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ABSTRACT

This book contains a collection of papers written by students involved in the Educational Management Project for South Africa. The project was established to introduce selected South Africans to theories and practices in educational management in an international comparative context. The papers focus on priorities for educational change and restructuring in South Africa. In particular, the themes include issues in the management of education, policy formation, and educational improvement. Following the foreword by the Norwegian ambassador to the United Nations, Martin Huslid, and the introduction by David Johnson, the papers are as follows: (1) "Educational Decentralisation and Participation" (Yusef Sayed and Debbie Fletcher); (2) "Policy Perspectives on Educational Governance--A Critique" (Fred Barron and Michael Crossley); (3) "The Efficacy of Paired Reading in South African Primary Schools" (Dickie Smith and David Johnson); (4) "Teacher Involvement in Decision Making" (Baatile Poo and Eric Hoyle); (5) "Integrating the Schools: A View from the Classroom" (Sivan Pather and David Johnson); (6) "Management Development Support for Head Teachers of Secondary Schools" (Phuti Tsukudu and Peter Taylor); (7) "Approaches to Head Teacher Training" (Cindy Mashinini and Bob Smith); (8) "The Technikon in a Democratic South Africa" (Redvers Miller); and (9) "An Annotated Bibliography of Educational Research on South Africa, 1980-1993" (John Chalufu and David Johnson). Each article contains references. (LMI)

BRISTOL PAPERS IN EDUCATION
Comparative and International Studies: 4

Educational Management and Policy: Research, Theory and Practice in South Africa

David Johnson (Editor)

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SERIES EDITORS' PREFACE

The *Bristol Papers in Education* provide a forum for the publication and dissemination of important material relating to the research and development activities of the School of Education at the University of Bristol. This *Comparative and International Series*, in particular, aims to publish a wide variety of studies documenting research and scholarship carried out by members and associates of the Centre for International Studies in Education. This may include research reports, conference proceedings, development projects and consultancy reports, annotated bibliographies, selected theses, study guides and other related material.

This volume consists of a sample of research written by students on the Educational Management Project for South Africa. Each of the original dissertations has been reworked and the main findings of the research, or the most important theoretical arguments, are presented here.

All the papers in this collection focus on priorities for educational transformation and restructuring in South Africa. In particular, the themes include issues in the management of education, policy formulation and educational improvement. Governance and educational policy have, in recent years, been subjects of intense political debate. However, apart from publications arising out of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), there is a paucity of research on educational management and policy in South Africa. Further critical thinking about these issues is clearly necessary and it is hoped that this book will contribute in this respect.

Michael Crossley and Roger Garrett

University of Bristol

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This volume of the *Bristol Papers in Education* is an outcome of the Educational Management and Policy Project for South Africa. Our appreciation to the United Nations' Education and Training Project for Southern Africa, the Overseas Development Administration, the Anglo American Corporation of South Africa, the Harold Hyam Wingate Trust, Liberty Life of South Africa, the Africa Educational Trust and the Commonwealth Secretariat for their support. Thanks are due to all involved in the project, especially Professor Michael Beveridge for encouraging it and Bob Smith who helped set it up. We appreciate the efforts of those staff in the School of Education who taught, supervised research and provided pastoral support to the South African students. We are especially grateful to Colin Harvey and Ann Mattock for managing the finances and to Margaret Lole, Pat O'Brien and Lynn Robinson for administrative support at various stages of the project. A special word of thanks is due to Pat for producing this volume.

Foreword

Ambassador Martin Huslid (Norway)
Chairman of the Advisory Committee, United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa (UNEPTSA)

This paper is an edited version of a statement presented at the 48th Session of the United National General Assembly, 13 December 1993, and is printed here with kind permission (ed).

I am happy to say that since its establishment in 1967 and throughout the 26 years of its existence, UNEPTSA has always been a truly humanitarian programme, serving as a practical expression of the long-standing commitment of the United Nations to ensuring disadvantaged students from the Southern Africa region access to adequate education and training programmes.

Since that time, UNEPTSA has received more than 39 000 applications for scholarships and more than 8 500 students have completed their studies in a broad variety of fields in more than 30 countries. The wide spectrum of training programmes offered has varied from vocational post-secondary training to post-graduate studies. They have included short-term specialised training, internships as well as professional training, often in fields that were not readily available inside South Africa.

The primary goal of UNEPTSA now is to contribute to human resources development for a new, non-racial and democratic South Africa. UNEPTSA activities in South Africa are aimed accordingly at empowering disadvantaged South Africans to prepare themselves through adequate and intensive education

and training projects for new roles and responsibilities in the new South Africa. Priority funding inside South Africa is directed at building up institutional capacity of universities and non-governmental organisations, especially through the upgrading of junior staff and graduate students at the historically Black and other universities and through the provision of Black leadership skills training that will help in facilitating the transition to a democratic society.

Another important goal of UNEPTSA, given the urgency and the dimensions of the educational crisis in that country, is to train managers of educational change at all levels, including teachers' educators, planners, curriculum specialists and administrators for a major restructuring of the education system. During the past year, a number of new awards were instituted for the upgrading of skills of education professionals in the field of administration and governance.

The formal transition to a non-racial, democratic society has been completed in South Africa. However, the magnitude and urgency of the training and educational needs facing the country during the transition and beyond are enormous, as it strives to overcome the legacy of decades of apartheid. However, many challenges must be faced before the vision of a new South Africa is to become a true reality. Most prominent among these challenges is probably the need to provide sustained opportunities to enable the disadvantaged young South Africans to gain equal access to the education and skills necessary to better their lives and take a full part in the development of their new democratic and non-racial society. The continued commitment of the international community is vital to help meet this challenge.

Introduction

David Johnson
Director
Educational Management and Policy Project for South Africa

The Educational Management and Policy Project for South Africa (EMPSA), based at the University of Bristol was established in 1990. We are grateful to the following donors for their support. The *Anglo American Corporation of South Africa* and the *Hurold Hyam Wingate Trust (London)* for the initial pump-primer funding during the research and development phase. The *United Nations Educational and Training Programme for Southern Africa* (UNEPTSA) and the *Overseas Development Administration* (ODA) for providing the student scholarships which formed the most substantive funding for the project. The *Commonwealth Secretariat* and *Liberty Life of South Africa* for contributing to the funding of a number of study fellows and the *Africa Educational Trust* for providing the scholarships for the University of Western Cape-University of Bristol split-site programme.

Background to the project

The educational management and policy project was set up in response to a need for human resource development for both the transitional and post-apartheid periods in South Africa. The need for the training of key personnel in the field of educational management, in particular, had been identified by both South African educationalists and international support agencies. The Commonwealth Expert Group on South Africa, for example, concluded that there was an urgent need to:

> ...to put in place programmes to meet certain priority needs. This includes ***technical services such as management of the educational institutions, transport and communication*** [my emphasis] (Commonwealth expert group 1991: 2).

Similarly, the International Conference on the Educational Needs of the Victims of Apartheid in South Africa, reaffirmed that training in educational management and administration should be regarded as a priority for a post-apartheid South Africa. The conference called for:

> ...providing assistance for the training of the managers of educational change at all levels, including teachers, planners, curriculum specialists and administrators (UNESCO 1991).

In February 1991 an investigation, commissioned by the Commonwealth Secretariat, was undertaken by the Research into Education in South Africa (RESA) project into the human resource development for a post-apartheid South Africa (Johnson, Unterhalter and Wolpe 1991).

The study established that, despite an expressed need, existing institutional capacity in both the formal and non-formal sectors for the provision of management training (amongst other things) was inadequate (Johnson, Unterhalter and Wolpe 1991). The study showed, for example, that the provision of formal courses in educational management were rather thinly spread. Only seven institutions offered courses in educational management and planning, and these largely targeted candidates for the predominantly Afrikaner civil service.

A later study, commissioned by the National Educational Policy Investigation (NEPI) (Mohammed & Johnson 1992) broadly confirmed this picture. White, liberal universities and historically black universities had not given attention to educational management as a priority training area. Although the current provision of long and short courses in educational

management and policy has increased significantly since (Johnson 1994a), there are still a number of problems in the provision of an adequate range of courses. This issue is discussed at length elsewhere (Johnson 1994b).

Aims of the project

The project was established specifically to introduce selected South Africans to theory and practices in educational management in an international and comparative context. The aims were to prepare such participants ***in the transitional period to make an informed contribution to the debates about educational management planning and policy,*** and to strengthen the capacity of organisations in the democratic movement to participate more effectively in the process of educational change (Johnson 1993).

A description of the project

The project comprises three major activities. These are:

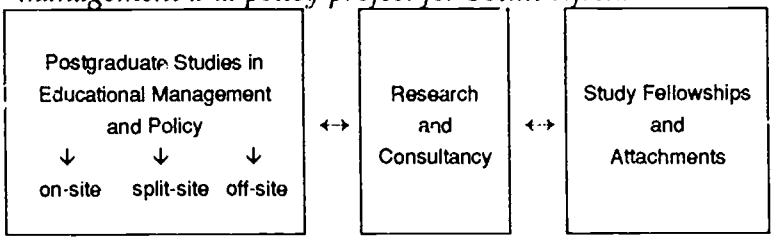
a) Post-graduate studies in educational management and policy

b) Study fellowships and attachments in specific areas of management, eg community participation in the governance of education

c) Research in educational management and policy.

These activities are represented in figure 1 and described below:

Figure 1: The major activities of the educational management and policy project for South Africa



a) Post-graduate studies in educational management and policy

A major focus of the project is on the provision of management education. Management education can be defined as 'full or part-time study, aimed at improving overall competence through increasing general understanding', through 'emphasising research and theoretical knowledge relevant to educational management and its policy context and leading to higher education and professional qualifications (eg a Master's degree)' (Wallace 1991: 11).

Facilitated by the project, South African students are able to obtain a post-graduate qualification in educational management, in a number of ways. One way is by full-time study at the University of Bristol, normally for a period of one year for a Master's degree. Students are also able to enrol for a Doctor of Education (EdD) degree or a PhD, either full-time or part-time. A second way of obtaining post-graduate qualification, and one which marks a progression on the 'on-site' model, is by enrolling at a partner university in South Africa - the so-called 'split-site' model, discussed below. A third method and, again, evidence of the way in which the project has evolved to meet the central objective - the transfer of expertise - is the 'off-site' model, also discussed below.

The on-site programme

Between 1992 and 1994 22 students were selected from throughout South Africa and admitted to the School of Education in a variety of post-graduate courses in educational management (Johnson 1993). These were the Advanced Diploma in Education (AdvDip), the Master in Education (MEd), the Doctor of Education (EdD) and the Doctor of Philosophy (PhD) degrees.

All those selected were registered for the educational management specialist line of study. The MEd and Advanced Diploma programmes have a modular structure which enabled students to construct their programmes according to their particular interests. Most students were able to complete their course of study within a year. The Doctor of Education (EdD) degree combines a substantial taught element with a major thesis. One of the selected participants is currently completing this degree while another is pursuing research in educational management for the degree of PhD.

Most of these students have now completed their studies and the vast majority are working in the fields of policy and management.

The split-site programme

In addition to full-time studies at the University of Bristol, the programme spearheaded the innovative split-site programme between the University of the Western Cape and the University of Bristol. In 1993, ten students were selected by the University of the Western Cape for an MEd/MPhil degree in educational management. After two initial induction workshops at the University of the Western Cape, students spent six months at the University of Bristol completing a number of modules which were accredited to their course work requirements. Students then returned to the University of the Western Cape to complete further course work and research. This programme continued in 1994 in a modified version. A further 10 students were recruited on the programme, but this time the course was

taught entirely at the University of the Western Cape with short input by Bristol University staff. This programme is more fully described elsewhere (Johnson 1993).

The off-site programme

In keeping with one of the central aims of the project, that is strengthening the capacity of historically disadvantaged universities in post-graduate teaching and research in educational management, a link was forged between the University of the Transkei and the University of Bristol. The University of Transkei aims to increase the level of professional support to head-teachers in the Eastern Cape region. In assisting in this effort, a number of staff from the University of Bristol will offer a wide range of educational management specialisms there in 1995. This project is more fully documented elsewhere (Johnson 1994c) and it suffices here to say that it emphasises distance learning (supported by materials developed at the University of Bristol's National Development Centre for Educational Management and Policy), action research and face-to-face teaching. Although the programme will initially be based at the University of Transkei, it is hoped that it can be extended to include other Universities in the Eastern Cape region.

b) Study attachments and fellowships

The aim of the study fellowships/study attachments programme is to offer training opportunities for community based activists in specific areas of identified need. This aspect of the project caters both for study groups and individual study fellows. For example, in 1993 a programme was specifically designed for the development needs of the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC). The focus of that study attachment programme was to build the capacity of the NECC to offer training and support to parent-teacher-student associations (PTSAs) for the governance of schooling. Research into the training needs of NECC regional organisers, as well as the training needs of PTAs and PTSAs, was undertaken in

South Africa. A training course, constructed around the needs of PTAs and PTSAs, was designed and all NECC regional organisers were trained as 'master trainers'. Materials were developed and a national training framework (which built on the framework prepared by the Educational Policy Unit of the University of Natal) was developed.

A number of individual study fellows, often funded by the British Council, regularly participate on the programme. Several joined the programme between 1991 and 1994, and most of them carried out research in the areas of management and policy. This included research into the national curriculum in England and Wales with a view to informing the curriculum debate in South Africa (Boshielo 1993), staff development (Israel 1991), policy research (Matandabuzo 1993) and access into higher education (Tyawa 1993).

c) Research and consultancy

Research is a central element of the project. Much of the research activity which is described later under *outcomes of the project* was incidental to the nature of the programme. Other research activities, however, included *A Survey of Professional Development Provision* (Johnson 1994), *Research into the Quality of Education* (funded by the Spencer Foundation) (Johnson forthcoming) and *Research into the Management and Administration of Historically Disadvantaged Universities* (Johnson in progress).

The project, through its director, has also been involved in the policy research process in South Africa, for example in contributing to the research and authorship of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) booklets in governance and administration (NEPI 1992).

Evaluation of the project

The ODA, one of the major contributors to the project, commissioned an independent evaluation which took place in January 1993 (three months after the first group of post-graduate students completed their courses).

Most of the students who had returned to South Africa were interviewed there. The evaluator also interviewed the group of MEd students who were in the United Kingdom at the time. The independent evaluator found that, on the whole, both those who had undertaken post-graduate studies and those on short-term attachments had benefited from the programme. However, the evaluation noted several concerns.

Project management and administration ~ an important concern raised by the first group of students included the need to broaden structures for student participation in the management of the programme. These, admittedly, were fairly narrow to begin with. Although the project established a steering committee since its inception, student criticisms were that the committee did not include representation from South African organisations. In the 1993/94 programme year, the basis for student participation and the participation of democratic and community organisations in South Africa was widened. Also opportunity was provided for students to participate in the day-to-day management of the project. This led to considerable improvement and made the management process more transparent.

Concerns were also raised, again by the first group of MEd students, about the structure of the academic programme. Many students felt that, although the School of Education offered almost 100 MEd modules (units) in 10 lines of study (eg assessment, curriculum, management, education and development, etc), their freedom for choice was limited. This was due to the fact that the project suggested the following study path:

a) **Core modules**
Perspectives on school management [1]
Educational management and policy in post-apartheid South Africa [1]
Policy research [1]

b) **Secondary modules**
Curriculum policy [2], OR
Educational policy in developing countries [2]

c) **Complementary modules**
Chose three others [3]

d) **Non-assessed modules**
Research methods [1]
Statistical analysis [1]

e) **Dissertation [4]**

Note: the numbers in brackets refer to the weight of units; 12 units are required for an MEd degree, of which eight are course units and the dissertation has four.

The concern was that the suggested study path accounted for five credit points and only allowed students a choice of three additional units. The problem was resolved in the second year of the programme and the suggested study path was three (core) and five others. In addition, the School of Education decided to 'uncouple' units consisting of two or three credit points, allowing students to take one part of a course without having to do the other.

The learning and teaching context ~ Another major concern expressed by the students was the nature of the teaching and learning processes. Student expectations of higher education, in a British context, differed greatly. There were, for example, those who suggested that more emphasis should be placed on teaching, while others appreciated the freedom to pursue their own research interests. One thing was clear, however. Many of the students, particularly those with a background in political

activism, felt that some of the teaching did not provide a strong enough conceptual basis for understanding the urgent concerns for educational transformation and reconstruction in South Africa.

Amongst others, students were particularly critical of the course on educational policy for South Africa, in the first year. This was understandable, as the course had been newly devised specifically for the purposes of the project and in the context where little, if any theoretical work on policy in South Africa had been developed. In the second year, however, principally due to linking the course with policy development work in South Africa (the NEPI research effort), the course achieved much more and, indeed, often went beyond the expectations of the students.

It is important to note that the South African MEd students influenced, to a large extent, the teaching and learning process in the School of Education. For the staff, it reaffirmed the commitment for a continued search to improve the standards of teaching. Students too learned a great deal from the teaching and learning content in an international environment. A quote from the evaluator sums up the point:

> In the view of their Bristol lecturers, the South Africans produced a heightened critical consciousness among those with whom they came in contact. But some of the MEd students, it was said, appeared initially to believe that, at the level of perspective and policy, they had little to learn from the experience of other countries. They were in Britain to acquire additional information, tools and techniques for the implementation of educational policies logically derived from a political position which they had adopted with certainty. Many were challenged by resistance to their paradigm and discourse by other students and by lecturers. (On one view, it was in their oral rhetoric that the, at least, initial dogmatism of such students

> was apparent; it did not pervade the analyses in their assignments.) Some came to appreciate alternative perspectives and pragmatic approaches to the practical problems of educational reconstruction (ODA 1994).

The location of the project ~ One of the terms of reference for evaluation was to seek students' views on the 'possible location of courses within South Africa'. Most students, although they acknowledged the enormous benefit of a project on South Africa situated in the UK, thought the project would be more usefully located within South Africa. It is only fair to say that the philosophy of the project, from its implementation, recognised the need for building institutional capacity, particularly that of historically disadvantaged universities. Indeed, the evolution of the Transkei-Bristol Link underpins this commitment. There also exists another important dimension. The fact that the project has particularly nominated lecturers from three universities (Western Cape, Transkei and Durban Westville),.with a view to preparing them to strengthen the existing programmes in educational management and policy of their institutions, is further evidence of this commitment.

In conclusion, it would be fair to say that the project proved to be far from perfect and to be very challenging to run. There are many lessons to be learnt. It has, however, in a small way, contributed to the process of educational change. Some of the outcomes are discussed below.

Outcomes of the project

Although it is too early to judge the impact of the project on policy development and management development, it is pleasing to note that on their return to South Africa, many of the participants of the project have been deployed in educational policy units such as the Centre for Educational Policy Development, the Educational Policy Unit at the University of the Western Cape and Strategic Management

Teams in the Eastern Cape and Northern Cape regions. Other participants have entered the new South African parliament while some have secured jobs in the different regional ministries of education. We cannot make the claim that these deployments have come as a result of the programme. However, there would be widespread agreement that those who had participated in the project will be in a position to contribute significantly to the process of change.

Another important outcome is the contribution to theory and research in educational management and policy. Over two dozen dissertations on various topics, including the management of teacher education (Legong 1993), assessment (Henstock 1993), school inspection (Gabru 1993), distance education (Tyeku 1993), school effectiveness (Tshambula 1994) and the financing of education (Perry 1993) were produced. The programme also encouraged community-based activists to reflect and write up various activities they had been involved with. A series of working papers have been produced which include such titles as *Promoting Parent-School Partnerships* (Mphuti 1992), *Setting Up Parent-Teacher-Student Associations* (Tyawa 1992), *Community Participation in Education* (Maile 1992), *Pre-school Education* (Braam 1992), *School Management* (Gabriels 1992; Molotshwa 1992); and *Universities and National Development* (Hansrajh 1993). In addition, the NECC regional organisers have also written a paper proposing a national training framework for PTSAs (Magagula, Maile, Siswana, Tsengiwe and Johnson 1993).

A small sample, from a large number of MEd dissertations, has been selected for publication. These dissertations were reworked and revised by students in collaboration with their advisers. The resultant papers form the basis of this book. The contribution these papers make to the debate on educational management and policy is discussed below.

New directions for educational management and policy in South Africa

One of the tasks facing the new government and the emerging educational administration is to consolidate the hard-won gains of popular struggle. One way of doing this is to ensure maximum participation at all levels of decision making. It is clear that the ANC is committed to a broadly consultative and transparent process in the formulation of educational policy. This is evident from the manner in which the ANC's policy vision, captured in its paper, *A Policy Framework for Education and* Training (1994), was developed. It is further evidenced by the consultative process adopted in formulating and ratifying the recent White Paper on education and training.

However, a wide range of views on the notions of participation and democracy exist. In this volume, Sayed and Fletcher offer a chapter which examines the discourse on participation in an international context. In focusing specifically on South Africa, the paper interrogates both historical and current policy texts in regard to their status on community participation in education and concludes that in a new South Africa the notion of participation needs to be tested against such parameters as redress and the individual versus the community. The authors propose a model of educational governance which encourages community participation at all levels of decision making.

On a related theme, the chapter by Barron and Crossley, which draws on the dissertation of the first-named author, challenges Sayed and Fletcher's perspective on participatory governance. The chapter reviews two perspectives on participation, both of which form the basis of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) document on educational governance. The authors argue that the 'systems perspective' allows only minimal 'consultative' participation. Although the school governance perspective is seen as a 'progressive' model, it is also criticised for combining different interest groups together under the label 'civil society'. This chapter then goes on to provide an alternative perspective for educational governance.

Both these chapters make assumptions that the capacity for participation in educational governance exists equally within different communities. While certain forms of parent participation in schooling have always been a feature of the educational system., the nature of such participation has varied considerably between the different (now historic) departments of education. There is little doubt, however, that the involvement of parents in the curriculum process has been severely restricted (Johnson 1994d). In the third chapter, Smith and Johnson consider possible strategies for involving parents in the teaching and learning process. A study into the usefulness of a 'paired reading' technique which involves parents and children reading together in the home environment is discussed. The chapter concludes that strategies such as paired reading do make a difference to children's educational outcomes and suggests that it is both necessary and possible for parents to participate in the teaching and learning process.

While the chapters above address the notion of community participation, there has been an equally furious debate about the extent to which teachers should be involved in decision-making processes in schools. The chapter by Poo and Hoyle focuses on this question. The authors report on a survey in which 161 teachers were consulted about the extent of their involvement in school decision-making. The study concluded that, although teachers were in favour of more involvement in the decision making process, there appeared to be little desire for a more radical collective form of school governance.

In the next chapter Pather and Johnson consider the realities of integrated schooling and the management of change. The implementation of long-awaited policies for non-racial schooling brings with it a multitude of complexities for local school management, classroom management and management of staff and students. A study, which sought to elicit the perceptions of students in four former 'House of Delegate's' schools about non-racial schooling, concludes that the integration of South African schools demands more than a democratic policy - it requires sensitive head teachers and

teachers, and a staff which are better prepared to deal with a new context of schooling.

Indeed, the next two chapters in the volume turns to the position of management development for head teachers in South Africa. Tsukudu and Taylor raise important questions about the need to provide management development support for head teachers of secondary schools. The paper is written within the context of the international literature on the subject and the authors draw attention to management support that appears to have worked in other countries. The need for a policy on support for head teachers in South Africa is stressed, but questions are raised as to the nature of support and how it might be organised. The chapter by Mashinini and Smith attempts to address these questions by analysing a variety of training strategies, approaches and materials.

The volume then turns to raising questions about policy issues in higher education. Miller writes about technikons in South Africa and discusses the policy implications for the higher education sector. He argues that technikons in South Africa have yet to optimise their full potential. The legacy of apartheid has led to fragmentation and under-utilisation of the technikon sector. Potentially more problematic, however, is the relative position of technikons in relation to universities in the higher education sector. Miller posits the need for the technikon sector to expand through provision of distance education and the creation of satellite campuses. He also points to a need to enhance the research capacity of technikons.

In the final chapter, Chalufu and Johnson draw attention to the fact that numerous studies on education in South Africa have been completed at British universities in the last 15 years. There has been, up to now, no attempt to review such studies and to assess their overall contribution to the development of educational policy in South Africa. An annotated bibliography

is published here as a first step in providing a more comprehensive index of educational research on South Africa.

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Educational Decentralisation and Participation

Yusuf Sayed and Deborah Fletcher

Participation and community involvement have become buzz words in the prevailing discourse of educational governance. In the South African context, the Educational Renewal Strategy (ERS) document that may continue to influence educational policy, proposes to increase participation in school governance through the policy of educational decentralisation. The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) research group on educational governance similarly advocated increased participation of individuals and organisations in educational governance. This article will critically examine the concept of participation embedded in both the ERS and NEPI reports and will consider the different possibilities the two frameworks of participation and community involvement offer for the democratisation of the system of educational governance in South Africa.

The international context

The policy of educational decentralisation is the stated policy of most governments currently and is a central thrust of major international efforts aimed at restructuring the education system. This is evident in the 1988 Education Reform Act in the United Kingdom (Bowe et al 1992, Whitty 1989, Coulby & Bash 1991, Merril & Flude 1990), the Tomorrow's Schools report of the Australian government and the changes effected as a

consequence of the report (Gordon 1992, Lauder & Wylie 1990), the changes effected to the Dutch education system by the conservative party since 1982 (Sleegers & Wesseling 1993), the changes in Brazilian education since the 1980s (Santos Filhos 1993) and the South African government's Educational Renewal Strategy. Educational decentralisation is thus an avowed policy of most international governments.

