

The copyright of this thesis vests in the author. No quotation from it or information derived from it is to be published without full acknowledgement of the source. The thesis is to be used for private study or non-commercial research purposes only.

Published by the University of Cape Town (UCT) in terms of the non-exclusive license granted to UCT by the author.

**A Comparative Analysis of Parental Participation in Schools
with regard to the South African Schools Act of 1996.**

by

Asa Du Toit (DTTASA001)

A minor dissertation submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the award of Masters in
Education (Educational Administration, Planning and Social Policy).

Department of Education

Faculty of the Humanities

University of Cape Town

September 2001

Declaration

This work has not been previously submitted in whole, or in part, for the award of any degree. It is my own work. Each significant contribution to, and quotation in, this dissertation from the work, or works, of other people has been attributed, and has been cited and referenced.

Signature:

Date:

Acknowledgements

I decided to forgo teaching as I endeavored to pursue the subject of this research on a full-time basis. Herewith, I wish to express my appreciation and gratitude to the following people in guiding me to endure and persevere with this work:

those who provided me with financial assistance, such as, The University of Cape Town Scholarship Fund; and, The National Research Fund;

Professor Crain Soudien who supervised my dissertation and advised me to "keep my chin up" through it all;

the educators and learners of Topaz and Opal Primary schools, who willingly assisted me where they could;

my friends who understood when I had to forgo our get-togethers to complete my dissertation;

and, finally to my family and parents, particularly my mom, who supported me through all the trials and tribulations.

Index

Cover Page.....	1
Acknowledgements.....	2
Index.....	3
Abstract.....	6
Chapter 1	
Introduction.....	8
Theoretical Framework.....	10
Background.....	11
Structure of the Dissertation.....	13
Chapter 2	
Literature Review.....	15
Policy and the Policy Process.....	16
Change and the Change Process.....	22
Educational Decentralization.....	28
Parental Participation in Schools.....	34
Chapter 3	
Methodology.....	38
Data Collection Strategies.....	39
Informal Visits.....	39
Surveys.....	39
Table 1.....	41

On-site Observations.....	42
Interviews.....	43
Review of SGB Documents.....	45
Participants.....	45
Governing Body.....	45
Manager.....	46
Educators.....	46
Parents.....	47
Analysis and Interpretation of Data.....	47
Validation of Qualitative Research: Criteria Used.....	49
 Chapter 4	
Findings and Discussion.....	50
Contexts.....	51
Survey Statistics.....	52
Table 2.1: Comparison between Schools.....	52
Table 2.2: Comparison between Schools.....	53
The Significant Factors behind Poor Parental Participation in Schools.....	54
1.) Historical Experience.....	55
2.) Hostility of Staff.....	58
Table 3.....	66
3.) Role of the Manager.....	67
4.) Social Class.....	71
5.) Lack of Knowledge.....	72
6.) Preparation for Policy Implementation.....	73
7.) Miscommunication.....	74
Conclusion.....	74
Table 4: Outstanding Points of Comparison between Schools.....	75

Chapter 5	
Conclusion.....	78
Diagram 1.....	82
Diagram 2.....	83
Continued Research.....	86
References.....	87
Appendices.....	94

University of Cape Town

Abstract

The South African Schools Act (SASA), 1996 (Act No. 84 of 1996) seeks parents, educators, learners and the broader community to become more actively involved in the school as an organisation in two ways: 1.) by serving on the school governing body (SGB); and, 2.) by providing the SGB with support through participation in the everyday activities of the school. The focus of this study is an examination of the extent to which the SASA (1996) has been realized in two schools in the Athlone area, with particular respect to parental participation. This is done through an analysis of the two schools studied, using Ball (1994) as its main text. The form of comparison used in this study is essentially that of comparing the performance of the two schools across common activities relating to parental participation in school governance. The theoretical framework provided by Ball (1994) argues that there is non-linearity in the process of policy-making and that the three contexts of policy-making are the context of influence; the context of policy text production; and, the context of practice. This study centers around the latter as it researches policy implementation, the practice of policy and the micro-politics involved in its recontextualization.

The methodology used in the research is quantitative and qualitative, viz., : informal visits to the two schools studied; surveys; on-site observations; interviews; and, reviews of SGB documents. The research data is comprised of information gathered from SGBs, managers, educators, and parents of the two schools studied.

The findings and discussion chapter of this study focuses on the contexts of the two schools used in the research. The survey statistics are compared and seven significant factors behind poor parental participation in schools are identified and discussed. It is suggested that there are distinct differences in the approaches used by schools in relation to their SGBs. "Interactive participation" is used at one of the two schools researched, whilst "pseudo-participation" is used at the other school.

In conclusion it is suggested that due to the micro-politics playing itself out in the different contexts parental participation in schools is by no means a given. Furthermore, it is argued that though the schools have taken on the policy, it has been adjusted in the implementation process. At one of the schools studied this adjustment has taken the form of "accommodation", which involves the reformulation of the legislated text to maintain the power base of the manager, whilst at the other school researched, "containment", which involves the absorption of the policy into the school culture seems to have happened to a certain extent. It is thus argued that at certain schools SGBs are not sites of democracy, but rather, sites of control. This is because the boundaries of the two schools studied were predetermined by certain contextual issues; the two main ones being the role of the manager and the histories of the various stakeholders. Ultimately, it seems that there is a dichotomy between the SASA (1996) as an educational policy and the contexts, which it entered.

Chapter 1

Introduction

The South African Schools Act (SASA), passed in 1996 (Act No. 84 of 1996)¹ requires that all schools should establish school governing bodies (SGBs). In terms of the Act, and subsequent regulations issued in the Western Cape it was expected that SGBs, would have been in place by the end of August 1997, consisting of, in each school, five elected parents, two elected educators and one elected non-educator along with the manager of the school.²

The aim of this research, is to analyze the success of the implementation of the SASA (1996), with respect to parental participation in school governing bodies (SGBs). This study is intended to broaden the scope of South African education reform literature, through two case studies of historically disadvantaged schools in the Athlone area. The ways in which the two schools have responded and the similarities and differences in the responses of SGBs at the two schools to the implementation of the SASA (1996), regarding the establishment of SGBs, will be examined and compared. Factors, which played a significant role in the responses of the different role-players, to the changes imposed by this legislation, will be highlighted.

The following issues are examined: a.) the content and some of the issues and implications of the SASA (1996); b.) the extent to which the SASA (1996) has given power to educators and school

¹ This Act will henceforth be referred to as the SASA (1996).

² Two elected pupils form part of the SGBs of secondary schools.

governors; c.) whether the Act is working as its proponents intended it to; d.) influences that parents now have in the two schools in respect of:

- the content and some of the issues and implications of the Act,
- how the schools are managed and developed,
- the climate and ethos of the schools;

e.) projects that were initiated by the SGBs during the period 1997 - 1999; f.) programs on which educators and parents collaborated; g.) relationships between parents and teachers; and, h.) how parents have been utilized in the schools as resources.

In this research I argue that there is a need to review SGBs. I argue that schools, as suggested by the documented evidence offered in this work, and on the basis of other information, which suggests that many SGBs are operating less than optimally, require the guidance of a revised SASA which is far more alert to the specificity of the contexts in which SGBs operate in SA.

In *Understanding the SA Schools Act: What Public Governors Need to Know* (1997:9), important points are made in relation to why the SASA (1996) was passed. The reasons conveyed are that the Constitution of the country has values and principles and that these apply to education; viz: that each child is entitled to receive a free basic education and this right of the child is the responsibility of all; progressive transformation has to take place in education; partnerships are to be promoted in education amongst the stakeholders such as the state, educators, parents and learners and so forth (*ibid.*). The points are neatly conceptualized in the SASA (1996).

It is; however, evident from the findings of this study that educational policy moves through various stages, especially where the context of practice is concerned. This relates to the implementation of the SASA (1996), where educators and parents hardly have an understanding of the text itself. Ms. Kay, an educator of Topaz Primary, one of the schools in this study, for example, noted that: "It (the SASA, 1996) is a lot of jargon."

The question posed in this dissertation is the extent to which the implementation of the SASA (1996) has been realized in two schools in the Athlone area, with particular respect to parental participation in school governing bodies. There are a number of limitations pertaining to this research, which need to be noted, viz: a.) the findings of this research cannot be generalized, because the contexts of schools differ and two schools with very similar backgrounds were identified as research sites for this research; b.) the study does not encompass all the issues pertaining to parental participation in schools as only two sites were studied; c.) over time various parental issues evolve at schools, thus the time-factor largely influenced the data collected by the researcher as on-site observations, field-notes and interviews were completed within a week at each of the schools studied; d.) as only a certain portion of the parent constituency returned the survey forms distributed, the validity and reliability of the data can be questioned because it is not representative of all the parents.

