSSD argued that;

> *There are so many misconceptions related to democracy. This country in my opinion is not yet democratic there are many things entailed to democracy. Because of the misconceptions about democracy people misbehave and break rules in the name of democracy. This country needs 'democratic dictatorship'' to allow them to be free but have rules to monitor and control people's behavior not to just let them loose.*

Teachers' mistrust of the students to act responsibly is based on perceived lack of understanding of what democracy is all about. Teacher feel the concept is misunderstood to mean lack of restraint both in the society beyond the school and among the students. Teachers find this valid justification to for promoting elements of dictatorship in school management to ensure the school important objectives like academic performance are achieved. It is surprising that teachers do not see an opportunity to help their students understand the correct meaning of democracy by

modeling it in their school practices. One would suppose that this would be an important opportunity for the school to contribute to the process of democratization of the society.

Teachers' views in this regard shed more light on why teachers' views on the value of student participation had nothing to do with nurturing democratic values. Teachers do not see democracy as compatible with their task of maintaining well-disciplined schools to support academic achievement. In addition they do not see it as part of their responsibility to instill in their students correct understanding of democratic living in a society. Instead teachers saw more reason to exercise control over their students in any way possible including engaging in some dictatorial or autocratic practices.

Apparently it seemed that most teachers favored some level of dictatorship in the way students are governed in the schools as the following comment from a teacher from a CDSS stated.

> *I choose to differ that you can have a well-disciplined school and be practicing democracy at the same time. I choose to disagree with that, why am I saying this, we have students coming from different backgrounds and probably their mental capabilities are also different, so for us to say we will give you 100% democracy and asking that you should be disciplined and putting measures to monitor discipline I think it is difficult. We need say 5% democracy and the rest we as teachers should put measures that ensure the students are disciplined but if we say 100% democracy I think we will be destroying things.*

It is interesting to note the 5% democracy suggested by the teacher arguably would imply simply running the school on autocratic principles in as far as students are concerned. As noted earlier these beliefs from teachers cast serious doubts on the role of the school in the democratic formation of the students in public secondary schools.

Despite the strong feeling among teachers that democracy and discipline are incompatible and therefore not desirable to follow democratic principles in student governance, some teachers were still optimistic that it is possible to have a democratic school that is well disciplined. However they noted that it will require a lot of effort. A teacher from the CDSS observed as follows;

It's possible but it cannot be done overnight, it will take time to have a democratic school that is well disciplined because most of the times the students do not understand what it means to have a democratic school or what it means to follow democratic principles, sometimes they take it to mean enjoying the rights and freedoms without regard to responsibilities.

A teacher from a CSSB-national school concurred with the above view. He commented as follows.

I think it should begin with our society out there because in our society things are not okay, it appears people have completely misunderstood this concept of democracy, so as long as we have this problem there, it will be hard for us here to produce such kind of students because we see that some of the problems are coming right away from home into the school and to change that it is a very big challenge. So as far as democracy is concerned in Malawi we still have a long way to go. But it's possible with a change in people's mindset out there in the society.

Generally teachers' views suggested that they felt the population at large has poor understanding about the meaning of democracy. Teachers felt that change should start from the society before the school can begin to promote democratic practice. This view seems to be not as sensitive to the civic mission of the schools, which is to develop citizens consistent with the ideals of the society beyond the schools. The current Malawian society views democracy as an ideal, of course with its own challenges. One

would expect the school to take its role in this matter and make its contribution to the perceived problem of the society beyond the school rather than waiting for the society to change first before the school.

The findings so far suggest challenges to nurturing active participation and democratic engagement as a democratic ideal in the schools. The final section considers the issues emerging from the preceding discussion that continue to shape the discourse on student participation in school governance.

6.7   Emerging Issues and Challenges to Student Participation

Teachers raised different issues as causes of student exclusion from participation in decision making in the schools. Teachers views suggested that cultural values and customs, teachers poor attitudes towards students' participation, distrust of student capacities, desire by school authorities to maintain control over students, perceptions that academic achievement mattered more than anything else, perceptions that student do not understand the meaning of democracy and the perceived incompatibility of democracy and school discipline as some of the important reasons for students exclusion ion in decision making in the schools.

Teachers felt that the school exists in a cultural environment that affects how things happen in the schools. For example they felt that the local customs and culture do not seriously consider views from those who are young and inexperienced. Children listen and that it is not for them to say things to those who are older and therefore more experienced. This view made teachers consider it humiliating to sit around the same table with students as equal members deliberating on issues and decision about the schools. The status teachers have would be negatively served by this practice. The following comments from teachers illustrate this challenge.

This view was well captured in a comment by a teacher from a CSSD school who observed as follows.

> *The school is within the same culture of not liberating the young ones to speak their views; it will take a decade for this participation to happen. It's only when this culture has been eliminated where the students will be free, the administrations will be free that the promotion of these activities can be seen, ... but even if we go to our own days as students, I do not remember any time when my teachers or administration involved me on issues that concerned me as a student directly, so maybe it's just a culture that has just been carried over but that need to be revised.*

Feeding on this culture or custom of not respecting views from those who are younger are teachers' poor attitudes towards students' participation. Teachers tend to see students as inferior to them and consider it an embarrassment for them to be involved jointly with students as equal members serving on committees making decisions in the schools. As the following comment from a teacher from of CSSD point out,

> *Culturally we feel we are at a certain level and are associated with certain benefits at that level and to sit with students who are not, you feel humiliated because of culture. And this culture must be removed because it bars students from speaking their minds and contributing to development.*

These poor attitudes were confirmed by students' observations as well. Student noted that they are regarded as inferior, unlearned and thus unable to make any significant contributions to decisions made in the schools. The following comments from students illustrate these views. A student of the CSSD school noted,

> *Students are taken as inferiors who should just obey what they are told, sometimes students can be bold when teachers make decisions and say we do*

not want that we want this or that, but teachers may still force what they have

decided by saying it is to our own good.

Another student from the CSSB-national commented,

The teachers feel that they are superior and we are inferior and that we are

here to listen to what they have to tell us so they cannot listen to our views and

consider our decisions.

Another student added by saying,

Teachers take us that we are not learned as they are and so we do not know

anything. If we complain that will be like open defiance where one can be sent

on suspension.

A student at the CDSS school equally observed:

Teachers take us as children, unable to make wise contributions to the issues

being discussed.

Thus teachers' negative attitudes appeared quite significant in explaining students' exclusion from participating in decision making in the schools. Another challenge was the apparent distrust of student to keep confidential matters if they are allowed to participate in decision making. Teachers felt that students are not mature enough to appreciate the significance and seriousness of the matters discussed in the committees. As such students may not handle confidential matters discussed in these committees and thus endangering the functions of these committees. The following observation came from a teacher at a CSSB-national school.

Sometimes I feel it is not a good idea because I look at some of the students they

are not mature enough and sometimes we discuss confidential issues during

such meetings and it may just happen that the student may pass that information

to his or her colleagues.

Another teacher from the same school added by saying,

I think lack of maturity is a big impediment on the part of the students, because even the way they present issues to their friends is not the same way you could have presented them. And students will always be students they will always want to please their friends so they will present issues in ways that would make them seem to be on the part of the students side and not as if they were part of the decision making process.

As pointed out above, teachers further doubted students' willingness to own unfavorable decisions from the committees when communicating to their friends. Students trying to be good to their friends were deemed likely to misrepresent the decisions to which they were part without owning the decisions as reflecting their own contributions. Along the same lines of distrusting student capacities to behave properly as members of decision making committees, were views that certain decisions were a prerogative of the school administration to make and therefore required no student participation. As the following comment from one teacher at a CSSB-national school suggests,

I think there must be restrictions in the sense that there are some decisions that are to be made by the administration. For instance there are some decisions that are made regarding discipline like school rules and regulations these are made by the head and teachers.

However, as noted teacher could not explain why students could not be part of decisions on school rules and regulations which are meant to manage the students for their own good.

Another challenge to student participation was the desire by school authorities to maintain control over students. Teachers' argued that giving students more freedom in this case allowing them participation through representation on decision making committees would create problems for the school. The student will get opportunity to

question the schools decisions and thus make it difficult for the school to maintain control and order over the students. The following point from one teacher illustrates this view

I think one thing makes schools to be afraid is when you empower them [Students] too much they can tend to be rebelling. They will question any decision you make. Democracy is good but where liberty has been given too much to the people, in most cases we mess up staff. If we empower students a lot they will become semi-autonomous and it will be chaotic that's how I will look at it. It's important to involve them in some aspects of decision making but not everything. It's important to empower them but not to giving them that liberty to be involved in almost every aspect of school management, I think controlling them would be a little bit difficult.

It would appear that schools prefer to limit students' participation to ensure that they are kept under control. The less they know the easier it apparently would be for the schools to maintain control over them. This fear was also confirmed by students' observation. A student from a CSSB-district made the following observation.

Maybe they are afraid that we may rebel, maybe they fear that if we give these students opportunity to speak with so many unpleasant things happening, the students may end up talking about all these things and if in the end we do not change things may get out of hand. That's why they do not give us an opportunity to speak to them. They fear that the more we talk about our problems maybe we may end up going for strikes or demonstrations when things are not improving, they just have those fears but to us as students it's not like that. When one speaks out about an issue you feel better but also create opportunity to solve the problems and things would be fine.

Interesting enough the student view challenges the beliefs that opening up to student participation would create problems. Rather the student felt that such opportunity would contribute towards peaceful resolutions of their problems through the opportunity to contribute their own perspectives on challenges faced in the schools.

Another challenge to student participation was the perceived misunderstanding of democracy among students. Teachers expressed that students misunderstanding of democracy contributes to schools failure to provide open opportunities for students participation. Students were seen as interested in democracy and freedoms but not so much in responsibilities associated with these freedoms. The following views from teachers illustrate this challenge. A teacher from CDSS noted about this challenge as follows.

> Although the political system changed people still have limited understanding of what democracy is all about. Remember the social problems and indiscipline that were there when the country became democracy, people did not know where they were going with the change.

Another teacher from the same secondary school added by saying,

> Perhaps that is why they say although we have changed governments politically but our thinking is very much like the past. You will find that even in schools the rules show that the way we think a school should operate is still tied to how things were done in those days.

The observation suggests that the school challenge is a reflection of similar challenges in the society. The school follows the society practices in this matter. In other words schools do not seem to have changed much despite the political changes that have happened in the way things are done in school. This is a significant challenge if schools fail to adapt to the current situation, then their role in fostering democratic attitudes among students would be generally weak. Governing schools based on practices before

the advent of democracy seems to feed on the suspicion of students' misunderstanding of democracy and the assumed consequence of encouraging indiscipline through democratic governance.

Another challenge was the view that student academic achievement mattered more than anything else in what schools do. Teachers noted that it is schools that have strict rules and do not allow their students participation in the schools that tend to do better in national examinations. Teachers said this to justify the need to curtail students' freedoms and participation. The following comment highlights this view.

> *If you look at most of the schools that are succeeding in national examinations have very strict rules talk of school like Chagwa and Matiti (not actual names of the schools) they have very strict rules where a student cannot come in the open and say I have rights whatsoever. So with the current setting it is not possible to have what we may call democratic principles and at the same time run the school effectively*

The implication of the observation above is that academic achievement is better when students are highly controlled. However, one would argue whether allowing opportunities for participation would not be possible while maintaining high expectations on students conduct. There is no reason to suppose that student will be less responsible if they are given a voice in the way they are governed. If anything giving students some responsibility would be a reason to expect higher compliance with the decisions to which they were part. In this case teachers' fears are grossly unfounded.

The previous section specifically discussed teachers' views on the compatibility of democracy and school discipline. The findings clearly demonstrated that teachers did not perceive democracy in the school as compatible with maintenance of high standards of school discipline. Teachers thus viewed opening up to student participation as encouraging discipline problems. But as explained in the previous paragraph there is no

good reason to suppose encouraging democratic principles in the school would contribute to discipline. It is important to notice that if teachers generally conceive democratic society in schools as encouraging discipline problems and lack of responsibility this might equally signal challenges in the way teachers conceptualize democracy. This misconception may be projected to the students as a student problem when in fact it is a problem of how schools generally conceive democracy themselves. To establish the real cause of this apparent assumption that democracy will lead to discipline problem, it is necessary to inquire about teachers conceptions of democracy and how this conception relate to their views of democracy contributing to discipline problems in the schools.

When students were asked about challenges they see in the school's ability to allow them to participate, students indicated that schools do not practice the principles of democracy taught in the classrooms. For instance students are not given opportunity to freely express themselves on some things happening in their schools. They argued that schools prefer to dictate to them what they should do and dissenting views are punished thus creating fears in the students to voice up their concerns. Students felt these practices reflect what also happens in the society at large, where people are not consulted on decisions directly affecting them. The following comments from a student at CSSD school confirm these sentiments.

> *In this school those principles [democratic principles taught in classes]are not practiced, because democracy require that we participate and share ideas whereas here at school most things are done by force or power without teachers and students engaging on common matters, in that case schools do not follow democratic principles.*

Commenting on the same issue a student from a CSSB-district school observed;

209

There is also an element of dictatorship that is similar between the school society and the outside society. It's a silent kind of dictatorship. Things are dictated to us here without giving us opportunity to participate, we just have to follow. Similar things happen in the society where those with power make decisions and do not care to listen to other citizens. If people oppose out there they easily get into problems, meaning they do not want anyone to oppose them just like it is the case here at school.

Confirming that schools manage their students following similar dictatorial tendencies of the past, the above observation show that students view the school as oppressive in a way and not welcoming alternative views from the students. The parallel with the external society is quite striking. Students further argued about this oppressive nature of school practices in an element of stifling free speech in the schools. The following comment came from a student at a CSSB-district school who noted that freedom to freely express oneself is severely restricted in the school.