Moreover, the policy of educational decentralisation is sponsored by international agencies such as the World Bank and the IMF (Bloomer 1990, Prawda 1993). It is also a concept that features frequently in the popular press and debates regarding schooling, educational standards and consumer rights. it encompasses debates regarding democracy, participation and the nature of society. It is a concept employed by both the left and right in the political spectrum. For the right, it is synonymous with consumer rights and choice. For the left, it represents the possibility of extending and deepening democracy. As such the policy of educational decentralisation currently shapes the nature of educational debate and discussion.

However, as Lauglo (1993), Bennet (1990) and other's point out the concept of educational decentralisation lacks a fixed and specific definition. It meaning differs depending on the context and the individual/grouping advocating or criticising the policy.

At one level, the concept of educational decentralisation refers to spatial location. In other words, it refers to attempts to move objects away from a central location to a more remote or local space. The form that spatial decentralisation takes is normally the creation of sub-units of administration at more local or remote levels.

However, spatial relocation is still possible even in a centralised system. Under apartheid education in South Africa, for example, there existed a central authority responsible for education policy with multiple racially and ethnically

fragmented systems. Thus, the concept of educational decentralisation may simply denote different forms for the organisation of educational provision.

Spatial redistribution though tells us little about the authority and power structures existing in a particular education system. A decentralised system may still retain key policy decisions such as financing at the central level. The National Curriculum in the United Kingdom is one such example. Here even though management may be devolved, all students are still required to follow a national curriculum and sit for national standardised tests. Thus, devolved management is compatible with other forms of centralisation. In other words, educational decentralisation may refer to only devolved management responsibility, devolved financial control or devolved financial accountability without responsibility. Educational decentralisation can therefore and does take a variety of forms depending on factors such as the nature of the political programmes espoused by the ruling party, the level of political mobilisation and awareness that exist in particular societies and the historical development of particular educational systems.

Four major trends can be discerned in the international context regarding the policy of educational decentralisation; Firstly, the role of the state. In the United Kingdom, the Education Reform Act of 1988 devolved school management by principally reducing the powers of local authorities and central intervention. In devolving school management, it was argued by the Conservative government that such a move would free education from the control of central state authorities and bureaucrats. Underlying this argument was the assumption that the state was surrendering control over education through LMS. Yet as many writers such as Whitty (1989), Johnson (1991) and Bowe et al (1992) point out, the move towards decentralisation was accompanied by centralising tendencies in the system such as standardised testing. Secondly, many writers (Vincent 1993, Ball 1990, Gewirtz et al 1994) have argued that devolved school management has not necessarily broadened participation for all nor has it produced greater

equality of opportunities and outcomes. Thirdly, international trends towards greater school autonomy has resulted in the displacement of education from the public to the private sector. In other words, it has resulted in the co-modification of education. The net result has been that poorer communities has become more marginalised and wealthy parents have been able to afford better education for their children. Finally, devolved school management as Gewirtz et al (1994) have pointed out has tended to further marginalise minority ethnic communities. All these tendencies in the policy of educational decentralisation will be reviewed with respect to the NEPI and ERS documents.

The South African context

The unbanning of political organisations and the release of political leaders such as Nelson Mandela ushered in a new era in the contest for political power in South Africa. White minority rule was no longer tenable nor was the notion of an armed insurrection. Negotiations became the mechanism for effecting the change away from the apartheid order. The Government and the oppositional groupings, principally the ANC became locked in forums to debate the nature, form and content of a post-apartheid order. Policy research and documents became the order of the day and began to shape the political discourse. In the sphere of education the ERS and The Model C regulations and the NEPI reports represented respectively the views of the government and the oppositional groupings regarding the restructuring of the educational system.

The ERS document was the outcome of an 18 month investigation carried out by the Department of National Education (DNE), the department responsible for co-ordinating the other 18 Education Departments. The ERS investigation was controlled by the Committee of Heads of Education (CHED); a 'supra education cabinet'. From its inception the ERS investigation was perceived by the opposition groupings as an

illegitimate exercise. This was principally because membership was limited to senior personnel of the 19 education departments and offered no scope for extra-parliamentary input beyond token submissions.

The NEPI report was initiated by the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC) in October 1990. It drew together three hundred researchers from the anti-apartheid group and was guided by five principles: non-racism, non-sexism, redressing apartheid inequities, unity and democracy.

In these debates within NEPI, between NEPI and proponents of the ERS the issue of participation in educational governance emerged repeatedly. This issue features centrally in the current discourse of educational transition because it reflects the concerns that both the negotiators and the public have regarding the nature and form of a future unitary education system.

1. *Redress and participation*

One of the most serious criticisms of the ERS is that although it acknowledges the inequities caused by apartheid, it does not concretely show how it intends to redress these. The ERS document is widely regarded by most South Africans as an attempt to invoke historical amnesia in its attempts to restructure the system of educational governance. As a result, most of the ERS recommendations can be read as an attempt to keep most apartheid structures and relations intact.

By contrast, the Principles and Framework Committee for the NEPI project drafted five principles that guided the work of the 13 research groups. Thus, the NEPI reports were framed by an explicit commitment to the principle of affirmative action. The formulation of these principles was an attempt by the NEPI project to acknowledge and overcome the debilitating historical legacy of apartheid education.

The differences in approach is explained by the fact that the ERS project emanated from within the ranks of the then ruling minority white government and as such represented the perspective of the beneficiaries of apartheid education. The NEPI project was politically aligned to the oppositional groupings and as such reflected the concern of the disenfranchised.

2. *The state, civil society and participation*

The ERS document commits itself to 'rolling back' the state by arguing for the maximum devolution of power to the 'community or individual institution' (ERS: 24). The specific policy advocated is the policy of educational decentralisation. The document thus proposes that a central education authority be given responsibility for policy on norms and standards, the monitoring of the system, and for larger national institutions (such as universities and technikons), and that the other functions relating to education be decentralised to the various departments and individual institutions or communities.

The principle of maximal devolution and educational deregulation is given further impetus by a provision which allows 'schools that may wish to co-operate in the provision of education...[to]...organise themselves into some kind of regional, developmental or value-centred organisational grouping' (ERS: 24). Such an association of schools is referred to as the Free Association of Schools (FAS).

However, in proposing the rolling back of the state the ERS document does not take cognisance of the disparities that exist between various racial groups and regions in South Africa. Devolving and decentralising power to white communities is dramatically different from according such powers to black communities. Such powers in practice mean different things in these different contexts. A black school, for example, located in an underdeveloped area in a remote homeland, if given such powers, can do very little with them. They simply lack the resources, both material and non-material, to develop the

school in anyway. In contrast, a white school, located in an urban area, well endowed with resources, could easily utilise maximally such powers to both protect their interests and develop their school. Thus given the legacy of apartheid education, the devolution and deregulation of education as a means to broaden participation has different effects in practice.

Furthermore, by permitting FAS as part of the deregulation of education without specifying any centrally formulated and administered criteria for the basis of associating, such formulations could lead once again to racially segregated schooling. In fact, Dr Garbers at a briefing for the ANC and the NECC suggested that this clause may make it possible for a voluntary association of 'whites-only schools'.

Additionally, much of the literature raises doubts about whether devolving control in an attempt to broaden participation will in effect benefit the most disadvantaged sectors of society. Ta Ngoc Chau (1985) argues that decentralisation of education in the 'third world' has further marginalised the already marginalised sectors of society, particularly in the case of rural areas. As Ta Ngoc Chau (1985) puts it:

> If indeed decentralisation means the possibility for richer regions to devote more resources to education, the effect will be the widening of disparities rather than the reverse. Reducing inequalities, in other words, implies deliberate action to counteract the natural dynamics of the extension of educational systems. It implies a reallocation of educational development amongst the different regions and calls for specific efforts in favour of deprived zones.

The form of devolution envisaged by the ERS document is the delegation of educational authority to the 'community or school' premised upon the assumption that the state 'cannot or should not' be solely responsible for education. The document seems to assume that the School Management Council will be

the body to which the powers are to be devolved. However, these proposals are seriously limited. A close examination of these powers suggests the following (NEPI 1992: 18-19):

- authority is to be differentially delegated to individual school authorities in terms of a number of 'models'. Although it is made clear that this differential delegation will not be based on funding, there is no clear indication of the basis on which this differentiation will be made;

- the actual powers to be delegated to the school management committee are quite limited, and seem to be restricted to control over admissions (within the parameters of national policy) and a range of peripheral issues;

- it does become clear that greater responsibility for financing of schooling, particularly for the post-compulsory years, will be devolved to 'clients', by which is understood parents and students;

- the proposals make some provision for student representation on school governing bodies at the discretion of the parent body, but beyond this there is no indication of any necessary move towards democratisation of control of schooling; and

Thus the ERS document fails to offer education 'clients' the ability to meaningfully participate in the management of schools. Crucial decisions are still to be centrally located. Educational decentralisation is limited to the administrative devolution of school management. As such the notion of participation is limited to a range of peripheral issues and simultaneously increasing parental financial responsibility for educational provision.

Furthermore, the ERS document makes no provision for the participation of community-based education organisations such as the NECC in the system of educational governance. Participation is restricted to the immediate school community

and thus marginalises structures that have been in the forefront of the education struggle. Moreover, the document make no reference to the role that its own school management committees will play in the formulation and adoption of education policy.

The exclusion of com nunity-based structures is based upon the assumption that it is the individual who is the unit of participation. The individual is granted a pre-eminent status in school management. Such a notion invokes the idea of self-seeking and self-interested beings whose overriding concern is the benefits that accrue to them. Collectivism and communal solidarity is replaced by the existence of individual consumers who attempt to ensure that their money in the form of taxation maximises their own interests. This is consistent with the New Right discourse on education (see Johnson 1991, Lawton 1989, Ball 1990) who argue that participation in educational governance should transfer power to the parent who is considered to be the educational consumer. As a consumer, the parent's individual interests take precedence over that of the children, the teachers and collective associations. This notion of participation echoes the Thatcherite claim that there is no such thing as society. There is no society in that there are only individuals who are inherently resistant to collective forms of solidarity since such ties are counter to an individual's selfish interest. Thus, in the United Kingdom, school management committees provide for the representation of individual parent governors rather than organisations such as parent and teacher organisations. It is this same ideological justification that underpins the ERS's exclusion of structures of civil society in school governance.

In the South African context, the failure of the ERS document to engage with the inequalities and discriminatory practices that have been associated with apartheid education is an attempt to deny apartheid as an overall system whose yard stick for determining privilege was specific racial groups and not individuals. Benefit and disadvantage was premised upon group rather than individual characteristic. The historical U-

turn is explained by the fact that privilege can no longer be ensured by a centralised state system.

In contrast to the ERS, the NEPI principles of redressing apartheid inequities and unity are meant to confront the legacies of fragmentation of apartheid. In the Governance and Administration report (1992a) which dealt specifically with the policy of decentralisation, the report tended to favour strong, centralised state interventions. The report argued that the best ways to foster national unity and to empower disadvantaged communities within a society, are to enable the state to make provisions to such communities, and legislate on matters that would ensure national allegiances throughout society.

However, the NEPI Governance and Administration report while committing itself to an interventionist state was conscious of the excesses of such states as the Eastern Europe and some countries in Africa. The NEPI report thus also attempted to balance the principle of redress with other key principles such as democracy.

The issue concerning the role of the state was conceived of as the extent to which the state could function as the vehicle for effecting historical redress and simultaneously guaranteeing democracy and facilitating participation. Therefore, the NEPI Governance and Administration report argued that redress could be effected by strong centralised state intervention at both the national and local levels, while the extension of participation as a way of deepening democracy could be ensured by grating more autonomy to the local level. The NEPI report thus opted for a balance between centralised and decentralised modes of educational governance.

But how was such a balance to be effected? The NEPI School Governance option identified three levels in the system of school governance namely, the national, the regional and the local. Individual schools are located at the local level while the national level is the highest level of the system of school governance.

The school governance option suggested public fora as interface structures between the various levels of the system. Such interface structures would become vehicles for further participation.

Each level and public forum have very specified functions which are consensually agreed upon. At the same time the specified functions agreed on for each level and the intermediary levels can also be changed at the system evolves. Furthermore, the system of decision-making within this perspective is upwardly accountable while each level does have the right to take certain decisions within an agreed upon framework. To this end, issues that are to be addressed at the levels above must be consensually agreed upon at the lower level. If no agreement is reached at the lower level one of two routes can be followed; the issue can be taken to the higher level reflecting the disagreement or a special committee can be instituted similar to arbitration courts which will 'force' consensus.

The system will also have space for structures operating at the civil society level, eg COSAS. The civil society structures which are essentially structures not directly responsible and accountable for the day to day provision of schooling will have representation at the various levels of the system. The primary role of such organisations will be to ratify and challenge policies concerning the governance of schools at the level they are participating in.

Thus, the school governance option suggest both the participation of individual parents, teachers and students as well as the participation of community-based organisation. The NEPI report suggest both individual interest being given space as well making provision for collective bonds of solidarity.

3. *Privatising participation*

The ERS document argues for a form of participation that will safeguard the need for diversity, 'and avoid the domination of

one group by another' and ensure that ideological differences and particular needs and preference of communities more satisfactorily'.

The notion is evident in the Model C announcement By Minister Marais in 1992 that all schools that opted for Model B should be converted into Model C schools (2). Model C converts Model B schools into semi-private, semi-state aided schools. The major difference between the two models is that Model C requires the school's parent community to pay for the school's operating costs. These costs seem to include the daily running costs, maintenance of the buildings and administrative/management costs. It is not clear, however, whether such operating costs would also include the purchase of textbooks and other books. The state would still continue to pay for 75% of teacher's salaries.

The Model C regulation devolve financial responsibility for schooling to individual schools. The ERS recommendation on institutional governance makes a similar recommendation. In devolving financial responsibility schools are forced to raise additional revenue. One such way is increasing school fees. By increasing school fees, such schools increasingly manifest a more distinct class character. Generally, working class children, both black and white, would not have access to these schools. As a result the quality of one's education, if any at all, would be dependent upon the extent to which one can pay for it.

Model C as an aspect of decentralisation is the facilitative mechanism that enhances the individual and the private provision of education by deregulating state control of education. The assumption of the deregulation of school provision is that of the 'market logic', where the provision of schooling is related to the process of demand and supply. The provision of education is thus provided on the same basis that other commodities are provided. In other words, if there is a demand for education, then the market will provide it.

The net effect of the privatisation as a move towards a market-based system of school provision is that it can create a two tier system of school provision in the form of a well resourced and funded private system of schooling which parallels a public system of schooling.

More importantly, the deregulation and the privatisation of education effectively commodifies the provision of education. The quality of education any individual receives is thus correlative to the individuals status and access to wealth. The overall effect of the growing commodification of education is that it can act as a countervailing force to the egalitarian purposes of education. Furthermore, privatisation of education re noves education from the public sphere and locates it in the private sphere subject to the invisible hand of the market. Such a policy could hinder the process of redressing historical inequalities since education provision is now the responsibility of the market and not the state.

In short, the government's strategy effectively relates the extent of participation to the amount that people are able to pay. As most of the research points out (Vincent 1993) it is the wealthy middle class who then benefit from such participation.

In contrast, the NEPI Governance and Administration indirectly argues that it is the state that should bear the financial costs for educational provisions. The School Governance option in the report (p 65), in fact, argues that an important task of the school board at the local level should be the redistribution and equalisation of educational resources. In the United Kingdom local authorities prior to New Right education policies were seen as the bodies responsible for ensuring equal provision for all.

The two approaches thus crucially diverge on the question of whether decentralisation as a means of extending participation should be financially exacting. The notion of participation in its practical effects thus reflects the wider social disparities in society and certain forms of participation can in fact preserve

the privileges that accrued to certain groupings under the old order. The debate about the contrasting approaches to participation is therefore intimately connected to issues such as the privatisation of schooling and responsibility for the costs of educational provision.

4. *Identity, racism and participation*

Differential financial contributions as a means of determining control also allows the assertion of a multitude of identities. Both the NEPI and the ERS document deal differently with the assertion of identity.

For the ERS document 'freedom of association must form a cornerstone of a new education model...that adequate and satisfactory allowance (must) be made for the accommodation of diversity (such as language, religion or culture)' (ERS: 24). Thus, the creation of FAS and the commitment to 'autogeneous' education is consistent with the rhetorical claims made by proponents of the ERS document that 'differences should emerge organically from the grassroots'. The problem with the assertion is the historical blind-spot that besets much of the document. For, if one considers that 'communities', as they are presently constituted, are a product of racial capitalism and apartheid laws such as the Group Areas Act, it is highly likely that the 'devolution of responsibility to the local level' in order to 'promote diversity' will widen both existing racial divisions and class inequalities. In other words, school communities may even in the new South Africa reflect the racial geography of current patterns of urban settlement since most South Africans are unable to buy property in what are now officially desegregated residential areas. Simultaneously, school communities which are granted control over admissions policies may orientate their school to reflect a particular identity in various ways such as the language test and interviews as is currently evident in most Model C schools. In fact, the current picture that emerge from most Model C schools is that of a predominant middle-class, white school. Thus if the current logic of the government's notion of

participation is extended, we could witness the development of schools such as Muslim and Greek schools. Thus, in place of apartheid racially segregated schools, we could find a multitude of different identity schools based upon cleavages such as religion.

In contrast, the NEPI reports attempted to balance the need for national unity with the recognition of multiple identities. The NEPI report was an attempt to deal with the tension between communality and diversity. The NEPI reports tended to opt for recognition of multiple identities within a nationally determined framework. In debates about a future curricula, for example, the general understanding is that of a framework that would be principally anti-racist, with a multiethnic form and content. (NEPI 1992b) In this way, the common core curriculum which will be determined by national criteria, would be accompanied by differentiated curricula that would allow for ethnic diversities on regional and local levels. These also are the ways in which the issues of the medium of instruction in schools are understood (NEPI 1992c). Similarly, the Governance and Administration Report (NEPI 1992c) suggested that devolution of control can only take place within a regulated national policy framework. A similar approach can be discerned in some countries such as the United Kingdom where different school are recognised provided they operate within a nationally agreed framework.

The tension highlighted here relates to the contradictory processes that claims for the extension of participation set into motion. Policies for extending participation at the level of identity are thus ambiguous in their effects and outcomes and always articulate with and intersect in divergent and complex ways with other forces and processes.

CONCLUSION

The South African government's and the oppositional groupings' policy documents reflect two differing approaches to the notion of participation. The former conceives of participation as limited to the immediate school community and grants power to the individual parent. It silences consideration of redress and fails to engage with the inequalities in society. Moreover, it tends to favour the middle class. It conceives of society as constituted by self-seeking individual's who are able to optimise their self-interest through rolling back the state and the creation of the education market. This approach is consistent with the new right philosophy on education. By contrast NEPI attempts to preserve the egalitarian thrust in education while simultaneously attempting to recognise individual freedom and rights.

The challenge that will face a new government in the future in South Africa would be the extent to which it can extend participation and consequently deepen democracy while simultaneously providing opportunities for the historically disadvantaged. This is only possible if a new government commits itself to an educationally interventionist strategy which also draws in all South Africans in the process of policy formulation, adoption and implementation. To this end, consideration must be given to the different ways in which the concept of participation is used and articulated in the prevailing educational discourse. The discursive configuration of the concept of participation needs to be unravelled in terms of its political, ideological and economic implication and it articulation in the current historical conjuncture. The international picture that emerges is one where most educational systems are a mixture of centralised and decentralised modes of governance. The precise relationship between centralised and decentralised modes of educational governance depends on a numbers of factors such as the historical evolution of education systems and the values and beliefs that underpin particular educational systems. One of the

most vital lessons that South Africa can learn from the international context is the need to preserve the notion of education as a public good.

NOTES

1. It is important to keep in mind that both the ERS and NEPI reports are not formulated policies. They are indicative policy options. Only through their adoption by a new parliament can they be considered actual polices.

2. In October 1990, the minister of white education, Mr Piet Clase, announced that white schools would be able to enrol legally black pupils into their schools. He offered white school communities the right to choose from three possible models. Model A, which allowed the school to convert itself from a state school into a private school; Model B, which allowed the school to remain as a state school, but with an open admissions policy; and, Model C, which allowed the school to be semi-private and semi-state, where the state bore the costs of teachers salaries and the rest of the school's expenses borne by the school community. Subsequently, in 1992, the then minister of white education, Mr Piet Marais, announced that all white schools needed to be converted to Model C status, due to economic reasons. Failure to do so, he alleged, would result in the necessary firing of some 11 000 white teachers, in order to maintain these schools within given budgetary constraints (Carrim & Sayed 1992).

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Policy Perspectives on Education Governance in South Africa ~ A Critique

Fred Barron and Michael Crossley

In this chapter two proposals for the restructuring of education governance in South Africa are critiqued. In the light of this critique, an alternative model is advanced.

A recent National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) report proposes two 'independent initiatives' in this area which have taken the five NEPI principles into account to formulate policy perspectives on governance in South Africa. These are titled the *system perspective* and the *school governance perspective* (NEPI 1992). The authors point out that the two proposals are to be read in conjunction and that:

> The first begins from the macro-perspective of system change and focuses on the structures and processes required to render the whole system more democratic and accountable. The second begins from the micro-perspective of school governance and takes as a starting point the NECC's commitment to expanding the role of PTSAs in the governance of the system. Neither perspective avoids consideration of both the macro, or micro, issues, but each one starts from a different position (NEPI 1992: 37).

The system perspective proposal

The system perspective views the administration and control of education as part of the governance of education and part of the 'broader societal development strategy' (NEPI 1992). A system-wide perspective is assumed, and this views any change in governance as being heavily influenced by the existing structures of governance, which will underlie opportunities for, and constraints, on change.

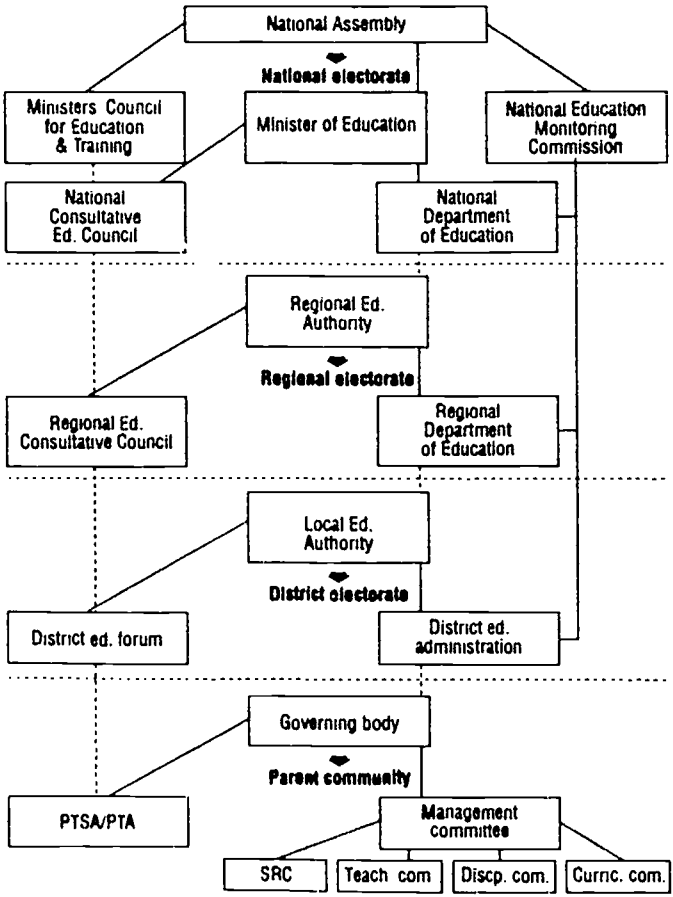
A second assumption cautions against the imposition of change from the centre and advocates 'negotiation between the range of interests involved in each level' (NEPI 1992: 37-38). These assumptions, along with the principles they are associated with, are not contentious, but an elaboration of the five NEPI principles, which are: non-racism, non-sexism, unity, democracy and historical redress.

The proposed framework, however, is contentious because it is based on [unstated] assumptions which may jeopardise attempts to institute a system of governance which ensures 'accountable, equitable and efficient control over the generation, distribution and utilisation of resources' (NEPI 1992: 37). As illustrated by Figure 1, this framework proposes that policy formulation, adoption, implementation and monitoring occurs in four domains across a unitary system with four levels of governance - national, regional, local and school. Policy formulation is to occur through consultation with statutory consultative bodies formed on the basis of stake-holder participation. Besides being a legal requirement, this, the authors suggest, will be a forum for public opinion to be expressed and for organisations to lobby the authorities.

The systems perspective proposes that policy adoption becomes the responsibility of politically accountable elected authorities at the four levels of Minister of Education, regional education authority, local education authority and school governing bodies. Provision is made for policy implementation through the administrative structure consisting of the national, regional,

district and local departments of education and school management committees.

Figure 1 ~ System perspective: a possible structure for South Africa



[Source: NEPI 1993: 39]

The monitoring of 'broad national equity, efficiency and quality targets' would be catered for by the establishment of the National Education Monitoring Commission (NEMC), which is to be a separate administrative structure reporting directly to the National Assembly (parliament) and performing the ombudsperson function, making information about the education system available to the public.

Critique

The strength of this proposal, besides the fact that it provides for a unitary system, is the introduction of elected policy adoption structures within the formal system at school level (the school management committee), and at district, regional and national levels. This has never existed in south African education before and is an important advance in the democratisation of the education policy formulation process.

The contentious aspect of the proposal lies in the assumption that, given the history and context of fierce contestation of policy formulation experienced in South Africa, the political authorities would be able to introduce a statutory structure in the policy process which would, in effect, only *consult* stake-holders and organisations and that policy could simply be *adopted* at another level.