Theoretical Framework

Ball (1987; 1990; 1994) and Bowe, Ball and Gold (1992; 1996) provide the conceptual framework of this study. Ball argues that the process of educational policy is non-linear and that there are three primary contexts of policy-making, viz: the context of influence; the context of policy text production; and, the context of practice.

This research centres around the implementation of policy, or what Ball would call the context of practice. The micro-politics involved in the mediation, implementation, and practice of policy as it is recontextualized is investigated. The study will further draw on the argument of Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) that policy, as a legislated text, is but one of a multiple of ways in which policy is presented. Bowe, *et al*'s (1992; 1996) argument pertains to the different sites that will be observed, as the ways in which the dynamics of these sites work will affect the ways in which legislated policy is read and implemented.

Background

The background to this study is formed by the first democratic government election when there was a strong political impetus for the transformation of the South African schooling system. The government had to legitimize schooling for the Black people. This was due to the apartheid state having used education as a tool to oppress these people. Many a school in these communities had served as "sites of struggle", as Blacks fought back in what was called the "liberation struggle." This group of people felt that the education that they received had no authenticity as it was what Soudien refers to as "gutter education" (1999a: 1).

The Government of National Unity (GNU) had to reform schooling. One of the areas that was focused on was the governance of schools. In the apartheid state Black parents had been marginalized and very little interaction between parents and schools existed.³

In the *Education White Paper I* of 1995, the new ministry of Education emphasized that parents had to become involved in the education of their children, stating that:

Parents or guardians have the primary responsibility for the education of their children, and have the right to be consulted by the State authorities with respect to the form that education should take and to take part in its governance.

The endorsement and promotion of the advancement of parental involvement was further pursued by the new government in 1995 through its appointment of a 17 member committee known as the Hunter Commission. The brief of the Minister of Education, Professor SME Bengu, was that the committee should propose to the government:

a national framework of school organization and ownership, and norms and standards on school governance and funding which, in the view of the committee, are likely to command the widest possible public support, accord with the requirements of the constitution, improve the quality and effectiveness of schools, and be financially sustainable from public funds.

³ Here the parents who served on the Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs) in secondary schools and Parent Teacher Associations (PTAs) in primary schools, from the fifties to the mid-nineties, are referred to.

(*Report of the Committee to Review the Organization, Governance and Funding of Schools* (The Hunter Commission Report), Department of Education, Pretoria, 31 August 1995, Preface).

The aims of the government were to establish equity, democracy, and quality in schools. Parental involvement in the governance of schools was one of the measures to be used to achieve these aims. The Hunter Commission (1995) provided the government with the framework to achieve these aims.

The Hunter Commission, a 17 member committee which was formed in 1995 by the then South African Minister of Education, Professor SME Bengu, was given the brief to develop

a national framework of school organization and ownership, and norms and standards on school governance and funding which, in the view of the committee, are likely to command the widest possible public support, accord with the requirements of the constitutions, improve the quality and effectiveness of schools, and be financially sustainable from public funds.

(*Report of the Committee to Review the Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools* (The Hunter Commission Report), Department of Education, Pretoria, 31 August 1995, Preface).

Parental involvement in so-called black schools had been minimal during the Apartheid era, as Black parents had been marginalized. There were only a few so-called Black schools, where parents had been involved either individually or communally. In its reformation of the education system, the Government of National Unity (GNU), made the governance of schools its focal issue.

The Hunter Commission Report thus had to inform the government as to how to promote the advancement of parental power. In the *Education White Paper I* of 1995, the new ministry of education had stated in respect to parental involvement in schools that:

Parents and guardians have the primary responsibility for the education of their children, and have the right to be consulted by the State authorities with respect to the form that education should take and to take part in its governance.

The Hunter Commission Report proposed that the SGB structure be introduced in schools. The South African Schools Bill (1996) endorsed this. This Bill was enacted as the SASA (1996) which made it compulsory for all South African schools to establish a school governing body by July 1997.

The establishment of parental involvement in schools was facilitated by education Department booklets like, *Understanding the South African Schools Act: What Public Governors Need to Know* (1997). The information contained in this booklet pertains to the background of the SASA (1996); and includes such information as: the place of the governing body in the governance of the school; the nature and functions of a governing body; the money and property of the school; admission of learners' language policy and religious policy; school discipline; and, transitional provisions - moving from the old to the new system.

The SASA (1996) had to form the basis for the interpretation of the information contained in this booklet. One of the most important sections of the booklet is, *The Nature and Functions of a Governing Body*, which elaborates on the purpose, constitution, election and duties of the SGB. This booklet was thus to facilitate the establishment of parent-teacher partnerships which formed part of the discourse of educational decentralization.

It is how this policy was taken up in the two schools in the Athlone area that this study focuses on.

Structure Of The Dissertation

Chapter 1 provides the introduction for the study, an important part of which is the aim of the research. It furthermore contains the background to the study, which seeks to examine the policy context in the apartheid and post-apartheid era and the dialogue surrounding it. The SASA

(1996) as a post-apartheid legislated text is focused upon, as are the responses to it on the micro-level.

Chapter 2 is a synthesis of the literature reviewed for this study. It consists of the literature related to policy and the policy process; change and the change process; the establishment of (SGBs) in South African schools; decentralization; and, parental participation. It commences with a distinction between research into policy and research into the policy process.

Chapter 3 embodies the research methodology. The various data collection strategies used are discussed, viz., : informal visits; surveys; on-site observations; interviews; and, review of SGB documents.

Chapter 4 brings together the results of the observations, surveys, and interviews, which were conducted.

Chapter 5 concludes this research dissertation. The conclusions in this chapter are drawn from the findings, which are affiliated, to the literature discussed in Chapter 3.

Chapter 2

LITERATURE REVIEW

This chapter provides an overview of the literature relating to policy, change, the establishment of SGBs and parental participation. The work of Ball (1987 and 1994a) is central to this discussion. The argument that is developed through the literature review is that the micro-politics of the school setting crucially shape how policies are received and worked with.

A survey of the current South African development literature exposes the gaps in research on the implementation of post-apartheid policy in local contexts. While there are a number of key studies which have appeared since 1996, notably the work of Taylor and Vinjevold (1999) which looks at teaching and learning in schools and the study done by Christie and Potterton (1997) on school interventions, there are very few studies which focus on implementation. Petersen's (1998) work is an exception to this. She examined a Model C school's understanding, shaping, and construction of certain education policies. She concluded her study by suggesting the implementation of the White Paper and the South African Schools Act (SASA) 1996, as an area for further research. This research thus follows on Petersen's (1998) study by investigating and comparing the extent to which the aims of the SASA (1996) have been realized in South African schools.⁴

⁴ This dissertation is also an extension of the studies which the researcher conducted while doing the degree of Bachelor of Education at the University of Cape Town in 1997 - 1998.

There are different themes, which surface in the literature drawn upon for this study, namely, 1.) policy and the policy process; 2.) change and the change process; 3.) decentralization; and, 4.) parental participation.

Policy and the Policy Process

A text that is central to this study is that of Ball (1994a), *Education Reform* which has its focal point the policy process. Ball (1994a) examines the local contexts of policy and analyzes the distortions and the implementation of legislated policy. In his scrutiny of policy in local contexts, Ball (1994a) uses an ethnographic approach which allows him to enter the discourses and relationships of power that are operative in the micro-level. This ethnographic approach is derived from the genealogical approach, used by Foucault and allows the many issues that are subverted or submerged in schools to come to the fore. The framework that Ball uses to inform this approach is what he calls "a trialectic of dominance, resistance and chaos/freedom" (Ball, 1994a:11).

Ball (1994a) argues that the changes imposed by education policies are indicative of *shifts* taking place in schools, one of which is a *shift* in the relationship between the school and parents. These *shifts* result in the demoralization of educators, who are subjected to policy, by means of legislation. Educators have to engage with those changes, which have profound effects on the nature of the school as an organization.

Henry (1993) critiques Ball (1990; 1994a), by saying that Ball's argument is eclectic. Henry (1993) argues that the integrated theoretical approach used by Ball fails to hang together and that his discussion of policy is disputable, because of the "tools" that he uses to analyze policy. Henry (1993) argues that in focusing on the "localized complexity" Ball (1994a) is moving away from the structural approach to a post-modern approach.