When it comes to this school freedom to express ourselves and participate is very weak, we are not really allowed to express our views or participate in the developments going on in the school. Thus strictly speaking in our school we are not given chance to experience democracy meaning that even when we leave school and go back to our communities we will not be ready to speak or participate just as we were in school.

Another student from the same school made the following observation.

The school is not helping us because there are other things people may do to express themselves for example through writing like a poem criticizing other issues happening in the school. Its one way of taking part in the life here at school as in democracy, but you find that if you do that they will take you aside and sometimes you may be punished claiming that you wrote about unnecessary

things. You may be asked 'who are you opposing' like when the things you talked about reflect some things they do, but you have been simply writing about your experiences and you may be given a punishment, and sometimes even to say that such kind of poems or short stories should not be written.

The student observation here may be indicative of the extent to which schools try to maintain control over their students. Students are not free to participate in regular governing bodies and this shows that students are not even able to express themselves through other informal means. This kind of censorship curtails freedom to participate and contribute to the way things are going on in the school. The extent of these practices raises doubts at the school's ability to model democratic values among the students. Arguably schools may need to exercise discretion in ensuring that no unnecessary harm is allowed in the content students may wish to express. However, limiting such expressions where student are expressing themselves on problems they experience in the schools is difficult to justify as a case of protecting harm from being caused to other members of the school community.

Generally this section has presented findings on core issues that are shaping the emerging discourse on student participation in public secondary schools. The discussion has highlighted cultural values and customs, teachers' poor attitudes towards students' participation, distrust of student maturity, desire by school authorities to maintain control over students, perceptions that academic achievement mattered more than anything else, perceptions on the incompatibility of democracy and school discipline as well as perceived students misconceptions about democracy as some of the key issues in the discourse about student participation in schools.

6.8   Chapter Summary

This chapter presented findings on governance patterns in schools and student

participation. The findings reveal some of the key issues contributing to students' exclusion from active participation in school governance. It has been observed that generally schools are hierarchical in nature with students occupying the lowest level in the hierarchy. Within this hierarchy, students have access to their form teachers as first call point for airing their grievances. However, these are limited to issues affecting a particular class. Student leaders have no clear path to represent the student body. This suggest that the student body as a corporate entity lacks any significant representation to negotiate and influence decisions made in the schools or contribute their views to the same. The findings thus suggest limited opportunities for any significant participation in school governance available to the students.

The next chapter presents an integrated discussion of the findings and interpretation of the results.

CHAPTER 7:

DISCUSSION OF THE RESEARCH FINDINGS

7.0 Introduction

This chapter presents an integrated discussion of the quantitative and qualitative findings of the study presented in the preceding chapters. It brings together the quantitative and qualitative findings to respond to the research questions of the study and interpret the research findings. The chapter begins by a summary presentation of the key findings of the previous chapters. The presentation is followed by a discussion of the findings in the light of literature on school governance, deliberative pedagogy, and democratic citizenship education.

7.1 Summary of Findings of the Research

Three research approaches used in the study were; survey, lesson observations and interviews. The survey captured students' perceptions on governance and pedagogical practices in their schools to assess the democratic space these practices provide for students experiences in active participation and democratic engagement. The lesson observations primarily explored the quality and level of critical thinking and rational deliberation inherent in the instructional practices to understand how classroom processes present opportunities to cultivate students capacities for rational deliberation as a democratic ideal. The interviews sought to understand the core issues shaping the discourse on student participation in school governance and the possible challenges and opportunities presented in these issues to cultivating attitudes and skills for active participation and democratic engagement in schools. The results from these three approaches are integrated to generate a comprehensive picture on the potential

contribution of public schooling in the democratization process particularly among the youth in Malawi.

7.1.1 Summary of Survey Results

The study found that secondary school students demonstrate considerable interest in social and political issues in Malawi. This is clearly demonstrated by the amount of time students spent reading, listening, watching as well as discussing about social and political issues. Within these interests the study also found that the school is a significant source of information on social and political issues among students, making the school an important contributor to students' political formation. The importance of the school as an information source was even more significant in the case of students in boarding schools who have limited access to both print and electronic media.

The study further found that students' perceptions on classroom instructional practices suggested a lot of opportunities for active participation through learner-centered instructional methods such as group and class discussions where individual students have clear opportunities to participate. Within classrooms learners perceived their teachers as open and accommodating to students' views and participation suggesting classes are inclusive in terms of providing opportunities for participation. However, the results indicated that girls tended to perceive their teachers less open and accommodative than male students.

The results further showed that most opportunities for active participation are provided in classrooms but very limited opportunities exist outside the classrooms. This suggests students are generally disengaged from issues happening in their immediate school and local community environment.

Student disengagement from their local environment beyond the classroom was very significant in school governance practices. The study found that students are excluded from active participation in the decision making structures of their schools. Students or members of the student leadership have no representation on school decision-making structures in their capacity as students. The study found no evidence of clear opportunities for students to make their input or give feedback on any significant decisions made in the schools. Students are expected to passively follow the decisions whether they are happy with them or not. All dissenting views are accordingly punished as indications for defiance to school authority.

Thus students generally disagreed that their schools are open and accommodative of their views in decision making. Students in boarding schools tended to express the most disagreement than the day schools. This lack of accommodation was clearly demonstrated with students being denied opportunities for free assemblies to deliberate on matters of common concern among them.

However, students expressed optimism on schools willingness to listen to their problems in the schools. However students in boarding schools expressed the lowest optimism compared to students in day schools.

Finally, the study found significant support for deliberation as a democratic ideal in decision making among students in all school types. Students supported the need to discuss issues with those affected by the decisions, respecting the equality of opinions among the participants. However on showing deference to opinions based on seniority, most day school students took a middle position on whether to respect this or not. However boarding school students clearly disagreed with showing deference to opinions based on seniority in a democratic deliberative situation.

Despite their support for deliberative practice, the study found that students expressed limited interest to take part in decision making in their schools. Suggesting

either student are discouraged with current situation and see no hope of anything different or indeed they have grown so passive that they have no more interest to be actively involved.

Across the various study findings, school type was found to be a significant variable than student gender in explaining student perceptions and beliefs about the importance of deliberation as a democratic ideal in decision making. Overall the survey results suggested that apart from classroom provisions schools are generally autocratic favoring directing students in the schools by denying them any significant space for participation in decision making. This casts a shadow of doubt on the potential contribution, particularly of school governance to the democratization process among the youth in schools.

7.1.2   Summary of the Lesson Observations Results

Survey findings suggested significant opportunities for student participation in classroom instructional practices; the survey results could not establish the quality and level of critical thinking and engagement in these provisions. To get a clear understanding of this aspect lesson observation were conducted to assess the impact of class participation on cultivating capacities for democratic engagement through rational deliberation.

Lesson observations confirmed survey findings that classroom instructional practices provide ample opportunities for students' active participation through use of group work, class discussions, and interactive lectures. However, lesson observations showed that the quality and level of critical thinking and student to student or student to teacher engagement in the lessons is quite limited in most classrooms.

The study found that teacher characteristic had an influence on the level of student engagement mainly through the teachers' facilitation and questioning skills to

generate an engaging and challenging class discussion. Teachers were found to rarely place significant demands on students for elaborate responses demonstrating clear reasoning supported with clear evidence. Teachers were found to generally use low level questions that emphasized recall of information rather than offering explanations evaluations or synthesis of ideas reflecting higher order thinking in the lessons. Mostly teachers asked questions and student responded in brief responses, rarely did students asked each other questions or engaged each other's responses.

The study further found that student quality of responses was equally influenced by the availability of reference materials. The results showed that most lesson discussions were done with no specific reference materials providing background information. Students depended on personal knowledge, or some kind of guesswork in the conduct of group discussions. This was reflected in the responses that lacked depth and critical reasoning.

To some extent the caliber of the students and their linguistic abilities contributed to challenges in the level of engagement in class discussions. This was noticeably a challenge among students in the community day secondary schools who seemed to have limited skills in spoken English unlike their counterparts in the boarding schools.

The challenges in significant critical reasoning and engagement were demonstrated by lower display of 'accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning' in learners responses compared to both 'accountability to the learning community' and 'accountability to knowledge'. This suggested significant challenges in critical thinking in students' responses. Thus lesson observations demonstrated significant challenges in nurturing student capacities for rational deliberation posed by classroom instructional practices.

7.1.3   Summary of the Interviews Results

Student and teachers interviews as noted earlier, sought to understand the core issues shaping the discourse on student participation in school governance and the possible challenges and opportunities presented in these issues to cultivating attitudes and skills for active participation and democratic engagement in schools. The study found that generally students are excluded from active participation in decision-making structures of the schools. This had a significant impact on how students perceived the various decisions in the schools. For instance, the study found that school discipline committees are not immune to making some arbitrary decisions. In most cases students are suspicious of the conduct and outcomes of the committee. The students fears were confirmed by teachers who indicated some arbitrary decisions the committee sometimes take in their attempt to appear tough on student discipline.

The study found that schools restrict students' opportunities to elect student leaders of their own choice. Current practices in schools give teachers and the school administration authority to decide on who should be student leaders even if the choice is against student wishes. The variability in practices across the schools was clear evidence of lack of clear guidelines on the role of student leadership in school governance. The results further showed that schools use their authority to enforce their decisions and punish any disregard of the decisions by the students. Thus students were motivated by fear in agreeing with unfavorable decisions. The results found no significant provisions in schools for student input or feedback on various decisions affecting them or seeking redress on some unfavorable decisions.

However, the study found significant support on the importance of student participation in school governance among both teachers and students. Interestingly, most of the reasons given by teachers in support reflected the administrative convenience student participation would bring. Neither teachers nor students views

suggested the democratic importance of student participation in school governance as a significant issue. This suggested that nurturing democratic values is not among the important goals of public schooling in as far as schools are concerned. This poses obvious challenges to cultivating democratic values within the public school system.

In line with the above finding, the study found that teachers in all school types overwhelmingly found democracy not compatible with the maintenance of school discipline. Teachers felt democracy would indicate a laxity in school discipline something that would endanger student academic achievement. Teachers were found more interested in keeping a tight control over student discipline in schools.

Among the core issues shaping the discourse of student participation in school governance, the study found; cultural values and customs, teachers poor attitudes towards students' participation, distrust of student capacities due to their level of maturity, desire by school authorities to maintain control over students, perceptions that academic achievement mattered more than anything else, perceptions that student do not understand the meaning of democracy and the perceived incompatibility of democracy and school discipline were among the key factors influencing how schools perceive student participation in school governance.

The summary of the findings outlined above shows that the qualitative results not only confirms student perceptions in the survey but provide significant depth to the survey findings by highlighting salient features on school governance and pedagogical practices. They help to create a clear picture of the potential impact of public schooling to nurturing active participation and democratic engagement. They further provide possible explanations on the challenges of student participation in the schools. This triangulation enhances the trustworthiness of the overall findings of the study on the contribution of public schooling to the democratization process in Malawi.

The next section discusses these findings and interprets them in relation to

219

the three research questions of the study.

7.2 Discussion and Interpretation of the Findings

The discussion and interpretation of the findings is presented under several sub sections; student participation in school governance, deliberative engagement in instructional practices, emerging discourse on student governance participation, implications on nurturing student capacities for deliberative participation.

7.2.1 Student Participation in School Governance

The findings consistently indicate limited student opportunities for active participation in school governance in public schools in this study. Several studies in the region highlight similar challenges to student participation is school governance and decision making (Mgimwa & Thulstrup, 2011; Motsepe, 2014; Jeruto & Kiprop, 2011).

Jeruto & Kiprop (2011) in their study done in Kenya found that students were not involved at all in all administrative decisions in the school including discipline matters. Their study motivated by rising discipline challenges in schools indicated that although student participation is widely claimed to help improve discipline by increasing student responsibility through the ownership of the decisions, the practice is hardly common in schools. They argued for students to be involved in issues beyond student welfare to wider aspects of school life. They noted that although students as well as their teachers feel positive about the benefits of students' participation in school governance, the actual practices in the schools do not support these beliefs. Students are not given opportunities to participate in anything significant in the schools.

Motsepe (2014) in his study done in Lesotho observed that unlike South Africa where a policy exists to involve students in school governing bodies, Lesotho does not

allow students as representatives on the school boards, where parents are seen as representatives of the students.

However, in the study he found that notwithstanding the lack of policy on student involvement in school governance there was a significant support for the practice among the respondents except parents. Students were willing to be given opportunity to participate in school governance and government as well as educational leaders supported the idea of involving students in school governance. Motsepe (2014), argued for student involvement in school governance as one way to develop them as future citizens to learn to make sound decisions.

In a similar study conducted in Tanzania, Mgimwa & Thulstrup (2011) found that in Tanzania students are not formally entitled to have student representatives on school boards. They argued that this situation "diminishes students' rights and ability to participate in school governance as well as their ability to get their voices heard, priotized and respected" (Mgimwa & Thulstrup, 2011: 30). Deakin-Crick et al. (2004: 3), argued that "schools often restrict participation by students in shaping institutional practices but expects them to adhere to policies and this can be counterproductive to the core messages of citizenship education".

The three studies above demonstrate that much as schools support in principle the need to involve students in school governance, actual practice is not consistent with this belief. The findings in this study therefore demonstrate a similar pattern in public schools in Malawi. Although teachers support student involvement, schools hardly make nay provisions for such involvement. Exclusion of students in decision making in schools highlights one critical challenge in schools ability to provide a foundation to influence students' democratic values. Motsepe, (2011) points out, "failure to expose students to the process of decision making in the early years of their high school level … encourages docility, stereo-typing and blind acquiescence to authority" (Motsepe,

2011: 195). In the case of public schools in this study it may be argued that these passive values are actively being pursued in current school practices. Rather than fostering active citizenship participation schools and planting seeds for passive citizenship. In this study this problem clearly manifests itself in student showing limited interests to be actively involved in schools decision making processes. This dissertation therefore argues for the need to formally consider the provisions for student participation in school governance as an important aspect of school life not only in welfare or some insignificant issues but in key decisions that affect students as members of the school community.