Serious problems could arise from this proposal. The first is related to the struggle for empowerment. A structure which only allows some stake-holders to discuss policy formulation, could be viewed as tokenistic consultation and not empowering. A second criticism can be levelled at the composition of the consultative forums. According to NEPI:

> ...the structure is also seen to be a means for political authorities to access public opinion, or alternatively, for organisations in the broader community to lobby authorities on policy issues (NEPI 1992: 40)

This proposal, if it is agreed, is vague; and in a highly politicised society such as South Africa, which is characterised by intense contestation of education policy, there will be great pressure for representation and the right to 'lobby'. To conduct a consultation process in this manner, in such a political context, could be chaotic and it is predictable that, whatever the final outcome of consultation, many voices will be raised in protest because their views did not prevail.

A third criticism can be levelled at the relatively limited power of persuasion small, localised bodies will have in comparison with the influence of mass-based national bodies.

In the light of the above criticisms, the NEPI system level proposal could, in practice, prove to be unworkable and unsuitable for the South African reality. The school governance perspective will now be assessed.

The school governance perspective

The school governance perspective:

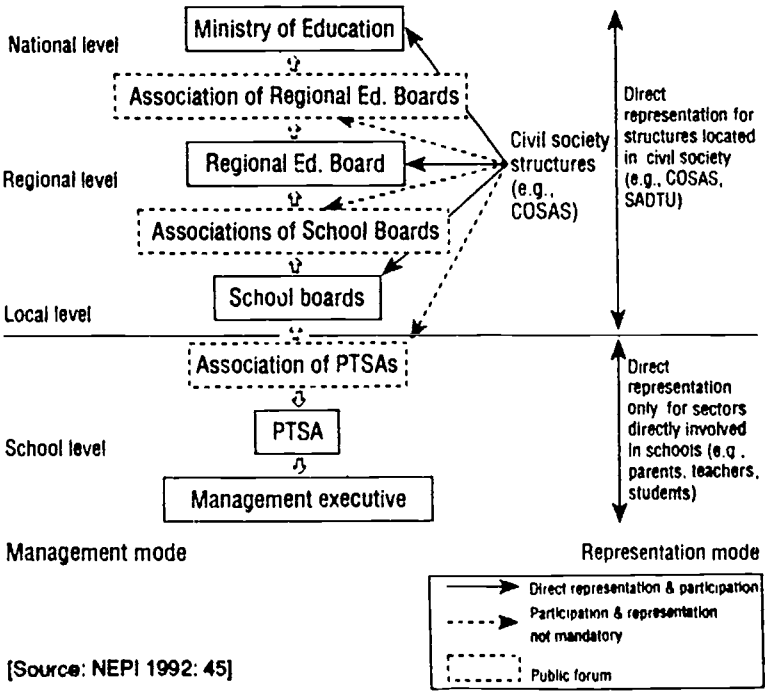
> ...also tackles the issue of system structure, but has the central aim of the democratisation of school governance and the role of civil society in that process. and ... emphasises three inter-related principles... These involve making visible the power relations that underlie administration and control; facilitating broader participation in governance through creation of dual modes of representation and management; and the strengthening of the capacity of wider interest groups in civil society for participation in governance (NEPI 1992: 44).

This perspective calls for three levels of governance: national, regional and local, with provision also made for a level of institutional governance. This perspective suggests a single structural hierarchy with differentiation in the modes of

participation in the governance process (NEPI 1992: 45), as illustrated in Figure 2.

At the national level, the Ministry of Education is responsible for education policy and planning, and for centralised control of key governance decisions such as the national curriculum and finance. Provision is made for 'the representation of views, aspirations and needs of interest groups in the broader education community (NEPI 1992: 45).

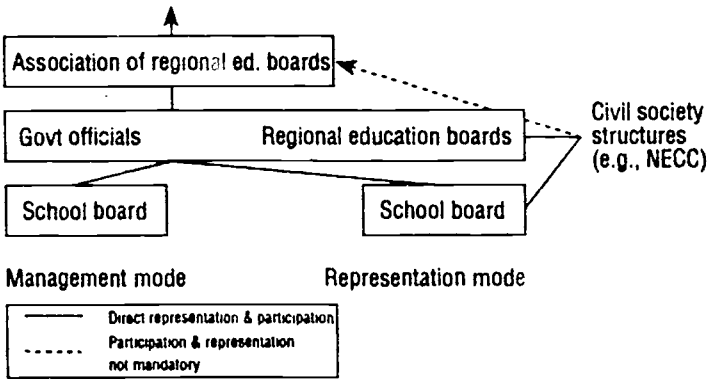
Figure 2 ~ The overall system of governance



[Source: NEPI 1992: 45]

At the regional level, regional education boards would be charged with the 'distribution of financial resources for all school boards in their jurisdiction and the allocation of grants to ensure equalisation of resource provision (NEPI 1992: 46)

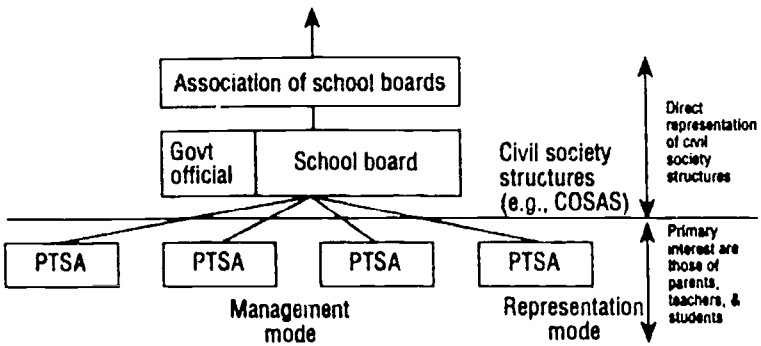
Figure 3 ~ The regional level of governance



[Source: NEPI 1992: 46]

At the local level, school boards are made up of representatives of schools (Parents, Teachers and Schools' Associations - PTSAs), government officials and representatives of interest groups such a students', teachers' and parents' organisations (NEPI 1992: 46), as indicated in Figure 4.

Figure 4 ~ The local level of governance



[Source: NEPI 1992: 47]

PTSAs are the governing bodies responsible for policy formulation at school level. School administration would be the responsibility of a management executive, accountable to the PTSA and headed by the school principal (NEPI 1992: 47).

The school governance perspective also provides for a series of policy forums which are an association of regional boards between the local and regional level, associations of school boards between the local and regional level and associations of PTSAs between the school and local level. These fora would debate policy and monitor implementation, but would not formulate policy. The plan is also for these fora to 'facilitate wider participation of civil society in education on a representative basis' (NEPI 1992: 48).

All the levels of governance are delineated into geographical areas which cut across current ethnic boundaries. Moreover, this perspective can be divided into a management mode, primarily the preserve of the government and the representative mode which is primarily the domain of key interest groups such as teachers, parents and students. The NEPI document explains:

> The two modes of participation ... permit a contestation of school governance both from within the system (management mode) and from outside the system (representative mode) (NEPI 1992: 49).

Critique

A strength of this proposal lies in the fact that it proposes a unitary system of governance. The clustering of PTSAs, school boards and regional school boards into associations, is a very progressive step, in that it will allow the actors at these various levels to discuss and compare experiences, needs and expenses. Policies reached after such discussions can be expected to be more considered and durable than policies only discussed and passed down from the top of the hierarchy. It is also more

realistic to have a 'single structural hierarchy' than parallel ones, as proposed by the systems perspective.

Serious weaknesses, however, arise from mixing special interest representation with general interest representation. As Bobbio (1987) has cautioned, special interest representatives (such as students or teachers) can be expected to be motivated to argue for the interests of their particular constituency in such fora. Other representatives elected to these structures 'because of the broad vision of society' (or as fiduciaries) could be expected to approach discussions from a less specific perspective than would delegates.

Another potentially serious problem which this proposal will introduce is the dilemma of state and civil society being thrown together in one structure. As Narsoo (1992) argues, civil society is not 'a panacea to all social ills' and we should recognise that civil society itself is divided into particularistic interests such that the most powerful interests can skew the power balance in their favour (Friedman 1991). Finally, there is a possibility that the authors of the NEPI document are falling into the same analytical trap identified by Friedman. If one examines the names cited as examples of civil society organisations in the NEPI flowcharts (particularly those related to the governance perspective proposal), the most powerful bodies, such as the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), the South African Democratic Teachers' Union (SADTU) and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC), are the only ones mentioned.

Moreover, COSAS and SADTU are both affiliates of the NECC. If this is by design, as Friedman (1991) pointed out, this sets up a plurality between the state and those organisations, rather than a plurality in civil society (since opposing organisations are excluded).

If the intention is to include a spectrum of organisations within civil society in the policy boards, organisational anarchy is sure to ensue in contemporary South Africa. This will be due partly

to the 'mixing' of delegates with fiduciaries, but more acutely because of the large number of contestants from existing organisations who will demand access to these discussions and structures.

Immediate questions which, therefore, arise are:

- Which sectors of society will have an opportunity to have representatives elected to these structures?
- How will such elections be held?
- Will representatives be voted for only within their own organisations?
- How will the size (membership number) or organisations affect representation?

The apparent neglect of the issues raised above draws attention to the dangers, and potential inequities, associated with emergent policy and organisational structures for the new South Africa.

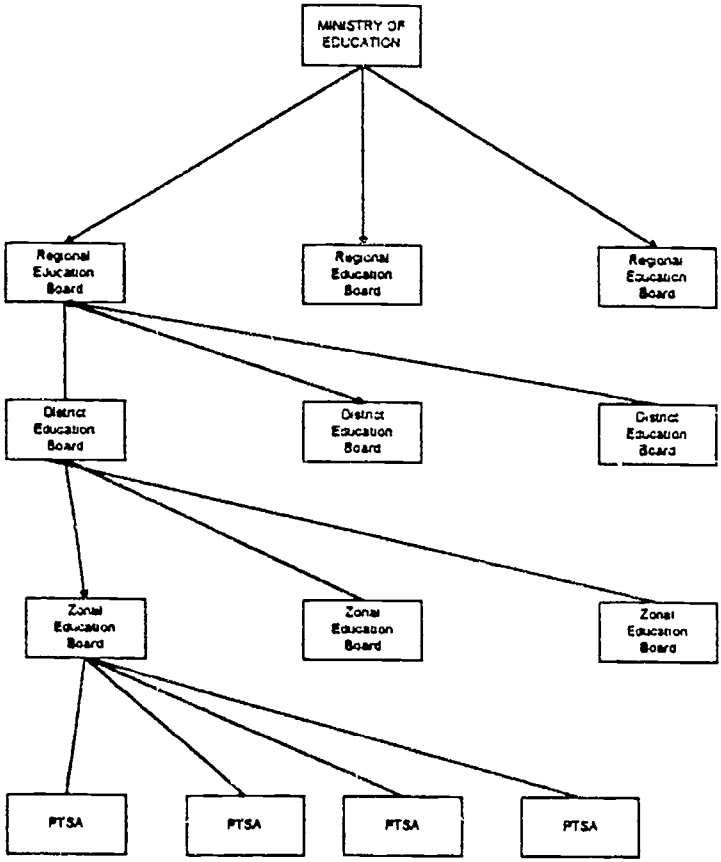
A different proposal that tries to avoid such problems, while retaining the strengths of the two NEPI proposals, is, therefore, advanced below.

An alternative proposal for education governance in South Africa

This proposal remains based on the five NEPI principles of non-racism, non-sexism, unity, democracy and historical redress. It also seeks to more squarely address the need for the empowerment of the people affected by the education system at all levels, as illustrated in Figure 5. In doing this, it is argued that empowerment would be best achieved by the widespread enfranchisement of people connected to the education system. This is based on the understanding that the state and not civil

society is the most appropriate arbiter of the general good in society and that access to democratic state power is empowering to citizens.

Figure 5 ~ An alternative proposal for education governance in South Africa



The proposal, thus, suggests that there should be institutional, local, district, regional and national structures of education governance to which people are elected democratically. It is argued that organisations from civil society should be free to nominate candidates, but should be barred from guaranteed seats on such structures. At each level, it is proposed that there should be an administrative structure to implement policy. These are the national, regional, district and zonal departments of education, as well as school management boards. There should also be a structured link between all these levels. This means that all PTSAs should be represented on the zonal education board in their zone. Representatives from the zonal education boards should sit on regional education boards and these would, in turn, be represented at the national Ministry of Education.

Finally, in this model, civil society organisations, such as teacher unions, or student bodies, should be allowed to make representations to policy formulating structures at any level, but will not be directly represented there by delegates.

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The Efficacy of Paired Reading in South African Primary Schools

Dickie Smith and David Johnson

INTRODUCTION

Parental involvement in education is a recurrent theme of debate in South Africa. Historically, the participation of parents in the education process has been uneven and, in the case of Black parents, sometimes discouraged. In the United Kingdom and other European countries, as in the USA, parents have been given increasing legal rights to participate in educational decision making and to become involved in classroom activities. A survey of a representative sample of 381 primary schools in England revealed that 'unpaid people assist with the teaching of reading on the school premises on a regular basis' in 202 (53%) of these schools (Stierer 1985). Research shows that the involvement of parents in the teaching of literacy can lead to increased reading attainments by pupils and also to more positive attitudes towards reading (Topping and Wolfendale 1985; Topping and Lindsay 1992). In South Africa, ways are still being sought to create a basis on which parents can become more closely involved with their children's learning. This paper will describe one promising approach known as 'paired

reading' and will evaluate its efficacy in the South African context.

Paired reading as a strategy for home-school co-operation

Paired reading is defined as 'a procedure for the tutoring of reading by non-professionals such as parents and peers' Topping and Lindsay 1992: 199).

The technique of paired reading is relatively simple and is outlined by Pumfrey (1986) in Figure 1 below:

Figure 1: Paired reading: content of the two phases

Phase I	**Simultaneous reading: participant modelling**
(i)	Child chooses a book or other reading material
(ii)	Parent and child read the book aloud together
(iii)	The child makes an attempt at every word
(iv)	When the child makes an error, the parent allows time (three to four seconds) for the child to repeat the word correctly, without discussing it
Phase II	**Independent reading**
(i)	When the child feels ready to read aloud alone, this is indicated by he or she giving a previously agreed non-verbal signal
(ii)	The parent *immediately* stops reading aloud
(iii)	When the child makes an error, or is unable to read a word when reading alone, the parent gives the correct response. This is repeated by the child
(iv)	Revert to Phase I, simultaneous reading, until the child signals that the parent is to stop reading aloud

It is thought that approaches such as paired reading work well where co-operation between teachers and parents is good and the ideas underpinning the approach have actually encouraged parent-teacher co-operation in areas where such co-operation was largely unknown (Pumfrey 1987). This is an important consideration for South Africa where parental involvement in education, particularly in Black schools, has been kept to a minimum (Johnson 1994).

In designing the study it was thought that paired reading would be likely to succeed as a pedagogical strategy on two counts. First that it would encourage home-school links and co-operative learning (Bennet 1991; Topping 1992) and second, that it would increase children's reading attainments. These assumptions were based in the main on research evidence which demonstrates the effectiveness of the strategy (Topping and Lindsay 1992) but more important, because the approach is thought to applicable in a wide range of contexts (Morgan and Lyon 1979). Further, according to Pumfrey (1986), paired reading is effective because it draws on a number of converging notions which are listed below:

(i) the involvement of 'significant others' (parents);

(ii) the child's selection of interesting materials;

(iii) modelling by the child of a competent reader;

(iv) the child's control of the feedback of information about the text from the parent;

(v) positive reinforcement of the child's reading;

(vi) an increased 'time-on-task' (reading) by the well motivated student.

Research methodology

The setting

Two schools were identified for the purpose of the study. Both were in a township, south west of Johannesburg. The enrolment figures for the schools were 860 and 900 respectively. Although both these schools had an open admissions policy since the early 1990s, neither of them are multi-cultural in the true sense of the word.

Selection of the samples

Sixty children (30 from each school) were randomly selected for an initial test in reading attainment. In the event, only 44 children took the text (26 from one school and 18 from the other). Once the sample (n = 44) had been selected and exposed to a group reading test (the Suffolk Reading Scale [Hagley 1987]), 10 children with the lowest scores in the test were randomly selected and formed the intervention group. Thus the sample which framed the actual study consisted of 10 children (six boys and four girls). These children were all drawn from fourth year junior school (Standard 2 pupils). There were five children from each of the two schools (gender was not used as a criterion for selection).

Once selected, the sample (n = 10) was subjected to an individual reading test (the Neale reading analysis) on a pre- and post-test basis.

The administration of the tests are described here.

The Suffolk Reading Scale

The Suffolk (1987) reading scale for nine to 11 year olds is a group test. The administration of the test took approximately 40 minutes at each school. The children's actual working time was limited to 20 minutes. Another 20 minutes was spent instructing the pupils on how to do the test; the distribution of

the test booklets and the collection of the booklets from the pupils at the end of the test.

The Neale Analysis of Reading Ability

The Neale Analysis of Reading Ability (Second Edition) forms A and B were used. This test has been devised to meet a practical need for a diagnostic measure which yields scores of a traditional nature concerning a child's progress in reading. This test was administered twice to the 10 children (five at each school) who scored the lowest marks in the Suffolk reading test. The first test was administered a few days after the children had taken the Suffolk reading test and the second test was done four weeks after the first test to allow enough time for the intervention (paired reading) to take place. Both tests were administered by the researcher.

The test consisted of six pages of prose which formed a continuous reading scale for children aged from six to 13 years. Each passage was a complete narrative suited to the interests of the age level to which it was assigned. There were eight comprehension questions to each of the passages, except in the case of the first passage, where there were only four. Three supplementary diagnostic tests were also carried out. Test 1 consisted of letters of the alphabet which had been arranged to test recognition of letters and sounds quickly. Test 2 was a short list of simple spelling and Test 3, a blending and recognition of syllables.

The intervention programme

The underlying pedagogical principal of the paired reading programme was on demonstration and interaction rather than merely telling. Further, the notion of teaching adults strategies to use with their children based on theories of adult mediation of children's learning (Vygotsky 1978). The homes of the 10 pupils selected to participate in the study were visited. The paired reading technique was explained and demonstrated to the children and their parents. Literature explaining the

technique was also given to parents as well as a record sheet to record the necessary information. Parents were originally sceptical, and unsure of the extent to which they would be expected to participate in the study. However, as the study progressed and parents had the opportunity to discuss the programme, many of their fears had become allayed.

Results and discussion

The Suffolk Test

The result of the Suffolk Test for the 10 pupils who scored the lowest marks in the original sample of pupils is represented in Table 1(a).

Table 1(a): Suffolk Test results (sample n = 10)

Respondents	**1**	**2**	**3**	**4**	**5**	**6**	**7**	**8**	**9**	**10**
Correct	23	28	15	25	25	14	25	3	24	28
Incorrect	35	19	25	13	14	15	22	31	38	3
Not answered	12	23	30	32	31	41	23	16	8	39
% Correct	*33*	*40*	*21*	*36*	*36*	*20*	*36*	*33*	*34*	*40*

In order to interpret the results in Table 1(a), the research adapted a scale originally devised by Orfanaki (1992) to interpret the Suffolk reading scores of children in British primary schools. The scale is reproduced in Table 1(b) below:

Table 1(b): Reading ability scale ratings

Reading Ability Degree	1	2	3	4	5
Reading Ability Percentage	0-19%	20-39%	40-50%	60-79%	80-100%
Description	Has serious problem	Below average	Average	Above average	Well above average

(Table adapted from Orfanaki 1992)

When the results shown in Table 1(a) of the Suffolk Test are read in conjunction with the reading ability scale ratings in Table 1(b), they show that only two of the pupils' reading appears to be 'average' and the remaining eight are 'below average' readers. There also appears to be no substantial variation in the range of scores of the group except for two pupils (see columns 3 and 6) whose scores are well below those achieved by the rest of the group.

Children's scores on the reading scale were used to calculate their reading ages. Table 2 below, shows the chronological ages (C/A) of each of the 10 pupils as well as their reading ages (R/A). According to the table, the lowest age retardation is one year and eight months and the highest retardation is four years.

Table 2: Chronological and reading ages (years and month) (RA - according to Suffolk Reading Scale with 90% confidence band)

Sample	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	9	10
C/A	10: 09	09: 01	09: 00	09: 01	11: 00	10: 06	09: 05	09: 04	10: 03	10: 07
R/A	06: 11	07: 05	06: 06	07: 01	07: 01	06: 06	07: 01	06: 11	07: 00	07: 05
Difference	03: 08	01: 08	03: 06	02: 00	03: 11	04: 00	02: 04	02: 05	03: 03	03: 02

C/A = chronological age

R/A = reading age

The results of the Suffolk Test, as presented in Table 2, show that the reading ages of the ten children in the sample is well below what may reasonably be expected from children in their chronological age group. Indeed, when the median for the larger sample is compared with the median for the sample of ten there is a notable difference between the attainment levels of children in the intervention group and those of their peers in the same classes (see Table 3 below). However a factor to be taken into consideration here is that this test was designed for children with specific backgrounds. Indeed tests standardised at different times on different populations produce different standards (Hagley, 1987). Such tests may also be measuring slightly different aspects of reading. Thus the validity of the test for South African pupils is questionable. In this regard, Purves (1992) warns of the difficulties involved in a cross-cultural study of literacy. One problem is that the standard international measure may not allow for straightforward comparison because systematic differences may provide too strong an interference. Indeed, it can be argued more generally that tests measure test behaviour and not actually reading behaviour. The purpose of this study, however, is not to test the validity of the Suffolk Test on a cross-cultural level, but rather to use it as an instrument to gain base line information against which learner's reading attainments can be measured.

Table 3: Comparison of scores (Suffolk)

	N34	N10	Difference
Median	34.5	24.5	10.0
Range	20.0	14.0	

The Neale Test and the supplementary diagnostic tests

Table 4: Pre-test and post-test scores on the Neale Test

		N	Median	Range	Difference
Rate	Pre	10	46.0	22	1.5
	Post	10	44.5	27	
Accuracy	Pre	10	19.5	16	7.5
	Post	10	27.0	23	
Comprehension	Pre	10	4.0	4	6.5
	Post	10	10.5	8	

The table above presents a comparison of the pre-/post-intervention test results of the Neale Test for rate, accuracy and comprehension. This table also shows the median and range for the pre-/post-intervention scores for rate, accuracy and comprehension as well as the difference of the median for each of the sections of the test.

A sign test (Wilcoxon) was performed to test the significance of the changes. Since the sample group in this research consists of the 10 lowest scorers from a larger sample, the data are, therefore, not normally distributed. Thus non-parametric testing was required.

Table 5 below, shows an evaluation of the probability factor and the significance level according to the Wilcoxon matched

pairs signed rank test for the pre-/post-intervention results of the Neale Test for the sample group (N = 10).

Table 5: Wilcoxon matched pairs signed rank test results (Neale Test)

	T-value	N	Probability
Rate	26.5	10	p>0.05
Accuracy	0	10	p<0.005
Comprehension	0	10	p<0.005

When tested on reading rate, the intervention group scored an average score of 46.0 on the pre-test (see Table 4). After the intervention, the score of this group decreased to 44.5.

The difference in pre-/post-intervention scores for accuracy is 7.5 (see Table 4). This component shows the largest post-intervention difference of the three components. The results of this showed a statistical significance when subjected to the Wilcoxon signed rank test, T = 0; N = 10; p = <0.005, ie significant (1 tailed test, H_0 = post-intervention, ≤ pre-intervention.

According to Table 5, the result for comprehension is T = 0, N = 10 and p = <0.005 (1 tailed test, H_0 post-intervention ≤ pre-intervention). The result shows a difference of 6.5 (see Table 4) in the post-intervention median score which suggests that the paired reading approach was reasonably effective in aiding pupils' understanding of the texts.

The results presented above show that when children were tested on reading rate, a non-significant result (p >0.05) was obtained. This result is consistent with other test results of similar small scale studies (Topping and Lindsay 1992). It should be noted that studies using the Neale analysis as a measure of rate of reading have yielded increases and decreases

(Topping and Lindsay 1992). This phenomenon would seem worthy of further investigation. One possible explanation for this seems that the pupils have concentrated, tried to read more accurately, at a slower pace and to remember what they have read. The assumption here is that the pupils were quite prepared, at this stage of testing, to read slower in order to answer most of the comprehension questions at the end of the passage.

The increase in the post-intervention scores (see Table 4) for accuracy (median difference 7.5) and comprehension (median difference 6.5) also seem to be consistent with the results of other small scale studies (as reviewed by Topping and Lindsay 1992) as well as with theoretical predictions.

The question remains whether paired reading, as a strategy which involves significant others in the reading process, can increase children's attainment in the majority of South African schools.

An uncontrolled and small-scale study by Morgand and Lyon (1979) found that an improvement in both accuracy and comprehension of reading (as measured), may be associated with the parental use of paired reading. The group's reading ages progressed markedly over the 12 to 13 weeks of tuition. It is worth remarking here that the period of tuition may be critical to the process of the approach.

Although, within the constraints of this study, it seems that the improvements, ie a 7.5 median post-intervention difference for accuracy and 6.5 for comprehension, may also be associated with paired reading.

This is encouraging and supports Pumfrey's (1986) view that parental involvement in their children's education is recognised as an important factor. These results also support Topping and McKnight (1984), who noted that parents need straightforward, specific and unequivocal guidance about what to do, and firm support and encouragement from the school to help them to do

it. Such involvement of parents can be seen as an important and powerful addition to a school's actions.