Ozga (1990) stresses the importance of combining macro-level policies with research of micro-level implementation (in Ball, 1994a:14). Ball's (1994a) approach is similar to that of Ozga, but differs from it in so far as he is open to other approaches. He says that there are two ways in which policy can be approached, that is, "policy as text and policy as discourse" (1994a:16-22). As a text, policy is non-linear, because it goes through various stages, wherein the multiple interpretations of it and the various agendas of policy actors, result in arguments. The meaning of policies cannot be controlled, because the policy actors in the different contexts, decode, interpret, and formulate the meanings of policies as they are played out (*ibid.*, :6). Policies are presented differently and thus implemented in various ways, because of the "plurality of readings" (*ibid.*, :16).

The responses to policy are influenced by the "histories" of the context and readers to which it is introduced. A policy does not enter "a social or institutional vacuum ... the physical text that pops through the school letterbox, or whatever does not arrive 'out of the blue'" (*ibid.*, :170). The ways in which policies are received depend on the different power relations and structures within schools.

Ball (1994a) uses Foucault's analysis of power, stating that power has a negative and positive side. The key mediators of policies in schools are "determined" by these power structures. Offe (1984:107), who has a different theoretical basis, also notes that, "effects of policy cannot simply be read off from texts and are the outcome of conflict and struggle between 'interests' in contexts." Ball notes that the implementation of policies requires "commitment, understanding, capability, resources, practical limitations, co-operation and (importantly) inter-textual compatibility" (1994a:19).

In the discussion of "policy as discourse", Ball (1994a) does not concentrate on the "agents" as he did in "policy as text"; he focuses on the constraints, limitations or structure inherent in the policy. He uses Foucault's (1977:49) interpretation of discourse where, "discourses are ...

regarded as practices that systematically form the objects of which they speak. Discourses are not about objects; they do not identify objects; they constitute them and in the practice of doing so conceal their own intervention." Discourse determines whose voices are heard. The discourse framing current South African educational policies is argued by certain theorists to be neo-liberal. The possibilities and limitations of South African educational policies are thus determined by the neo-liberal discourse. Offe (1994) may thus be right in noting that the "essence" of discourse is that predetermined issues cause conflict.

Petersen (1998) argues that Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) "challenge" the argument presented by Ball (1990; 1994a). In Bowe, *et al*'s challenge, Ball (1990; 1994a) is presented as supporting the argument that policy is linear, that is, top-down or bottom-up. Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996:286) note that policy is not "done and finished at the legislative moment." (It is) still taking place after legislation (*ibid.*, : 279). This means that Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) regard the policy process as being continuous, with the generation and implementation processes being central to it, whilst it is extended through explanatory texts. Alford and Friendland (1985) differ from Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996), arguing that the policy process of policy generation and the process of policy implementation are indubitably different stages, with the latter following on the former.

The texts of Ball (1990; 1994a) are valuable in the understanding of the different ways in which policies are engaged with; that is, the varying interpretations, formulations and implementations. The work of Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996), further illuminates the understanding of the policy process.

Ranson (1995) argues that Ball (1990; 1994a) uses a non-linear theoretical approach in an attempt to challenge neo-Marxist theories, which emphasize the role of the state in policy. Ball says (in Bowe, *et al*, 1992) that a linear process is used in the state-control model of policy analysis.

Bowe, *et al* (1992:7) state that the role of the policy implementers is determined by legislation and that the implementation discourse resides in policy. Ball (in Bowe, *et al*, 1992:19) attempts to move away from the state-control model, admitting that at each stage of the policy process the empowerment of the role-players vary.

Ranson (1995:435) states that in the examination of the policy process, Ball emphasizes the analysis of micro-politics in the local contexts. Ball thus, (in Bowe, *et al*, 1992) identifies what is known as the "policy cycle", to explain what he regards as the three contexts of policy, viz., : the context of influence; the context of policy text production and the context of practice. Ball regards the policy cycle as being continuous, with the central issue being policy recontextualization. Ball (in Bowe, *et al*, 1992) recognizes that policy has a number of different contexts, where the contestation and recontextualization of policy take place. Ranson notes that, "the little gaps and contradictions within the policy process allow the micro-political process of struggle and influence at each stage to 'recontextualize' the meaning, implementation and practice of policy" (1995:436).

Ball (1992) says that the three primary contexts are continuous within the policy cycle and interrelated, as such. In Bowe, *et al* (1992), the public arena is the context of influence. This is the context, where the government and legislation processes try to control policy to define the aims of education (Bowe, *et al*, 1992).

In the context of policy text production, different actors try to control the meaning of the legislated texts. Bowe, *et al* (1992:19-21), thus note that, "texts have to be read with and against one another, which may lead to a variety of versions that may be unclear and contradictory." The context of practice is the arena where the legislated texts are interpreted, reinterpreted, reformulated, and implemented. Bowe, *et al* (1992) argue that in the context of practice the positions adopted by practitioners in regard to the legislated texts depend on the ways in which their experiences, comprehension and attitudes allow them to give meaning to the text. It is in the

latter context, that the legislated text is distorted through the acceptance, rejection, ignorance, and misinterpretations of practitioners. The context of practice is largely illustrative of how the recontextualization of policies happens in Ball's policy cycle-model, due to the contestations of the legislated text by different actors.

Hatcher and Troyna (1994) critique this position which Ball (1992) adopted to resolve the dispute between the pluralists and Marxists. The pluralists and Marxists differ in their theoretical interpretations "of the role of the state in education policy and its reform" (Ranson, 1995:427).

Hatcher and Troyna (1994:157) suggest that Ball (1992) adopted a pluralist approach by emphasizing the role of agents in the formulation of legislated texts. Ball (1992) though, rejects the notion that the state promotes the interests of the minority. The position adopted by Hatcher and Troyna (1994) is Marxist, as they posit that the link between the economy and the state plays a primary role in the formulation of policies.

Hatcher and Troyna (1994:156) argue that the policy cycle introduced by Ball (1992) places too much emphasis on the recontextualization of policy, especially in the local contexts, neglecting the previous structure of the cycle and distorting the relative power of the policy actors, such as that of the state. Hatcher and Troyna note that the analysis of the policy process should allow that the state has more control over the outcomes of policies; whilst allowing that recontextualization will take place on the micro-level. This argument places the state in the midst of the policy process. Hatcher and Troyna (1994) say that Ball's policy cycle ignores the issue of resistance to legislated texts and the possible tactics to counter opposition.

In response to the criticisms of the "policy cycle" advanced by Hatcher and Troyna (1994), Ball (1994), acknowledged the power of the state. Ball (1994:175-176) says that,

...The point is not to displace the state, but to begin an analysis of those forms of power that support the state, which are rooted elsewhere and which are not realized simply or solely in modes of coercion and repression ... as soon as there's a relation of power there's a possibility of resistance.

Ball stresses that he does not deny the power that resides in the state, but that the state's power is "circumscribed by the contextual features of institutions over which the state may find that control is both problematic and contradictory in terms of other political influences" (Bowe, *et al*, 1992:120). Ball (1994) notes that the contestation of policy in the different contexts determines where the power resides, not the state.

Blackmore, Kenway, Willis and Rennie (1994) concur with Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) that the conventional discourse of policy analysis shapes and restricts the position of role-players who are not state employees and justify and legitimize the roles of those who are, making their "voices" more authentic. Bowe, *et al* (1996), regard the policy generation and policy implementation processes as significantly different stages, in which there are active role-players and "positive recipients".

"Discrepancies" between policy texts and the outcomes of their implementation are referred to as "implementation problem(s)", in the dominant discourse which blames "implementation problem(s) on the opposition of teachers (educators) and the lack of managerialism" (Blackmore, *et al*, 1994:184). The way, in which policy is perceived, thus depends on the degree of adherence that the role-players of the policy process have to the dominant discourse.

In *The Micro-Politics of the School: Towards a Theory of School Organization*, Ball (1987) admitted that many of his assumptions require further research. In the text, the interest that he has for what Hoyle (1988:256) refers to as the "organisational underworld", can be detected. Hoyle (1988:256) says, "micro-politics embraces those strategies by which individuals and groups in organizational contexts seek to use their resources of power and influence to further their interests."

Hoyle identifies "interest, interest sets, power and strategies" as the main components of micro-politics (1988:256). Ball (1987) and Hoyle (1988) display an interest in the micro-politics of

organizations. Ball (1987) notes that a study of the micro-political level reveals issues (of policy implementation), which practitioners would repudiate. According to Hoyle (1988) and Bacharach and Lawler (1998) "power play" is one of the significant issues which should be examined. A study of the micro-politics in the analysis of policy will allow one to expose the "realities of life in organizations" (Ball, 1987:xi). This is an important analysis, which this study will use.