Holdsworth (1996) has argued for serious attempts to involve of students in all aspects of schoolwork. He points out that this involvement needs to start at the local school level and then spreading to other levels of schooling. He noted that two areas of student participation are school governance and curriculum. This involvement could be through direct involvement or through representatives, which would allow students participation in decision-making on education issues.

He further argues that student participation can be through formal committees such as "the School Council, Curriculum Committee or Regional Board, and through student-run organizations, i.e., student representative councils, junior school councils and student networks where students can discuss, debate and decide their position on issues facing them" (Holdsworth,1996: 27). The findings of this study suggest that currently schools have fears to create opportunities for students to deliberate matters that concern them within the schools. Schools fear that students are likely to use these opportunities to start unrests in the schools. However, these fears could be avoided by granting students opportunities to contribute their decisions to the decision making processes of the schools with clear influence on these decisions.

The direction taken by South Africa though with its own challenges is worth emulating. The South African Schools Act of 1996: provides for the Representative Council of Learners as a legal requirement in public schools (Ministerial Review Committee on School Governance, 2004). The council is properly defined and provided for at least within the policy framework. Despite its implementation challenges overall it represents movement in the right direction in as far as providing the democratic space for student participation in school governance is concerned. Pendlebury (2010) notes that despite the widely differing views on children participation in schools, the South Africa legislation provides for a "form of school governance and the role of learner representation" (Pendlebury, 2010: 43).

The South African School Act of 1996 requires that Representative Council of Learners (RCL) be established in all public schools with learners in grade 8 and higher. The Education Act Amendment recognizes the Representative Council of Learners as the only legally recognized body for learners at school, and requires the provincial Education Ministers to publish the functions and procedures for the Representative Council for Learners elections. Learners in each grade elect their representatives under the guidance of an electoral officer. Membership varies from province to province or within provinces with other provinces requiring three representatives from each grade, Pendlebury (2010: 44).

The Representative Council for Learners has defined functions, which include representing fellow learners, working to promote good relations and communication among learners, staff and the school community, helping to maintain order and promote responsible 'studentship' through exemplary conduct, as well as helping learners to follow school rules among others. It has power to co-opt members and establish sub committees in the process extending participation to the wider student community in the school. Annually the Representative Council for Learners elects two representatives

to serve for a period of one year on the School Governing Body (SBG). On the School Governing Body learners have "full voting rights but because they are minors they may not vote on resolutions which impose liabilities on third parties" Pendlebury (2010: 45). She further notes that the South African model is based on conventional representative democracy but it also provides for instances of direct participatory democracy.

The South African model represents a highly evolved case of conceptualizing student participation in school governance. The model offers clear opportunities that is properly implemented would contribute to the growth of democratic values among student body as well as responsible participation. Student participation at school level is a reflection of the nature and participation expected in the adult world. The clear defined functions and powers of the Representative Council for Learners is a clear demonstration of efforts to go beyond *pseudo*-participation, as is the case in most public schools in the region.

This study's findings therefore suggest that in the absence of regulatory policies on student participation, schools are at liberty to do as they please. However, merely enacting a policy on student participation cannot solve the challenges in public schools in this study. The policy could be one way to create support for inclusive school governance; however, its success would require addressing the attitudinal problems teachers have towards student participation in decision making. As long as these attitudinal challenges remain, a policy would achieve much less in a way of promoting student participation in school governance.

The argument for student participation has been premised on a number of arguments, which include the equality of persons under the Universal Declaration of Human Rights 1948. The United Nation Convention on the Rights of the Child, Article 12 which establishes participation as a substantive and procedural right for children. As a substantive right, children are entitled as a matter of principle to be listened to and

224

taken seriously in matters that concern them. As a procedural right participation is a means through which children protect and promote their rights (Pendlebury, 2010; Backman & Trafford, 2006).

Any child who is capable of forming his or her views has the right to express those views and the right to freedom of thought as an ethical requirement. Politically, Beckman & Trafford, (2006: 10) notes "a genuine striving for democracy in a country must be evident and practiced from an early age". This striving would enhance students' interest in active participation and democratic engagement if in their formative years they learn that taking part in common decisions are worth the effort. In addition the increasing information in the modern world necessitates that the young be educated to select and judge for themselves through "critical and self-governed thinking" (Beckman & Trafford, 2006: 10). These views suggest a close link between school governance practices and the development of democratic values and skills among the students as youth.

The study findings have further demonstrated the weakening interest among students to be involved in school governance in public schools. It may be argued that students growing up with no interest to be actively involved in their local school community are very unlikely to desire such participation in their adulthood. This situation suggests significant challenges to the growth of a democratic culture and the sustainability of democracy itself in the long term. In view of this, there is need rescue students growing distaste at being involved in their school communities.

Gerson et.al, (2003) argues that skills for citizenship and informed decision-making must be learned and that schools can prepare students for democratic participation by involving them in school governance. However, Adams & Waghid (2005) observe that "participation does not necessarily translate into engagement". They argue "one might participate in a process without engaging its participants"

225

(Adams & Waghid, 2005: 31). Using the example of the School Governing Boards (SGB) in South Africa they contend that while parents and learners' representatives participate in the SGB, their "voices" are seldom heard, "they participate without having the opportunity to influence decisions, meaning they are actually excluded from the process" (Adams & Waghid, 2005: 31).

The authors make a very important observation about participation. Engaging with the issues and other participants views and being in a position to equally influence the outcomes of the discussion epitomizes democratic participation. Members are not only required to vote on decisions or to be present at meetings. Members must actively engage in sharing reasons for or against particular courses of actions together with all other participants. In this lies the difference between democratic deliberation in decision making and simply voting in popular liberal understanding of democratic decision making. Deliberative participation in this respect goes beyond a mere aggregation of preferences that would otherwise follow from a simple voting exercise (Peter, 2009, Barber, 1984).

A pertinent question to ask at this point is how would this capacity for engaging in rational deliberation with others be provided for in school practices? The next section discusses the implications of findings on classroom instructional practices on the development of student skills for rational deliberation.

7.3.2   Deliberative Engagement in Instructional Practices

The study found that instructional practices in general show considerable opportunities for student involvement in lessons. The use of student centered teaching strategies provides clear opportunities for students to actively participate in the teaching and learning processes in classrooms.

From this study's theoretical framework, Waghid (2014) proposed African philosophy of education seek to nurture students' abilities for reasonableness, openness, and above all deliberation skills. He notes on pedagogies that teachers need to move from prescribed texts as master texts by encouraging students to be more open to interpreting, analyzing, and looking beyond texts to avoid prescribed final and certain conclusions and for them to be able to deliberate with others. Underling this view is the need to avoid acceptance of conclusions or opinions uncritically. Critical reasoning on popular assumptions will allow students to explore alternative explanations and keep their options open. Such teaching will display high order discussions between students and teachers and also between students.

The study's findings however, show that in most classrooms teachers dominate as the fountains of knowledge. Partly this is influenced by limited resources to support teaching and learning as well as to help students make up their own minds based on evidence. Lack of serious encouragement to be critical on views expressed in classrooms contributes in this case to shaping uncritical minds that would want answers delivered to them without the painstaking process of rational discussion weighing different points of views, assessing evidence to arrive at defensible conclusions.

Waghid (2014) further point out that teachers' need appropriate skills to elicit students' responses and nurture them to be self-critical. They ought to engage in the evaluation of reasons for actions advanced by each other to be accountable for their agreement or lack thereof on conclusions. He observes that "uncritical acceptance of views is against the spirit of deliberation" (Waghid, 2014: 13). Through these pedagogical practices teachers provide opportunities to cultivate student capacities for engaging in rational deliberation.

The study findings on classroom instructional practice however show that teachers hardly provided these opportunities. In the observed lessons teachers rarely

elicited critical responses in students' views. Students rarely engaged with fellow students towards mutual conclusions. In a way these practices weakened the potential in the lessons to challenge students to critically consider positions and search for alternative views in the spirit of constructing meanings based on their experiences.

These challenges could possibly be explained in several ways. First, in adequate teaching and learning materials in most lessons observed meant that students had no clear background information on which to build their arguments. Information is critical to any deliberative engagement and is one of the important characteristics of deliberation (Fishkin, 2013). On the other hand, a curriculum that is strongly examination oriented may equally force teachers to find quick and easier ways to cover the syllabus quickly in readiness of the examinations. This may force teachers to deliberately avoid spirited discussions seeing them as a waste of time. In an environment where passing examination is seen as an all-important goal of schooling it is not difficult to understand why teachers focus on providing information to their students rather encouraging students to engage in discussions and discover knowledge. This approach however works against the need to develop in students skills for critical thinking and rational deliberation that would otherwise enhance content understanding and therefore academic performance. The consequence of this approach is that students learn to accept without question whatever they hear from the teacher resulting in passive attitudes towards democratic engagement.

Discussions are well recognized as potential tools to develop learners' reasoning skills as well as to promote democratic tendencies among them. Michaels, et al., (2007) in their discussion on accountable talk in the classrooms note that dialogue and discussion have long been linked to theories of democratic education. "An educative dialogue has represented a forum for learners to develop understanding by listening, reflecting, proposing, and incoporating alternative views. For many philosophers

learning through discussion has also represented the promise of education as a foundation for democracy" (Michaels, et al., 2007: 1). They point out that philosophers like Dewey placed 'reasoned discussion' at the very heart of his definition of education for democracy. They argue that in a deliberative classroom "classroom culture assumes that all students have equal access to the floor and to the academic content, and that all students have comparable discourse experience to make their voices heard and recognized as offering reasoned and cogent contributions" (Michaels, et al., 2007: 2). These aspects of discussion underlies deliberative democracy and were generally missing in the lessons observed in this study.

Michaels, et al., (2007: 1-2) further noted that in a deliberative classroom "learners have the right to speak and the obligation to to explicate their reasoning, providing warranted evidence for their claims so that others can understand and critique their arguments". This points to an engaged discussion rather than what would be the case where responses are uncritically accepted or rejected without engaging students seriously on their responses. In addition such engagement cannot exist in a lesson where learners give brief responses to questions.

Deakin-Crick, et al., (2004) in their review of studies on citizenship education found that the quality of dialogue and discourse is central to learning in citizenship education as they are connected to issues of human rights, justice and equality. These opportunities should be made for students to engage with values and issues embedded in all curriculum subjects and experiences. They argued that listening to the voice of students leads to positive relationships, an atmosphere of trust and increased participation and that this may require teachers to let go of authority.

Jeruto & Kiprop (2011) argued that to develop students into democratic citizens, teaching methods need to be active, participatory, cooperative, investigative and critical Antal & Easton (2009: 603) notes that "the continued predominance of didactic, teacher

229

centered pedagogy as a means of delivering message of democratic participation and engagement" is one factor contributing to weak political participation. The findings of the study thus indicate that teachers make some effort at encouraging participation through involving students' in group discussions. As learners discuss with each other, they get opportunity to listen to different perspectives and during a plenary opportunity is presented to allow learners engage with each other and evaluate each other's arguments. The challenge however is on the level of critical engagement in the plenary which make the instructional practices potentially weak in providing opportunity for encouraging skills in deliberative engagement.

Pedagogical practices that focus on student engagement have been described as deliberative pedagogy (Cooper 2008; Doherty, 2012). Cooper (2008) describes deliberative pedagogy as one that integrates deliberative decision making with teaching and learning. Doherty (2012) states that deliberative pedagogies call for a "rethinking of the activities of teaching and learning through calling on each person to engage with others in a democratic, inclusive and respectful, discursive practices" and that these deliberative practices "help students better understand differing perspectives" (Doherty, 2012: 25).

The basic goal of deliberative pedagogy is "to develop the commitment, knowledge, and skills necessary for creating and maintaining equitable, diverse and democratic spaces, whether it be in the local community, the work place, the nation or the world" (Doherty, 2012: 25). It is clear from this view that as a teaching approach deliberative pedagogy has the development of capacities for deliberation as it main concern. These skills are developed through the relevant classroom activities, which are however not significantly provided for in current instructional practices.

Englund (2006) points out that the teacher is a crucial element in the realization of deliberative engagement in class. To ensure deliberative engagement the teacher

230

despite having authority in class needs to ensure that his authority rests on arguments. Thus teachers' views should allow for plurality of views and be open to challenge by alternative arguments in class. In this study students considered their teachers generally accommodative to different views implying that students felt free and comfortable to advance their ideas without being afraid of differing with their teacher. However, this was not observed in the lessons. Openness is an important consideration in deliberation, as it would make it allows teachers and students to jointly pursue knowledge through reasoned talk rather than based on authority.

7.3.3 Emerging Discourse on Student Governance Participation

The study found several issues underlying current student exclusion in school governance participation in schools. These included; cultural values and customs, teachers poor attitudes towards students' participation, distrust of student capacities due to their level of maturity, desire by school authorities to maintain control over students, perceptions that academic achievement mattered more than anything else, perceptions that student do not understand the meaning of democracy and the perceived incompatibility of democracy and school discipline. Unlike challenges in significant deliberation in most classrooms that may be described as not intentional, challenges on governance participation appear to be deliberate.

The findings further suggest a form of *pseudo*-participation whenever schools wanted a semblance of participation. For instance teachers asked students to suggest names of possible student leaders when in real sense they decided on who should be the leaders. Teachers claim students are consulted on such issues as food and diet in the boarding schools or entertainment, but as it turns out students had no real voice to influence in any way school decisions on matters in these areas.