CONCLUSIONS

The results, as discussed above, within the constraints of this study, suggest that paired reading may offer a way to facilitate the development of literacy in South African schools. The results are consistent with theoretical predictions, but further work is required for a strong elucidation of this finding. The results of this study should be treated cautiously because of the methodological limitations including sample size and the lack of control groups. In thinking about follow-up studies, it would be important to consider how other similar studies are seeking methodological rigour. Other research reports, for example, demonstrate a progression in the evaluation of paired reading from clinical studies of individuals, through methods experiments with control groups and, finally, to more sophisticated methods experiments in which the effects of experimenter bias were countered by using a 'double-blind' research design.

It is important to note too that the study fails to address a number of concerns about paired reading as a strategy. First, other studies which rely on different strategies also demonstrate similar improvements in children's reading attainments. These studies raise the question whether 'pairing' adds anything of significance. A second concern is that the Hawthorne effect whereby novel activities, such as 'pairing', increases motivation and performance, has not been adequately controlled for. Third, the long term effects of paired reading have not been explored. Fourth, the reading difficulties of some pupils may require a more structured approach to improving literacy. Fifth, it is cannot be assumed that all 'pairings' are productive. The sixth, probably the most serious criticism of studies such as this one is made by Pumfrey (1987):

> Many of the recent results claiming to demonstrate improved reading in relation to comprehension and accuracy scores do so by using derived scores that purport to show the rates at which pupils were progressing before and after PR. Typically the latter is greater than the former. Such comparisons are frequently fallacious and based on a misunderstanding of the nature of the reading test scores from which they derive. For example, to be six months of reading age behind one's chronological age at the chronological age of seven years is NOT the same degree of 'retardation' as being six months of reading age behind one's chronological age at 10 years of age on a given test. This is because the range of reading test scores, if quantified in months of reading age, increases with chronological age. Hence, six months' progress in two months at the two different levels give ***equivalent*** rates of apparent progress of three months of reading age per month of PR when, in fact, the second represents a ***lower*** rate of progress (Pumfrey 1987: 5)

It is important to note too that assessing the effects of a programme is a complex task. In this study the impact of a paired reading strategy on children's reading skills has been assessed. Like similar programmes, a direct causal relationship between increased attainment and paired reading cannot be inferred. The study also falls short of evaluating the impact of the programme on parents and the literary environment.

It is hoped that follow-up work will be done, with a larger group and over a longer period of time, to make the study more representative. Due consideration will have to be given to the criticisms raised above.

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Teacher Involvement in School Decision-Making in South Africa

Baatile Poo and Eric Hoyle

The issue of teacher participation in school decision-making emerged in a number of Western countries in the 1960s. The movement had three sources. The *political* source was the growing belief that those who would be directly affected by decisions should participate in making those decisions. The moderate version addressed itself to the democratisation of schools. The radical version saw this as part of a transformation of society via 'the long march through the institutions'. The *managerial* source emerged through the growing emphasis on a human relations approach to management wherein participation was seen by many as the means of synchronising organisational aims and individual needs - and by others as little more than a form of manipulative management. The *professional* source arose from the belief that those changes in curriculum, method and the organisation of teachers and learning involving the weakening of boundaries entailed in resource-based discovery learning were best handled by professional teachers working collaboratively and collegially.

These trends lost momentum in the 1970s with the emergence of the accountability movement as a response to a growing concern about the effectiveness of education in times of

economic stringency. However, teacher participation re-emerged in many Western countries in the 1980s as the result of a different set of forces. Market forms of accountability allowed greater autonomy to individual schools albeit within a more centralised framework. This alone would not necessarily have led to greater teacher participation in that it also entailed more authority being vested in the head. But this growing managerialism is accompanied by a management theory which puts a premium on collaborative decision-making. This approach is supported by the evidence of a growing literature which suggests that effective schools are characterised in part by collegial priorities and a collaborative culture (Fullan, 1991).

The issue of teacher involvement in decision-making in schools in South Africa has, in part, a political origin because of the role which the schools in the Black sector have played in political transformation. It is also seen as related to quasi-market models of educational provision which is influencing South African education.

In the new South Africa many principals will find themselves in new, complex and competitive educational environments because of the changes that have occurred since politicisation, privatisation and the growth of union activity have destabilised the status quo. Many schools have now been given more powers to administer their own budgets, appoint staff, allocate resources and to be responsible for the maintenance of the school buildings. These greater decision-making powers that have been given to the schools will no doubt place them under public scrutiny like never before. An education market place is being created with greater parental choice and competition between schools through the open, non-racial enrolment of pupils. The task of managing these complex innovations in addition to the old responsibilities of managing the ongoing work of maintaining standards of teaching and learning will be demanding on principals. They are experiencing a substantial and unavoidable challenge to their ways of working. The fact that the context in which schools operate has changed a great deal is undeniable. The situation is exacerbated by the

dwindling financial support from central government. Schools have to struggle for survival and their existence is not guaranteed. State subsidy is increasingly closely tied to quality of performance.

This paper is intended to be a modest contribution to this debate. In devising models of teacher participation it is important to know to what extent teachers actively want to be involved in school decision-making and whether they wish to be involved in some aspects but not in others. The study lies within a tradition of research on teacher participation which has sought to establish the relationship between actual and desired teacher participation in decision-making in various areas of school policy and the relationship between participation and satisfaction.

RESEARCH ON TEACHER PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

A pioneering study in this field was that of Sharma (1955) who showed that teacher satisfaction with participation in decision-making was a function of the relationship between desired participation and actual participation. Satisfaction was highest where a desire for participation was matched by the opportunity to become involved and where a wish not to be involved was matched by an absence of pressure to become involved. This finding has been confirmed and developed by subsequent researchers. Alutto and Belasco (1972) in the United States have demonstrated the existence of three conflicting positions held by teachers with regard to participation:

- Decisional deprivation: where there is participation in fewer decisions than preferred;

- Decisional equilibrium: where the status quo is good, with participation in as many decisions as required;

- Decisional saturation: where there is participation in more decisions than is required.

These three positions are not evenly distributed across all categories of teachers. Variations occur according to age, gender, experience, type of school, etc.

Conway (1978), whose study was based upon schools in the North West of England, showed variations in the areas in which teachers had a desire to be involved in decision-making and the actual degree of participation which they perceived themselves as having. Broadly speaking they wished to have, and perceived themselves as having, opportunities for decision-making in areas of curriculum and pedagogy but did not wish to have, nor did have, opportunities for participation in wider school policies, particularly in relation to the community. The area where the greatest gap between desire and opportunity occurred was in staff appointments. Teachers' desire to be involved in this process was not fulfilled.

Bacharach et al (1990) reviewed all the earlier research on teacher-participation and distinguished between evaluative and non-evaluative studies : the former based on the assumption that teachers vary in their desire for participation, the latter based on the assumption that the same level of expectations of participation are held by all members of an organisation. They also distinguished between single-domain approaches which combine all areas of potential decision-making, and multiple-domain approaches, which explore decision-making in relation to different domains of school life. Their empirical s dy shows the validity of the evaluative multi-domain approach.

The research reported below broadly takes an evaluative multi-domain approach. However, a number of other considerations have to be taken into account when considering a policy on teacher participation. A review of the literature on these topics is beyond the scope of this paper but it is worthwhile to list these related issues:

Structures of decision making
Some aims, eg speed of decision-making, entail a limited involvement whilst others, e.g. motivation, suggest wider involvement (Dill, 1964).

Cultures of decision-making
Nias, Southworth and Yeomans (1989) suggest that the most effective culture is one which encourages collaboration but allows also for autonomy.

Micro politics of decision-making
Collaboration may be voluntary or 'contrived' (Hargreaves and Dawe, 1990), ie a manipulative management strategy.

Leadership and decision-making
The prevailing view is that teachers respond best where heads exercise positive leadership, convey a 'mission' for the school and yet manage at the same time to allow individuals to fulfil their own goals (Sergiovanni, 1987).

Contextual factors affecting decision-making
Schools are not wholly free to determine their own patterns since they cannot escape the influence of external cultural, economic and political constraints (Broadfoot and Osborn, 1988).

The contingent nature of decision-making
It follows from the preceding points that there is no single 'correct' pattern of decision-making appropriate to all situations. The effectiveness of any pattern will depend upon the degree to which a pattern is congruent with the prevailing situation (Hanson, 1979).

THE STUDY

Sample

Data for this study were gathered by means of a questionnaire completed by a sample of teachers in Pretoria. As a result of the racial system of education, schools in the same city fall under different racial Departments of Education: Department of Education and Training (DET) for Blacks; Department of Education and Culture: House of Assembly, for Whites; Department of Education and Culture: House of Delegates for Indians and Department of Education and Culture: House of Representatives, for Coloureds. In order to reflect these divisions schools were sampled in such a manner as to reflect the proportions of teachers within these sectors. Constraints of time and resources prevented the random sampling of teachers, schools and geographical areas and this must be taken into consideration in drawing conclusions. If the study has any merit it is hoped that it will be regarded as a pilot for a larger more representative study.

The intention was that this pilot survey should include approximately 250 teachers and, on the assumption of a staff complement of about 20 teachers per school, 12 schools were chosen as follows:

4 Black schools:	2 primary and 2 high schools
4 White schools:	2 primary and 2 high schools
2 Indian schools:	1 primary and 1 high school
2 Private schools:	1 primary and 1 high school

The schools varied from 400 to 1 060 in size. Out of 240 teachers approached, 161 completed the questionnaire. This response rate was regarded as acceptable in the light of the problems faced in securing returns. However, as the representativeness of

the sample is likely to have been affected by non-respondents the results must be treated with due caution.

Procedures

The Decision Condition Questionnaire developed by Alutto and Belasco (1972) as adapted by Conway (1978) was particularly useful in providing ideas about the planning and designing of the questionnaire. The questionnaire comprised two sections. Section A was intended to gather information which covered the following decision-making areas:

1. **Curriculum and Teaching**

   Curriculum design; allocation of subjects to teachers; allocation of classes to teachers; drawing teaching timetables and evaluation of the curriculum.

2. **Welfare of pupils**

   Resolving problems among pupils in the classroom and resolving problems between teachers and pupils.

3. **Managing colleagues**

   Inducting new teachers; resolving grievances among teachers; resolving grievances between teachers and the principal; running staff development and involvement in staff appraisal.

4. **Teaching aids**

   Selecting textbooks and ordering stock and equipment.

5. **Appointments and promotions**

   Appointments of new teachers in the school and promotions of teachers within the school.

6. **School policy and planning**

   Establishing general school policy; planning school activities for the year and representing teachers on the school council.

7. **School fund**

   Preparing school budget, running fund-raising campaigns for the different departments within the school and running fund-raising campaigns for the school.

8. **External relations**

   Communicating with parents and resolving problems with community groups.

For the purpose of respecting the confidentiality promised to teachers, schools and departments, the names of the twelve schools and those of the teachers who participated have not been provided. Section B consisted of 14 items of the Likert Scale designed to establish respondents' views on teacher involvement in decision-making.

For each decisional situation, respondents indicated (a) whether they currently participated and (b) whether they wished for more or for less participation. The total response on decision participation was derived by summing the number of decision areas in which respondents were either involved or wished to be involved and expressing these as percentages.

The present study does not include a comparison of the level of teacher participation between primary and secondary teachers. The comparison made is between teachers' in state schools and in private schools. The following is a verbal summary of the differences between teachers in state and private schools in the eight decision areas (the tables are reported in Poo, 1993).

Curriculum and teaching

Although some form of participation was evident, respondents at private schools had more opportunities than their colleagues at state schools. There was a reported 90% participation at private schools but only 23% participation at state schools in curriculum design; 74% participation at private schools and 29% participation at state schools in curriculum evaluation. Traditionally, teachers at state schools had no input in matters relating to the design of the curriculum as most of the decisions were taken by the Education Department. It is now evidently clear that teachers would like to have more say in the design and evaluation of the curriculum.

Welfare of pupils

Respondents at both private and state schools indicated a high level of involvement in resolving pupil problems, 100% and 90% respectively. However, respondents at private schools indicated a wish for less involvement while those at state schools indicated the wish to maintain the status quo.

Teaching aids

Respondents at private schools indicated decisional saturation in the selection of textbooks and ordering of teaching aids with a participation level of 84%. In state schools there was a lower level of participation - 53%, and the respondents indicated the wish for more involvement. The system for the acquisition of teaching aids at state schools is for requisitions to be made by schools to the Department which will, in turn, buy according to what its budgets allow, at its own time and mostly from suppliers of their own choice. As a result, the level of teacher involvement is limited. Private school teachers reported having the opportunity of being more involved and schools can deal with suppliers directly.

Managing colleagues

At both state and private schools respondents indicated that they would prefer less participation than they presently experience in the resolution of grievances among teachers and the principals. This seems to be in line with Conway's (1980) interpretation that teachers realise that helping adults resolve problems are not necessarily rewarding and, though willing to help, teachers do not desire high involvement in sensitive administrative matters.

Appointments and promotions

Respondents from private schools experienced decisional saturation in the appointment of teachers in the different departments at their schools and in promotions of teachers within the school. State schools, on the other hand, experienced decisional deprivation in each of these areas. The reason for this could be found in the fact that appointments at state schools are either made by school inspectors or by principals in consultation with the inspectors and members of the school council who also form part of the interviewing panels in the rare cases where interviews are conducted.

School policy and planning

Respondents at private schools indicated decisional saturation in establishing general school policies and representing teachers on the school council, whilst their colleagues at state schools indicated decisional deprivation in both. This is hardly surprising since the State Departments of Education, particularly DET, regard such matters to be purely administrative, to be dealt with only by the principal and his or her deputy. No provision is made for teacher representation or consultation on important school policy matters. However, a somewhat surprising finding was that respondents at both private and state schools experienced decisional deprivation in the planning of their school activities for the year. One would

have expected high teacher involvement because it is an area of decision-making which directly impinges on their working lives for the entire academic year.

School fund

The participation for both private and state respondents seemed reasonably high in running fund-raising campaigns in their schools but respondents expressed the wish to be less involved in this exercise which has in the past played a significant role in supporting projects and purchasing additional teaching aids.

External relations

Respondents at both private and state schools indicated high involvement in communicating with parents: 100% at private schools and 96% at state schools. This was the decisional area in which respondents had the second highest opportunity for participation. As in the case of the welfare of pupils, in which respondents showed the highest level of participation, this would seem to indicate an acceptance on the part of teachers of their wider responsibilities and their accountability to parents.

Respondents at both private and state schools indicated a situation of almost decisional equilibrium in resolving problems with community groups. Perhaps this should be considered to be specific to a South African educational context in which apartheid has turned many educational institutions into political battlegrounds and has generated many external non-governmental bodies demanding a say in the education of children. In the Black education sector, state-created governing/school councils have little credibility and are widely regarded as incompetent, existing only to serve the interests of apartheid education. The creation of parent-teachers' associations (PTAs), which was in most cases the teachers' initiative to bring back a culture of learning in the schools and some form of co-operation between pupils and the DET, has

had remarkable success in many schools. Therefore the importance of teacher involvement in educational matters in communities in which they work cannot be over-emphasised. In this context, their involvement cannot be regarded as an example of what Spence (1988) called 'over-concern' with external relationships.

Participation according to the status of teachers

The second purpose of the study was to compare current participation and desired participation between heads of department (HODs) and other teachers. Three patterns emerged. The first pattern revealed that heads of departments enjoyed a considerably greater involvement than classroom teachers over a range of important decision-making areas. The following are examples:

- In the design of curriculum, there was 84% participation by HODs against 17% participation by teachers.
- In the induction of teachers, there was 80% participation by HODs against 27% participation by teachers.
- In selection of textbooks there was 71% participation by HODs against 63% by teachers.
- In staff appraisal there was 89% participation by HODs against 26% by teachers.

It would therefore seem to follow that the higher the status position of teachers in the school hierarchy, the more involved they were in decision-making. However, the areas in which the HODs were more involved tended to be departmentally - rather than school-related as can be observed from the above examples. Their greater involvement is a function of their senior position in the schools. It could be argued that the extent to which they participate is essentially through delegation, with principals retaining ultimate authority.

The second pattern revealed a clear preference for greater participation from both the HODs and teachers in all decision-making areas except the following: resolving problems among pupils, resolving problems between teachers and pupils, and communicating with parents. These examples therefore represent the third pattern, that wherein respondents indicated decisional saturation and hence a clear preference for a reduction in present levels of participation.

It is apparent from this analysis that both groups experienced decisional deprivation in many decision-making areas. Another observation was that both the HODs and teachers indicated almost similar wishes. The decisional areas in which they indicated either more or less involvement were the same except for only five of the 26 decisional areas. These are: ordering of equipment, resolving pupil problems, fund-raising, establishing school policy and planning school activities. In these five areas HODs wished for less involvement while teachers wished for more involvement.

Patterns of participation by all teachers

The third purpose of the study was to analyse the response of all respondents in order to determine whether any patterns in the relationship between actual and desired participation were discernible. The approach was based on that used by Conway (1978). The main levels of present and desired participation were computed for all teachers. Four clusters appeared to emerge as shown in Table 1. The first of four clusters was one in which respondents who indicated low level of participation but did not wish for more participation. The decision areas in which respondents were content with a low level of participation were related to resolving grievances among teachers and resolving grievances between teachers and the principal. This seems to confirm the suggestion made by Conway (1978) that teachers would prefer that such matters should remain in the domain of the administration or to have teachers participate only as necessary or as invited to do so.

The areas where respondents regarded themselves as highly involved and that the level of involvement was consistent with their desired intensity of participation. The decision areas are related to fund-raising, communicating with parents and resolving problems between teachers and pupils.

The second cluster covers those decisional areas where the differences between the present and the desired levels of involvement are not substantial. This cluster contains such decision areas as the establishment of school policy and school activities and the purchase of teaching equipment.

The third cluster includes those decisional areas where the differences between the present and the desired levels of participation are substantial and teachers want more involvement. The cluster contains decision areas relating to staff matters and budgets. It is clearly in this area that teachers wish to have more chance to be involved in other areas of decision-making that have hitherto been inaccessible to them.

Table 1: Decision areas, present and desired teacher participation and participation differences

Decision Areas	Present Participation	Desired Participation	Degree of Difference of Desired v Present
Resolving grievances among teachers	low	low	small
Resolving grievances between teachers and principal	low	low	small
Running fund raising campaigns in school	middle	middle	small
Resolving problems between teachers and pupils	middle	middle	small
Communicating with parents	very high	very high	small
Selecting textbooks	high	very high	medium
Ordering teaching aids	middle	high	medium
Establishing general school policy	high	very high	medium
Planning school activities for the year	high	very high	medium
Representing teachers on the School Council	low	middle	medium

Decision Areas	Present Participation	Desired Participation	Degree of Difference of Desired v Present
Involvement in staff appraisal	low	middle	medium
Resolving problems with community groups	low	middle	medium
Allocation of staff to subjects	low	high	large
Allocation of staff to classes	low	high	large
Drawing timetables	middle	very high	large
Appointments of teachers	very low	middle	large
Promotions of teachers within the school	very low	middle	large
Preparation of school budget	very low	middle	large
Running staff development	low	high	large
Curriculum design	low	very high	very large
Curriculum evaluation	low	very high	very large

The fourth cluster includes the decisional area where the difference between the present and the desired level of

participation is very substantial, for example, in the design and evaluation of the curriculum. Perhaps this difference has its root in questions relating to the credibility of education planners who are involved with Black education in South Africa. The question of curriculum design in Black education has been a centre of great controversy in educational circles which still remains a contentious issue. The relevance, appropriateness and effectiveness of what the formal schools have to offer have been widely debated and questioned in countries like Britain and the United States of America and the same is now occurring in South Africa. The unique aspect about the debate in the South African context is that the curriculum in Black education has been mainly designed for the Blacks by the Whites and this has caused serious concern about the intentions of those involved in curriculum design. Already, there are movements in the country such as 'People's Education' and 'Alternative Education' and some teachers have been highly involved in them. Generally, there is a feeling for more teacher involvement in the design of the curriculum. Perhaps this explains such a high difference between the present and the desired level of teacher participation in curriculum design and curriculum evaluation.

Teacher attitudes towards participation

A fourth aim of the study was to determine the attitudes of teachers towards the various aspects relating to the concept of a 'participatory school management' system. The focus was mainly on examining their attitudes towards the role of principals (see Table 2).

Table 2: Analysis of the attitude of respondents towards participatory decision-making

	Disagree		Agree	
	Raw Score	%	Raw Score	%
Teachers should be allowed to participate in decision making.	2	1	145	99
The collective responsibility for decision-making will make teachers keen to see that decisions are carried out.	7	5	148	95
It is necessary to have collective decision-making on all matters of the school organisation.	45	30	106	70
Decision-making should be left to the head teacher.	148	95	8	5
The head teacher often restricts the initiative of the teachers in decision-making.	77	52	72	48
Teachers expect the head teacher to exert authority and produce an acceptable tone of the school.	45	30	109	70
Teachers should be prepared to accept the decisions of the head teacher.	59	41	84	59
The ultimate responsibility for applying school policy should rest on the head teacher.	99	63	59	37

	Disagree		Agree	
	Raw Score	%	Raw Score	%
The classroom responsibilities of the teachers will make it impossible for them to be involved in decision-making.	139	89	17	11
Collective decision-making is a slow process of reaching conclusions.	78	52	72	48
The head teacher owes a considerable part of his responsibility to the teachers.	18	13	125	87
Meetings for decision-making should not interfere with classroom teaching.	7	5	147	95
The head teacher is supportive of the idea that teachers should participate in decision-making.	15	10	131	90
The head teacher should have the right to veto decisions taken by the teachers.	49	38	87	62

What emerged very clearly was the fact that an overwhelming majority of respondents - 90% - were strongly in favour of participatory decision-making. However, 70% still expected the principal to exert authority and to generate a positive school climate. This is in conformity with the general finding elsewhere, that teachers did not necessarily want absolute control in the running of the school. The locus of responsibility has therefore not shifted from the principal. He or she is still expected to run the school and to provide professional leadership. Indeed, this was confirmed by 63% of the respondents who indicated that the ultimate responsibility for applying school policy should rest on the principal.

An interesting observation is the fact that 90% of the respondents agreed that principals are supportive of the idea that teachers should participate in decision-making. Yet there were conflicting feelings about the scope for initiative and enterprise that was given to teachers with a slight majority of 52% indicating that teachers should be prepared to accept the decisions of the principal. This again raises the issue of what constitutes 'true' participation and how different teachers perceive participation.

Respondents were divided on the question of whether collective decision-making is the speediest means of reaching conclusions. Another significant finding was the assumption made by 95% of the respondents that collective responsibility for decision-making would make teachers more keen to see that decisions are carried out. It has to be noted that studies which have considered joint decision-making have reported that inviting greater teacher participation does not necessarily lead to higher levels of involvement since participation itself is perceived differently by different teachers.

Discussion of the findings and their implications for policy

The results have indicated that participative decision-making is becoming a notable feature in school management in South Africa, as elsewhere in developed countries. It was evident that most of the teachers who took part in the survey had experienced some form of participation in many of the decision-making areas. But this does not necessarily mean that there is sharing of power and wide distribution of teacher involvement because most of the teachers have expressed their wishes for more involvement in the decision-making processes of their schools than is currently the case.

The data suggested that participation was related to the position of the teachers in the status hierarchy of the school. heads of departments were more involved than teachers

although their greatest involvement tended to be departmental rather than school-related. Participation also varied between the private and the state schools with the former offering teachers more opportunities to participate. The most striking observation was the fact that the current participation patterns and wishes for more participation in the future was not equally distributed among teachers. Responses ranged from too little, through just enough, to a much greater desire for involvement. Therefore, the notions of decisional deprivation, decisional equilibrium and decisional saturation, as elaborated by Alutto and Belasco (1972), are as relevant to South African schools as to schools elsewhere. Decisional saturation was experienced in resolving pupil problems and fund-raising. Decisional equilibrium was experienced in communications with parents and resolving problems among colleagues. Decisional deprivation was evident in staff development and allocation of teachers to their classes and to the subjects. However, the greatest decisional deprivation was reported in the design and evaluation of the curriculum where teachers expressed very high wishes of involvement but were only nominally involved.

An analysis of the specific domains of participation among these teachers has depicted a pattern similar to the one suggested by Bailyn (1985), that decisions vary according to several different decision domains, for example, strategic versus operational decisions. In this context, strategic decisions were regarded as those relating to such issues as the formulation of organisational goals and problem-solving. Operational decisions were regarded as those relating to day-to-day issues such as resolving problems among pupils. The general inclination of teacher involvement in this sample seemed to be towards operational day-to-day issues while decisional deprivation was apparent in strategic decisions. This suggests that power is still in the hands of the principals as regards important decisions in the schools. They make the final decisions and take the consequent action. The principal has the ultimate authority. As a result, the authority which teachers exercise is not autonomous but delegated and, using the

distinction made by Bacharach and Lawler (1980), is essentially *influence* rather than *authority*.

It follows from the above that patterns of participation conform to the structures established by the principal or as recommended by DET. The disadvantage of this approach would seem to be that principals might not necessarily know all the decision areas in which teachers wish to be involved or to which they have competencies and knowledge which they can bring to bear.

CONCLUSION

The results of this study have important implications for teachers, principals and educational planners and policy-makers. There appears to be a wish for more teacher involvement in decision-making among all respondents. On the other hand, there appears to be little desire on the part of teachers for a more radical collective form of school governance - though it has to be recognised that this may be a function of the mind set induced by the questionnaire used. If the results were found to be the same on the basis of a representative sample of all South African teachers, it could be assumed that the majority of the teachers are in favour of more involvement in decision-making. But equally important is the fact that not all the teachers would like to participate in all decision areas. Therefore, if participation by teachers is to be widely accepted and adopted, it needs to be looked into more deeply.