The works referred to thus far discuss policy and the policy process. The discussion of literature that is relevant to this study will now turn to theories of change and the process of change. Change, as a theme is pertinent to this study as educational policies aim to engage processes of change. According to Hall (1995a) one must have an understanding of how change happens if one wants to be successful with the implementation of policy.

Change and the Change Process

Caldwell (1993:172) states that: "Change, including turbulence, is now a permanent condition in education." Most of the initial literature which focuses on change (Mort, 1953), fails to address the complex nature of the "educational milieu" (Hall, 1995a). The paradigm shift, which occurred in the theories of change, can be linked to the paradigm shift in the discourse of policy-making. Works of current change theorists, such as, Hall (1995a); Fullan (1993a); and, Fullan and Stiegelbauer (1993) are indicative of the paradigm shift in the discourse of change. The understanding of change in the old paradigm was that change is "an event" and not a process. This understanding of change influenced the linear way in which the policy process was viewed. Hall (1995a:107) says that, earlier research assumed that "widespread adoption and use would follow (policy generation) automatically." Change was thus regarded as being embedded in the legislated policy texts. It was thus assumed that the legislation of policy would automatically bring about change. Earlier this understanding of change could be adopted in relation to education policy, because the educational arena was not as complex as it presently is (Hall, 1995a:106).

The paradigm shift in the understanding of policy as a process necessitated the paradigm shift to the interpretation of change as a process.

Hall (1995a); Hall and Carter (1995); and, Fullan (1993a) approach "change as a process, not as an event." The argument they adopt in analyzing change is that the individuals who are part of the change process should also be analyzed. This means that the effect that the change has on individuals, who inhabit the social world where the change happens, must be studied.

Hord (1995); Hall, *et al* (1995); and, Fullan (1993a) concur that the way in which individuals, who are part of the policy process, perceive the changes are important. As they focus on what it is that makes people change, they emphasize the importance of the perceptions of individuals who are affected by change. Hord (1995:92) states that "change is really about ... people ... each and every individual who will be involved in implementing new policies, programmes and process."

Squelch and Lemmer (1994) differentiate between two spheres of change in schools; these are "structural change" and "people-centred change". They note that "policies, rules and procedures" institute structural change (*ibid.*, :137). Change, which centres around "people's attitude, behaviour, performance and way of acting", is referred to as people-centred change (*ibid.*, :137). Bell (1988) says that when change is introduced people are likely to become stressed, anxious and annoying, causing problems. He quotes George Bernard Shaw, stating that: "Reformers have the idea that change can be achieved by brute sanity" (Bell, 1988:198).

Fullan (1993a), Hord (1995) and Hall (1995a) examine how people affect change processes and the outcome of policy. Fullan (1993a) and Fullan, *et al* (1993) took the focus of studying why individuals change further, to a focus on factors, which influence individuals in education to change. In studying the latter, policy implementation is examined instead of policy generation.

Hord (1995) notes that for the implementation of policy to be successful an "intelligent combination" of force and assistance must be embedded in the policy. This means that, the nature of policy influences whether or not individuals will change. Fullan (1993a) argues that the sensitivity of individuals in institutions, to the changing process, must be considered.

Change theorists, such as Saunders (1986) identified three "broad categories" which illustrate the responses of individuals to changes, which are externally imposed: 1.) adoptive extension: an interpretation which takes legislated texts seriously, thus bringing about whole school change; 2.) accommodation: the act of reformulating the legislated text to maintain the present form of the school; and, 3.) containment: the absorption of policy into the school culture.

The context into which policies are introduced determines the success of the policy, as has been confirmed by policy analysts such as Ball (1990; 1994a) and Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996). Successful policy implementation furthermore, depends on the manner in which it will be done and the degree of implementation envisaged. This is, because changes wrought can be done either in what Hall (1995a:112) refers to as an "innovation bundle" or as a "large-scale innovation".

According to Hall (1995a:112), the "innovation bundle" includes many reforms; whilst a "large-scale innovation" is "big" and necessitates changes on the part of all the role-players. Another distinction that can be made is that "innovation bundles" are implemented sporadically; whilst "large-scale innovations" require that a "5 - 10 year commitment (be) given on the part of the policy level to support the implementation of 'large-scale innovations'." This means that the size of the "innovation" directly relates to the nature of the involvement of individuals. The bigger the "innovation", the more role-players will have to support it (*ibid.*, :113); the success of the "innovation" is furthermore, determined by the perception that leaders, such as school principals, have of it (Hall, 1995a).

In relation to policy theorists like Ball (1994a) and Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996), who examine the internal context, viz., the policy context, change theorists, like Hall (1995a); Fullan (1993); and Fullan, *et al* (1993) focus on the internal context of the policy process. The embedded assumption of this discourse is that the perception that individuals have of a policy will largely affect the success of the implementation of the policy.

The argument Hall (1995a) makes that "the innovation is in the mind of the beholder", is similar to that made by Ball (1994a); Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) and Fullan (1993a). Petersen (1998) notes that constructivist theory informs the position held by these theorists. This is based on the Hall (1995a:117) notion, which defines "innovation" in terms of "the meaning attached to it by the participants in the change process."

As Ball (in Bowe, *et al*, 1992; 1996) notes, Hall (1995a:117) argues that the role-player in the policy process "will base his or her own definition of the innovation and its implication, ... on (his/her) past experiences (and) perceptions of the interventions (e.g. memos, announcements and workshops)." The importance of the different constructs that individuals have of the world is thus emphasized (Hall, *et al*, 1995). The leadership provided can shape these perceptions of individuals.

Hall (1995a) and Hall, Rutherford, Hord and Huling-Austin (1984) stress the role that leadership plays in the change process. Hall states that, "ultimately, if the principal (manager) and others do an effective job of change facilitation, the concerns of teachers (educators) and others may shift to having more 'impact' perspectives, where there is an analysis of the innovation in terms of its consequences and effects upon students" (1995a:177).

In *The New Meaning of Educational Change*, Fullan, *et al* (1993:76) identify the principal (manager) as one of the individuals who can affect the success of change, stating that he/she is one of the "main agents (or blockers) of change." Hall, *et al* (1984:115) view principals

(managers) as "change facilitators", and posit that the "change facilitator style of the principal (manager) is important." Fullan, *et al* (1993:76) concur that principals (managers) are "most likely to be in a position to shape the organizational conditions necessary for success, such as the development of shared goals, collaborative work structures and climates and the procedures for monitoring results".

While there is much evidence which proves that the role that the principal (manager) plays in the change process is important, there are studies which are indicative of the inactive roles that principals (managers) do actually play. Studies conducted found that many teachers (educators) believe that their principals (managers) only do administrative duties (Fullan, *et al*, 1993:77).

Furthermore, it is said that principals (managers) experience difficulties in adapting to their "new role as facilitators" (Fullan, *et al*, 1993:77). Fullan, *et al* (1993) note that principals (managers) are unprepared for these new roles that they have to play. This holds crucial implications for the implementation of policies. The importance of the role that the principal (managers) plays in influencing the perceptions those teachers (educators) have of change is duly noted by Fullan, *et al* (1993). He continues his argument of how people can shape each other's perception of change, saying that teachers (educators) also shape each other's perception of change.

Fullan, *et al* (1993) regard inter-relationships, between teachers (educators) to be of importance. This is because an atmosphere that is conducive to the learning of new things will facilitate the change process. In conclusion, Fullan, *et al* (1993:78) emphasize that the success of educational reform is determined by the extent to which education reformers take cognizance of the "subjective world", in which the role-players of the change live.

In the text, *Change Forces*, Fullan (1993a:3) notes that education change involves a "fundamental shift of mind." He (Fullan, 1993a) says that conflict is caused when educational changes are introduced, because the educational systems are traditionally conservative. He

refers to "the juxtaposition of a continuous *change theme* ... (within) a *conservative system*" when a shift in the mindset of educationists is absent (Fullan, 1993a:3). At one end of the continuum the educational changes, which are inherent to a post-modern society will be constant; whilst, the conservative education system will be at the other end.

Fullan (1993a:3) predicts that the "status quo" is more likely to remain the same than change, because teachers (educators) have been trained in a certain way; schools have certain organizational structures, which operate in terms of hierarchy; and, because of the approach that politicians have to education. Fullan (1993a:3) concludes that attempting change "under such circumstances, results in defensiveness, superficiality or, at best short-lived pockets of success".