Arnstein (1969: 216) argues that "there is a critical difference between going through the empty ritual of participation and having the real power needed to affect the outcome of the process". The study's findings demonstrate that where participation appears to exist it is merely a formality as students have no real voice to influence school decisions. Participation in schools would generally be classified at the level of 'tokenism' in Arnstein (1970)'s ladder of participation in situations where schools want to claim that students actually participate. Otherwise in most cases teachers agreed that students are not given space to participate in the governance practices of their schools.

Similarly, Hart (1992) commenting on the importance to give opportunities for effective participation to the youth argues that "the confidence and competence to be involved must be gradually acquired through practice. It is for this reason that there should be gradually increasing opportunities for children to participate in any aspiring democracy, and particularly in those nations already convinced that they are democratic…. regrettably, while children's and youths' participation does occur in different degrees around the world, it is often exploitative or frivolous" (Hart, 1992: 4).

Recognizing that participatory skills need to be gradually developed as a democratic ideal, the study's findings pose challenges regarding the contribution of the public school in this process. To what extent would a 'frivolous' participation, in other words, participation on matters that are insignificant or being unable to influence outcomes could be educative among the students? Smit & Oosthuizen (2011), note that the process of democratization in a society requires an inculcation of knowledge values and attitudes into substantive democratic practice by means education. However, the current practices in public schools cast a shadow of doubt on the effects of these practices on the development of students' democratic capacities. Regarding the challenge of student participation Hart (1992: 37) makes the following observation.

> Schools, as an integral part of the community, should be an obvious venue for fostering young people's understanding and experience of democratic

participation. This has been argued forcefully by a number of great educational philosophers, but in practice it is rare. While there are fascinating experimental schools throughout the world, there is no nation where the practice of democratic participation in schools has been broadly adopted. The most fundamental reason seems to be that, as the primary socializing instrument of the state, schools are concerned with guaranteeing stability; and this is generally understood to mean preserving very conservative systems of authority.

The challenges to governance participation in this study clearly agree with the above observation. Schools are more concerned with maintaining control over students, protecting cultural values and practices that deny students any significant involvement and voice in their school community. Schools continue to 'preserve the conservative systems of authority' by excluding students from active participation in schools. The study found that teachers preferred bureaucratic arrangements where students occupy the lowest levels of authority. They express discomfort to involve students as equals in decision making even in such decisions as would directly affect students in the schools. Teachers' reasons for this are nothing more than conservative attitudes on how things have been done in the schools.

This study's findings on challenges to student participation in schools governance further corroborate findings in similar studies within the sub-Saharan Africa. Mgimwa & Thulstrup (2011) in their study on school governance in Tanzania found similar practices where teachers controlled the selection of student leaders like head boys and head girls. They found that teachers handed out application forms to interested candidates. After that teachers approved those who in their opinion are suitable for the positions. Commenting on this processes they noted that this practice, drastically compromises students voices and ownership and the democratic process in general.

Motsepe (2014: 194) commenting on students participation in Lesotho noted that "culturally it was not permissible to allow student participation because children are young and cannot be entrusted to make decisions while their parents are still there"

This view was echoed by Pendlebury (2010) in South Africa when describing barriers to student participation in school governance as follows "…inter-generation power relations, coupled with misconceptions about children's capacities are among the main barriers to participation." Emphasizing this cultural perspective on challenges to student participation she quotes one teacher in the study who said "in our society children are will always be children and are not allowed to speak when parents or adults are speaking in fact they are not supposed to be in the room when adults are speaking unless they are invited" Pendlebury (2010: 46).

In this regard the findings in this study, confirm this cultural challenge in student participation in school governance. Teachers expressed reservations to jointly participate with students in decision making preferring to keep students separate from them in these matters. Apparently one would argue that apart from the many reasons advanced for challenges to participation in school governance, attitudes of the older people towards the young seem to be a very serious barrier. Student participation is likely to shock many teachers due to the deep seated roots of this view among the African peoples. Significant efforts would be required to bring about attitude change in the schools if students are to be given the democratic space to participate. The case of South Africa where policy provisions are in place but attitudes still continue to hamper effective participation bears testimony to the challenge posed by this factor.

Mncube & Haber (2013: 19) argue, "Culture can be usefully understood as a never finished site of competing historical and social discourses rather than a set of received set of beliefs and values". Recognition of culture as dynamic rather than fixed offers opportunities to find ways to deal with the cultural challenges to open up schools to listening to the voices of the young people. A popular saying in Malawian local culture says *mnchunu mwa mwana simukufa nkhuku* (literary: a chicken is not slaughtered on account of a young person), confirms the low perceptions given to

234

young people's views. This perception is not only peculiar to African cultures as the popular English saying, *a child should be seen and not heard* (Cambridge Idioms Dictionary, 2006), attests to this fact. Thus dealing with attitudinal challenges remains an imperative if students are to be given space to participate in school governance and decision making in public schools in Malawi.

7.3.4   Implication on Nurturing Student Capacities for Deliberative Participation

Audigier (2000) notes that one of the aims of education for democratic citizenship is the reinforcement of the culture of democracy and among the key competencies for democratic citizenship is "the ability to argue, which is related to debate and the ability to reflect, i.e. the capacity to re-examine actions and arguments in the light of the principles and values of human rights, to reflect on the direction and limits of possible action, on conflicts of values and of interests" (Audigier, 2000: 22). Leung & Yuen (2009: 19-20) posit that "what is taught about citizenship must be practiced in schools; or else the perceived contradiction may lead to cynicism alienation and apathy is well shared by scholars". They further note "the discrepancy between what is taught and practiced may be one of the contributing factors to the failure of many civic education programs". Reid & Gill (2009: 7) describing how the civic and citizenship functions of schooling are delivered noted that "the culture and processes of the school as one way for inculcation of values and the disposition associated with citizenship can be seen in the organizational culture of the schools through such processes and events as its ceremonies, class organization and pedagogy, discipline structures traditions and relationships".

Schugurensky & Myers (2003: 1) argue that "citizenship education is a vast field that includes a wide range of philosophical, political and ideological perspectives, and of pedagogical approaches, goals and practices. At the most abstract level of discourse, there is a general consensus that the main purpose of citizenship education is

the development of good democratic citizens". Nurturing students' capacities for active participation and democratic deliberation reflects these concerns about educating for democratic citizenship. As noted education for democratic citizenship extends to "school life, i.e., all aspects of school as a living, social environment with its collective rules, interpersonal conflicts, times and opportunities for cooperation…the lessons themselves, which are the school's raison d'être, and the time, places and opportunities for spontaneous initiatives by the pupils outside the actual teaching activities" (Audiger, 2000: 26). Thus opportunities for nurturing citizenship skills need to permeate the entire life and experiences of students in the schools.

Audigier (2000: 26) further notes "It is not a matter of turning the school into a permanent forum, but rather of introducing structures…for dialogue, exchange, regulation and participation". The findings in this study point out the challenges school life poses to nurturing values and skills for deliberative democratic citizenship among the students. The practices minimally provide opportunities for effective cultivation of the democratic skills.

Examining the implications of the study's findings an observation by Gutmann & Thompson (2004) on the role of the public school in nurturing students' capacities for deliberation is very pertinent. They argue that "The school system in democracy appropriately aims to prepare children to become free and equal citizens, it constitutes one of the most important sites for rehearsals for deliberation…. publicly supported and publicly accredited schools should teach future citizens the knowledge and skills needed for democratic deliberation" (Gutmann & Thompson, 2004: 35). Vuegelars (2011: 214-215) contends that "actively participating in democratic practices in the school should provide students with valuable learning experiences. Participation as such is not sufficient; it needs to be participation in democratic relations and an orientation on justice, dialogue and social action". It is such experiences that are still

lacking in current school governance and classroom pedagogies as per the findings of this study.

The findings of this study in many ways suggest significant challenges in public schools contribution to the process of democratization in Malawi. Conservative views in school governing practices continue to pattern autocratic practices that are inconsistent with democratic values defining the current political environment in Malawi. If the public education is to remain relevant in nurturing a democratic culture among students, there is need to address the conservative attitudes that are shaping most governance practices in schools. Schools need to develop clear structures based on well defined democratic practices for student participation in school governance as a democratic ideal. An enabling policy framework would provide clear motivations for the provision of student government that is not only 'seen but also heard' in school decision making process.

Pedagogically the challenge of adequate teaching and learning materials remains a big challenge in fostering effective discussions in classrooms. Students can only learn the value of correct information in supporting views when access to such information is provided through reference materials. Students are likely to develop skills in researching for evidence to back up their argument. This is likely to further enhance content understanding and academic achievement in significant ways. The results further suggest the need to look into teachers' skills when it comes to the use of engaging pedagogies. Specifically there is need to create opportunity to strengthen use of deliberative pedagogies among teachers through in-service training to build teachers' capacities and repertoire of skills in effective student engagement and management of classroom discussions. This emphasis can be built within the current learner centered pedagogies with a particular focus on cultivating critical thinking skills and rational deliberation capacities among students.

7.4 Chapter Summary

This chapter has presented an integrated discussion of the quantitative and qualitative findings of this study. The results show a considerable corroboration between the quantitative and qualitative results of the study. The qualitative results have further highlighted other issues beyond the quantitative findings. Overall the results demonstrate significant challenges within school governance and classroom instruction practices on nurturing students' values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement as democratic ideals. Consequently the result finds a weaker potential contribution of public schooling to the process of democratization among the youth in Malawi. The next chapter presents summary and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 8:

SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND IMPLICATIONS

8.0   Introduction

This chapter presents the summary of the research, its findings as well as conclusions of the study. It begins by summarizing the study problem and the research questions investigated in this study. It highlights the main findings of the study and the conclusions drawn from the findings. It is followed by a statement of the implications of the study on theory and practice in democratic citizenship education. The chapter concludes by suggesting implications on further research based on the findings of the study.

8.1   Summary of the Research Problem and Study Questions

This dissertation examined the extent of democratic provisions for student active participation and democratic engagement in governance and pedagogical practices in public secondary schools in Zomba district of southern Malawi. It explored whether school governance and classroom instruction practices significantly provide opportunities to positively nurture students' values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement as democratic ideals. The primary research question of the study was; To what extent do governance and pedagogical practices in public secondary schools, explain public schools' contribution to the democratic formation of the students and the democratization process in Malawi? This question was examined through three subsidiary research questions as follows;

1. To what extent do students perceptions of school governance and pedagogical practices suggest significant opportunities for active participation and democratic engagement in public secondary schools?

2. How do teachers and students classroom interactions during lesson discussions relate to quality deliberative talk in classrooms?

3. What are the common issues shaping the discourse on student participation in school governance and decision making in public secondary schools in Malawi?

Through these questions the study argues for the need to re-imagine the role of public education in the democratization process in Malawi. The study was motivated by the growing concerns on passive citizenship in democratic Malawi, the importance of adolescence as a prime time when political values and skills that affect political behavior later in adulthood are formed, and the recognized civic mission of the school in preparing the students to fit in the society beyond the school. In line with these views, the study questioned the contribution of public education in the democratization process particularly among students as youth in Malawi.

The theory of deliberative democracy with its emphasis on the importance of participation and authentic deliberation in decision making provided a theoretical framework for examining the potential impact of school practices on the development of student values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement.

A mixed methods research design was utilized to explore school governance and pedagogical practices and their potential to provide students with significant experiences for nurturing values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement. Understanding how school practices provide space for students' active participation and democratic engagement contributes to a better understanding of public education's contribution to the democratization process and consolidation of Malawi's young democracy.

8.2 Summary of the Main Findings of the Study

The summary of the key findings of the study are presented below following the three research questions examined in this research.

1. Students' perceptions on participatory provisions in instructional practices suggested that most opportunities for active participation are provided in classrooms through participatory teaching methods used in classes but very limited opportunities exist outside the classrooms to link the students with their local school environment or communities around the school. Perceptions on governance practices suggested significant student are exclusion from active participation in the decision making structures of their schools. The study found no evidence of clear opportunities for students to make their input or give feedback let alone seek redress on any significant decisions in the schools.

   Generally students disagreed that schools are open and accommodative of their views in decision making. On the other hand the study found significant support for deliberation as a democratic ideal in decision making among students in all school types. However, this was not reflected in their desires to be involved in school decision making structures. The survey found school type as a significant variable than student gender in explaining student perceptions and beliefs about the importance of deliberation in school decision making. Overall survey found limited evidence to suggested significant opportunities in schools for a positive impact on the development of students' values and skills for active participation and democratic engagement in school practices.

2. Lesson observations demonstrated that instructional practices provide ample opportunities for students' active participation through use of group work, class discussions, and interactive lectures. However, lesson observations showed that the quality and level of critical thinking and rational engagement, student to student

interaction were very limited in classroom practices. Teachers dominated class discussions. The findings pointed out that teacher characteristic had an influence on the level of student engagement mainly through the teachers' facilitation and questioning skills, use of low level questions that emphasized recall of information rather than offering explanations, evaluations or synthesis of ideas reflecting higher order thinking skills in the lessons.

Limited availability of reference materials and student linguistic abilities in use of English posed challenges to student involvement in lesson discussions. Overall classroom interactions reflected very low 'accountability to acceptable standards of reasoning' in learners' responses with minimal display of both 'accountability to the learning community' and 'accountability to knowledge'. Overall the study found that in as much as classroom instruction practices provided opportunities for participation, they did not present opportunities to significantly impact on the development of students skills in democratic engagement through rational argumentation and debate.