This study suggests the move beyond policies aimed at achieving across-the-board increases in teacher participation. Bacharach et al (1990) have warned that, although calls for across-the-board increases in teacher participation in decision-making may be well-intended and politically popular, it is important that specific decision domains in which teachers might become involved are strategically identified, otherwise few of the efforts to increase participation will have the desired

effect. It has to be accepted that planning and consultation are essential. At the same time, it should be recognised that participative decision-making involves some degree of dialogue, disagreement, uncertainty, risk and even conflict between different points of view by teachers.

In the same vein, it has to be recognised that inviting wider teacher participation does not necessarily bring about positive results. A collection of individuals working together is not necessarily a team. It has also to be remembered that there are differences among teachers themselves. Some view participation narrowly, as only encompassing activities relating specifically to their classroom teaching. Others adopt a wider view which encompasses many aspects of schooling that relate to learning, teaching, maintaining discipline, establishing a supportive climate, motivating colleagues, building communication networks and allocating resources. Therefore, the culture of collaborative professionality is not homogeneous and teachers have different interests which may be in conflict and constitute the stuff of micro politics (Hoyle, 1986).

It is this which suggests that the whole question of participatory decision-making has to be approached with great circumspection. Issues concerning collective decision-making are complex, different and emphases can lead to quite different conclusions (Huckman, 1992). The creation of a decision-making structure which is both conducive to the efficient running of the school and meets the teacher's desire for participation is therefore a complex task.

The issues facing South Africa in relation to teacher participation in decision-making are those which are being confronted in many other countries but the situation is made more complex because of the recent history of political mobilisation in many schools. A tentative set of propositions derived from this and other existing studies is as follows:

- Schools appear to be more effective where teachers are involved in decision-making.

- As the present study has confirmed, teachers vary according to their desire for involvement and to the areas of desired involvement.

- It is the task of the principal to achieve optimum balance of teacher participation.

- This balance must take account of the autonomy of the teacher and its motivating effects.

- The encouragement of teacher participation should be genuine and should avoid 'contrived collegiality'.

- Participation in policy-making should be a key component of management and staff development.

- Principals need to acquire the appropriate skills and teachers also need to acquire the knowledge and skills which will make their participation effective.

- Management development programmes need to utilise data on teachers' desire for participation.

- Effective teacher participation needs to be a matter of national policy which, again, must take account of research data on the current situation.

The study reported above has been necessarily limited in terms of its methodology. It should be regarded as a pilot for a more extensive study of teacher attitudes which would then form the basis for policy-making and professional development.

For such large-scale research to be successful, the co-operation of the teachers and the Department will be necessary and the latter might be expected to carry the cost. Ideally, the project should be undertaken by independent researchers acceptable to the Department, representatives of the principals' councils, and representatives of the teachers' associations.

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Integrating the Schools: A View from the Classroom

Sivan Pather and David Johnson

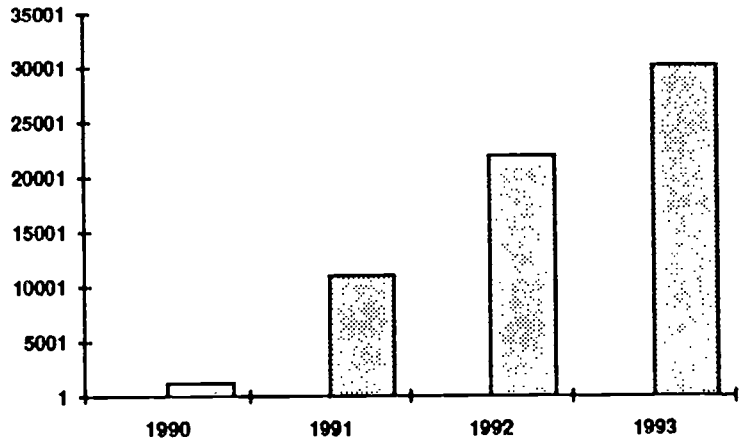
INTRODUCTION

There has been considerable public debate about the issue of 'open schools' in South Africa. Since 1990 when the then Minister of Education, Piet Clase, announced the opening of white schools to all South Africans several observers (Carrim and Sayed 1991; Christie 1991) questioned the extent to which such an 'open' admissions policy would address the severe imbalances in 'Black' education. However, the debate on open schools has been limited to the opening of white schools and broad policy questions such as access, quality and efficiency. This chapter recognises that there is a need for more qualitative studies to establish what effect educational policies like the open admissions policy has on pupils and teachers from different backgrounds and indeed on the learning and teaching process. It reports on a study which examined how the open admissions policy was operationlised in a number of 'Indian' schools which accepted 'African' pupils since 1990.

Background

From about 1990, there has been a dramatic increase in the intake of 'African' pupils to House of Delegates' (HOD) schools. In 1990, 1259 'African' students were enrolled in 'Indian' only schools. In 1991 however, the enrolment of 'African' students increased to 11 028, almost ten times greater than in 1990. In 1992 there was a further increase in student enrolment. There were 21 940 'African' students enrolled in 'Indian' schools, virtually double the 1991 enrolment figure. The upward trend in enrolment had been maintained in 1993 and the figure stood at 30 177. This enrolment trend is indicated in Figure 1 below.

Figure 1: Enrolment of 'African' pupils in HOD schools throughout the country



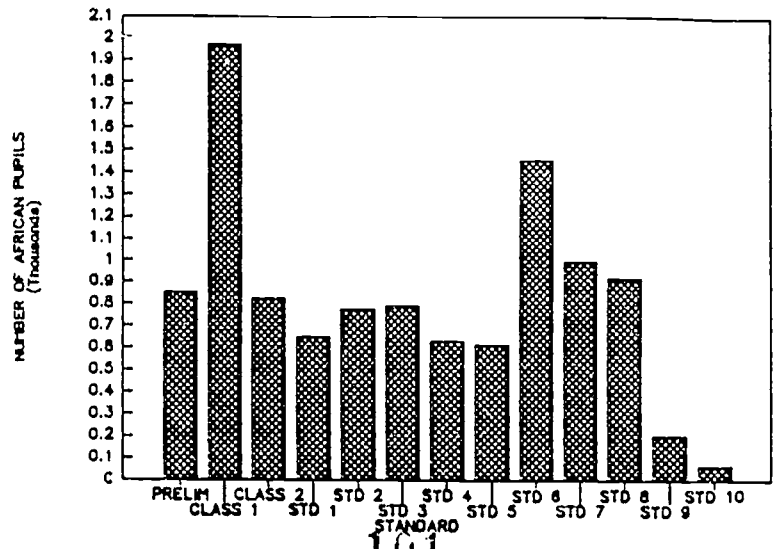
In addition to the enrolment of 'African' pupils, 'Coloured' and White students also sought entry into 'Indian' Schools. Table 1, below, shows that enrolment of Coloureds and Whites have also increased significantly since 1990. With the anticipated single education department in South Africa, these trends are expected to continue.

Table 1: Enrolment figures - 1990 to 1993

Year	Indians	Coloureds	Africans	Whites	Total
1990	243 981	4 463	1 259	10	249 713
1991	244 327	4 984	11 028	31	260 370
1992	244 654	5 526	21 940	42	272 162
1993	245 539	6 349	30 177	126	282 191

An analysis of the enrolment figures reveals that the greatest enrolments take place at the two important school entry levels: class 1 in the primary school years and standard 6 in the secondary school years. Except for the senior classes (standards 9 and 10), the enrolments in the other standards are between 6 000 and 10 000. These enrolment trends are presented in figure 2 below.

Figure 2: 1991 National HOD 'African' enrolment per standard



The study

Sampling procedures

Eighty-six percent (274/317) of primary and 92% (135/147) of secondary schools of the House of Delegates enrolled 'African' pupils in 1991. The research limited its focus to secondary schools. For a qualitative study, 135 schools were considered too large a number. Thus the population was reduced to take into account only those secondary schools that had more than fifty 'African' pupils in 1991. Twenty-nine HOD secondary schools throughout the country satisfied this requirement. This number was still considered to be too high. Eventually four schools in the Chatsworth/Pinetown area were selected mainly because of their accessibility.

The research context

Enrolment patterns

The enrolment pattern from 1990 to 1993 for each of the four schools in the study is indicated in Figure 3 below. It is interesting to note that in 1991 the intake of 'African' students at these four schools was greater than the HOD composite. However, the rate of enrolment between 1991 and 1993 was lower than the national enrolment figures for HOD schools (see Figure 1). In fact, in two schools (B and D), there had been, after dramatic intakes in 1991, a steady decline in the 'African' enrolment.

Figure 3: Enrolment patterns of 'African' pupils at the four sample schools

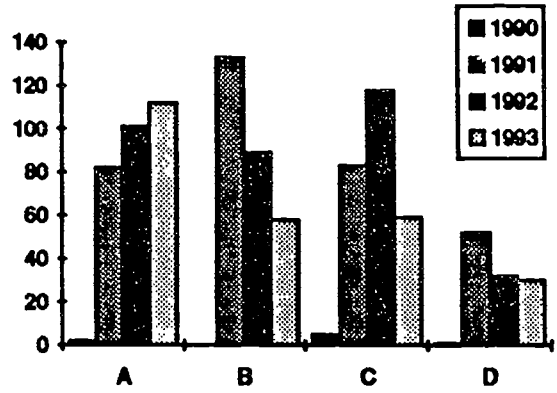


Figure 4: Ratio of 'Indian' to 'African' enrolment in the sample schools

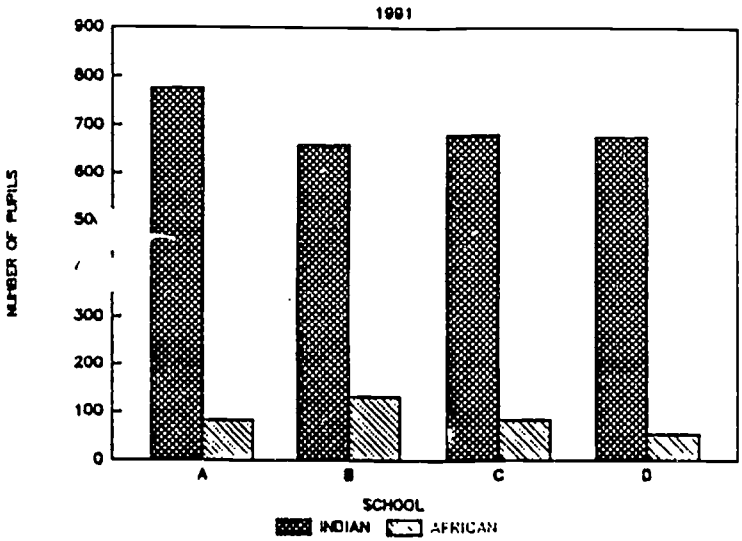
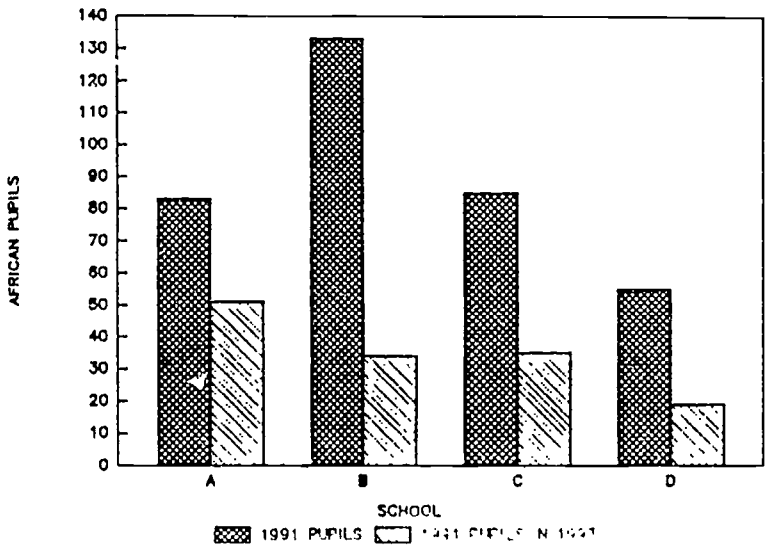


Figure 4 above indicates the ratio of Indian to 'African' enrolments in the four schools in 1991. The percentage of 'African' enrolment ranged from 8% to 17%, with an average of 11% (356/3 147) while the HOD national average was 4% (11 028/255 355), indicating that the four schools had a greater than average 'African' enrolment.

Drop-out patterns

The dropout rate of 'African' pupils over a two year period between March 1991 and March 1993 was very high. For the four schools combined, there was a 61% (217/356) dropout rate (see figure 5 below). Even then, this does not take into account those who may have failed and then dropped out or indeed those (139) who have remained in school but may have repeated a class.

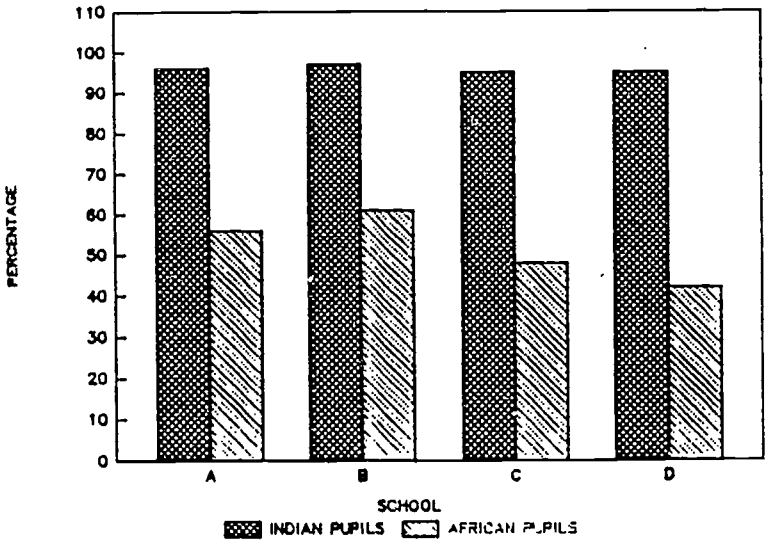
Figure 5: Dropouts in the four schools over the two-year period



Levels of achievement

The pass rates of the 'Indian'/'African' pupils in 1991 is represented in Figure 6 below. The average pass rate for 'Indian' pupils was 96%, while that of the 'African' pupils was 54%. The high discrepancy in the performance of the 'Indian' and 'African' pupils is quite obvious, but the reasons for this have yet to be explored.

Figure 6: 'Indian'/'African' pass rates at the four schools



Analysis of the experience of the pupils

The study sets out to elicit the views of 'African' and 'Indian' pupils to integrated schooling. Drawing on the theories of intergroup attitudes (see Foster and Nel 1991 for a comprehensive review) the study explored the attitudes of 'Indian' pupils towards 'African' pupils and those of 'African' pupils towards 'Indian' pupils. The study also explored the

attitudes of both groups of pupils to the teaching and learning process.

The initial admission period

The attitudes of both 'Indian' and 'African' pupils towards integrated schooling were explored as soon as they arrived in school at the beginning of the year. Table 2 below shows that most of the pupils felt 'a little uncomfortable' at the beginning of the year. A smaller number of both groups of pupils felt very uneasy with the prospect of integrated schooling.

Table 2: Attitudes to integrated schooling during the initial admission period

	Africans %	Indians %
comfortable	37	13
a little uncomfortable	51	70
very uncomfortable	11	18

Given the realities of South Africa at the time, such wariness of pupils towards each other was to be expected. The extent to which groups that have been kept apart historically were uncomfortable about being within such close proximity of each other is however little explored in the literature. There has been some research on black attitudes towards whites and other groups and such studies show that the preferred degree of social distance for 'Africans' towards 'Indians' and for 'Indians' towards 'Africans' has in the past been wide (Crijns 1959 [cited in Foster & Nel 1991]; Van den Berge 1962; Edelstein 1972). One would have hoped that the many years of united struggle against injustices would have forged a closer sense of social unity amongst groups.

Of the 'African' pupils (37%) who were at ease about integrated schooling , many attributed this to the fact that they 'had some friends from primary school' or that the teachers were 'kind and strict'. Of those who felt a little uncomfortable (51%) they suggested 'communication difficulties' as the main reason. Some said that they were wary of a 'different race', but most attributed their anxieties to 'a new school' or the expectations that subjects would be 'very difficult'. For the minority of pupils who felt very uncomfortable, they attributed this to a 'new experience' and the possibility of 'misunderstandings'.

The 'Indian' pupils who felt at ease with integrated schooling (13%) expressed a strong sense of political awareness. They suggested that integration was long overdue. Of those (70%) who were a little uneasy at the prospect of integrated schooling, many attributed their attitude to the fact that it was 'the first time' and that they did not know what to expect. Of those who were very uncomfortable at the prospect of integrated schooling (18%) said that they were unsure of how 'mixed schooling would work'.

Adjusting to the integrated situation

When pupils had had a chance to settle into the new situation, their views were sought on how long it took them to adapt to an integrated teaching and learning situation (see Table 3 below).

It is interesting to note that the majority of both 'African' and 'Indian' pupils perceived that they adapted to an integrated class in a relatively short space of time. For the 'African' pupils who did not adapt easily (12%) they suggested that they were 'afraid to speak English' . Some found it 'difficult to associate'. For the 'Indian' pupils, however, despite the earlier fears and anxieties of many, the reasons offered by those who did not adapt easily (34%) were to do with their perceptions of the teaching and learning process.

Table 3: Time taken by the pupils to become accustomed to a mixed class

	Africans %	Indians %
Within a few months	88	66
About three months	7	18
Longer than three months	5	16

The teaching and learning process

Both 'African' and 'Indian' pupils shared a wide range of experiences of the teaching and learning process. Only a small number, 22% (18/81), of the 'African' pupils said that they had a problem with the teaching and learning process. The main reasons expressed included that they were afraid to give answers in the classroom. Some felt uneasy about communicating generally in the classroom. Other reasons included that `teachers spoke too fast' or that it was `strange to be taught in a language you do not understand'.

On the other hand, the majority of 'Indian' pupils, 72% (69/96), felt that there was a problem in being taught in the same class. The main reason given was that teachers gave them less attention, or more seriously, they felt that 'the standard of teaching was lowered'. Many said that the teaching was at a 'slowe pace' and 'we were held back'.

Eighty-eight percent (71/81) of the 'African' pupils were able to adapt to the teaching within a month. For those pupils who took longer than three months to adapt to the new teaching and learning environment (12% (10/81), their reasons often included that they were not accustomed to project work. Others listed 'communication' as a factor, while some students felt that it was difficult to stop the teacher and ask questions; other reasons included 'some teachers don't talk clearly'; and 'some

teachers give written questions without explaining what they mean'.

Pupils' perceptions of the major benefits of integrated schooling

Fifty-one percent (41/81) of the 'African' pupils felt that they benefited most from the language environment. They said that their English and general communication skills had improved. Thirty percent of the pupils referred to 'better education' and new subjects and 35% listed good facilities.

For the 'Indian' pupils, 26% (25/96) listed the multi-cultural experience and improved racial understanding as major benefits. Nineteen percent indicated that sports and extra-curricular activities were enhanced by integration. Nine percent reflected that they enjoyed and had a 'better understanding of lessons'. However, 24% (23/96) indicated that there were no benefits from the admission of 'African' pupils.

CONCLUSIONS

The study attempted to confront the realities of integrated schooling in South Africa from the pupils' point of view. There are obvious limitations in studies of a qualitative nature which rely only on accounts of informants. This study, for example, would have been enriched by triangulating the accounts of pupils with those of teachers and perhaps the senior management team (the original dissertation achieves this, to some extent). It is also not possible to generalise widely from the study. Nevertheless, the results are interesting.

The study shows that pupils in an integrated school context need some time to adjust to the new situation. This is not unusual. It is, however, interesting to note that, for the students in this study, the majority adapted within a reasonably short space of time.

What is perhaps more pertinent to the discussion is the extent to which pupils adapted to the teaching and learning process. This appeared to have been more difficult. However, one of the limitations of the study is that it does not explore the teaching and learning context in more depth in order to raise the question whether new learners need to adapt to learning and teaching in an 'old' context or whether learning and teaching itself needs to adapt itself to a new context. It is clear that schools in South Africa will have to re-examine the nature of the curriculum and ways in which it is delivered.

The study showed that bringing pupils from different backgrounds into a system of education, which was previously exclusive, created an interesting diversity. But it may have brought with it a multitude of difficulties and challenges for all participants in the school environment. Indeed, the increasing movement towards non-social schooling will have profound implications for school administration, teaching and learning, and schools will have to prepare to face these challenges.

The process of dismantling a racially fragmented system of education will be a long and difficult process. The view from the classroom is that the process of integration requires more than a policy. It requires sensitivity to the educational needs of an emerging nation; the reorientation of staff to the curriculum and pedagogy; the sensitivity of the senior management team and students' mutual support of each other.

NOTE

The authors are aware that the use of 'Apartheid' labels such as 'African', 'Indian', 'Coloured' and 'White' may be discomforting in a context of national unity. We are, however, of the view that it will take many years to abolish the legacy of Apartheid. In the process of doing this, we need to confront existing realities in sensitive yet open ways.

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Management Development Support for Head Teachers of Secondary Schools in South Africa

Phuti Tsukudu and Peter Taylor

INTRODUCTION

For the purpose of this paper, 'management development support' is taken to include all those activities which are formally organised in order to help headteachers acquire the necessary knowledge, skills, and attitudes in order to manage their schools more effectively. Hence, it includes courses, conferences, workshops, and study groups held away from the school and which are often seen as providing off-site support, as well as the introduction of appraisal schemes, job rotation, on the job training, and mentoring schemes, which might more appropriately be seen as providing on site support. The paper is primarily concerned with support for headteachers of what are currently secondary schools for black pupils, but excluding schools in the so called independent and semi-independent homelands, although much of what it contains can be applied to headteachers of these schools and schools for the other racial groupings. As the new South Africa develops, however, it is to

be hoped that these racial distinctions will disappear, although this may take some years to happen. Although primarily concerned with headteachers, the paper will also make brief references to support for other senior staff, eg deputy headteachers, primarily because there is increasing evidence to suggest that there are occasions when it is more beneficial to provide support for management teams from institutions, rather than individual managers.

In a growing number of countries, both developed and developing, the need for more effective management of schools is becoming of increasing importance. Good management is regarded as essential if resources, both human and material, are to be used to maximum benefit, if the curriculum is to be delivered effectively, if schools are to make a valuable contribution to the economic and social well-being of societies, and if the localities which schools serve are to be involved in helping them achieve their aims and objectives. It follows, therfore, that headteachers have a crucial part to play in ensuring that schools are managed as well as possible, and that they themselves need to become competent managers. Indeed, the important part that headteachers play in producing effective schools and in contributing to school improvement has increasingly been demonstrated by research and other studies (SMTF 1991, Leithwood and Montgomery 1986) which show quite conclusively that good schools are dependent upon having competent headteachers.

In many instances, however, headteachers come to headship without having been prepared, either through support programmes or through their teaching experience, for their new role and the increasingly complex tasks associated with it. Some, including some in South Africa, are also appointed through some very questionable selection procedures. As a result, they often have to rely exclusively on what Bush (1990) calls, experience and common sense, or what others call, trial and error, in approaching and tempting to resolve managerial problems or issues. As Handy et al (1988) point out, however, such are the demands being made upon managers now,

including headteachers of schools, that acquiring management expertise can no longer be left to common sense and character alone, management development support is needed.

The challenge facing head teachers in South Africa

The extent of the challenge facing head teachers and staff of schools for black pupils in South Africa and, indeed, South African society as a whole, is daunting when examined against a background of years of apartheid. For example, a recent race relations survey (South African Institute of Race Relations 1992/93) highlights the discrepancy which has existed for years between government expenditure on education for white pupils and on that for black pupils. In 1991/92, for example, the expenditure per white pupil was R4 448 and for a black pupil R1 248, and this in a year when the government was already taking steps to close the gap. Years of such differences have generally resulted in black schools being poorly resourced, under equipped, having large classes, and inadequately paid teachers, yet these schools generally have far more pupils per class than secondary schools for the other racial groups. To this Hartshorne (1992) adds that many thousands of black pupils are now angry and frustrated by the slowness of change, they have lost respect for many of their teachers and other authority figures including political leaders, and having tasted power over their head teachers and teachers, they have become arrogant in their speech and actions. This in turn has led teachers to become demoralised, dispirited, and suffering from 'burn-out'. Their authority in schools has been eroded and they feel disempowered. The National Education Conference Report (NEC 1992) came to a similar conclusion when it noted that school life in many black schools is bedevilled by irregular attendance, a general disregard for punctuality, anti-social behaviour including crime, violence, and vandalism, lack of lesson preparation on the part of teachers, and an absence of parental and community participation in the running of schools. The Commonwealth Secretariat Report (1991) also painted an equally dismal picture when it highlighted the very high matriculation failure rates amongst black pupils when

compared with white pupils, resulting in only 8% of black pupils gaining university entrance qualifications compared with 87% of white pupils. It also estimated that 1.7 million black pupils have dropped out of schools in the past decade (this may well be a very conservative estimate) and that many schools are poorly managed resulting in inefficiency, poor academic results, and even corruption. One result of developments such as these is that there is an increasing reluctance to learn and a feeling that education has no value. Regular learning habits have broken down, and many a time no learning takes place in schools at all.

To this somewhat depressing scene needs to be added the fact that many head teachers of black schools do not enjoy credibility amongst their pupils, their staff, their fellow heads, and parents, because they are seen as representatives of a system which many despise. This is because they are thought to have been appointed for political rather than professional reasons, and that their task has been to help maintain the status quo between the racial groups rather than to question and disturb it. Head teachers, even if they had wanted to, have also had few opportunities to manage and lead their schools as they might wish, as they have primarily been required to carry out instructions from the centre and to manage their institutions along autocratic and bureaucratic lines. They have, therefore, often found themselves caught between the intransigence of the DET and the demands of the community, resulting in conflict of role. Because of this situation, here has also been a lack of what might be termed a 'management culture' amongst head teachers, ie they have seen themselves more as implementors of official decisions, rather than managers with freedom to manage as they think fit.