Fullan (1992) states that the "role of the manager" has never been easy. The complexity and the diversity of the manager's role change as does the "needs and demands of the society we live in." Especially in the South African context where the Education system is transformed to a truly national system, not based on the apartheid structure of the old paradigm, but on what Anderson (1998) refers to as "empowered constituencies" and democracy.

According to Leithwood and Montgomery, 1986 (in Fullan, 1992:7) the manager has to effectively implement school governance policies. This suggests that the manager is largely accountable for the capacity building of the parent community. He/she thus has to use means such as notices, newsletters, and parent-educator meetings to ensure that the parents are cognizant of their duties as SGB members and as part of the broader parent community. Many managers of South African schools are however ill-equipped to perform this task, making the realization of this policy problematic. Morgan (1989:34) states that the most important denominator for change to happen is for the manager of the school to "not just cope with it, but (to love) it."

The literature, which pertains to: 1.) policy and the policy process; and, 2.) change and the change process has thus far been examined. Because decentralization is at the heart of the form of change which is proposed in South Africa, it is to that literature that the discussion now turns.

Educational decentralization

Sayed (1997) examines the educational decentralization discourse of the government in an article entitled, *Understanding Educational Decentralization in Post-Apartheid South Africa*. Sayed (1997:354) goes on to offer an analysis of the concept of decentralization in relation to the three policy dimensions which he identifies as: administrative, political, and ideological. He continues with a discussion of how the centralization of education is understood in the development of the present South African policies.

Sayed (1997) provides a critique of the discourse of "educational decentralization" which informs the current legislation surrounding policy. The tension-ridden and contradictory nature of the decentralization process in policies is elaborated upon. Sayed (1997) concludes by highlighting the "tension" that exists between the national and provincial education departments in the process of decision-making.

Sayed (1997) argues that decentralization is part of global education trends and is the main measure used internationally in balancing the reformation of education. Sayed (1997) and Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) note that the ERA (1988), which was passed in England and Wales points towards the decentralization discourse, adopted by those countries.

Deem (1988) examines the issues and implications raised by the ERA. Aspects of the Act, which relate directly to schooling, were highlighted, as was the discrepancies within the ERA. Deem (1988) notes that the ERA might result in the empowerment of parents who already have access

to power; whilst the parents who are not empowered, will be further marginalized. The neo-liberal discourse, in which the market has a central role, is blamed for the plight of the marginalized.

Deem (1988:186) states that, "if planning in future is to be left to groups of parents and governors, who will often have short term and particular interests (their children's time in education, their term of office then co-ordination), continuity and constancy will be more difficult to achieve." Deem (1988:186) illustrates her point by making the example that, "if school A has lots of white middle class pupils and a well-off and generous parent body it is not likely to worry about school B's falling numbers, lack of resources and disadvantaged pupils." The SASA (1996) has the same aims as the ERA implemented in England and Wales, and the same questions raised in those countries can be raised in the South African context.

Deem (1988) considers the nature of parental participation in schools; whether or not parents do want to have a "voice" in their children's education; and, whether or not the members of the SGBs are true representatives, who give report backs. Deem concludes by stating that, "running a school is difficult if you are never or rarely in it when it is in operation; it is also difficult if you have other things to do, like a job, childcare or indeed any other responsibilities which take up a lot of the day and week" (1988:187).

The SASA (1996), which empowers parents to govern the school, is essentially part of the South African decentralization discourse. Sayed (1997:35) notes that this discourse is informed by "international agencies such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund." Sayed's (1997) work is an extension of the research that he had done on the decentralization of education prior to the elections of 1994. In the 1996 *Wits EPU: Quarterly Review of Education and Training in South Africa*, Mokgalane and Vally, admit that policies can be positive, but critique the conceptual frameworks of South African policies, focusing on problems that might be experienced in the process of implementation.

Mokgalane, *et al* (1996:1) note that "there is no easy transition from visions and positions stated on paper and their realisation in practice." In the process, some of the original goals may be elaborated or transformed in such a way that significantly changes their impact." Mokgalane, *et al*'s (1996) approach to the process of policy is similar to the approach of policy theorists such as Ball (1990; 1994a), Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) and that of change theorists such as Hall (1995:a); Fullan (1993a); and, Fullan, *et al* (1993) that have been examined in the previous section of the review.

Mokgalane, *et al* (1996:4) note that the *Education White Paper 2* is a move by the national Department of Education "to consolidate its hold on the field and imprint its vision on the educational system." It is argued that the National Department of Education has adopted this position, because it is aware of the importance of the time frame in which education policy is situated and that legislated education policies entered into now, will be entrenched for a lengthy period (*ibid.*). The *Education White Paper 2* and documents that have a similar nature to it, thus "reflect a careful balancing act between contradictory political imperatives, with uncertain results" (Mokgalane, *et al*, 1996:4.).

Mokgalane, *et al* (1996) say that post-apartheid documents have undergone a process of recontextualization as referred to by Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996). The challenge identified by Mokgalane, *et al* (1996) is how to get an alignment to ensure a smoother transition. Mokgalane, *et al* (1996) are concerned about the policy process, particularly the process of implementation. The state and its bureaucracy have always been regarded as having neglected policy, according to Mokgalane, *et al* (1996). The bureaucracy was seen to be "a mindless inhibiting factor, with little will or power of its own" (Mokgalane, *et al*, 1996:4). It is noted that a shift has taken place since the 1994 elections and Mokgalane, *et al* (1996:4) say that the state and its bureaucracy now "have their own mode of operation in processing visions and goals which must be tackled." It is argued that the process of policy implementation must be "built into policy implementation

from its inception, rather than ... (as an) after thought" (Mokgalane, *et al*, 1996:4). The policies formulated by the government are furthermore stated to be informed by the newly adopted Growth, Employment and Redistribution Strategy (GEAR) of the government.

In the later review, *Wits EPU: Quarterly Review of Education and Training in South Africa* (1996), Chisholm and Vally, focus on the powers that the Draft South African Schools Bill envisages for governing bodies. The SGB is proposed by the Bill to be composed of parents, educators, non-educators, and the manager. This is the way in which the SASA (1996) legislated it.

Chisholm, *et al* (1996) say that the SASA (1996) will bring about changes in so-called Black schools, which had (PTAs) that were not recognized by the Apartheid era education officials. It is further noted by Chisholm, *et al* (1996) that in the context of SGBs having been non-existent in most schools previously, the formulation of SGBs that are functionally effective is important, as is capacity-building. Chisholm, *et al* (1996:7) note that "many school governing bodies ... (may be) hard-pressed to cope with their new powers and responsibilities", if adequate capacity-building programmes are not instituted.

The issue of parents, who serve on SGBs, having to do administrative work for the Department without remuneration is referred to by Chisholm, *et al* (1996), as it had been in a previous review of the Education Policy Unit (EPU). It is suggested that "to ensure consistent parental involvement, a 'sine qua non' for successful governing bodies, factors which militate against this involvement such as work and travel commitments must be given serious thought" (Chisholm, *et al*, 1996:7). This alludes to the government having to facilitate time-off from work for parents without having to lose pay, if they are working.

Sayed (1996) also focuses on the tensions and contradictions of educational policies. School governance as a policy is examined. It is argued that this policy will not necessarily promote parental participation in schools and may in fact, retard equity (Sayed, 1996).

Beresford (1992) examines the tensions that parental involvement cause. Beresford concentrates on the conflict and contradictions of school governance, as an educational policy, as does Sayed (1996). Beresford (1992:54) says that generally parents seem to be satisfied with their limited control and that they "are often over-awed by their responsibility" if they are part of SGBs, because they know what their limitations are. This, Beresford (1992) notes, causes parents to be manipulated by principals (managers). Beresford (1992:54) says that schools may well benefit from the increased involvement and support of parents and the establishment of "dialogue and accountability."

Sayed (1997) builds on his previous work on school governance, by discussing the issue of decentralization, with a focus on the SASA of 1996. The tensions and contradictions "embedded" in the SASA (1996) are highlighted, in respect of the decentralization of education. Sayed (1997) identifies the primary tension in the SASA (1996) to be the role that the State will play in the governance of education. The Hunter Commission Report (1995) established the foundation for the establishment of SGBs.

Sayed (1997:358) argues that the enactment of the South African Schools Bill, with the SASA (1996) initiated two "processes." The first process involved the legislation of the powers and the duties "devolved to schools" and the SGBs, while the second process involved, "the state ... (using) its control over education to intervene and restructure school governance" (Sayed 1997:358).