3. Teachers and students views on students' participation in school governance and decision making confirmed that students are excluded from active participation in decision-making structures of the schools. Limited opportunities are given students to experience democratic participation even in small issues like selection of their student leadership. The study found no evidence for clear guidelines on the role of student leadership in local school governance. Schools made no significant provisions for students to give input or feedback on various decisions affecting them or seeking redress on some unfavorable decisions in the schools. The study further found that despite the overwhelming support for student participation, none of the advantages given by both students and teachers was related to the development of democratic values among students.

Overall the study found that cultural values and customs, teachers poor attitudes towards students' participation, distrust of student capacities due to their level of maturity, desire by school authorities to maintain control over students, perceptions that academic achievement mattered more than anything else, perceptions that student do not understand the meaning of democracy and the perceived incompatibility of democracy and school discipline were among the key factors influencing how teachers in general perceived student participation in school governance.

8.3   Conclusions of the Study

This study examined the potential contribution of formal education in the democratization process in Malawi. The study addressed the following primary research question: To what extent do current school governance and pedagogical practices in public secondary schools, explain the potential contribution of the formal education system in the democratization process in Malawi? Based on data collected from students' perceptions of school governance and classroom instructional practices in their schools, lesson observations and interviews with students and teachers, the study attempted to identify potential opportunities in these practices for nurturing students' values and skills for active participation and democratic engagement as democratic ideals contributing to the process of democratization in general. Based on the analysis of the results and the key findings of the study, the following conclusions are made to respond to the primary research question of the study.

Overall the study found limited evidence to suggest significant provisions for opportunities to nurture student's values and skills for active participation and democratic engagement in the public secondary schools studied. Comparatively, school governance practices provided the least opportunities for student active participation

and democratic engagement, through an almost complete exclusion of students and/or their representatives in the decision making structures of the schools. Classroom instruction practices fairly provided opportunities for active participation but no significant opportunities to nurture capacities for critical thinking and rational deliberation to reflect skills for democratic engagement.

In view of the limited opportunities posed by the current school governance and classroom instruction practices to nurturing students values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement, the dissertation find significant evidence to suggest a very weak contribution of the formal education system to the overall process of democratization particularly among the students as youth in Malawi. However the study is optimistic that

8.4   The Implications of the Findings of the Study

The findings of this study question the potential contribution of formal education in the democratization process particularly among the youth in Malawi. It questions the ability of public schools to nurture students' values and capacities for active participation and democratic engagement as ideals in a democratic society. The findings identify significant challenges within the school practices contributing to the limited potential impact of the public school system in the development of democratic values and capacities among students. Flanagan (2014) argued that adolescence is an important period in the formation of political values, attitudes and capacities that shape political practice in adulthood. These findings therefore raise significant issues that deserve urgent attention to ensure that opportunities are not lost in the development of democratic values and capacities among the students as youth in Malawi.

The youth represents the future of democracy in Malawi. The values that they acquire now, their political development at this stage will determine the sustainability

of democracy in the long term. The youth presents a unique opportunity to begin addressing the democratic challenges inherent in the country's colonial and post colonial past and create a stronger democratic foundation for the future. Thus preparing future democratic citizens ought to be among the priorities of current education practices. Student participation in school governance needs to be conceptualized beyond the administrative conveniences of the present, to reflect the democratic values of such participation among learners. The findings point out the weak interest among students to be involved. This suggests a potential problem for the future of active and deliberative democratic citizenship in Malawi if efforts are not made to create healthy interest among the youth to desire active participation as a democratic ideal. The study therefore argues for the need to organize school governance participation based on the framework of deliberative democracy that seeks to promote not only mutual participation but also mutual engagement of all affected by a decision as a democratic requirement.

To effectively achieve these schools need to provide opportunities for student participation in school decision making, where students views are not only heard but also clearly contribute to the outcomes of the various decision making process in the schools. The schools need to institutionalize deliberative forums for students with clear mandate and input to the various decisions of the schools. As long as students feel that whatever their views may be on an issue, their views have no real influence on decisions, participation will be seen as nothing more than an empty ritual. This in no significant way would motivate students to desire to be involved and participate as it appears to be the case now. Gutmann & Thompson, (2004) argued that public schools should be a training ground for cultivating students' capacities for democratic deliberation. The findings clearly show that public schools in this study are far from being the training grounds for democratic values.

245

In this task of institutionalizing student participation in decision making in their school, significant progress can only be made if efforts are made to address the attitudinal problems teachers and school administrators have on student participation. There is fear probably among teachers and school administrators that by involving students in decision making they will lose their authority and power over students as was earlier pointed out in the discussion of the study findings. Dealing with this cultural challenge will require institutionalizing student participation incrementally.

Schools may opt to create student deliberative forums that could be utilized to get student input in pending decisions that directly affect student life in the schools. As students learn to deal with issues affecting them in the schools and contributing to the decisions made, more opportunities for direct or representative participation could be provided. This will prevent the cultural shock that is likely to accompany drastic measures to include students on powerful committees of the schools. Use of student deliberative forum would also expand opportunities for students to speak their views. In respect of power differentials inherent in the status of teacher and student, it is very difficult for students to freely argue their views with their teachers on common forums at the present moment.

Pedagogically, the study outlined classroom challenges that compromise the ability of instructional practices to provide significant experiences to nurture students' deliberative capacities as they pertain to skills and capacities for rational engagement and debate. The findings suggest the need for teachers to challenge students to think critically, develop a sense of the importance of evidence in supporting views, how to research for such information, and how to present and defend their views rationally. Such skills have the potential to develop students' capacities to independently weigh evidence supporting particular decisions, constructively agree or disagree with views, as well as respecting other people views. These skills contribute to effective

246

participation in a democratic society. Thus classroom processes by promoting the development of these skills contributes to strengthening students' capacities for active democratic participation and deliberation.

However, current instructional practices in the studied schools demonstrate the significant challenges in these areas. The use of deliberative pedagogies (Doherty, 2012; Waghid 2014; Cooper 2008;), where rational engagement is promoted would offer a good starting point for engaging classrooms. These methodologies integrate critical thinking with the instructional practices as an important learning point in the lessons. Effective implementation of deliberative pedagogies would require building teachers capacities in the use of these methods within the context of large classrooms and resource constraints.

One possibility is to build teachers capacities to generate meaningful class discussions through appropriate questioning skills that would place clear demands on students to go beyond mere recall of information or provide brief responses. Use of specially prepared handouts to provide basic background information to students' discussions would contribute to dealing with the challenge of reference materials in class discussions. Deliberative pedagogies are likely to further enhance students understanding of lesson content and thus promoting deeper learning in addition to the deliberative skills.

Theoretically the study posits a relationship between attitude, beliefs and practices. Teachers believed in the importance of involving students in school governance. However, their practices contradicted their beliefs. Teachers' beliefs in the importance of involving their students in school governance did not translate to practice. This suggests that beliefs in themselves are a weak predictor of practice. What is normally believed does not always relate to what is done in actual practice. On the other hand teachers' attitudes towards accommodating students in decision making

247

were consistent with the schools' practices on student participation in school governance. This suggests that attitudes are a strong predictor of actual practice. These findings agree with most knowledge, attitudes, and practice (KAP) studies that posit a similar relationship among these three variables. Therefore, in this study, this finding implies that theoretically addressing the attitudinal challenges to student participation in school governance among teachers presents a better option in dealing with challenges to student participation present in schools.

Socially, there is reason to believe that public schools currently are more autocratic than democratic in as far as student participation in governance and decision making in concerned. Students have limited opportunities to seek redress on unfavorable decisions or provide significant contribution to the decision-making processes as part of the school community. Students are at the receiving end of school decisions. If schools believe in democracy but see no reason to practice it, students are likely to develop cynical attitudes towards democracy itself.

To make schools democratic environments that would foster positive attitudes towards participation, teachers need to develop trust towards students. Teachers need to open up the democratic space for student participation as bonafide member of the school community. However this dissertation does not assume freedom without any guidance by the teachers and other school leaders. School need to educate the students on what it means to live in a democratic society. As long as students experiences continue to be learning situation there can be no argument that students should do as they please for such is not democracy but anarchy. However, a proper balance is necessary in the way control is exercised so as not to deny reasonable voice and participation of the students in the school processes.

Failure to respect and democratically include students' views and voices in decision making contributes to making students see as less legitimate the decisions

248

imposed on them. This potentially contributes to rising discipline challenges as students struggle to reconcile what they learn as democratic way of life in classrooms and elsewhere and the schools inability to demonstrate these values in the way it conducts its affairs. One is bound to argue that the rising cases of students' unrests and protests in public schools are an indication of students' demands for space in the way schools are governed and decisions affecting them are made. The results indicate the need to work towards attitude change among school teachers and leaders to begin to see students as partners in the school albeit at different levels than merely objects to be controlled.

8.5   Areas of Further Research

This study focused on opportunities for participation in classroom and school governance practices, however, the role of extra-curriculum provisions like clubs and society were not covered in this study. Student participation in clubs and societies as well as the nature of clubs and societies may offer further insight into available school opportunities and their possible impact on the development of students' democratic values and skills.

Again one of the study's findings is that despite the interest students have in social and political issues in the country as well as their distaste for the lack of opportunities for participation in school governance, they reported limited interest to be involved in the decision making processes in their schools. The apparent discrepancies between political interest and desire to participate is another possible area requiring further inquiries to establish causes of this lack of interest and the possible relationship between political interest and participation among students.

The findings of the study have also raised challenges with teachers understanding that maintaining school discipline is not compatible with democratic

practice. Thus exploring alternative ways of ensuring school discipline in ways that encourage democratic values in the schools is very pertinent. Thus further research on democratic school discipline would offer insights on the interrelationship between encouraging democratic values, maintaining order in the schools without sacrificing student academic achievement.

Finally this study has focused on public secondary schools in the southern eastern education division in Malawi and limits its findings to these schools in this division. However, private schools are another dominant feature of the secondary school system in Malawi. The study has highlighted the importance of school types in explaining provisions for participation. In view of the possible variations between private and public schools in Malawi, a comparative study between these schools and extending beyond the present education divisions would be necessary. This would allow the identification of possible variations that may explain different levels of contribution to the process of democratization particularly among the students as youth in Malawi.

8.6   Chapter Summary

This study has served to demonstrate the challenge of nurturing democratic values within the public education system in Malawi. The study has highlighted the challenges posed by both school governance and classroom instruction practices. That seems to negatively affect the contribution of public school to the democratization process particularly among the students as youth in Malawi. The study makes no claim that the school is the only important factor in students democratic development, however, the study argues that the schools has an important role to play within its own right. Attitudes conditioned by conservative cultural values remains a significant challenge affecting students' participation in school governance and decision-making.

The study has therefore argued for school governance practices based on the framework of deliberative democracy. Similarly it has argued for the need to integrate deliberative pedagogies as a key ingredient to the current student centered pedagogies. The study ends on an optimistic point that teachers believe in the importance of participation and are already providing opportunities in classrooms. The remaining challenge is to encourage the democratic dimensions in these practices.

REFERENCES

_____1994. *National Standards for Civics and Government*, Calabasas, CA: Centre for Civic Education.

_____2006. *Cambridge Idioms Dictionary*, 2nd ed. Cambridge University Press http://dictionary.cambridge.org/dictionary/british/

_____2015. Deliberative Democracy. In *Wikipedia, The Free Encyclopedia*. http://en.wikipedia.org/w/index.php?title=Deliberative_democracy&oldid=6511 22393 (January 19,2015).

Abowitz, K.K. & Harnish, J. 2006. Contemporary Discourses on Citizenship, *Review of Educational Research,* 76(4) : 653-690.

Adams, F., & Waghid, Y. 2005. In Defence of Deliberative Democracy: Challenging Less Democratic School Governing Body Practices, *South African Journal of Education* 25(1): 25–33.

Amadeo, J.A., Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Husfeldt, V., and Nikolova, R. (2002). *Civic Knowledge and Engagement: An IEA Study of Upper Secondary Students in Sixteen Countries*. Amsterdam: IEA.

Antal, C. & Easton, P. 2009. Indigenizing Civic Education in Africa: Experience in Madagascar and the Sahel, *International Journal of Education and Development*, 29 (2009): 599-611.

Arnstein, S.R. 1969. A Ladder of Citizen Participation, *AIP Journal*, 35(4): 216-224.

Audigier, F. 2000. *Basic Concepts and Core Competencies for Education for Democratic Citizenship*, Strasbourg: Council for Cultural Co-Operation.

Bachtiger, A., Shikano, S., Pedrini, S., & Ryser, M. 2009. Measuring Deliberation 2.0: Standards, Discourse Types, and Sequentialization, In *ECPR General Conference*, Potsdam: 5-12.

Bäckman, E. & Trafford, B. 2006. *Democratic Governance in Schools*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Balnaves, M. & Caputi, P. 2001. *Introduction to Quantitative Research Methods; An Investigative Approach*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Banda, K.N. 1982. *A Brief History of Education in Malawi, Blantyre*, Malawi: Dzuka Publishing Company.

Banks, J.A. 2008. Diversity, Group Identity and Citizenship Education in A Global Age, *Educational Researcher* 37 (3): 129-139.

Barbie, E. 2010. *The Practice of Social Research*, Belmont, CA: Wadsworth.

Benhabib, S. 1996. Towards a Deliberative Model of Legitimacy. In Seyla Benhabib ed., *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 67-94.

Bîrzéa, C. 2000. *Education for Democratic Citizenship: A Lifelong Learning Perspective*, Strasbourg: Council of Europe.

Bohman, J. 1998. The Coming of Age of Deliberative Democracy*, The Journal of Political Philosophy* 6(4): 400-425.

Bratton,M., & Mattes, R.B. 2001. Africans' Surprising Universalism. *Journal of Democracy*, 12(1): 107-121

Carr, W., & Hartnett, A. 1996. *Education and the Struggle for Democracy: The Politics of Educational Idea*s. Buckingham: Open University Press.