The picture described here, although not applicable to all of South Africa, depicts a difficult environment which will not change overnight. Furthermore, existing inequalities will not disappear quickly, thus there is every likelihood that many of the black population will continue to be resentful for some years to come. Nevertheless, positive changes will come, and

schools will be required to play an important part in this. In playing their part though, schools will need to change, and this will require competent head teachers who in turn will need help, including management support in order to assist them in acquiring expertise to cope with the changes to come. As the National Education Conference Report (1992) says 'school principals must be trained in democratic leadership and efficient school management', a view echoed by Professor Schlemmer in the Transvaal Education News (1992) who argued for the need to change schools, especially black schools of failure, into factories of success, through the development of effective school leadership. To these comments, we would add that head teachers will also need to try and introduce strategies to restore a positive learning environment to their schools, to restore authority and discipline, to work with parent teacher associations in order to create conditions of stability and to make schools a safe place for teachers and pupils, to develop a professional culture of learning, and to encourage parental participation in the education of their children.

Existing management development support for head teachers

Like many other countries, South Africa currently lacks a coherent, explicit policy for the in-service education of teachers. As a result, no systematic, coherent management support programme for head teachers exists. Indeed, according to the Teacher Opportunity Programme Report (1992), in South Africa, there is no literature specialising in the problems school leaders face in black schools, no professional organisation for black school leaders, few opportunities for the discussion of ideas between heads, and few opportunities for training both before and after taking up a headship post. There are, however, some signs that the need for management support for heads and other senior staff of schools is being recognised in that more universities are beginning to introduce off-site management programmes leading to diplomas or degrees, and a few non-

government organisations (NGOs) run shorter programmes, as does the DET. This provision is inaccessible to many head teachers, however, hence the vast majority are untouched by it. It also tends to be targeted at individual head teachers rather than management teams and often does not focus sharply enough upon an individual's management context. It is therefore open to some of the criticism levelled at external courses by writers such as Fullan (1986, 1992) who argue that this sort of INSET provision, unless carefully planned, is often ineffective in teaching new skills and changing practices. Clearly much more needs to be done, including the introduction of a systematic, co-ordinated, carefully targeted approach which will reach many more head teachers and hopefully contribute to improved managerial practices. But in order for this to happen, what are some of the major issues and questions that need to be considered?

Lessons from management development support initiatives taken in other countries

In attempting to identify some of these issues and questions, it is worth drawing upon initiatives taken from the 1970s onwards in Sweden, Norway, England and Wales, Kenya, Tanzania, and Malaysia, where attempts have been made (not always successfully!) to introduce more systematic and better planned approaches. In doing so, however, we need to remember that what works in one country may not work in another. Arising from these initiatives, one of the first questions that will need considering is how a national approach might be organised. Should it be centrally organised and delivered through a national centre as in Malaysia and Tanzania and as was originally the case in Kenya, or should it be regionally organised and delivered. Not surprisingly, there are arguments for and against both approaches. For example, the creation of a national centre can have the advantage of drawing together a team of trainers whose sole responsibility is the provision of management support, and who are able to devote time and energy to it, so that in addition to providing programmes, they

can prepare materials, evaluate the outcomes of what is provided, and undertake research into the most effective ways of providing support. A national centre might also be able to exert greater influence upon a ministry of education in order to acquire sufficient resources to do a worthwhile job, its mere existence may help to give management support status and prestige which it might not otherwise achieve, it can act as a channel through which to develop international links, and its presence can help to achieve a better planned, more systematic approach. As Dadey and Harber (1991) point out, however, a central approach often means that many head teachers only receive training once in a decade or never at all, follow up can be difficult, and local and regional needs can be overlooked. A regional approach, on the other hand, can help overcome these shortcomings, provided it is resourced sufficiently well, and provided the lead trainers are able to devote themselves full-time to the task, a situation not always possible in some of the countries surveyed. It can, however, also result in inequalities of provision between regions, regions working in isolation, a lack of co-ordination, and training expertise being spread thinly throughout a country. An alternative to these two separate approaches would be something like the approaches adopted, in Sweden, Norway, and England and Wales, where support was largely delivered locally and hence theoretically was able to take account of local needs and provide follow up, but was overseen by small central teams who periodically provided training for the trainers, brought regional teams together to review national developments and to highlight promising approaches, and provided advice and guidance to regional teams when asked for. These central bodies were also able to advise ministries of education on policy issues relating to support for head teachers.

Another question that needs consideration relates to what type of support should be provided, and what should it focus upon. What changes and/or additions to existing provision are likely to be beneficial? As has already been pointed out, much of the present provision in South Africa, takes the form of individual head teachers attending external courses and conferences, an

approach whose limitations have already been noted. Because of these limitations and because, as Buckley (1985) points out, there needs to be other approaches as well, alternatives have been introduced elsewhere during recent years, including using head teacher mentors to support newly appointed head teachers and others requiring help and support, more small group and task orientated components, linking more of the support to developmental work in schools, introducing head teacher appraisal schemes in order to help identify individual needs more precisely, and distance teaching programmes. Experience from other countries, eg England and Wales and Sweden, also suggests that in planning support programmes for head teachers an organisational development approach (which includes individual development) should be the longer term goal and that this is more likely to be effective by:

a) attempting to link the support more closely to the problems, challenges, and opportunities that head teachers face in normal working conditions and which contribute to the development of their schools;

b) designing programmes so as they follow a 'sandwich approach', ie allowing participants to work on topics or themes which can be taken up as projects within their schools during home periods with support from trainers;

c) making sure that sufficient time is allocated to programmes, for evidence suggests that those lasting one or two days are not effective in bringing about changes in behaviour of head teachers or their schools;

d) encouraging where relevant, senior management teams from schools to attend programmes together in order to ensure that there is a greater impact upon practice at the workplace.

It is difficult to be precise about the content of the support programmes which should be provided, for this ought to be influenced very much by such factors as the needs of individual

head teachers, their schools, education systems, length of service and existing expertise of head teachers, and previous training. An analysis of the content of programmes elsewhere however, suggests that the following topics feature in most of them; organisational development, styles of leadership, managing change, managing the curriculum, team building, staff development, developing communication skills, managing finance, working with the local community, conflict resolution, marketing a school, evaluating the work of a school, but relating these where possible to heads' own situations. It should be recognised, however, that there are incidents occurring in schools which are not covered by these topics or by the management literature, but they require management expertise to deal with them. An early task, therefore, could be a needs analysis to help identify head teacher needs as closely as possible.

A proposed expansion in management support for head teachers in South Africa raises a question about where those who are to lead and contribute to such programmes might come from, and are there enough competent trainers around at the present time? In those countries mentioned earlier, trainers came from a variety of sources, including county and regional inspectorates, universities, ministries of education, industry and commerce and from those holding headships. In some cases, the majority came from the latter - indeed as Buckley (op cit) points out, there is a strong body of opinion that maintains that head teachers have an important part to play in the training of their colleagues because they should have a good understanding of what it is like to be a head teacher and the challenges and problems facing those managing schools. Taylor (1986), by drawing upon experience in Scandinavia, also suggests that head teachers who have a proven 'track record' in running schools are highly respected by other head teachers who find them acceptable trainers. As Rodwell and Hurst (1986) point out though, in the case of developing countries, there is a likelihood of opposition to head teachers and inspectors as trainers as they might be perceived as being representatives of employers and as having an assessment role.

Identifying suitable people as trainers though, raises questions about what criteria should be used in selecting them, as they need to have the confidence and expertise to undertake what can be a very demanding task. They will also probably need training, but what sort of training, how frequent should it be, who should be responsible for organising it? In those countries where it has been provided, it has tended to be of the off-site kind focusing upon team building, teaching approaches, planning programmes, evaluation, and in-school support strategies, with learning on the job, sometimes involving inexperienced trainers working with the more experienced.

Linked to what has been said earlier in this section is whether participation in management support programmes for head teachers should be compulsory or not? In Sweden, the national programme was compulsory, but the government provided the necessary funding to ensure adequate resourcing and to cover the release of the school leaders from their schools. In terms of trying to get schools to change and ensuring that all head teachers receive support, there might be benefits in this approach, provided it can be introduced so as to lessen the likelihood of it being seen as an imposition. In Norway however, the programme was optional and was based upon the agreement of staff ***and*** head teacher. Schools were allowed to opt in or out after an explanation of the aims and objectives of the programme to all staff at the preparatory stage. If staff voted not to participate, then the school took no part in the programme. If they voted to 'opt in', then it was taken to mean that the staff and head saw benefits to the school resulting from the head's participation in the programme, and hence there was a greater chance of school improvement resulting from it. In other countries, participation is often said to be optional, but indirect coercion is sometimes applied! There are clearly advantages and disadvantages to both options with the arguments being finely balanced. As far as South Africa is concerned, any ***final*** decision should probably be best left until a future educational strategy has been agreed.

Towards a strategy for South Africa

Earlier parts of this paper have identified the link between good schools and competent school management, and arising from this, the need to provide management development support for head teachers. It would be naive to imagine or expect though, that the problems and challenges facing schools for black pupils will be solved by just providing a coherent, well planned support programme, for political intervention will be needed as well. Given a positive climate in which to work, however, such a development could make an important contribution to school improvement, although this will take time and quick results should not be expected. In attempting to provide support though, policy makers, as has happened in other countries, will, amongst other things, need to give serious attention to questions such as the following; how might the selection of head teachers be improved, what should be the purposes of support programmes, who should they be aimed at, how might a national approach be organised, who will plan and lead the programmes, what teaching materials might be used. The remainder of this paper briefly discusses each of these, and puts forward suggestions for policy makers to consider.

As was pointed out earlier, the methods used hitherto to select head teachers has sometimes resulted in the appointment of individuals who have lacked the necessary experience, expertise, and support of the local community to undertake their duties effectively. This shortcoming in selection procedures is by no means limited to South Africa, but given that incompetent head teachers are not always easy to remove and given the increasing demands that are likely to be made upon head teachers in a new South Africa, this situation cannot be allowed to continue. Urgent consideration needs to be given to improving selection procedures so that the best people for the job can be appointed. Arising from this, there will be a need for those responsible for making appointments to have a clear view of the tasks which a head teacher of a school for black pupils will be expected to undertake, and the qualities that should be looked for in appointing individuals who are likely to

be able to undertake these tasks. Consideration should also be given to appointing more women to headships, as at present they are seriously under-represented at this level, and to whether there is any possibility of identifying potential head teachers at say the deputy head teacher stage, and providing them with a series of on site and off site experiences and training which would help prepare them for headship.

The purpose of support should be to help develop and improve the individual and team performance of those charged with managing schools, in the hope that this in turn will contribute to improving the quality of pupil learning. In South Africa in the foreseeable future, it would seem therefore that it should aim to help and encourage head teachers to periodically reflect upon their management style, adopt a team approach to management where applicable, help and encourage them to develop a staff appraisal and development policy, help improve their communication, motivation, and negotiation skills, help them develop problem solving skills, introduce them to stress management, help them acquire expertise in managing change, help them develop personally and professionally, and provide an induction programme including a mentoring component, for newly appointed head teachers. As mentioned earlier in the paper though, there will be occasions when it will be beneficial to involve senior management teams in support activities rather than head teachers alone, particularly as the demands upon head teachers grow. An advantage of this, as Sergiovani (Ribbans et al 1991) points out, is that the greater the density of leadership, the more likely it is for schools to become successful.

The introduction of a national initiative will need to be managed, but how? Should it be organised and delivered by a central body, or by regional bodies, or is there a need for both central and regional participation? Given the arguments advanced earlier in this paper for and against each approach, and given that South Africa is a large country in which needs are likely to differ to some extent between regions, it seems that a combination of central and regional participation would be

beneficial, and that the lines of demarcation could be as follows. A central institution such as that in Kenya, Tanzania, or Malaysia *or* a unit within the INSET department of the Ministry of Education, or some other type of central body could be set up to be responsible for advising central government on policy, and resource issues, having oversight of the implementation of that policy, helping to identify individuals with training expertise to work at regional level, developing and disseminating training materials to regional teams, training trainers, ensuring adequate provision across regions, bringing regional teams together to share ideas and information and to identify promising approaches, to undertake research and evaluation, and to develop international links so that South Africa can learn from other countries who have been involved in support and training of heads for some years. The central body, however, would not normally be involved in the provision of support programmes, this being left to the regions.

It is to be hoped that given the growing importance of in-service education and training of teachers, in the new South Africa this will be organised on a regional basis. If this is the case, then management development support for head teachers at regional level could be managed by these bodies. To do this effectively, however, individuals will need to be appointed with specific responsibility for it. The duties of such people could include: to help implement national policies, to identify individual, regional, and national needs, to organise on site and off site activities to help meet these needs, to help arrange support for head teachers and other senior staff in order to aid transfer of learning to schools, to identify potential trainers, to help in the induction of new trainers, and to contribute to the evaluation of programmes. In undertaking these duties, they should draw upon expertise available in universities, colleges, and other organisations, and these organisations should be encouraged to continue and develop their own management provision.

As was pointed out earlier, any significant expansion in management support is likely to result in a need for more

people who have the confidence and expertise to lead and contribute to such programmes. This is likely to be no easy task, however, for ideally they need to be familiar with different approaches to training, to be aware of developments in schools and the major tasks facing head teachers, to be aware of what it is like to be a head teacher, and if possible, to be able to relate theory to practice. Individuals with the necessary knowledge and skills are likely to be thin on the ground and will not come from any one source. The sources from which they come, however, should not be allowed to become a major obstacle, for the main task will be to get trainers who can make a positive contribution irrespective of where they come from. They could include trainers from industry and commerce where management training for senior staff has been in operation for some years, and despite the reservations about using head teachers which was noted earlier, from head teachers. The latter, provided they are chosen with care, should already have some of the qualities outlined above, and with training can be helped to acquire the others. Such a move would also be in line with the increasing trend in some countries to involve teachers more as trainers in INSET, not least because they have first hand experience on which to draw and are often seen as credible by those participating in INSET activities.

Management development support for head teachers and other senior staff of schools is quite recent in many countries. Support for managers in industry and commerce, however, generally has a much longer history, and given that there are many similarities (as well as differences!) in the tasks performed by managers in education and industry and commerce, eg managing staff and managing finance, it is instructive to examine how, in terms of methodology, support and training for managers in industry and commerce has developed in order to identify any lessons that can be gained from it. It appears to have started with an informal, unstructured approach, with managers being largely thrown in at the deep end with limited preparation and expected to get on with it. When the limitations of this approach were highlighted, the emphasis shifted to the provision of external courses where managers

were taken away from their workplace to receive training, largely through a lecture and discussion group type of approach. This was later modified to include an attempt to integrate the content of the courses more closely to the workplace through the use of case studies, simulation exercises, and projects. More recent developments have included on-the-job training sometimes linking this to external course provision (Mumford 1995, Margerison 1994) and distance teaching. Given the positive reaction to attempts to link management support to the workplace of managers and to encourage application of learning, and given the positive reaction to similar developments in support for head teachers, it would seem to be a worthwhile approach to adopt for some purposes in South Africa. Consequently, a variety of teaching and support approaches should be encouraged, including on-the-job training, close-to-the-job training, off-the-job training, visits to other schools, job exchange, and distance teaching. When to use each approach will depend, amongst other things, upon the specific aims of a support programme, the experience and attitudes of participating members, and the willingness of participants to engage in a variety of participatory activities which some may see as threatening, and which for many will be a complete contrast to the passive approach which they have been exposed to before.

Inevitably, this paper is a very condensed and limited account of some of the main points that were focused upon in a dissertation written by the first named of the two writers. Despite its limitations, however, it is hoped that it will make a contribution to the need for a management support for head teachers of secondary schools for black pupils, and that it has raised some issues and questions for discussion by policy makers.

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Approaches to Head Teacher Training in South Africa

Cindy Mashinini and Bob Smith

Theories of training

Introduction

It has been argued that education is one of those services which depends heavily on human resources. Training programmes, therefore, represent an investment in the continuing development of the skills, attributes and experiences of the personnel. A comparative study of the literature at the international level reveals that some encouraging signs are beginning to show which promise to yield dividends. Closer scrutiny of that literature also reveals that in most countries, components of different training strategies are combined in many different ways.

Different combinations for different outcomes

Joyce and Showers (1988) revealed how different combinations of components produce different outcomes. To condense their findings, they revealed that theory based training is likely to have a low impact on the job performance of skill, knowledge and transfer of training.

The combination of theory and demonstration rates medium on both the acquisition of skills and knowledge and does not seem to have an impact on transfer of training to the real working situation.

The third combination of theory, demonstration and practice, on the other hand, leads to high acquisition of knowledge, but is low on skills and there are no gains in the transfer of training.

The fourth level is when theory, demonstration, practice and feedback are combined together. This combination leads to high knowledge acquisition, but is medium on skills acquisition and refinement. It, however, does not seem to make any impact on the transfer of the training managers' practice to their work situations.

The fifth and most effective strategy is when theory, demonstration, practice, feedback and coaching components are combined. Although this research was carried out on the training of teachers, it seems highly pertinent to the training of managers.

Training assumptions

In the field of educational management there seems to be a positive shift from a patchwork of courses offered on an ad hoc basis, into more congruent systems that ensure that managers receive knowledge and skills, but, most importantly, managers can refine those that they already have to enhance their performance. In relation to England and Wales, over the past two decades there seems to have been an evolution in the relationship between management training programmes and the institutions that provide them. The first one was what can be described as the client/provider relationship. At the moment, training programmes seem to have their focus on a partnership between institutions and their clients.

Esp (1980) made an observation more than a decade ago and it is still appropriate:

> School leadership can no longer be exercised on the basis of experience and natural ability. The school leader needs training in the skills of team leadership (1980: 42).

To encourage managers to return to study further, incentives like re-certification and salary increments have been widely used in different countries.

The question of certification brings out another fiercely contested debate. If an education system insists that all managers should have higher academic qualifications, can we then equate these academic qualifications with effectiveness?

Secondly, we should not lose sight of the fact that different institutions which offer higher qualifications, be they universities or colleges, are organisations with differing ethos. Daresh and La Plant sum up by observing that:

> University courses are excellent ways for participants to earn degrees, satisfy scholarly knowledge, or meet state certification requirements, but as long-term solutions to the need for more effective ongoing support for principal in-service, they are quite limited (quoted in Weindling et al 1988: 171).

It is, therefore, against this background that it becomes even more crucial that future policies take into cognisance the fact that all managers take up their posts and new roles on promotion, with very limited skills. Therefore, the need for the provision of training programmes that will enhance their effectiveness is even greater.

Training models

The vast number of training strategies available make it essential for planning teams to identify those that are most effective. Rodwell (1986) draws our attention to the fact that:

> Almost all training models have some comparative advantages and disadvantages and there is no such thing as *the* training method (1986: 53).

In helping programme designers in their deliberations about choosing appropriate methods, characteristics of a good training programme may be expected to include the following characteristics:

- systematic, regular, reliable
- flexible with regard to modes of delivery
- demand-led by taking into account the identified needs of managers
- cyclic and incremental.

Typical training approaches

The occasional workshop method

This method has been, and still is, favoured by most countries for different purposes. Workshops are normally utilised for two reasons; firstly they can be used to train incumbents for new roles or to produce materials and curriculum for a proposed course. Workshops are by definition short-term and, as the heading appropriately suggests, they are occasional events. Another characteristic of this method of training is that it is not usually school-based and this means that managers are often removed from the sites and summoned to a common venue. The third common characteristic is that these workshops tend to be tutor focused or tutor centred and this has serious consequences because the outcomes depend, to a large extent, on the quality of both the facilitator and the participants. The agenda is predetermined by a skilled practitioner, and is based on his or her perceptions of the needs, as well as the assumptions he or she may have of training.

Being away from the school gives managers the opportunity to reflect on their problems better, without the real pressure of being at the school itself. The second merit of this method is that being with colleagues may afford managers the opportunity to discuss issues with colleagues who have experienced the same problem. Research has shown that it is when expectations are not met that participants feel pessimistic and hence the reluctance by managers, and teachers for that matter, to participate in such courses.

Another limitation of this method is that their usual short-term duration means that no great depth can be achieved. Therefore, this strategy may be appropriate for some topics, but it is highly inappropriate for complex issues that need 'breadth and depth'.

The cascade strategy

The cascade strategy offers a departure from the conventional method of training managers using trainers employed specifically for that purpose. The training facilitators identify core managers who are successful in their own right in their schools. They are then trained to become trainers and they in turn train other managers until everyone has been trained. One of the noted advantages of this method is its cost-effectiveness.

The multiplying effect of this model is particularly appealing, where large scale innovations are introduced. However, this gain is achieved at a price and this is usually at the expense of quality. The 'each one teach one' situation, and the subsequent outcome of viewing each trainee as a potential trainer, overlooks what is at the heart of any training exercise and that is - it is not every participant who is capable of being an effective trainer and in that case how do we then assure quality for all trainees? This, in essence, means that as the information flows downwards through the hierarchical layers, it is also likely to get diluted and distorted.

The clustering method

Another model of training managers is through the cluster method. Some theorists, among them McNie, White and Wight (1991), refer to the same method as the district and school based method. The main distinguishing feature of this method lies in the location of power. Unlike other models which are centrally determined and controlled, the power in this model is devolved and firmly located within the schools' immediate proximity. Managers within a designated area provide the agenda for the training programme. This method further places the responsibility for learning on the managers themselves; as a result the cumbersome bureaucracy created by hierarchical structures can be avoided.

The cluster model has been widely used to train managers in England during the implementation of the National Curriculum. To meet the priority needs of educational managers, the local authorities are offering the targeted groups a combination of centralised courses, a menu of school/college or consortium programmes and management consultancy. The local authorities also use head teachers' mentoring schemes.

This model is likely to address issues that affect managers at that time and solutions could also be timeously found. Secondly, being part of the team that identifies needs may induce motivation from the managers. Researchers, among them Fullan (1991), indicate that the sense of ownership among participants is a prerequisite for successful training.

This model, on the other hand, has the following limitations and these are generated by two assumptions made. The first one is that it assumes that managers are able to identify their needs accurately. The second assumption it makes is that managers are motivated enough to participate fully in the identification of training needs and training. The problem then arises if these assumptions turn out to be false. If managers are not motivated and they also do not possess the skills to identify their training needs, then this method can prove ineffective. Wrong diagnosis will inadvertently result in false prescriptions.

Training managers through distance learning

Training of managers using distance education is another model that can be employed. As regards training of school managers, it is a fairly new phenomenon and some countries are still at the experimental stages. One of those countries is the UK, with two prominent but distinctly different approaches to training managers through distance learning.

The Scottish Initiative and the NDCEMP cases

The Scottish Initiative of 1988 and the National Development Centre for Educational Management and Policy (NDCEMP), based at the University of Bristol, are two such examples.

With regard to the Scottish case, the rationale behind this initiative was the evolution of job specifications of managers and, as a direct result, a need to train about 4 000 managers to equip them with skills for their new and expanded tasks. The first task of this initiative was to design training materials in the form of learning and training packages and this was done by staff from different colleges in conjunction with representatives from primary and secondary head teachers. This team was also entrusted with the task of training trainers. This initiative, it can be pointed out, had an element of the cascade model and other strategies within it, but the main one was distance learning. The decentralisation element of the initiative has meant that each region has set up its own training priorities which were identified by the participants through self-appraisal exercises.

The Scottish Initiative, so far, has proved to be a success, although attempts to evaluate the course are still underway. What can be pointed out, however, is that, so far, its characteristics are typical of distance learning initiatives and the fundamental principles of the Scottish Initiative remain the same as for conventional distance education where learners are upgrading their qualifications. The learners are responsible for their learning and the pace of that learning is determined by each individual learner.

The difference between the two case studies is that the NDCEMP initiatives and their school-based distance education learning programmes were set up after a needs analysis and, therefore, were a response to needs that were expressed by the clients. The first of those initiatives was established in 1990 after vigorous research and piloting and the result was a three module management self-development programme for secondary school staff. This was subsequently followed by a similar programme for primary staff. At the moment, the NDCEMP is running two other courses and these are Equal Opportunities in School Management and Action Research for School Managers. These four management programmes are referred to as Management Education by Distance Action Learning with Support (MEDALS) (Oldroyd 1993).

All MEDALS programmes have three characteristics and components:

- academic study - learners are introduced to theory, research findings and policy on good management practices and these are contained in their learning packages;

- action learning - as the title suggests, the learner is given the scope to distil, review and reflect on what was learnt in the previous component for self-development;

- support - this is provided through the distance learning materials, peers also being the course tutors from the centre.

As a result MEDALS programmes seek to address specific management problems by including action research. A further distinction between the two is that in the Scottish Initiative, the state remains responsible for providing and making the opportunities for training available, without expecting the learners to pay fees. On the other hand the NDC initiative depends on the ability of an individual to pay.

The modular contents of both the Scottish Initiative and MEDALS courses confront the participants with various problem situations. Learning occurs and, as a consequence, changes of attitudes are obtained manifesting themselves in the behaviour of participants.

Distance learning, as illustrated in these case studies, has the following potentials: that the learner can proceed at his or her own comfortable pace; it is by nature an independent rather than a dependant form of learning; it can reach large numbers of learners at the same time; managers are not dislodged from their work situations. As with all other models, distance learning has limitations which may prove decisive in its effectiveness.

As a result of learners working alone at their own pace and in their own environments, it is only those learners who are fully motivated who can withstand the pressures of isolation.