A discrepancy in the decentralization process is noted by Sayed (1997:358) as "despite a stated commitment to decentralization, the SASA (1996) attests to the fact that the South African state is unwilling to remit total educational control." School governance is thus controlled by the government through a process of devolution of power to the SGBs amounting to the right to collect school fees.

Sayed (1997) notes that the SASA (1996) acknowledges the demand of the South African educational governance debate for increased parental involvement in schools. The nature in which it is done, however, is conflicting, because, it wants to allow the parents their right to participate in the democracy, by serving on the SGBs; whilst their right to freedom is restricted as certain duties are demanded of them.

Sayed (1997:360) states that, "parents' school citizenship status is guaranteed by the conferring of juristic persona on school governing bodies." The *Education White Paper 2* had stated that schools will be "turned over" to parents, but partnerships in the governance of schools have been formed, so solely parents do not govern the school. Sayed (1997) says that, because parent-school partnerships have been established, the parents are unlikely to come into opposition with the education officials. During the Apartheid era, schools were "sites of struggle" in the "struggle for liberation". One of the measures used by the government to legitimize schooling was through the establishment of parental participation. Sayed (1997) concludes by saying that the policy on the decentralization of education policy is manifested in the SASA (1996). There are tensions and contradictions in this "discourse" which tries to establish a "balance" of national and provincial powers. Sayed furthermore states that "these discourses will lead to the creation of a deracialized, class-stratified, two-tier public school system in which neo-liberal market ideology will hold sway " (1997:363).

This literature review has thus far drawn on the following themes: 1.) policy and the policy process; 2.) change and the change process; and 3.) decentralization. The fourth theme, which will now be linked to the afore-mentioned, is parental participation.

Parental Participation in Schools

The debate on parental participation has several themes, amongst which are the issue of participation; conflicting views on parental involvement; the "development of welfare state rationality"; views of the parent as a consumer; and, "consumer weakness" (Woods, 1988:323). It is argued by Woods (1988) that legislation should ensure that all children have access to free education, decided on by their parents. This Woods (1988) bases on the perception that parents should become active in the education of their children. Woods (1988) considers the "voice" that parents have in issues such as the curriculum; availability of resources and tests used in schools. The nature of "parental influence" is not simply regarded in terms of fiscal means by Woods (1988:324), but as a means to resolve "theoretical and practical issues."

Ranson, 1983 (in Woods, 1988:324) argues that participation is when contact is effected between various stakeholders, for the mutual benefit of the different parties involved. She regards the "essence" of participation as being the bargaining process whereof the result is unpredictable. Lucas, 1976 (in Woods, 1988:324) observed that it is fashionable to participate nowadays. Everyone wants to participate, but what the nature of participation is, is not clear, that is why prospective participants are dissatisfied with the outcomes.

Ball (1987:124) argues that the leadership style of the manager determines the manner in which he interacts with the parents and educators. "Authoritarian" managers hinder parents and educators from making their voices heard by victimizing them using means such as separation, mystification and suppression (*ibid.*). "Managerial" managers entertain "formal committees, meetings and working parties" to hamper parents and educators and to steer them in a certain direction by using means such as organizing, informing and "control of agendas, time and context" (*ibid.*, :124). "Interpersonal" managers have "informal" discussions, "personal consultation and lobbying" in order to pacify parents and educators by using means such as

secluded talks (*ibid.*). "Adversarial" managers hold "public meetings and open debate" to face parents and educators by means of "public performances and persuasion" (*ibid.*).

Crozier (1998) argues that the nature of parental participation is in the forging of a "partnership" between educators and parents. Whilst, the market promotes individuality, the parent-educator partnership aims at promoting "involvement, commitment and responsibility" (*ibid.*, :125). It is furthermore argued by Crozier, that though parents can use the "partnership" to hold educators accountable, the "partnership" between parents and educators has been legislated as a means of monitoring/controlling parents and "engendering what Foucault describes as 'disciplinary power' which is ensuring that parents learn to be 'good' parents as defined by the educators and adopt a set of values that match those of the school" (1998:125).

The conceptual framework that Crozier (1998) provides could be used to argue that the identity of the parent is determined by the educator-parent partnership, legislated by the SASA (1996). This rationale links Soudien's (1999) argument that the identity of the "learner" is constructed by the SASA (1996).

Vincent (1996) found in her research that a "good" parent is firstly one who promotes the school's image; secondly, the "good" parent provides the child with the foundation for school; and thirdly, the "good" parent behaves in a certain way at school (*ibid.*, :92-93). This relates to Bernstein's (1990) idea that social relationships have rules and that people have to learn the rules of the particular relationship. Parents thus have to learn how to behave as parents and become in Vincent's (1996) dialectic, "good" parents.

Jacklin (1997) in looking at the different boundaries which social relationships had during the Apartheid era, notes that schooling lacked legitimacy then and that educators had more cultural capital than parents. It is however, noted by Jacklin (1997:79) that, "since 1994, a new discourse of provision has informed policies and legislation. New boundaries have been drawn to mediate

new distributions of practices...." This "new set of modes" was legislated by the SASA (1996), with effect from January 1996 (1997:79). Jacklin (1997) notes that this policy necessitates that parents participate actively in the schooling of their children, strengthening the parent-school relationship.

By focusing on the macro-level policy concerning school governance, and through research of its micro-level implementation, the nature of the parent-school relationship is fore-grounded in this study. Essentially, the SASA (1996) legislated a policy on school governance, which aimed at the establishment of parent-teacher partnerships.

Firstly, the texts of policy theorists are thus highlighted in the literature review, to illustrate the manner in which policies formulated on the macro-level impact on the micro-level. Secondly, because the post-apartheid policies are implemented to transform/change, texts of change theorists are drawn upon. Thirdly, the documents pertaining to the establishment of SGB's are referred to, to show how the formulated policy has been legislated. Fourthly, the way in which the SASA (1996) facilitates decentralization is referred to; and, fifthly, the literature on parental participation is incorporated into the review.

The works of policy theorists like Ball (1994a) and Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996), who focus on the internal context, and that of change theorists, like Hall, *et al* (1995) and Fullan (1993a), who examine the internal context of the policy process are closely related to this study, which focuses on the internal context of practice. The assumption embedded in this discourse is (to reiterate) that the perceptions that individuals have of policy impact on the successful implementation of the policy.

The study will proceed within the framework that parental participation has only been secured through legislation (SASA, 1996). This approach suggests that the establishment of structures (SGBs) does not necessarily mean that parental involvement has become a reality in all the

different contexts of practice. The argument presented in this study is that (in certain contexts), the micro-politics that plays itself out within the parent-educator relationship hampers effective parental participation. Furthermore, this study suggests that when one studies the micro-politics of schools (Ball, 1987), the reality embedded in maintaining SGBs and sustaining parental participation in those organizations must be approached as a complex subject of analysis.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 3

METHODOLOGY

When researchers enter schools to study or advise they move across seldom-crossed boundaries.

(Davies and Johnson, 1995:3)

The purpose of this chapter is to provide a brief overview of the methodology used for this study. The discussion focuses on the different data collection approaches used paying attention to issues which arose in the course of the study and concludes with a discussion around the analysis and interpretation of data.

Because this was a small-scale study which sought to assess how schools were giving effect to the SASA in terms of parental participation, it was felt that a case study approach using both quantitative and qualitative methods would be appropriate. Two schools were selected from a list of five based on factors such as proximity, similarity of contexts and environments and accessibility.

Research methods used for this study included observations, surveys, interviews and the review of documents. In doing the observations, the intention was to gain a sense of the dynamics of the schools before the more systematic methods such as the surveys and the interviews were

conducted. It was hoped that in looking at the school through these different means that the study would stand on a surer footing.

The two sites studied, Topaz and Opal,⁵ are primary schools. The two schools are located within five kilometers from one another,⁶ and serve the same communities,⁷ thus facilitating a limited comparison.

Data Collection Strategies

Informal Visits

Informal visits were paid to both Topaz and Opal Primary schools in an initial attempt to obtain permission for their use as research sites. These visits furthermore served to help the researcher to establish whether the schools met the criteria of having "strong" or "weaker"⁸ SGBs.

Access to Opal Primary was granted on the first informal visit to the school. More difficulty was experienced in gaining official access to Topaz Primary. This is significant, because whereas the manager of Topaz Primary consulted with and obtained the permission of all the stakeholders⁹ involved, the manager of Opal Primary decided who was to be allowed to have access to the school.