Chambers. S. 2003. Deliberative Democratic Theory, *Annual Political Review* 6: 307-326

Chingaipe & Msukwa, 2014. *Whose voice?: Citizenship participation and influence in public policy processes in Malawi*. Lilongwe: Malawi Economic Justice Network.

Chinsiga, B. 2008. Malawi's Democracy Project at Crossroads. In *Towards the Consolidation of Malawi's Democracy*. Lilongwe, Malawi: Konrad-Adenauer-Stiftung, pp. 7-20.

Chinsiga, B. 2006.*Voter Apathy in Malawi: A Critical Appraisal*. Lilongwe, Malawi: Center for Multiparty Democracy.

Chirwa, W., Patel,N., & Kanyongolo, F. n.d. *Democracy Report for Malawi*. http://www.idea.int/publications/sod/upload/Malawi.pdf (June 13,2013).

Christiano, T, 2015. Democracy, *The Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy (Spring 2015 Edition),* Edward N. Zalta (ed.), forthcoming URL = <http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2015/entries/democracy/> (February 10, 2015).

Cohen, J. 1996. Procedure and Substance in Deliberative Democracy. In Seyla Benhabib ed., *Democracy and Difference*. Princeton NJ: Princeton University Press.

Cohen, J. 1997. Deliberation and Democratic Legitimacy. In John Bohman and William Rehg eds., *Deliberative Democracy*. Cambridge MA: MIT Press.

Connolly, P. 2007. *Quantitative Data Analysis in Education: A Critical Introduction Using SPSS.* London: Rutledge Taylor & Francis Group.

Cooke, M. 2000. Five Arguments For Deliberative Democracy, *Political Studies* 48: 947-969.

Cooper, D.D. 2008. Four Seasons of Deliberative Learning in a Department of Rhetoric and American Studies: From General Education to the Senior Capstone. In *Deliberation & the Work of Higher Education: Innovations for the Classroom, the Campus, and the Community*, Dayton, Ohio: Kettering Foundation Press.

Creswel. J.W. 2012. *Educational Research: Planning, Conducting and Evaluating Qualitative and Quantitative Research*. Boston: Pearson Publishing Inc.

Crick Report 1998. *Education for Citizenship and the Teaching of Democracy in Schools, Final report of the Advisory Group on Citizenship* London: QCA

Crick, B. 2002. *Democracy: A Very Short Introduction.* New York: Oxford University Press.

Deakin Crick R, Coates M, Taylor M.J., Ritchie S. 2004. A Systematic Review of the Impact of Citizenship Education on the Provision of Schooling. In: *Research Evidence in Education Library*. London: EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education.

Deakin Crick, R., Taylor, M., Tew, M,. Ritchie, S., Samuel, E., & Durant, K. 2005. A Systematic Review of the Impact of Citizenship Education on Student Learning and Achievement. In *Research Evidence in Education Library*, London. EPPI-Centre, Social Science Research Unit, Institute of Education

de A. Samarasinghe S.W.R. (1994). *Democracy and Democratization in Developing Countries*. Department of Population and International Health Harvard School of Public Health Boston: Massachusetts

Delli Caprini, M.X., Cook, F.L., & Jacobs, L.R. 2004. Public Deliberation, Discursive Participation, and Citizen Engagement: A Review of the Empirical Literature. *Annu. Rev. Polit. Sci.* 7:315–44.

Diamond, L. 2008. The State of Democracy in Africa. In *Democratization in Africa: What Progress toward Institutionalization?* Washington: National Intelligence Council.

Divala, J.J. 2007. Malawi's Approach to Democracy: Implications for the Teaching of Democratic Citizenship; *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 3(1): 32-44.

Doherty. J. 2012. Deliberative Pedagogy: An Education that Matters. *Connections,* Ohio: The Kettering Foundation Press.

Dryzek, J.S. 1990. *Deliberative Democracy and Beyond: Liberals, Critics, Contestations*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Elster, J. 1998. Introduction. In John Elster (ed.). *Deliberative Democracy*. New York: Cambridge University Press, pp. 1-18.

Englund, H. (n.d) Transnational Governance and the Pacification of Youth: the Contribution of Civic Education to Disempowerment in Malawi. Institute for African and Asian Studies: University of Helsinki Finland http://146.230.128.54/ccs/files/englund.pdf (January 20,2015).

Englund, T. 2006. Deliberative Communication: A Pragmatist Proposal. *Journal of Curriculum Studies,* 38(5): 503–520.

Enslin, P. 2000. Education and Democratic Citizenship: In Defense of Cosmopolitanism. In Mal Leicester, Celia Modgil and Sohan Modgil eds., *Education, Culture and Values: Politics, Education and Citizenship*, London: Falmer Press, pp. 235-246.

Enslin, P., Pendlebury. S., & Tjiattas, M. 2001. Deliberative Democracy, Diversity and the Challenges of Citizenship Education, *Journal of Philosophy of Education.* 35(1): 115-130.

Evans, G. & Rose, P. 2007b. Support for Democracy in Malawi: Does Schooling Matter? *World Development* 35(5): 904-919.

Evans, G. & Rose, P. 2007. Education and Support for Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa: Testing Mechanisms of Influence. *Afrobarometer Working paper No. 75.* The Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

Faour, M. 2013. *A Review of Citizenship Education in Arab Nations*. Washington D.C.: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace.

Fishkin, J. 2013. Deliberation by the People themselves: Entry Points for the Public Voice. *Election Law Journal,* 12(4): 490-507.

Fishkin, J.S. & Luskin, R.C. 2005. Experimenting with a Democratic Ideal: Deliberative Polling and Public Opinion. *Acta Politica,* 40 (3): 284–298.

Fishkin, J.S. 2009. *When the People Speak: Deliberative Democracy and Public Consultation*. New York: Oxford University Press.

Flanagan, C. 2014. *Teenage Citizens in the Political Theories of the Young*. Massachusetts : Havard University Press.

Flecknoe, M. 2002. Democracy, Citizenship and School Improvement: What can One School tell us? *School Leadership and Management* 22: 421-437.

Freire, P. 1970. Banking Versus Problem-Solving Model of Education. In Randall Curren ed., *Philosophy of Education: An anthology 2007*, Oxford: Blackwell Publishing.

Frost, R 2001. The Rule of Reasons, Three Models of Deliberative Democracy. *Ratio Juris* 4(4): 345-78.

Geboers, E., Geijsel, F., Admiraal W., & ten Dam G.(2013). Review of the Effects of Citizenship Education. *Education Research Review,* 9: 158-173.

Gerson, M., McCurry, M., Francis, L. & Bridgeland, J. 2003. Civic Common Sense, Jonathan Gould ed., *Guardian of Democracy: The Civic Mission of Schools,* Pennsylvania, The Leonore Annenberg Institute for Civics, Annenberg Public Policy Center: University of Pennsylvania.

Gruel, J. 2002. *Democratization: A Critical Introduction*. New York: Palgrave.

Gutman, A. 2007. Democracy. In Robert E. Goodin, Phillip Pettit and Thomas Pogge (eds). *A Companion to Contemporary Political Philosophy*. Vol. 2. Oxford: Blackwell Publishing, pp. 521-531.

Gutmann, A. & Thompson, D. 1996. *Democracy and Disagreement.* Cambridge, Massachusetts : Harvard University Press.

Gutmann, A., & Thompson, D. 2004. *Why Deliberative Democracy*. Princeton, Princeton University Press.

Haber, C. 1994. Ethnicity and Education for Democracy in Sub-Saharan Africa, *International Journal of Education and Development*, 14(3): 255-264.

Habermas, 1996. Three Normative Models of Democracy. In Seyla Benhabib ed., *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political*. Princeton: Princeton University Press, pp. 21-30.

Haber & Mncube, 2012. Democracy, Education and Development: Theory and Reality. Other Education: *The Journal of Educational Alternatives,* 1(1) : 104-120.

Hart, R.A. 1992. Children's Participation: From Tokenism to Citizenship, *Innocent Essays* No. 1 Florence, Italy: UNICEF.

Heater, D. 2004. *A History of Education for Citizenship.* New York: Rutledge Falmer.

Holdsworth, R. 1996. What do we mean by Student Participation? *Youth Studies Australia,*15(1): 26-27.

Hoskins, B., d'Hombres, B., & Campbell, J. 2008. Does Formal Education Have an Impact on Active Citizenship Behavior? *JRS Scientific and Technical Reports*. Italy: European Commission Joint Research Centre.

Huddleston, T. 2007. *From Student Voice to Shared Responsibility: Effective Practice in Democratic School Governance in European Schools*. London: Citizenship Foundation.

Hutcheson, A.M. 2008. *Malawi, Europa Regional Surveys of the World, Africa South of the Sahara,* London: Routledge Taylor and Francis Group.

Jackson, R., & Steel, K. 2004. Problems and Possibilities for Relating Citizenship Education and Religious Education in Europe, the Oslo Coalition on Freedom of Religion or Belief.
http://folk.uio.no/leirvik/OsloCoalition/JacksonSteele0904.htm

Jeruto, T.B. & Kiprop,C.J. 2011. Extent of Student Participation in Decision Making in Secondary Schools in Kenya. *International Journal of Humanities and Social Science* (Special Issue), 1(21): 92-99.

Jimu, I.M. 2008. Community Development: A Cross-Examination of Theory and Practice Using Experiences in Rural Malawi. *Africa Development*, 33(2): 23–35.

Kerr, D. 2003. Citizenship: Local, National and International, In Liam Gearon (ed), *Learning to Teach Citizenship in the Secondary School*, London: RoutledgeFalmer: 5-27

Kothari, C.R. 2004. *Research Methodology, Methods and Techniques*. New Delhi, New Age International (P) Publishers.

Kuthemba-Mwale, J.B., Hauya, R., & Tizifa. J. 1996. Secondary School Discipline Study Final Report, Zomba, Malawi: University of Malawi Center for Educational Research and Training.

Leung Y.W., & Yuen, T.W.W. 2009. Participatory Citizenship and Student Empowerment: Case Study of a Hong Kong School. *Citizenship Teaching and Learning*, 5(1):18-34.

Leydet, D. 2014. Citizenship. The *Stanford Encyclopedia of Philosophy* (Spring 2014 Edition), Edward N. Zalta (ed.), URL = http://plato.stanford.edu/archives/spr2014/entries/citizenship/, (January 20, 2015).

Macedo, S. 1999. Introduction. In Stephen Macedo ed., *Deliberative Politics: Essays On Democracy And Disagreement*. Oxford: Oxford University Press.

Malawi Voice. http://www.malawivoice.com/2012/05/21/moral-decay-in-our-schools-wake-up-call-for-parents-and-teachers-49924/ (September 2, 2012).

Malawi Voice. http://www.malawivoice.com/2014/06/13/kasungu-students-fined-k20-000-damaging-school/ (June 13, 2014).

Motsepe, Mokone,.W 2014. Democratic Involvement of Students in High Schools Governance in Lesotho, *Education Research and Reviews*, 9(7): 192-198.

Mattes, R., & Mughogho, D. 2009. The Limited Impacts of Formal Education on Democratic Citizenship in Africa. *Afro-barometer Working Paper No. 109*. The Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

Mattes, R., & Shin, D.C. 2005. The Democratic Impact of Cultural Values in Africa and Asia: The Cases of South Africa and South Korea. *Afro-barometer Working Paper No. 50*. The Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

Mattes, R., David, Y.D., & Africa, C. 2000. Views of Democracy in South Africa and the Region: Trends and Comparisons, *Afro-barometer, Paper No.8*, The Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

McGettrick,B.J. 2001. *Report on Citizenship and Initial Teacher Education. ESCalate Project on Citizenship,* Birmingham: University of Glasgow.

McGregor, C. 2004. Care(full) Deliberation: A Pedagogy for Citizenship. *Journal of Transformative Education,* 2(2): 90-106.

McLaughlin, T.H. 1992. Citizenship, Diversity and Education: A Philosophical Perspective. *Journal of Moral Education* 21(3): 235-250.

McMillan, J.H. & Schumacher, S. 2001. *Research in Education: A Conceptual Introduction*. New York: Longman.

Mendelberg, T. 2002. The Deliberative Citizen: Theory and Evidence. *Political Decision Making, Deliberation and Participation*, 6 : 151-193.

Merryfield, M.M. & Tlou, J. 1995. The Process of Africanizing the Social Studies. *Social Studies,* 86(6): 1-19

Mgimwa, C. & Thulstrup, K.M, 2011. *Club Environment and School Governance in Secondary Schools: Morogoro and Pwani*, Tanzania: Femina HIP.

Mhlauli, M.B. 2012. The Role of Education on Citizenship Development in Africa. *British Journal of Arts and Social Sciences*, 4 (1) :104-115.

Michaels, S., O'Connor, C. & Resnick, L.B. 2007. Deliberative Discourse Idealized and Realized: Accountable Talk in the Classroom and in Civic Life. *Studies in Philosophy and Education*. 27(4) : 283-297.

Miles, M.B. & Huberman, A.M. 1994. *Qualitative Data Analysis*. Thousand Oaks, CA: Sage Publications.

Miles, S. 2006. Citizenship Education: An Examination of the Relationship between the Crick Report and Policy Implementation in the UK, in Alistair Ross ed., *Citizenship Education: Europe and the World*. London: CiCe, pp 713-720.

Milligan, K., Moretti, E., & Oreopoulos, P. 2003. Does Education Improve Citizenship? Evidence from the United States and The United Kingdom, *Journal of Public Economics*, 88:1667-1695.

Ministerial Review Committee on School Governance. 2004. *Review of School Governance in South African public schools (Tech, Rep.)*. Pretoria, South Africa: Department of Education, Government Press

Ministry of Education Science and Technology, 2008. *National Education Sector Plan 2008-2017*. Lilongwe: Malawi Government.