The second limitation emanates from the materials. Developing materials for distance learning requires a team of highly skilled personnel. The logistical organisation also has to be exceptionally good.

Materials have to reach learners in good time because any delay in providing these may derail the whole process. Another important factor is that learners need to have constant as well as timely feedback on the assignments they have submitted.

It is against this background that some theorists conclude that, although this model is cost-effective after the initial stages, it is not sufficient by itself to train managers.

Training materials

When people talk of materials, they are normally referring to both printed and non-printed media. Rodwell's (1986) description of what constitutes materials is illuminating. She

included in her list books, journals, case study materials, in-basket exercises, overhead projector transparencies and audio visual aids.

Earlier on when discussing the workshop model of training, it was pointed out that the model could be used for either of two purposes and one of those is to train participants in the development of materials.

Particularly notable in this field are the initiatives by the Commonwealth Secretariat, UNESCO and SIDA through their 'Better Schools' series of workshops in Africa. These are joint ventures by representatives from participating countries to produce materials in different modules. Each country then takes the materials back to their countries where they will be adapted, in conjunction with the targeted group, to meet local needs. These materials have to be trialled before the next workshop where each country has to give an account of their progress and the problems encountered. The same principle of consultation and participation could be employed by individual countries to produce their own training materials because this helps bridge the existing theory-practice bias that seems to be widespread in most 'expert' developed materials.

Management training for South Africa: what lessons could be learned from other countries?

The key to successful school management concerns ensuring the best use of all resources, including people, in pursuing the aims and purposes of the organisation. It is about being able to anticipate as well as respond to the pressures which arise from the increased new national requirements, increased autonomy and other factors in the environment. Above all it is about maintaining staff loyalty and commitment, while at the same time demanding and providing high standards of service to pupils and to meet the expectations of parents and the larger community.

The successful management of schools is not the sole mission of one person. It is precisely for that reason that in England and Wales emphasis has shifted from viewing the management of schools as an individual task to one for senior management teams. This, in practice, would mean that the process of decision-making in schools becomes the responsibility of the whole team.

Self-managing schools

Caldwell and Spinks (1988) referred to such schools as self-managing schools or collaborative school management. These researchers point out that self-managing schools serve the purpose perfectly for those schools that are striving to achieve autonomy. These researchers further identified three important characteristics of self-managing schools:

- the integration of goal-setting, policy-making, planning, budgeting, implementation and evaluating in a manner which contrasts with unsystematic, fragmented processes;
- the appropriate involvement of staff, students and the community; and
- the focus on the central functions of the school with management clearly reflecting that factor.

Joyce and Showers (1990), in a similar study, also identified such schools and they refer to them as synergetic schools. Although these two research studies use different terminology, there seems to be a consensus in both studies about the need for middle management in schools to become more active.

This can be achieved by entrusting the management team with the task of working in collaboration with the head in the running of the school.

The roles and functions of middle management

Departmental heads and deputy heads assume the role of joint decision makers with the head teacher rather than being just protégés who are being prepared for future roles. Consequently they should also be provided with ongoing management education, training and support.

The system would also benefit from having management teams by ensuring that all the available wealth in management skills is tapped and when the time comes for these middle managers to be promoted to head their own schools, they would have gained a lot of valuable experience. Also, as the old English cliché says, 'two heads are better than one'. This could not be more authentic than in the field of management.

In the management of schools, this is a necessary shift and could not have come at a better time when a lot has been made of decentralisation, its advantages and implications in school management.

Advantages of self-managing schools

The advantages of creating self-managing schools can not be stressed enough and Spinks and his associate (op cit) point out that efficiency is more conceivable as cumbersome bureaucracy is eliminated, by shifting decision-making from the centre and firmly locating it within sites, which are schools.

The third issue that has become indisputable is that, through various research findings, the era of viewing participants in management training courses as 'patients' who have to be cured by courses designed in isolation by 'experts' has proved to be unworkable. The 'doctor/patient' orientation of such courses is firmly based on assumptions, which may be false, of course, and then moral decisions follow.

South Africa, unfortunately, is no exception to this rule and it seems that it is usually centralised education systems that are more susceptible to this problem than decentralised systems.

The situation in South Africa

In South Africa there is an even greater need for managers to be retrained. There are two significant reasons for this. The first one is that the educational system in the country has been rigidly centralised.

Decentralisation and its success has profound implications on how the existing managers are helped to cope with change. There is also great urgency to develop management teams and the provision of relevant training programmes. This will result in more autonomy being given to schools, the need for democracy within them, with the parents and the larger community assuming a more participatory role in the education of their children.

These new roles of school management teams would imply that school managers will have to lead their schools in improving them in accordance with conditions, norms and rules that have been established in the schools. This is a much broader role than the present one of executing and implementing decisions of education authorities that have been centrally determined, without questioning their authenticity. This will not be an easy task to achieve for those who, for years, have worked within a system that gave them little power or responsibility to make decisions.

This, together with the fact that the present criteria appointing head teachers seem only to satisfy bureaucratic requirements, it becomes even more crucial that appropriate training courses are provided to ensure a smooth transition from centralised governance to a decentralised model.

The second and more serious reason is that in the past, and to a large extent even now, education in South Africa has been

divided along racial lines. The political situation in South Africa has socialised different people from different races into perceiving themselves according to the present social stratification; whites being superior and blacks on the other end of the continuum, inferior. Head teachers and teachers alike as members of a wider social community, are casualties of that dominant/dominated relationship.

Future prospects in school management

In a non-racial South Africa it will be inconceivable to separate schools according to race and, therefore, pupils will be comparatively free to enrol in a school of their choice. By levelling the field, all schools will eventually be able to offer education that will be acceptable and not place their pupils at a disadvantage, as is the current practice.

This in practice would mean developing the schools in terms of resources, both material and human.

The level of personnel in the schools will be raised by creating programmes that are multi-faceted, flexible and reliable. Further on, future programmes should build on the experiences of managers, and also create opportunities for them to improve their competencies in a variety of ways, and at different career stages.

This, in practice, will imply that training programmes for managers would shift the current practices and emphasis would, therefore, be redirected in six areas:

1. Tutor directed learning should be supplemented with support for self-directed study.

2. Off-site training should, to a large extent, be substituted by in-school programmes or, if possible, the clustering of schools within the same proximity.

3. Predetermined times should be replaced by flexible times. The rule that should guide the scheduling of training times should be to show sensitivity and an acceptance that we are dealing with adults, not school-children. They may have other pressing things outside the job situation which may demand their attention.

4. Distance learning materials are more effective than oral presentations. A combination of other models can be used to complement them.

5. Provider-determined programmes have had their fair run and need to be seriously substituted by school-determined or client-determined programmes.

6. The acquisition of knowledge should not be *the* main objective, but courses should strive for enhanced performance of the participants that would contribute to the understanding and improvement of school management practices.

Course content

There are a number of crucial questions that need to be addressed in determining a policy for training managers in all schools, regardless of their present location and governance.

Course content is one area that most programme designers find difficult to deal with. A person can be highly trained and skilled, but what is at the crux of the matter is: do they actually listen to the people who will eventually be affected by their decisions?

Nevertheless, the content of most training programmes for managers seems to be based on the combination of their job specifications and the identified good practices of that targeted group in their job situation. This question, in particular, brings a whole series of moral questions to the surface. For instance, who decides that certain administrative practices are 'good'

and, therefore, justifies them to be standardised? Let us assume that there is consensus on good practices, can we then, in different contexts, expect the same outcomes? How can those practices be transformed into skills and how can those skills be developed?

Place for research

There is a great enticement for programme developers to transplant theories and practices that have worked in other contexts, without researching them first, into their prospective adoptive countries. There are various reasons that underlie the failure of such practices and one of them is the cultural differences between the countries.

On this point, Rodwell (1986) quotes Guruge, who seemed very critical of such practices and sounds a clear warning when he argued that such theories will not serve as universal statements of truth. They *can*, however, help in developing local theories by researching them and, sometimes even, adapting them to suit the local needs.

In educational management they can help to illuminate a way forward of possible strategies of the content and processes of training school managers. If the research exercise has been vigorously carried out, it will help clarify some crucial questions.

Researchers need to study the roles, functions and training needs of managers. This, in practice, would mean studying what managers actually do rather than what we think they do, by identifying the main obstacles confronting managers and the key skills they need. There is also a great need to study in some depth the objectives, organisation and evaluation of training methods and evaluate the various training strategies and methods that will serve South Africa better.

The second question pertains to the issue of resources. Are heads, or their deputies, in a position to utilise both the human

and financial resources that are available to them satisfactorily? When we propagate management teams, do heads possess the necessary skills for interpersonal growth? Does the head know when to be assertive or when to back off during decision-making with governors or his/her colleagues? Are they ready to head non-racial schools with multi-racial staff and pupils? The answer to most questions would probably be negative. Needless to say, there seems to be a strong case for providing managers with training programmes that will help them understand and cope with fully integrated, multi-racial, multi-cultural society which is a new phenomenon for South Africans.

CONCLUSION

Designing training programmes for managers in South Africa is going to be hard and sometimes frustrating. The legacy of apartheid and separate development has created different countries and different cultures in one. Trying to merge these different cultures would be like trying to create a common programme for two, or more countries with very little cultural commonality.

There are still other problems that are looming in the background that also need some ingenious solutions. Attitude is one of those issues. Sadly, training alone cannot change people's attitudes and these change only over time. One can only hope that through appropriate training, managers begin to do some introspection and find it necessary to alter those attitudes that are unacceptable.

Most importantly though, any training system should be based on sound theoretical and practical considerations. Perhaps this is the place for a plea for a shift from the traditional doctor/patient scenario, described earlier, to an approach typified by Elmore's (1989) concept of 'backward mapping'. Elmore summarises what he means by backward mapping in this way:

> Begin with a concrete statement of the behaviour that creates the occasion for a policy intervention, describe a set of organisational operations that can be expected to have an effect on those operations, and then describe for each level of the implementation process what effect one would expect that level to have on the target behaviour and what resources are required for the effect to occur... [this] emphasis, in other words, that it is not the policy or the policy-maker that solves the problem, but somebody with immediate proximity (Elmore 1989: 254).

Elmore's case is based on a belief that policy changes and innovations brought in from the top in the classical 'forward planning' model are doomed to failure.

The future of educational management in South Africa should be determined by these means. If the research programme recommended above can be carried out with those within the 'immediate proximity' to the real issues, then there is hope that a successful outcome will ensue.

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The Technikon in a Democratic South Africa

Redvers Miller

In common with all sectors of education, tertiary education, of which the technikon forms an increasingly important part, is the subject of feverish debate in preparation for changes that all serious role players now see as necessary. In this chapter an attempt will be made to forecast the future of technikon education by examining some of the issues currently under discussion.

Removal of racial divisions

Even the perpetrators of apartheid education now acknowledge the injustice and wastefulness of racial divisions in education.

In a discussion document *Education Renewal Strategy* (ERS) published by the South African Department of National Education in 1991, the following was stated:

> The government has repeatedly committed itself to the creation of equal educational opportunities for all learners in South Africa. (ERS 1971: 74)

With the 'separate but equal' standpoint having been totally discredited, the removal of racial discrimination can only mean the opening of all institutions to all, regardless of race.

Up to recently, of the 15 technikons in South Africa, eight admitted only 'white' students and were administered by the House of Assembly, ie the 'white' chamber of the tricameral parliament; two admitted only 'black' students and were administered by the Department of Education and Training (DET), ie the education department responsible for 'black' education; one admitted 'Indian' students and was administered by the House of Delegates, the 'Indian' chamber of the tricameral parliament; one catered for 'coloured' students and fell under the jurisdiction of the House of Representatives, the 'coloured' chamber of the tricameral parliament. The remaining three are in the former 'independent' homelands and are normally non-racial, but, in fact, cater for 'black' students.

Racial restrictions have been gradually eased over the past few years and all the 'white' technikons now accept students of different races, although they remain predominantly 'white'. An important development in 1993, was the promulgation of a new Technikons Act which replaced the plethora of acts which applied to the racially divided technikons. After the constitution of the first democratic parliament, all technikons will fall under a single national education department.

Undoubtedly, the most visible change will be the racial composition which should reflect the national situation within the next decade.

The position of the technikon within the post-school education sector

The technikon, being the youngest of the post-school institutions, occupies a somewhat uneasy position between the university and the technical college. There are several grey areas of uncertainty as to where certain courses belong. Some courses offered by these other institutions differ little in content from similar courses at technikons. This situation has led to confusion in the public mind, particularly the black community,

who were only made aware of technikons some 13 years after the 'white' technikons were established. This situation places technikons under a major handicap vis-à-vis the university and post-school colleges.

There is also a perception that the technikon is not quite up to tertiary standard, particularly since university entrance requirements are higher than the minimum requirement for admission to a technikon.

In order to establish its position firmly, the Committee of Technikon Principals (CTP) has laid down certain guidelines to identify courses which are suitable for presentation by technikons, the main ones being (a) that courses should be clearly of a tertiary standard to distinguish them from technical college courses, (b) that the courses be specifically vocational to distinguish them from the more general and theoretical university courses and (c) that there must be a practical component built into each course. Whilst overlapping cannot be entirely avoided, the application of these criteria will give the technikon a more clearly defined position within the post-school sector.

Co-operative education

The aspect of technikon education which distinguishes it more than any other from the university course, is co-operative education, which requires, as a condition for obtaining a qualification, that the student spend some time (usually half the length of the course) in the work place doing the job for which he is being trained. This is done under close supervision of the technikon in order to prevent exploitation by employers. Most science, engineering and para-medical courses have a co-operative education component. In the business courses efforts are being made to build co-operative education into the curriculum. Under present economic conditions, where companies are retrenching staff, it is not easy to place students. The CTP has established a South African Society for Co-

operative Education (SASCE), consisting of technikon personnel and representatives from the business community, to promote co-operative education. It is foreseen that economic growth will accelerate after the implementation of a democratic constitution and co-operative education should become a distinctive feature of all technikon courses.

Expansion

Current policy is to reverse the 3:1 ratio of university to technikon students. There is a serious imbalance between training facilities and manpower needs of the economy. University graduates, in the arts and social sciences, are finding it increasingly difficult to find employment in the formal sector. The more vocationally orientated technikon courses can be adjusted in accordance with research findings into the changing needs of the economy. As the public attitude towards technikons improves, technikons will expand. The trend is already evident in that technikon growth in student numbers over the five years 1986-1991 was 17% compared to 3% growth in university enrolments.

Although the pass rate of 'black' matriculants compares less than favourably with that of 'white students (34% to 93%), the numbers of black students matriculating and seeking placed in tertiary institutions increases dramatically annually. This, combined with the difficulty of obtaining employment, is already placing tremendous strain on the capacity of technikons to accommodate all qualifying applicants. Even diplomates have difficulty finding employment in the formal sector, thus increasing the demand for the provision of study opportunities for higher qualifications. The inability to meet this demand has already led to social disruption with thousands of unemployed youngsters roaming the streets of townships engaging in petty crime and, thus, adding to the anxiety caused by political upheaval.

In order to meet the needs of society in this regard, planners are examining and implementing many innovative ideas, some of which will be mentioned in the ensuing paragraphs.

Distance education

This mode, which is currently offered by only one technikon, offers the greatest potential for expansion. The Universities and Technikons Advisory Council (AUT) made a study of distance education and recommended to the various education departments that off-campus programmes be run by technikons. This mode is particularly suitable for studies in business and administration, but means can be found for offering science courses by this method, as has been shown by the University of South Africa (UNISA). By distance education, under-utilised facilities can be shared between institutions in different towns.

Satellite campuses

A strategy being pursued by the established technikons is the establishment of satellite campuses either in the same town or in towns close by. It is an economical option to the establishment of more institutions, since existing premises such as school classrooms, laboratories, community halls and so on are used. A further saving is made by employing local tutors part-time, whilst all the administration is done at the main campus. Technical colleges often have much of the technological hardware used in technikon courses and a great saving is made in sharing space, time, expertise and other resources.

Satellite campuses will certainly play a major role in future. Not only is it economical from the funding point of view, but it will also be cheaper for students who live outside the main centres if they can study locally.

Articulation

The concept of mobility between various types of institutions has been dubbed 'articulation' in local education debate jargon.

> Student mobility between universities and technikons needs to be improved considerably. At present, the freer flow of students is ... severely hampered by ... requirements ... governing the granting of credit for successful studies completed at other institutions (ERS, 1991: 58).

This not only locks a student into a study direction for which he may not be best suited, but also strengthens the perception that the technikon is inferior to the university. Universities have now eased their recognition requirements somewhat and it is now possible for a technikon diplomate to follow higher studies at a university. Technikons recognise university credits and, conditionally, also technical college credits.

There are numerous private organisations that receive no assistance from the state, offering diploma courses and many of these diplomas bear similar names to those offered at technikons. These are generally not recognised for further studies at technikons and employers are influenced by policies of formal institutions like technikons. The obtaining of similarly named diplomas from private organisations further confuses the public as to the role of the technikon.

Whilst many of these private colleges are mere money making bodies, some of them maintain high standards. While South Africa sits with the problem of an over supply of unskilled manpower and a severe shortage of technologically skilled workers, it is folly to deny recognition to students qualifying from reputable colleges. A serious look is now being taken by the AUT at mobility between formal and certain non-formal institutions.

To overcome the problem of the technikon being regarded as inferior to the university, an attitude, incidentally encouraged by universities' reluctance to recognise technikon qualifications, the new Technikons Act, promulgated in 1983, makes provision for technikons to award degrees: a bachelor's degree in technology to be awarded after completion of a three-year diploma. Thereafter, a student will be able to do master's and honours degrees in technology through study at a technikon. This should ease movement between technikons and universities.

Rationalisation

As mentioned earlier, there are differences of opinion as to where, in the tertiary sector certain courses belong. According to the ERS discussion document, a working group found that about 33% of technical college programmes would fit better into technikons, 3% of technikon courses belong more properly with universities and 11% should go to technical colleges. An evaluation of courses currently being offered at universities drew the conclusion that 23% of them belonged more appropriately at technikons, whilst 6% could more economically have been offered at technical colleges.

There has been a proliferation of courses at technikons for two main reasons. Firstly, because of racial exclusivity, courses had to be duplicated at technikons catering for different populations within the same geographical area. Secondly, many technikons, particularly those serving 'black' students were established hastily without any feasibility studies into community needs or optimum location.

The ERS discussion document mentions 'approximately 400 diploma and certificate programmes and approximately 3 000 different instructional offerings' offered at technikons (1991: 38). This large number of courses and subjects results in uneconomical classes and a severe strain on teaching resources and equipment.

With the removal of racial division, the elimination of duplication has become possible and technikons in the Johannesburg/Pretoria, Cape Town and Durban areas have already agreed on the allocation of courses that were previously duplicated.

Rationalisation across different types of institution is not quite as easy. A working group consisting of representatives from the various post-school sectors is currently working on the question and has recommended that courses and subjects be evaluated to determine whether they can best be presented at university, technikon or technical college. Some subjects have already been evaluated and allocated while other recommendations are the subject of fierce debate with different institutions trying to protect their traditional territory. There is no escaping the need for rationalisation if tertiary education is to survive with less liberal state funding in prospect.

Bridging courses

A major difficulty facing all tertiary institutions is the poor standard of education in schools controlled by the Department of Education and Training (DET, the department responsible for 'black' education. Pupils in these schools labour under shortages of classrooms, equipment, books and properly qualified teachers. Many of these pupils complete high school without having done any mathematics or science subjects. According to the ERS document '...percentages of Black pupils taking these subjects in 1988 were as low as 15.1% and 32.3% respectively' (ERS 1991: 11). The present situation is not much different. Not only do these circumstances lead to poor matriculation results, but those who matriculate have huge gaps in their education, leading them to struggle at tertiary level.

Technikons face the further handicap that hardly any 'black' schools offer commercial and technical subjects. Thus students

are not adequately prepared for the vocational education provided by technikons.

Some universities and technikons have instituted 'bridging' courses to alleviate the difficulties faced by these struggling students. However, these courses are not well received by students. For one thing, they single out 'black' students who perceive the practice as a further manifestation of racial discrimination and, therefore, resent it. It also lengthens the course for those who can least afford the extra fees and there is also the possibility that after doing the bridging course, the student may be rejected for the course he wishes to follow. The disadvantage to the institution is that these courses are not subsidised by the state and have to be fully funded by the institution.

As long as pupils who have passed through the current system reach technikons, some provision will have to be made to give most of them a reasonable chance of success. The issue is fraught with political implications, but has to be tackled nevertheless, since failure is expensive. The South African Association for Academic Development (SAAAD) is an organisation doing research into methods of presenting academic support programmes (ASPs) to which tertiary institutions are affiliated. Information and experiences are shared at annual conferences and by way of publication of research findings.

Short courses

A direction technikons will pursue more and more in future is the presentation of short courses for people in full-time employment. These courses are of mutual benefit to technikons and the business community. The technikon benefits in that these courses are paid for by employers and can be run at a profit and the relationship built up with business enables technikon staff to use and study the latest technology available on the market at no cost to the technikon. The advantage to

employers is that their employees' skills are upgraded without granting long periods of leave.

Control of standards

Historically, technikon standards have been tested by means of examinations set by the Department of National Education (DNE). Course curricula and subject syllabi were designed by technikons through consensus among themselves and by consultation with business and professional bodies. These were submitted to the DNE for approval. Once approved, the DNE set bi-annual examinations written by all technikons. Autonomy for technikons was introduced by degrees up to the present situation where technikons are totally responsible for setting curricula and syllabi and examining, subject to accreditation. A common core syllabus is still subject to consensus among technikons as well as consultation with outside bodies, but individual technikons have the freedom to add options to serve local needs.

As from 1991, an accreditation body, the Certification Council for Technikon Education (SERTEC), a statutory body established by Act of Parliament, has monitored standards by the appointment of accreditation committees for courses and subjects. These committees consist of technikon personnel, representatives from business and relevant professional bodies. These committees visit individual technikons to evaluate contents of syllabi, standards of teaching, staff qualifications, library and laboratory facilities, examination regulations and conduct of examinations. They report to SERTEC Board which accredits the technikon to teach the courses evaluated for five years, after which it is subject to re-evaluation. SERTEC has the power to withdraw accreditation of a course where the evaluation of a committee is unfavourable.

The next step towards autonomy should be control of standards by the technikon community itself, in the same way that universities control their own standards.

Research possibilities

Research is an area largely neglected except at the biggest technikons where limited research is done. The potential for running research projects for the business community is enormous. New products can be developed at low cost to industry and technikons can become financially stronger by offering this service to business. Technikon research must differ from the search after pure knowledge aimed at by universities. In keeping with their mission to serve the needs of business directly, technikon research must focus on product development and improvement, cost saving in manufacturing and greater efficiency in the work place.

Community service

Whilst most technikons render some community services, this is an area that could be developed much further. In South Africa there are numerous small businesses, ranging from retail shops to small manufacturing concerns, often run by owners who are barely literate. There is scope for the technikon to provide these business people with secretarial, accounting, auditing, advice and other services at relatively low cost whilst earning income to supplement state grants. Seminars for small businesses on sound and profitable techniques are further possibilities which could be exploited to a much greater degree than is the case at present.

The broader community could be served by offering library facilities to the thousands of students doing tertiary studies by correspondence. Services like optometric tests, basic environmental health programmes, running basic skills programmes for rural communities, running literacy classes are all means by which the technikon could serve its community whilst boosting its image as an asset to the community.

CONCLUSION

The future technikon will be part of an integrated tertiary education system, firmly community based, with a distinct niche in the tertiary education sector. It will complement the roles of the university and colleges and barriers to mobility between the various institutions will become less dense as the complementary roles of the various sectors are recognised.

The newly gained authority to award degrees in addition to diplomas will boost the image of the technikon in the public mind and technikons will eventually develop much along the lines of the English polytechnics into universities.

It will retain its distinctive character with co-operative education becoming much more entrenched and, in time, becoming a requirement for all formal qualifications. This will necessitate continuous close liaison with commerce and industry and contribute towards producing a graduate who will be of immediate productive worth to an employer. Entrepreneurship among more enterprising students will also be encouraged by experience in the work place.

Profitable pursuits, like short courses, seminars, research and services to the business and broader community will become a useful source of income to supplement the state subsidy. Close relationships with commerce and industry will also create an atmosphere where donations for bursaries and scholarships to fund indigent students will be more readily granted. particularly if employers obtain good, well-trained personnel via the technikon route.

With all major role players in education favouring a greater role for vocational education, a bright future await technikons in a democratic South Africa.

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An Annotated Bibliography of Educational Research on South Africa (1980-1993)

John Chalufu and David Johnson

INTRODUCTION

Over the last 15 years many South African students have completed studies in education at universities in the United Kingdom. Many of these studies have been research based (MPhil or PhD) and others have had a research component (MA, MEd. MSc, EdD).

A study conducted at the University of Bristol reviewed over 70 such theses and dissertations (Chalufu and Johnson forthcoming). A content analysis was carried out for each of these studied. They were then classified by topic. Further analysis was undertaken to establish the implications of these studies for educational policy. The studies were also reviewed in order to determine the dominant research methodologies and techniques employed by the authors. The research, *A Bibliographical Review of Educational Research on South Africa*, is published separately. An annotated bibliography of the studies

examined, is published here. The aim of this chapter is to make researchers and policy makers aware of the range of studies, on education in South Africa, available in the UK. It is the intention of the researchers to widen the study to include more institutions in the UK and later the USA, but, at the same time, to restrict the search to dedicated research dissertations (MPhil, PhD and DPhil) only.

This chapter provides an annotated bibliography of the studies examined. The study, *A Bibliographical Review of Research of Educational Research on South Africa*, is published separately.