Surveys

At this stage the researcher had a notion of which of the two schools had a "stronger" and which a "weaker" SGB. Various informants at Topaz and Opal Primary schools had willingly

⁵ Pseudonyms have been used in order to protect the identities of the sites studied.

⁶ Appendix 11 depicts the location of the two schools.

⁷ It is not easy to define "community", but though Topaz and Opal consists of a relatively heterogeneous community, it is possible to define their community "by law and geography, culture and language, class and caste" (Shaeffer, 1992:17).

⁸ It is the researcher's view that the a "strong" SGB succeeds in fulfilling most of its duties as stipulated by the SASA (1996), whilst the "weaker" SGB does not.

volunteered information to assist the researcher in the categorization of the schools by giving their personal views of the SGBs of their particular school. However, to ensure that the categorization was correct the comparative method of analysis and its coding procedures were used, by firstly drawing up categories and then comparing categories.¹⁰ In order to ensure that the results of the study would be scientific and not biased, a survey was conducted at both schools. The survey forms¹¹ sent out to the parents of both schools were the same and were accompanied by a letter in which the principals (managers) elaborated on the nature of the survey.

The data collection strategy aimed at establishing the perceptions of the larger parent community of the SGB at each school. The survey also sought to gauge the extent of parental involvement at Topaz and Opal primary schools. The survey form consisted of twenty closed questions assessing, essentially, whether parents attended meetings, paid fees, served on sub-committees and so on. (see Appendix 9).

At both Topaz and Opal Primary schools, the educators displayed a willingness to distribute one survey form per family to the eldest child attending the school. All the parents were, therefore, surveyed. As Table 1 shows, there were 782 pupils at Topaz and 867 at Opal.¹² This clearly is not the number of families or parents in each school. As noted each survey form included an accompanying letter, explaining the purpose of the research to the parents. The letter indicated to the parents that the manager, staff, and SGB had granted permission for the study to proceed at the respective schools. Parents were assured that their surveys would be treated with

⁹ The manager of the school regarded the stakeholders of the school to be the staff and the SGB.

¹⁰ This is similar to the procedure followed by Baszanger, 1983 (see Strauss and Corbin, (1997) in her research.

¹¹ See Appendix 7, 8 & 9. The survey form was compiled by the researcher using a structured questionnaire.

¹² A clear difficulty here is that it is not possible, without a great deal more investigation, to establish exactly how many parents there were in both schools. Given that some families consist of a single parent, others of both a mother and a father, it is hard to establish exactly how many parents the school has within its parent body. In this study 588 and 606 forms were issued, these being the forms issued to the eldest child in the family attending the school. The calculations around parental participation which are used in this study are derived from this figure.

confidentiality. Precise dates were given for the return of the survey form. Although the survey forms were to be returned the following day after they had been distributed, their collection took two days. This was because of: a.) teacher absenteeism; b.) pupil absenteeism; and/or, c.) the pupil had forgotten to return the survey form to school. Generally, however, the co-operation with the distribution and collection of the survey forms was good at both schools and parents even included comments¹³ on their survey forms.

The following table illustrates the distribution and collection totals of the survey forms of Topaz and Opal Primary Schools.

Table 1:

	Topaz	Opal
Pupils per school	782	867
Forms issued to families	588	606
Forms collected	367	337
Forms outstanding	221	269

An initial visual analysis of the differences and similarities between the results of Topaz and Opal was made. This was done item by item (1 - 20)¹⁴ on the survey form (see Appendix 9), so that maximum usage could be made of the data collected.

The data of the survey forms were collated and graphs (from which very few deductions could be made, were drawn up as per item on the survey form). A factor analysis of the data was endeavored, but ultimately abandoned because of technical difficulties, to identify the factors

¹³ Parent X: "As a parent I am not aware who the school's SGB and sub-committees are, when their meetings are, etceteras ... same goes for educational, social and fundraising events, etceteras."

underlying parental responses, by looking at relationships in the data. The survey patterns of the factor analysis proved that the data collected in the survey forms were to a certain extent, distorted (and many reasons can be cited for that).

Cognizance has to be taken of various issues such as the complexity of the research question. The validity and reliability of parental responses to the survey questions could only be taken at face value. It was decided that the research question should be pursued by way of on-site observations, interviews, and the examination of school governing body-meeting documents.

The usage of the latter data collection strategies meant that the researcher would employ multiple methods to ensure the validity and reliability of the study. This is known as triangulation, identified by Cohen and Manion (1989:208) as the usage of different techniques to "explain more fully, the richness and complexity of human behavior by studying it from more than one standpoint and, in so doing, by making use of both quantitative and qualitative data."

The usage of the method of triangulation was furthermore considered to be particularly appropriate in this study, because of the controversial nature of the aspect of education that was being researched.¹⁵ Triangulation would thus ensure the validity and reliability of the evidence portrayed in the dissertation.

On-site Observations

Topaz Primary school was visited for a week¹⁶ to allow the researcher to gain an understanding of the dynamics of the school. Field-notes were taken of conversations, which served as preliminary interviews with different constituencies. The field-notes taken provided the researcher with descriptions, impressions and findings of the school. These observations were interpreted

¹⁴ See Appendix 9 for the list of items 1 - 20.

¹⁵ This study revolves around the "gap" between the preferred practice and the actual practice of SGBs in schools.

and analyzed so that the researcher could identify themes and patterns in parental involvement at both Topaz and Opal Primary schools.

Opal Primary was visited in the following week¹⁷ and the same procedure was followed as at Topaz Primary School. Research was firstly conducted at Topaz Primary. The depth of the information gathered at the two schools differed, and was influenced by a sense of cautiousness on the part of educators during the period of observation.

This cautiousness can partially be ascribed to suspicion amongst some educators that the researcher was possibly an official from the Western Cape Education Department (WCED) "inspecting" the school. The care that the educators took when expressing themselves and their actions also depended on their view of how the manager or the SGB would interpret their perceptions. Furthermore, the conduct of the SGB, and to a larger extent the manager and educators of the school was influenced by a spate of newspaper articles about teacher (educator) misbehaviour at schools. These headlines read: "Teacher fired after racism protest",¹⁸ "Pupils from hell triumph",¹⁹ "Money can't buy a good school",²⁰ "Big stick for bad headmasters",²¹ and, "Education shake-up."²²

Interviews

During the week of observation at each of the schools, interviews²³ were conducted randomly with the SGB members, manager, educators, and parents of the two schools in order to obtain from them what their views were regarding participation in the SGB. Questions were asked about

¹⁶ 18th October 1999 - 22nd October 1999.

¹⁷ 25th October 1999 - 29th October 1999.

¹⁸ *Cape Argus*, Thursday, 24th June 1999.

¹⁹ *Cape Argus*, Monday, 21st June 1999.

²⁰ *Cape Argus*, Tuesday, 29th June 1999.

²¹ *Sunday Times*, 17th October 1999.

²² *Sunday Times*, 20th October 1999.

²³ See Appendix 1 for List of Interviewees.

their own involvement with the SGB, the involvement of others and what the issues around involvement were. In certain instances the respondents displayed a cautious manner. However, before conducting the interviews the researcher assured the interviewees of the confidentiality of their responses and a consent form²⁴ had to be signed by each of the respondents. Excerpts from the interviews will thus be verbatim in the findings and discussion section of this dissertation.

Due to the skeptical attitude that certain educators²⁵ and in certain instances parents had about their anonymity, only field-notes were taken when they were interviewed. The researcher was however able to secure electronically recorded interviews with the managers²⁶ of both Topaz and Opal Primary schools.

The SGB members and randomly²⁷ chosen parents²⁸ and educators who felt more confident about the nature of the research were also interviewed.

All the interviews lasted between 60 - 90 minutes, besides the interview done with the three SGB members of Topaz Primary School, which lasted for 180 - 240 minutes.

Most of the interviews were carried out at school, but the interviews that were done with the SGB²⁹ members were recorded at their homes, as they felt that it would be more convenient and comfortable for them.

²⁴ See Appendix 2 for Consent to Participate in Research.

²⁵ See Appendix 6 for Interview questions posed to educators.

²⁶ See Appendix 4 for Interview questions posed to managers.

²⁷ Interviews were conducted randomly because of the magnitude of the constituencies of both schools.

²⁸ See Appendix 5 for Interview questions posed to participating/non-participating parents.

²⁹ See Appendix 3 for Interview questions posed to SGB members.