Mncube, V. & Haber, C. 2013. Learners' Democratic Involvement in School Governing Bodies in South Africa: Making the Voice of the Voiceless Heard. *SA-eDUC JOURNAL*, 10(1): 1-23

Muijis, D. 2004. *Doing Quantitative Research in Education With SPSS*. Thousand Oaks : Sage Publication Inc.

Pachai, B. 1973. *Malawi: The History of the Nation*. London: Longman Group LTD.

Pendlebury, S. 2010. Children and School Governance: Representation, Participation and Power, *South African Child Gauge* 2010/2011, pp 43-48.

Peter, F. 2009. *Democratic Legitimacy*. New York: Rutledge.

Powell G.B. & Powell E.N .2005. *Democratization Briefing Paper*, New York, College
    Board.

Pritchard, A. &Woollard, J. 2010. *Psychology for the Classroom: Constructivism and
    Social Learning*. New York: Routledge.

Przeworski, A.1999. Minimalist Conception of Democracy: A Defense. In Robert Dahl,
    Ian Shapiro and Jose´ Antonio Cheibub (eds). *The Democracy Source Book.*
    Cambridge: MIT Press,pp. 12-17

Rakner, L. Menocal, A.R. 2007. Democratizations' Third Wave and the Challenges of
    Democratic Deepening: Assessing International Democracy Assistance and
    Lessons Learned. *Working paper 1*. London: Overseas Development Institute.

Reid, A., & Gill, J. 2009. An Arm of the State? Linking Citizenship Education and
    Schooling Practice, *Citizenship and Teacher Education,* 5(1): 3-17.

Rossman, G.B, & Rallis S.F. 2003. *Learning in the Field: An Introduction to
    Qualitative Research*. 2nd Edtn. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publication Inc.

Samoff, J. 1999. No Teacher, No Textbooks, No chairs: Contending with Crisis in
    African Education. Prepared for presentation at the 43rd Annual Meeting of the
    African Studies Association: Philadelphia, 11-14 November.

Sanger, C. 1969. Malawi. In Colin Legum ed., *Africa Handbook* (revised edition),
    Harmondsworth, England: Penguin Books Ltd.

Schugurensky, D. & Myers, J.P. 2003. Citizenship Education: Theory, Research and
    Practice. *Encounters on Education*, 4(Fall): 1 – 10.

Schumpeter, J. (1976). Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy. In Robert Dahl, Ian
    Shapiro and Jose´ Antonio Cheibub (eds). *The Democracy Source Book*.
    Cambridge: MIT Press : 5-11

Semela, T., Bohl., & Kleinknecht, M. 2013. Civic Education in Ethiopian Schools: Adopted Paradigms Instructional Technology and Democratic Citizenship in A Multicultural Context, *International Journal of Education and Development*, Volume 33(2): 156–164

Sighn, 2006. *Fundamental of Research Methodology and Statistics*. New Delhi: New Age International (P) Limited Publishers.

Smit, M.H & Oosthuizen, I.J. 2011. Improving School Governance through Participative Democracy and the Law, *South African Journal of Education*, 31: 55-73.

Steenburgen, M.R., Bächtiger, A., Spörndli, M. & Steiner. J. 2003. Measuring Political Deliberation: A Discourse Quality Index. *Comparative European Politics* 1: 21–48.

Steiner, J., Bächtiger, A., Spörndli, M. & Steenburgen, M.R. 2004. *Deliberative Politics in Action. Analysing Parliamentary Discourse*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Steiner, J. 2012. *The Foundations of Deliberative Democracy*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

Stromer-Galley, J. 2007. Measuring Deliberation's Content: A Coding Scheme, *Journal of Public Deliberation* 3, Article 12 pp,1-35.

Taylor, C. 1989. Cross-purposes: The Liberal-Communitarian Debate. In Derek Matrravers and Jon Pike (eds.). *Debates in Contemporary Political Philosophy: An Anthology*.New York: Routledge, pp.195-212.

Teddlie, C. & Tashakkori, A. 2009. *Foundations of Mixed Methods Research: Integrating Quantitative and Qualitative Approaches in Social and Behavioral Sciences*. Thousand Oaks: Sage Publications Ltd.

The Encyclopedia Britannica Volume 7. 1973. *Democracy.* Encyclopedia Britannica Inc. London: William Benton Publisher

Malawi Voice. http://www.malawivoice.com/2014/02/17/salima-secondary-school-suspends-140-male-form-2-3-students-for-wrestling-with-form-4-students/ (February, 17, 2014).

Torney-Purta, J., Lehmann, R., Oswald, H., and Schulz, W. 2001. *Citizenship and Education in Twenty-eight Countries: Civic Knowledge and Engagement at Age Fourteen*. Amsterdam: IEA.

Torney-Purta, J., Schwille, J. and Amadeo, J-A (eds.). 1999. *Civic Education Across Countries: 24 Case Studies from the IEA Civic Education Project*. Amsterdam: Eburon Publishers for the International Association for the Evaluation of Educational Achievement (IEA).

Torres,L.H. 2006. Deliberative Democracy FAQ. http://www.deliberative-democracy.net/index.php/faq (February 10, 2015).

Tsoka, M. 2002. Public Opinion and the Consolidation of Democracy in Malawi; *Afrobarometer Paper No. 16.* The Institute for Democracy in South Africa.

UNICEF. 2013. Malawi Statistics:
http://www.unicef.org/infobycountry/malawi_statistics.html (January 10, 2015).

USAID. 2013. *Country Development Cooperation Strategy Public Version 2013-2018*. Lilongwe, USAID-Malawi.

Vuegelars, W. 2011. Theory and Practice of Citizenship Education. The Case of Policy, Science and Education in the Netherlands. *Revista de Educación, número extraordinario* 2011: 209-224.

Waghid, Y. 2014 *African Philosophy of Education Reconsidered: On being human*. New York : Routledge

Weal, A. 2007. *Democracy,* New York: Palgrave Macmillan.

Wray-Lake, L., & Syvertsen, A. K. 2011. The Developmental Roots of Social Responsibility in Childhood and Adolescence. In C. A. Flanagan & B. D. Christens (Eds.), Youth Civic Development: Work at the Cutting Edge. *New Directions for Child and Adolescent Development,* 134: 11–25.

Wright, I. 2003. The Centrality of Critical Thinking in Citizenship Education. *Canadian Social Studies,* Volume 38 Number 1, Fall http://www2.education.ualberta.ca/css/Css_38_1/ARcentrality_critical_thinking .htm (January 16, 2015).

Young, I.M. 1996. Communication and the Other: Beyond Deliberative Democracy. In Benhabib, S. (ed.). *Democracy and Difference: Contesting the Boundaries of the Political.* Princeton: Princeton University Press.

APPENDIX I   :   Permission to Collect Data in Schools

Telephone: (265) 01 526 432

Fax: (265) 01 526 432

Ref.No.SEED/HRM/04/15.

Communications should be addressed to:

The Manager, South-East Education Division

In reply please quote No..........

SOUTH EAST EDUCATION DIVISION

PRIVATE BAG 48

ZOMBA

18th September, 2012.

To : The Headteacher:

St. Mary's Secondary school

St. Michaels Girls Secondary school
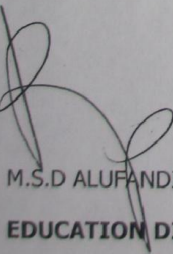
Ulongwe Community Day Secondary school

Ntaja Community Day Secondary school

RE: PERMISSION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH

The bearer of this document is **Mr. Antonie Chigeda,** a member of staff at Chancellor College, pursuing doctoral studies in education at graduate school of Asian and African Area Studies at Kyoto University in Japan. He would like to collect data for his dissertation at your institution as a partial fulfillment of his doctoral degree. The research is on An inquiry into school citizenship teaching practices and the aspirations of democratic deliberation in Malawi. Please assist him with the necessary information.

Assistance accorded to him will be highly appreciated.

M.S.D ALUFANDIKA

EDUCATION DIVISION MANAGER
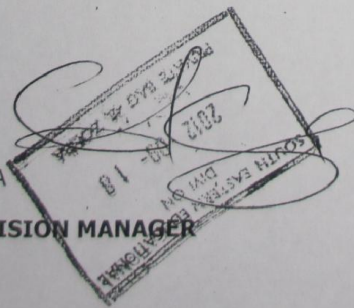
REF. NO. SEED/ADM/VOL. II/476   1st July ,2014.

FROM :   THE EDUCATION DIVISION MANAGER, SOUTH EAST EDUCATION DIVISION,

            PRIVATE BAG 48, ZOMBA.

TO   :   THE HEADTEACHERS,

            ZOMBA URBAN & ZOMBA RURAL

AUTHORITY FOR MR ANTHONY CHIGEDA TO CARRY OUT A DATA COLLECTION EXERCISE FOR HIS DOCTORAL THESIS ON EDUCATION AND THE EMERGING DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN MALAWI .

I write to kindly request your office to allow Mr. ANTHONY CHIGEDA, currently a Doctor of Education Student in the Department of Education Foundations at the   University of Malawi – Chancellor College to carry out a Data collection exercise for his thesis "EDUCATION AND THE EMERGING DEMOCRATIC CITIZENSHIP IN MALAWI" in your institutions.

I will be most grateful if MR. CHIGEDA is given all the necessary support and guidance so that his activity is carried out successfully.

I look forward to your usual support and hoping at the same time that you will accord this request all the attention and urgency that it deserves.

M.S.D. ALUFANDIKA

EDUCATION DIVISION MANAGER

APPENDIX II : Introductory Letter to Survey Respondents

Dear Respondent:

The researcher is a member of staff from Chancellor College, Faculty of Education, and currently studying at the Graduate School of Asian and African Area Studies of Kyoto University in Japan. He is conducting an academic research titled **Nurturing Deliberative Democracy in Public Secondary Schools in Malawi: School Governance and Pedagogies,** as part of his doctoral studies. The researcher requests if you could freely and voluntarily accept to participate in this study by answering the questions in the attached questionnaire to the best of your knowledge. The information you give in this questionnaire will be used for academic purposes only and will not be used in any way that put you or your information at any risk. To ensure confidentiality, please do not write your name or any other personally identifiable information anywhere in the questionnaire. You have the freedom to withdraw your participation at any point should you decide to do so. Should you have any questions about this study please feel free to contact the undersigned on the emails below.

Thank you for your kind assistance,

Antonie L. Chigeda.

Contacts:

Antonie Chigeda: achigeda@cc.ac.mw

Dr. R. Nyirongo, (University of Malawi, Chancellor College): rnyirongo@cc.ac.mw

Dr. S. Kaji, (Kyoto University, Japan): skaji@jambo.africa.kyoto-u.ac.jp

APPENDIX III :   Survey Questionnaire

*Please answer **all** questions by **marking with a circle** a number next to your chosen answer, unless otherwise indicated*

Sources of political information

1. On an average weekday, how much time, in total, do you spend watching television? Please answer by circling an appropriate number. *(If **no time at all** go to question 3)*

No time at all	00
Less than 1⁄2 hour	01
1⁄2 hour to 1 hour	02
More than 1 hour, up to 1 1⁄2 hours	03
More than 1 1⁄2 hours, up to 2 hours	04
More than 2 hours, up to 2 1⁄2 hours	05
More than 2 1⁄2 hours, up to 3 hours	06
More than 3 hours	07
(Don't know)	88

2. And again on an average weekday, how much of your time watching television is spent watching news or programmes about politics and current affairs? Please answer by circling an appropriate number.

No time at all	00
Less than 1⁄2 hour	01
1⁄2 hour to 1 hour	02
More than 1 hour, up to 1 1⁄2 hours	03
More than 1 1⁄2 hours, up to 2 hours	04
More than 2 hours, up to 2 1⁄2 hours	05
More than 2 1⁄2 hours, up to 3 hours	06
More than 3 hours	07
(Don't know)	88

3. On an average weekday, how much time, in total, do you spend listening to the radio? Please answer by circling an appropriate number. *(If **no time at all** go to 5)*

No time at all	00
Less than 1⁄2 hour	01
1⁄2 hour to 1 hour	02
More than 1 hour, up to 1 1⁄2 hours	03
More than 1 1⁄2 hours, up to 2 hours	04
More than 2 hours, up to 2 1⁄2 hours	05
More than 2 1⁄2 hours, up to 3 hours	06
More than 3 hours	07
(Don't know)	88

4. And again on an average weekday, how much of your time listening to the radio is spent listening to news or programmes about politics and current affairs? Please answer by circling and appropriate number.

No time at all	00
Less than 1⁄2 hour	01
1⁄2 hour to 1 hour	02
More than 1 hour, up to 11⁄2 hours	03
More than 11⁄2 hours, up to 2 hours	04
More than 2 hours, up to 21⁄2 hours	05
More than 21⁄2 hours, up to 3 hours	06
More than 3 hours	07
(Don't know)	88

5. On an average weekday, how much time, in total, do you spend reading the newspapers? Please answer by circling an appropriate number *(If **no time at all** go to 7)*

No time at all	00
Less than 1⁄2 hour	01
1⁄2 hour to 1 hour	02
More than 1 hour, up to 11⁄2 hours	03
More than 11⁄2 hours, up to 2 hours	04
More than 2 hours, up to 21⁄2 hours	05
More than 21⁄2 hours, up to 3 hours	06
More than 3 hours	07
(Don't know)	88

6. And how much of this time is spent reading about politics and current affairs? Please answer by circling an appropriate number.