Baloyi S F

Planning for the transformation for health services in South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This study is a critical review of health care and the health care delivery system in South Africa. It looks at the background factors that are related to health care within the socio-economic context of South Africa and shows the relationship between these conditions and socio-economic status.

Barron, F A

Education governance in a post-apartheid South Africa: lessons from the British experience. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This study is concerned with possibilities for and constraints on a restructuring of the system of education governance in post apartheid South Africa. The study reviews the international literature on theories of the state, civil society and education governance. The history, context and shifts in systems of education governance in the UK and South Africa are documented and evaluated and similarities and differences between the two cases are pointed out, and insights gained form the British experience of relevance to South Africa are

highlighted. Insights derived from both the literature and the case studies are employed to critique two proposals for the researching of the system of education governance currently being considered in South Africa. The shortcomings in these proposals are pointed out and an alternative proposal is advanced.

Bird A

The teaching of English to adult Africans in Johannesburg. University of Manchester MEd (1982)

This study was undertaken in order to meet a need expressed by colleagues in Johannesburg, namely the need for a flexible framework for teaching English as a second language to African adults which simultaneously meets the self-perceived needs of learners, and facilitates a greater understanding of the environment in which English is used.

The project aims initially to describe the Johannesburg context and the dynamism for change within it. A systematic attempt is then made to uncover the needs of learners of Learn and Teach, one organisation for language learning in Johannesburg. One important area, the desire to read daily English newspapers, is then isolated, through which to study in greater depth the framework needed.

The current debates in English language teaching are summarised, and the approach of P McEldowney endorsed. It is then suggested that the analytical methods of Kress, Hodge, Trew and Fowler provide a way of opening up some of the ideological messages in language and these are then given special emphasis within McEldowney's approach. Finally, illustrative lessons showing the framework in practice are provided.

Cherian V I

The relationship between family background and academic performance of junior secondary school pupils in Transkei. University of Wales PhD (1987)

This study investigated the family background of 1 020 seventh standard junior secondary school pupils in Transkei. Two questionnaires (one for the pupils and the other for the parents) were used to collect information on the following aspects of the family background: parental education, reading habits of parents and children, parental occupation, parental income, housing conditions, overcrowding, family size, birth order, parental aspiration, parental interest, parental attitude towards education, school and teachers, parental encouragement and support given to pupil at home, unhappiness of child, unhappiness of parents, polygamous and monogamous families, either or both parents dead, parents divorced or separated, parental harmony, hospitalisation of parents, hospitalisation of child, frequency of punishment and pupil's discussion of problems with parents.

The main purpose of the study was to determine whether there were variations of family background variables between pupils of comparable intellectual ability but differing academic performance. The data were analysed using correlation coefficient and analysis of variance. All the family background variables were found to be significantly related to academic performance.

Dlamini A S S

Training methodologies for rural development with special reference to Eastern Cape, South Africa. University of Manchester MEd (1988)

In this study the Masibambane Christian Development Centre (at Peddie, South Africa) is presented as an ecumenical joint

effort of working with rural folk in their training for self-reliance It follows principles consistent with the development aims of all the participating bodies. It is by its nature a non-governmental body, mobilising people to be more responsible for their own communities. It is proposed as an alternative approach to the problems of rural development.

Dugmore C P

Tasks in the Xhosa classroom: issues and implications. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

The teaching Xhosa in South Africa to non-mother tongue speakers in state schools has traditionally involved formal models of language teaching. These models have been ineffective in equipping pupils with an acceptable level of communicative competence after five or more years of study, the result being that pupils and teachers alike become frustrated and attitudes towards Xhosa remain unfavourable. In light of the historical underdevelopment of African languages and current proposals concerning the elevation of their status in the future, this dissertation considers the issues and implications of introducing a task-based approach into the Xhosa classroom. It is argued that the introduction of tasks into Xhosa classrooms will enhance communicative competence and improve attitudes towards African languages and their speakers.

Favish J

The possible aims and objectives for, and the organisation and implementation of, an adult basic education programme in South Africa. University of Warwick MA (1987)

The main purpose of this research is to develop a theoretical framework for improving on adult basic education programmes of an empowering kind in South Africa. The

research argues that state policies for black education have resulted in black students not being able to receive an adequate general basic education within the formal school system. The organisation and promotion of general basic education programmes that provide black workers with opportunities to acquire the kind of background knowledge, information and skills which can enhance their critical and analytical abilities and their ability to pursue independent learning, can help strengthen the various organisations that comprise the national democratic movement in South Africa.

This research articulates theoretical guidelines and principles for developing a general basic education programme aimed at workers who have had between five and eight years of formal education.

Forrest F

The issue of language and struggle for liberation in South Africa - a theoretical framework. University of Warwick MPhil (1991)

The dissertation outlines a theoretical framework with which to consider the question of language in the context of constructing a post-apartheid society in South Africa, and in terms of the achievement of the objectives of equality, democracy and empowerment. Finally, it makes recommendations for future research.

Gabru Y

From inspection to school-based review: improving the quality of education in South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This dissertation attempts to do two things: i) it suggests that a new post-apartheid South African education department would find it necessary to introduce and promote school based review

(SBR) as a means of improving the general quality of education in South Africa; and ii) it proposes that a modified form of SBR known as Guidelines for Review and Internal Development in Schools (GRIDS) be introduced on an experimental basis in a pilot project.

Gumbi T A P

Designing a post-graduate course in community work for the University of Zululand. University of Manchester MEd (1990)

This research study proposes the design of a post-graduate course in community work for the University of Zululand. It maintains the point of view that theoretical and practical work training in community work are of vital importance in the education and professional training of community workers.

Gumede B

The management of INSET for secondary school teachers in South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1992)

This dissertation aims to explore ideas and strategies of the management of in-service education for secondary school teachers, with the hope of giving further thoughts to the responsibilities of head teachers and senior staff members in schools, and also in particular, to the work conducted by INSET managers and teacher-educators in colleges of teacher education and universities in South Africa.

Jeffreson S

Bursaries: addressing human resource needs or aid for the victims of apartheid? University of Liverpool MPhil (1991)

This thesis deals with the contribution of predominantly overseas funded Non-Governmental Bursary Organisations to the education of black South Africans in South Africa. The two principal objectives of the Non-Governmental Organisations (NGOs) are identified as: i) meeting the country's human resource needs, and ii) fostering equality of educational opportunity, or put another way, aiding the 'victims of apartheid'. The feasibility and possible contradictions of these two objectives are examined in the study. The thesis also explores the implications of the NG0s' experience for a future unitary democratic and non-racial education ministry in South Africa.

Jenkins E R

Planning an adult literacy programme: an example of alternative non-formal education in South Africa. University of Manchester MPhil (1989)

The focus of this thesis is the design and early stages of implementation of an adult literacy programme for adults classified 'coloured' in a farming area of the Western Cape, South Africa. To analyse the context of this programme the thesis reviews racism in South Africa; theories of development, and non-formal education and literacy.

Keating F

The relevance of a Third World perspective for social work training at the University of Western Cape (South Africa). University of Manchester MEd (1987)

This study considers social work training in South Africa with special reference to the University of Western Cape (UWC.). In this respect it aims: i) to appraise the curriculum of UWC., demonstrating the shortfalls in it, and ii) to advocate an alternative framework for Social Work training at UWC. A review of social work training internationally and specifically in the so-called Third World is presented.

Kenyon V M

Redefining literacy in South Africa: developing relevant reading materials. University of London, Institute of Education MPhil (1990)

The significant role stories play in young children's development has become more widely recognised in recent years. It has been argued that stories are important not only because they are a natural way of organising thought, but also because they enhance emotional development. Children who learn to read with stories find the experience meaningful and benefit emotionally and conceptually.

In countries such as South Africa there is a strong tradition of storytelling. In the past twenty years research has shown the literary quality of traditional oral narratives. This thesis argues that these stories are a valuable and, as yet, untapped resource which could be used to produce low-cost relevant reading materials, which are a natural extension to a language experience approach to literacy learning. It is suggested that teachers could produce these materials themselves through involving parents and other members of the community in the production of home-made books. In this way teachers could

break down the artificial barriers which exist between home and school and simultaneously diminish the false distinction between orality and literacy. In using these stories in this way they would be revalued and once more accorded the status they deserve.

Kgoale M M

Apartheid: the dilemma of South African universities. University of London, Institute of Education PhD (1986)

This study is concerned with how a government is using education in general, but university education in particular, as a tool for brainwashing society into believing that apartheid is the best solution to its racial issue. The central argument is that South African education in general, and university education in particular, is designed to promote White domination and Black oppression. The submission is that the root of political discontent emanates from, amongst others, unequal educational provision for the different racial groups.

Khoza L M

Towards a school-based curriculum development in South African black schools: limits and possibilities. University of Bristol MEd (1989)

Most people who call for a post-apartheid education alternative are agreed on People's Education as the best option. The major weakness of the notion of People's Education, the author contends, is that most writing on this is still confined to issues of 'why', rather than providing empirical data on what People's Education is and how it would be implemented.

School-based curriculum development (SBCD) is suggested as a strategy for the preparation, of post-apartheid teachers, not only because legally there is nothing that prevents its

introduction in black schools but also because it is compatible with the participatory principle of People's Education.

Legong M P

The role of a teacher training institution in the management of teacher education reforms in a post-apartheid South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This dissertation is concerned with the new roles to be assumed by the teacher training institutions (TTIs) in the management of teacher education reforms in a post-apartheid South Africa. The study is based on the thesis that the current political and social changes taking place in South Africa are likely to lead to a situation where the apartheid system of education will finally be abolished and be replaced by a democratic one. It is expected that the envisaged educational transformation would suggest new roles for TTIs, to meet the challenges of the whole process of change in the country.

Letseli M D M

The causes and consequences of low quality secondary school teacher education in South Africa. University of Manchester MEd (1989)

The aim of this study is to examine the validity of the claim that the quality of teachers and teaching in the secondary schools of South African Blacks is poor, and that the poor performance of the Black Matric candidates is a reflection thereof. A review of the historical development of teacher education is made with the aim of trying to establish the origins of the problem. Research literature is also reviewed but with the aim of examining the validity of the claim that poor Matric examination results are the consequences of the poor quality of teachers and teaching in the secondary schools amongst the Black South Africans.

Mabizela S E C

Pre-service teacher education curricula in South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

It is argued here that the curricula for pre-service teacher education have to be radically changed to equip student teachers with skills and expertise for interpreting and adapting their knowledge to their needs and those of the pupils and community they will be serving. This may be successfully achieved when Fundamental Pedagogics is replaced by epistemologies which will encourage the creative thinking of student teachers. it is argued that the philosophy of Christian National Education must be abandoned and a philosophy congruent to the new political climate and the needs of the majority of the people should be adopted.

Mabunda G K

Management of the secondary schools in post-apartheid South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1990)

This study focuses on potential problems that may be encountered in the management of secondary schools in post-apartheid South Africa.

Mailula E M

Towards teacher involvement in secondary school mathematics curriculum development in post-apartheid South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1991)

The main argument of this thesis is that the involvement of teachers in mathematics curriculum development is crucial. A system of involving secondary school mathematics teachers in curriculum development using the 10% model is suggested.

Suggestions are also made on how to promote teachers' professional growth through pre- and in-service training.

Makhathini N S E

Staff development among black teachers in South Africa. University of Manchester MEd (1989)

This study looks into the opportunities provided for Staff development among Black teachers in South Africa.

Makhele E M

Progressive primary education in a South African homeland: a review of breakthrough to literacy in Bophuthatswana. University of Edinburgh MEd (1987)

The introduction of adapted versions of the British reading scheme, Breakthrough to Literacy in South Africa, and her 'independent' homelands is significant in several ways. Firstly, it refocuses our attention on black education language policy in this region. Secondly, it raises questions about the innovative strength of such a scheme in an area which was not necessarily in the minds of its designers.

This study looks at the application and effects the scheme has had in one of the South African homelands. It also shows how its introduction coincided with the need to improve primary school education in these homelands and why the scheme has not been officially recognised and supported by education authorities in South Africa itself despite its unofficial existence in black schools in the townships.

Malekutu D C S

The significance of staff appraisal in the management development of South African colleges of education for Blacks. University of Manchester MEd (1989)

This study looks into the significance of staff appraisal in the management development of South African colleges of education for Blacks.

Mashinini C C

Developing an educational training approach for the new South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This dissertation examines the problems associated with introducing a coherent, national programme of school management training in South Africa. The case is made out in the early part of the work for the investment in human resources which form the essential and major component of any education system.

Mbunyuza N M M

Women in education and its management in rural South Africa: the case of Qwaqwa. University of Manchester MEd (1988)

This is a case study of women in education in Qwaqwa, South Africa.

Milondzo K S

The development of Black education in South Africa from 1948-1980 with special reference to higher education. University of Manchester MEd (1989)

The essence of this study is to examine the evolution of Bantu education since its establishment in 1953.

Mthethwa J

The preparation of school leavers for the world of work: A survey of 12 senior secondary schools in Kwa-Zulu Department of Education and Culture, Natal Province (South Africa). University of Stirling MEd (1987)

This study was concerned with the preparation of school leavers in 12 Kwa-Zulu Senior Secondary Schools for the world of work. Pupils of all ability range were requested to fill in questionnaires. The study went further to indicate the impact of unemployment on young school leavers and this was made possible by relevant information supplied by school leavers who had already left formal education from Kwa-Zulu Senior Secondary Schools, but all unemployed at the time of this research.

Ngubeni N D

Primary health care as the strategy for development in South Africa. University of Manchester MEd (1990)

This dissertation supports the position that primary health care (PHC) in full can play an important role in bringing about development in South Africa through equity, social justice and increased people's participation. While this dissertation

advocates the primary health care approach, it does not see it as the only way forward for development in South Africa.

Pather S

Breaking down the barriers: problems and implications of an open admissions policy. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This dissertation sets out to study the current admissions of pupils of different races to schools that previously, under apartheid education, catered for only one race. The starting point of the study is the proposition that all the key players in education are ill-prepared for multi-cultural education. Four Indian schools that admitted over 50 African pupils in 1991 were selected and questionnaires were devised for principals, heads of departments, guidance counsellors, subject teachers, Indian pupils and African pupils to ascertain the action being taken in schools in the implementation and development of multi-cultural education. The African pupils seemed to have adjusted to the new situation, except that language and communication was a major obstacle. The Indian pupils took much longer to adjust, their major problem being the changed teaching styles of the Indian teachers. Although the teachers made tremendous efforts to solve the problems that desegregated education brought with it they were not successful. Management at schools also failed to successfully address the new multi-cultural situation.

Pekane D M

A critical study of educational policy and provision in South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1990)

The aim of this dissertation is to make a critical study of educational policy and provision of education in South Africa, with special reference to education for the African people.

Perry H M

The financing of education in South Africa: a critique of current models. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

The dissertation investigates and critiques models for financing education in South Africa that have been proposed by various groups within the country. While there is general consensus that, after decades of racial inequality in education spending, a new education dispensation should be equal, there are differing and competing notions of what equality in the education dispensation might entail. As such, the models that have been proposed for financing a new education dispensation are underpinned by disparate theoretical and economic assumptions.

Poo B

Teacher involvement in participatory decision-making in Pretoria, South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This study sets out to investigate the current levels and patterns of teacher participation and their attitudes towards it. Attention was focused on teachers in the state schools against those in private schools and among different status of teachers. Research was conducted in Pretoria.

The research found that there was some evidence of teacher participation. The ways in which they were involved were considered to be in many respects c sistent with those which Alutto and Belasco (1972) described as decisional deprivation, decisional equilibrium and decisional saturation. But on the whole an overwhelming majority of teachers, particularly those from state schools, indicated the wish for more involvement. The principa.s were still expected to take the lead but a balance should be struck between orientation to task and orientation to people. The principals have to act more as facilitators, giving

teachers a chance to be involved rather than telling and prescribing to them.

Pupuma W D

The teaching of physical science at senior secondary school level in the Republic of Transkei. University of Wales MEd (1983)

The dissertation identifies the major factors influencing the uptake and quality of science education in senior secondary schools in the Republic of Transkei.

Ramusi F M

The provision of non-formal education in Soweto, Johannesburg. University of Manchester MEd (1986)

The central argument of this study is that South African education in general, and the formal school system in particular, is deliberately designed to promote white domination and black oppression. The submission being that the root of the political discontent is unequal educational provision for the different racial groups. It seems an indisputable assertion that separate education cannot be equal. The objective of this study is to outline how non-formal education may harness developmental and educational needs which cannot be satisfied by formal education in Soweto. The study concludes that non-formal education, as an alternative methodology diversified in nature, flexible and functional in structure, may alleviate the educational backlog in Soweto. As an agent for change, education has both a place and a particular type of engagement with the dominant society.

Shanley M M

Second chance adult education in South Africa. University of Manchester MEd (1992)

This study looks into 'second chance' adult education in South Africa. State adult centres are the main focus for study.

Stelfox L M

Strategies for curriculum change for a democratic South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1992)

This dissertation consists of a critical analysis of strategies for curriculum change with special reference to the needs of South Africa. Two theoretical models studied in depth are the Centre-Periphery or Research, Development and Diffusion Model, and School-Based Curriculum Development. The strengths and weaknesses of both models are pointed out.

Taylor D J L

A critical assessment of the De Lange Report, with particular reference to teachers and other groups. University of Oxford DPhil (1987)

This study assesses the Human Sciences Research Council (HSRC) Education Report of 1981 ('De Lange Report') in relation to educational change in South Africa. This is done by examining the report within a context of contrasting chronological and ideological perspectives, establishing, in conclusion, a set of 'criteria for evaluation' as a basis for overall assessment of the subject.

Thabethe B V

The organisation of initial primary teacher education in Kwa-Zulu. University of Bristol MEd (1987)

This dissertation seeks to explore a number of issues related to the organisation of initial primary teacher education in Kwa-Zulu. Three broad areas are particularly examined: i) the extent, content and nature of the Primary Teachers' Diploma, ie numbers, target groups, structure of the course, etc; ii) the management of the diploma programme, ie administration, financing, planning consultation procedures, recruitment, selection, teaching and learning strategies, evaluation, support and follow-up; and iii) the value of the Primary Teachers' Diploma programme and the future of students.

Tsukudu P R E

Management development of secondary school head teachers in South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

School management development has become an issue of considerable significance in the education sector in the last decade in many countries, and more recently in South Africa. This study reviews the literature on management development and considers responsibilities for influencing the development and training of South African head teachers.

Tyeku S M

A critical review of distance education provision at secondary school level in South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This is an evaluation of current secondary level distance education provision in South Africa. It investigates possible

alternatives to improve distance education as a mode of teaching and learning, and how distance education can expand secondary schooling broadly, particularly to the younger out-of-school section of the population.

The study consists of a critical review of existing literature, drawing on the author's professional diary compiled during a period employed by Turret Correspondence College in South Africa.

Tywakadi M R

Establishing a policy framework for the provision of scholarship for overseas training to South Africans. University of Bristol MEd (1993)

This dissertation seeks to establish a policy framework within which overseas scholarship provision to South Africans can be carried out.

The study was carried out by i) soliciting views of South African students currently enrolled with British institutions of higher learning on modalities of continued scholarship provision; and ii) investigating current and future trends in the funding of overseas students by soliciting views of major scholarship agencies in Britain through interviews and collation of primary documents.

Van der Walt H

A rural community health project for the aged in Genadendal, South Africa. University of Manchester MEd (1983)

The main theme of this study is to explore the meaning and importance of participation for workers and students in the field of adult education, community development and health care. It gives a descriptive account of a community health

project for the aged in Genadendal during which local residents collaborated with outside health workers. The Genadendal project is evaluated and the study isolates the main features which emerged, in order to draw out possible guide-lines for future action.

Xaba S A

Tasks and training needs of secondary school head teachers in 'multi-cultural' South Africa. University of Bristol MEd (1990)

This study explores and highlights the problems which secondary school head teachers experience in their daily routine work in managing schools in South Africa and what managerial training skills should be provided to equip them. It looks into the question of whether secondary school heads in South Africa will require certain in-service training before they come to run schools in a society with a diversity of cultures or post-apartheid era secondary schools.

Notes on Contributors

Fred Barron worked for the National Education Co-ordinating Committee when he joined the Educational Management and Policy Project. He is now a full-time researcher in the Educational Policy Unit of the University of the Western Cape and is interested in the governance of higher education institutions.

John Chalufu was a research assistant at the University of Durban Westville, when he joined the Educational Management and Policy Project. He has completed his MEd and has returned to his post at Westville. His interests include looking at ways to strengthen the research capacity at historically disadvantaged universities in South Africa.

Michael Crossley lectures in the Centre for International Studies in Education at the University of Bristol and was previously Senior Lecturer and Associate Dean (Planning) in the Faculty of Education at the University of Papua New Guinea. Dr Crossley has taught in England and Australia and was Editor of the *Papua New Guinea Journal of Education* from 1985 to 1990. He is currently a member of the Editorial Board for *Comparative* Education and an Executive Director for the *International Journal of Educational Development*, and is a founding Series Editor for the *Bristol Papers in Education*. Current research includes methodological work on the potential of qualitative research in developing countries, and collaborative case studies of changes in the quality of education in primary schools in Belize, Central America.

Debbie Fletcher has worked as an EFL lecturer for three years in the Faculty of Languages and European Studies at the University of the West of England, Bristol. She obtained a

Master's in Applied Linguistics for English Language Teaching at Lancaster University in 1992. The subject of her dissertation was *An Evaluation of the Impact of an Intensive INSET Course in Romania*. Ms Fletcher's present teaching includes EFL, EAP, contemporary society studies and teaching training. Current research interests include teacher training, testing and student learning strategies. Recent teacher training involvement includes a training course for Turkish governors and a Trinity College CTEFL course.

Eric Hoyle has been Professor of Education at the University of Bristol since 1971 and is currently Director of Studies for the EdD programme. His major interests are educational management and teaching as a profession. He has published extensively in both areas and his books include *The Politics of School Management* (Hodder 1986) and (with Peter John) *Professional Knowledge and Professional Practice* (Cassell 1995). He has undertaken various assignments in Africa and Asia.

David Johnson is the Director of the Educational Management Project for South Africa, based at the University of Bristol. Dr Johnson was a student activist in South Africa in the 1980s. He was President of the Black Students' Society, at the University of the Witwatersrand and a founder member of the United Democratic Front. He was banned and later exiled. During this time he worked in education in Botswana, Zimbabwe and the United Kingdom. He is currently engaged in research and development work in a number of countries including South Africa, Belize, Pakistan and Malawi.

Cindy Mashini, who completed both her BEd and MEd at the University of Bristol, is now involved in management in the private sector in South Africa.

Redvers Miller recently retired as Academic Vice-Rector of Setlogelo Technikon near Pretoria. During his career he worked in primary, secondary and tertiary fields in Southern Africa.

As a senior education officer in Zimbabwe, he was involved in planning and implementing the restructuring of education to eliminate racial divisions in that country. He organised courses for the up-grading of heads of secondary schools during this period of rapid expansion to include all Zimbabweans.

He joined the tertiary sector as a lecturer in communication. His term of office as a technikon vice-rector spanned the late '80s and early 90's, turbulent years, when university and technikon students led the revolution against apartheid in education.

Baatile Poo was an administrator at the Setlogelo Technikon in South Africa before he joined the programme. He has now taken on an administrative post at the Witwatersrand Technikon.

Yusuf Sayed is a lecturer in the Faculty of Education at the University of the Western Cape, South Africa. He joined the project in 1992 and is currently completing a PhD at the University of Bristol. His research interests include education policy and educational management. Most recently, his research has involved co-ordinating the NEPI Governance and Administration Research Group. He was one of the co-writers of the Governance and Administration Report.

Bob Smith is a member of staff with the School of Education's Centre for International Studies in Education. His teaching career began in secondary schools, but after five years in the UK, he became a teacher educator in Zambia. University posts in Swaziland and Bophuthatswana followed, as well as stints at the University of London Institute of Education. His teaching and research interests focus on basic education, planning and policy for developing countries and teacher education.

Dickie Smith was a Head of Department, at a primary school in South Africa when he joined the project. He has returned to his post and is currently involved in co-ordinating a University of Bristol study on children's literacy.

Peter Taylor was Senior Lecturer in Education until he took early retirement in July 1993. He now works on a part-time basis for the School of Education and the Open University. He has a particular interest in teacher education, including staff development, and has visited South Africa on a number of occasions, including spending three months at the University of Bophthutswana, in 1987, and 10 weeks at the University of Natal, in 1994.

Phuti Tsukudu completed her MEd at the University of Bristol in 1993. She is now directing a project and offering consultancy in school management development.

The *Bristol Papers in Education* provide a forum for the publication and dissemination of important material relating to the research and development activities of the School of Education at the University of Bristol. This *Comparative and International Series*, in particular, aims to publish a wide variety of studies documenting research and scholarship carried out by members and associates of the Centre for International Studies in Education. This may include research reports, conference proceedings, development project and consultancy reports, annotated bibliographies, selected theses, study guides and other related material. Proposals for future volumes in the series are welcomed for consideration by the Editorial Board and specific guidelines can be provided to all prospective authors.

This volume consists of a sample of research written by students on the Educational Management Project for South Africa. Each of the original dissertations has been reworked and the main findings of the research, or the most important theoretical arguments, are presented here.

All the papers in this collection focus on priorities for educational transformation and restructuring in South Africa. In particular, the themes include issues in the management of education, policy formulation and educational improvement. Governance and educational policy have, in recent years, been subjects of intense political debate. However, apart from publications arising out of the National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), there is a paucity of research on educational management and policy in South Africa. Further critical thinking about these issues is clearly necessary and it is hoped that this book will contribute in this respect.

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