No time at all	00
Less than 1⁄2 hour	01
1⁄2 hour to 1 hour	02
More than 1 hour, up to 11⁄2 hours	03
More than 11⁄2 hours, up to 2 hours	04
More than 2 hours, up to 21⁄2 hours	05
More than 21⁄2 hours, up to 3 hours	06
More than 3 hours	07
(Don't know)	88

7. Now how often do you use the internet, the World Wide Web or e-mail – whether at home or at school –

No access at home or work	00
Never use	01
Less than once a month	02
Once a month	03
Several times a month	04
Once a week	05
Several times a week	06
Every day	07
(Don't know)	88

8. Last month how many times did you and your friends outside class discuss politics in the country

Did not discuss at all	00
Less than 3 times,	01
More than 3 times, up to 6 times,	02
More than 6 times up to 9 times,	03
More than 9 times up to 12 times	04
More than 12 times up to 15 times	05
More than 15 times	06
Do not know	88

9. Please use the numbers (1,2,3,4,5,6,7,8) to order the following sources of political news and information beginning with the one you most frequently use to the one you least frequently use.

Radio, News papers Television Friends at school Friends outside school Teachers School clubs and societies Class discussions	
Other (specify)	

10. How would you describe your personal interest in politics? Circle one response below

Very interested	1
Quite interested	2
Hardly interested	3
Or not at all interested	4
Don't know	8

Deliberative experiences in classroom pedagogies

11. In the classes you attended during last the month how frequent did your teacher used group work or class discussions as a teaching method?

Not used at all	00
Sometimes	01
About half of the time	02
Most of the time	03
All of the time	04
(Don't know)	88

272

12. During group work or class discussion how accommodating are your teachers to your views when your views seem different from the teachers?

Not accommodating at all	00
Sometimes	01
About half of the time	02
Most of the time	03
All of the time	04
(Don't know)	88

13. During group work or class discussion how accommodating are your fellow students to your views when your views seem different from their views?

Not accommodating at all	00
Sometimes	01
About half of the time	02
Most of the time	03
All of the time	04
(Don't know)	88

14. In the lessons you attended last month on average how often did you participate in class discussions or group work by contributing an explanation, asking questions or giving a suggestion?

Not at all	00
Sometimes	01
About half of the time	02
Most of the time	03
All of the time	04
(Don't know)	88

15. In the lessons you attended last month on average how frequent did you discuss issues related to politics in the country?

Not at all	00
Sometimes	01
About half of the time	02
Most of the time	03
All of the time	04
(Don't know)	88

16. In the term that is now ending, how frequently did your teachers used organized debate as a teaching method?

Not at all	00
Sometimes	01
About half of the time	02
Most of the time	03
All of the time	04
(Don't know)	88

17. In the term that is now ending, how frequently did your teachers ask you to write an essay on an issue or topic in class?

Not at all	00
Sometimes	01
About half of the time	02
Most of the time	03
All of the time	04
(Don't know)	88

18. How often in the last term did you discuss politics and current affairs in your social studies lessons?

Nearly all the lessons we did not	1
Most of the lessons we did not	2
Some the lessons we did, others lessons we did not	3
Most of the lessons we did	4
Nearly all the lessons we did	5
(Don't know)	8

19. How often do you discuss controversial social and political issues in your social studies classes?

Nearly all the lessons do not discuss	1
Most of the lessons do not discuss	2
Some the lessons we do, other lessons we do not	3
Most of the lessons we discussed	4
Nearly all the lessons we discussed	5
(Don't know)	8

20. Do you find it easy to discuss controversial social and political issues in your social studies classes with your teachers?

Nearly all the times no	1
Most of the times no	2
Some the times yes, others times no	3
Most of the times yes	4
Nearly all the times yes	5
(Don't know)	8

21. *Please indicate* **all** *your responses for this question by putting a mark in the appropriate boxes below.* Last academic year in your Social Studies Class did you….

ITEM LIST	Not at all	Once	More than once	Don't know
1. Contact an elected official (e.g., local MP) about something that concerned you?				
2. Participate in simulations, such as mock parliament, mock elections, or mock court?				
3. Make speeches or give presentations?				
4. Conduct interviews or oral histories?				
5. Analyze political communications such as political cartoons, articles, pamphlets, or commercials?				
6. Discuss controversial issues such as abortion, death penalty, gay rights etc.?				
7. Feel encouraged to express your own opinions freely to others?				
8. Develop a plan of action for public problems, social concerns or community issues?				
9. Participate in a demonstration or fundraiser for a social or political problem				

Deliberative experiences in school governance

22. How often does your prefects' council meet to discuss with teachers and school administration whenever there are problems affecting students in the school?

Not at all	1
Sometimes	2
About half of the time	3
Most of the time	4
All of the time	5
(Don't know)	8

23. How often do teachers and school administration accommodate students views on school decisions directly affecting students

Not at all	1
Sometimes	2
About half of the time	3
Most of the time	4
All of the time	5
(Don't know)	8

24. How many students do you know in your school who are active members of regular committees in your school where teachers are also members?

None at all	1
Less than 3 students	2
More than 3 students	3
(Don't know)	8

25. In your school are there any student representatives who are members of the school disciplinary committee either as full members or as observers when student cases are being decided

None at all	1
Less than 3 students	2
More than 3 students	3
(Don't know)	8

26. In your school does the school administration allow students and prefects to organize meetings or student assembly to discuss problems that you as students face in the school and propose solutions to the problems?

Not at all	Sometimes	About half of the time	Most of the time	All of the time	Don't know
1	2	3	4	5	8

27. Think about yourself in comparison with your friends from the experiences through your secondary school years. On average over this period, use the 1-5 scale below to rate yourself on the six statements below.

	Not at all	Some times	About half of the time	Most of the time	All of the time	Don't know
I am a good public speaker.	1	2	3	4	5	8
I am comfortable speaking up in class.	1	2	3	4	5	8

276

	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly	Don't know
I am comfortable sharing my opinions with people.	1	2	3	4	5	8
I am a leader among my peers.	1	2	3	4	5	8
I am a good organizer.	1	2	3	4	5	8
I am active in many groups, sports, or clubs.	1	2	3	4	5	8
I am interested in politics.	1	2	3	4	5	8

Attitudes on deliberative citizenship

28. Do you think that from your experience in participation in this school you could take an active role in a group involved with political issues?

Definitely not	1
Probably not	2
Not sure either way	3
Probably	4
Definitely	5
Don't know	8

29. Please say how much you agree or disagree with each of the following statements. Indicate your answer by circling appropriate number below

Item list	Disagree strongly	Disagree	Neither agree nor disagree	Agree	Agree strongly	Don't know
The best decisions in democracy are made when people simply discuss issues	1	2	3	4	5	8
The best decisions in democracy are made when people simply vote without discussing issues	1	2	3	4	5	8
The best decisions in democracy are made when people first discuss issues giving each other clear reasons for opinions then vote	1	2	3	4	5	8
Only opinions of people with authority are important when making community decisions	1	2	3	4	5	8

Individual peoples opinions should be listened to first when making community decisions	1	2	3	4	5	8
In democracy good discussions need people to give clear reasons to others for their opinions	1	2	3	4	5	8
I would be happy if decisions affecting me are made without asking my opinion	1	2	3	4	5	8
My school experiences has shown me that my school administration listens to students opinions when making decisions	1	2	3	4	5	8
My school experience has helped me to feel confident and able to present my opinions to others with clear reasons	1	2	3	4	5	8
My school experiences have helped me feel confident and able to take part in political discussions to solve problems in my community	1	2	3	4	5	8

Basic demographics

30. Please complete the table below by circling the appropriate number

What's your gender?	Male	1	Female	2
What was your age at your last birthday?	Years:			
School type	*CSS Boarding:* 1	*CSS Day:* 2	*CDSS boarding:* 3	*CDSS day:* 4
Fathers highest education level	*Primary:* 1	*Secondary:* 2	*University:* 3	*Other* (write below)
Mothers highest education level	*Primary:* 1	*Secondary:* 2	*University:* 3	*Other* (write below)
Which of the following best describes your father's occupation?	*Self employed (farmer):* 1	*Business:* 2	*Professional:* 3	*Other* (write below)

Which of the following best describes your mother's occupation?	Self employed (farmer): 1	Self employed Business: 2	Professional: 3	Other (write below)
Which of the following best describes where your family stays?	Urban Rural		1 2	

THANK YOU FOR YOUR TIME IN COMPLETING THIS QUESTIONNAIRRE!

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR TEACHERS

    School Context and student participation

1. Does the school's mission include the preparation of democratic citizens? Do school leaders believe it is their role to support this mission?
2. Are school leaders willing to adjust their culture and procedures to make students feel welcome and supported? Are they willing to discuss student input on the merits, even when it conflicts with their own views?
3. What restrictions exist on student involvement in decision making in this school? Are there other ways school leaders use to include student voices in decision making?
4. Are there any student positions or representation on any committees of the school? If so is this in your view the best approach to encourage student participation in decision making? Would another model involving more students, such as an advisory group, provide students as valuable an experience in genuine decision making? Why or why not?
5. Are students provided with the support they need to be successful (such as training, staff support, mentor(s) and formal and informal opportunities to ask questions and communicate with their adult colleagues)?
6. Does the school ensure student representatives accurately represent the interests and concerns of the student body, and effectively communicate schools' decisions to the student body? How is this done?
7. What kind of decisions and issues are students need not be involved? Be involved? Why?
8. What committees do you have in this school that assist in management and governance of the school?
9. Which committees have student's representatives as members of the committees?
10. What benefits will be there to (a)- students, (b)- school leaders, if students are involved in decision making and school governance activities?
11. What is your opinion on student involvement on education committees outside the school?
12. What is your opinion on letting students or their leaders contribute/suggest agenda items for discussion during staff/school meetings
13. What do you consider to be key challenges in student involvement in the decision making practices of the school?
14. To what extent are students and staff involved in rational discussions on matters affecting students so as to reach mutually acceptable decisions?
15. Does the school encourage development of democratic values and skills among students? What specific activities does the school use to encourage this?
16. In what ways would the governance, discipline and pedagogical practices encourage and shape student democratic practices beyond the school? Do current practices in your view actually make a difference to your students' future civic behaviors? How or why not?

    Community engagement

17. Has the community around the school been engaged in or involved with the schools based on adopted policies and practices?

18. Does the school board/ management engage community members to build community understanding and support of the school and its mission?
19. How has the school management ensured that the community has a proactive and cohesive communications plan based on issues in the schools and the community?
20. How does the board ensure decisions are based on student, staff and community input, research, data and student information?
21. What methods are used to interact with other local, divisional, ministry or state elected officials to advocate positions on legislative issues?

School discipline practices

22. What are the common types of discipline problems in this school? What procedures and practices are followed when dealing with discipline problems?
23. What role do students play in this school regarding discipline issues and problems that they would like to bring to the attention of the school? Are there any channels or processes that are followed?
24. Do you have a student council/prefects council? If so what roles does this councils play in the school? What powers does it have?
25. Do you think it is possible to have a very democratic school that is well disciplined at the same time? How or why not?

INTERVIEW GUIDE FOR STUDENTS

School context and student participation

1. Does your school encourage active participation of students in the affairs of the school? What activities are you normally involved in?
2. What committees do you have in this school that assist in management and governance of the school? Which committees have student representatives and why?
3. In this school are students involved in decision making by school authorities? What kind of decisions and issues are students involved? Not involved? Why?
4. What role do students play in this school regarding discipline issues and problems that they would like to bring to the attention of the school? Are there any channels or processes that are followed?
5. Do you have a student council/prefects council? If so what roles does this councils play in the school? What powers does it have?
6. Do other students apart from the prefects take any part in student leadership? If so what do they do?
7. Are students or student leaders allowed to contribute/suggest agenda items for discussion during staff/school meetings? If not why is this so?
8. What particular problems prevent students from effectively participating in decision making in this school?
9. Are there any opportunities that you consider very helpful in encouraging active participation in the way things are done in this school? What examples are there?
10. In the last academic year are there any specific things that happened in this school where you felt student voices were strongly encouraged?
11. To what extent are students and staff involved in rational discussions on matters affecting students so as to reach mutually acceptable decisions? What are the advantages and disadvantages in involving students in school decision making practices?
12. In your view does the school encourage development of democratic values and skills among students? Explain?

Participation in classroom discussions

13. What are the common teaching methods that your teachers frequently use in class?
14. Among the different methods used which ones do you favor most? Explain why?
15. What is the importance of using discussions and debates during lessons in class?
16. Do your teachers use debates, discussions, and group work frequently? If not why is this so?
17. Are there any differences in participation between boys and girls, slow and fast learners and any other groups of students in your classes? Why?
18. In what ways do teachers encourage critical thinking during discussions and debates during lessons? Why?
19. During discussion or debates do you feel it necessary to relate your answer to what another student said before you? Why or why not?
20. What do your friends do when you give a wrong answer or express a view they

do not agree with in class? What do teachers do?

21. What do you do when you do not agree with what another student said on an issue in class? Do you laugh at them,
22. What do you think about teachers insisting that you explain the reasons behind your answer? Are you always expected to explain reasons for your answer?
23. Do you regard the conduct of your lessons as helping you make clear and logical arguments in support of your views and also respecting different views from other students in the class?

Impact of school democratic practices on students beliefs on participation

24. Do you have interests to actively participate in your community after school? If so what specific things would you love to be involved in?
25. Do you think you would be interested to take up community leadership roles and actively be involved in issues like voting for community leaders?
26. Has your time in this school contributed to your feelings about participation in your community or country after the school? If so what aspect of school life has helped you a lot in this?
27. What are your thoughts about standing as a councilor, Member of Parliament, or president one day? Do you have such desires or ambitions?
28. What are your thoughts about participating in demonstrations on community problems when you leave school? Why is that important to you?
   Do you regard this school to be democratic in the way it is governed and managed? Has the practices of this school in terms of participation and democratic practices affected your views about your role in a democratic society in future? If so how has it affected or failed to influence you?