Review of SGB Documents

The researcher reviewed the minutes of the meetings held by the SGBs of both Topaz and Opal Primary, between the period-1997 - 1999. The constitutions of the SGBs were contained within the afore-mentioned, as well as the names of the elected office-bearers, of various sub-committees. Furthermore, the SGB documentation held the names of the executive committee of the SGBs. The agendas of the meetings held between the period 1997 - 1999 by the SGBs of Topaz and Opal Primary were also recorded. The topics covered by the SGBs of Topaz and Opal Primary in their meetings include: the development of a vision for their particular school; developing a code of conduct; how to determine the policies for their schools; the development of goals and objectives for their schools; how to manage the assets and school funds; how to control the finances of the school; and, how the schools can strengthen the relationship that they have with their school community.

Participants

As Petersen (1998:50) states it is important to disclose the demarcation of particular methods of research, or to reflect on the discord between the methods of research, it is also relevant to divulge the participants selected for the research and the reasons for giving them preference.

Governing Body

The first interview was conducted with a member of the Opal Primary SGB. The member, chosen by Opal Primary's SGB, had served on the SGB for three years, and had also previously served on the PTA of the school. He is a well-known member of the community with a twenty-year record of community service. This interview was taped.

The SGB of Topaz Primary was contacted through the manager of the school. The chairman of the SGB was introduced to the researcher at the school and it was then agreed that the entire SGB would be interviewed on a date set by the chairman of the SGB.

Only four of the SGB members were interviewed then, as the SGB did not, at that time, have its entire complement. All of these SGB members interviewed form the parent component of Topaz Primary's SGB. At a later stage one of the ex-SGB parents was interviewed. These interviews were all taped.

Manager

The manager of Topaz Primary was initially reluctant to be interviewed. However, as the researcher settled into the school, the manager of the school assented to be interviewed. The reluctance on his part was because he had only been at Topaz Primary for a year and a half and he felt that he was not very familiar with the SGB. This interview was also taped.

The manager of Opal Primary agreed to be interviewed however the first recording of the interview was damaged, resulting in the interview having to be repeated. The manager was very knowledgeable, as he had been the manager of the school for approximately three to four years. The second interview was captured on tape.

Educators

Even though certain educators, such as those serving on the SGBs of the two schools were selected to be interviewed, they were very reluctant to be interviewed. However, the SGB-educator representatives of Opal Primary agreed to be interviewed and allowed the interviews to be recorded. Only one of the educators who was not a SGB member of Opal Primary allowed the interview held with him to be recorded.

Only one of the SGB-educator representatives of Topaz Primary was interviewed, whilst only one of the ordinary educators allowed the researcher to interview her. These interviews were recorded manually.

The reasons for the reluctance of the educators to be interviewed varied, but were linked to a fear that either the SGB of the school or the manager of the school would gain access to the recordings and would use these against them.

Parents

Many of the parents of both Topaz and Opal Primary assented to be interviewed. These parents were chosen randomly and the researcher was referred to some of the parents by the SGBs or managers of the two schools. Most of these interviews were recorded manually, whilst one of the interviews done with a parent of Topaz Primary was taped.

Analysis and Interpretation of Data

An analysis and interpretation of the way in which the data noted was organized and analyzed will now follow, as the data collection strategies used have been discussed. Patton (1990:371-372) notes that "the challenge is to make sense of massive amounts of data, reduce the volume of information, identify significant patterns, and construct a framework for communicating the essence of what the data reveal." Herewith, Patton means that the challenge lies not only in the analysis of qualitative data, but also in quantitative data.

A theoretical perspective known as theory triangulation was used. The different forms of data collection strategies used and the various forms in which it can be interpreted have enriched the

study. Denzin (1988:512) notes that not only is methodological strength lent to the study through theory triangulation but also it is also "the appropriate way of entering the circle of interpretation."

Initially a survey was done to obtain the quantitative data necessary for the research. A visual analysis was then done of the differences and similarities between the results of Topaz and Opal Primary. In order that maximum usage is made of the data collected, the analysis was done item by item (1 - 20).³⁰

Very few deductions could be made from the data collected from the survey forms, as the survey patterns of the factor analysis showed that the data collected in the survey forms were distorted. The researcher then decided to continue the study by using on-site observations, interviews, and by examining the documents of the SGBs.

The qualitative data obtained from the on-site observations was recorded manually and was analyzed in order to identify themes from the observations made. The unstructured and focus group interviews were recorded manually and electronically. These interviews were transcribed and analyzed so that further categories could be identified. The researcher sought to identify categories from these interviews to determine the different discourses "that might be functioning at the school ... and to gain an understanding of 'why at a given time, out of all the possible things that could be said, only certain things were said'" (Ball, 1994a:3).

The data collected was collated under different headings and sub-headings according to the categories that emerged from the given data. The conceptual framework thus used can be described as being deductive. Different methods were used for interpreting the qualitative data as suggested by Sowden and Keeves (1988:523). These includes: a.) identifying patterns and themes; and, b.) "clustering similar responses and/or subjects."

³⁰ See Appendix 9 for the list of items 1 - 20.

Validation of Qualitative Research: Criteria Used

Researchers like Cannell and Kahn (1968); Burgess (1988); and, Meason (1988) have all studied the usage of qualitative methods in educational research. Petersen (1998); Patton (1990); and, Guba and Lincoln (1988) view the "human element" as the greatest strength of qualitative research while positivist researchers view it as a weakness.

Patton (1990) and Guba, *et al* (1988) argue that qualitative research has validity, and that its validity can be sought through "internal scrutiny" and "external assessment."

Petersen states that "central to their argument is the need for vigilance and rigor on the part of the researcher in terms of his/her procedure. When doing qualitative research the researcher should at all times monitor his/her assumptions and reactions throughout the research" (1998:55). Guba, *et al* (1988) suggest the usage of a conformability audit or audit trial, when one does qualitative research as "internal scrutiny" holds the same significance as the verification or virtuousness of the collated data. Petersen (1998:55) notes that "the conformability audit, or audit trials entails the keeping of all data and documentation in a coherent form for consultation by those who wish to confirm it (see for example, Guba and Lincoln (1988); Makyut and Morehouse (1994); and Patton (1990))." During this research an audit trial was kept and it is open to scrutiny.

Chapter 4

Findings and Discussion

In this chapter the extent to which the SASA (1996) has been realized in the two Athlone schools, in terms of parental participation, is considered. The chapter begins with an assessment of the survey material and then moves to consider the findings of the interviews. An attempt is made, on the basis of an analysis of the findings, to group the data into a number of categories. Anderson (1998) notes in his work where he examines the authenticity of the "discourse of participation" in the United States that it is important to "develop the conceptual tools to understand the ways a discourse of participation either fails to result in empowered constituencies or ends up promoting non-democratic ends" (*ibid.*, :595). In defining the various categories, this dissertation moves towards a framework for understanding the form that parental participation takes in South African schools.

Partly through the usage of the survey statistics a preliminary comparative analysis will be done of the ways in which Topaz Primary and Opal Primary reacted to the implementation of the SASA (1996) with regard to SGBs. The similarities and the differences experienced at the two schools with the implementation of the SASA (1996) and the factors which influenced the circumstances will be highlighted, using the data collected during the interviews.

Contexts

Theorists such as Ball (1990; 1994a) and Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) argue that the context into which a policy is introduced, determines the success of the policy. The focus of this study is the contexts of two schools, where the SASA (1996) has been implemented. The study is based on the theoretical framework provided by Ball (1994a) that:

...The physical text that pops through the school letterbox, or whatever, does not arrive 'out of the blue' - it has an interpretational and representational history - and neither does it enter a school or institutional vacuum.

The above indicates that Ball (1994a) too concerns himself with the local contexts of practice and the possible different outcomes that the implementation of policy can have.

In order to put the proper interpretational value on the collated data one must have an understanding of the nature of the contexts of the two schools studied. The areas feeding Topaz and Opal Primary schools are largely the same. Both schools have diverse populations, as they cater for pupils from different backgrounds.³¹ The difference between the two sites is that Topaz Primary receives the more affluent pupils from the surrounding communities. Furthermore, Topaz Primary is a brick building, whilst Opal Primary has been built with asbestos. The two schools are within a five-kilometer radius from each other and have much in common.

Both schools have good reputations and most of their parents, educators, and pupils are proud of them. The number of teachers and pupils at Topaz and Opal Primary schools is roughly the same. Each school has one manager and one vice-principal, with a teacher-pupil ratio of 1:37.

Unfortunately, Opal Primary was hit by a tornado whilst this study was being conducted. However, the situation was quickly salvaged and the researcher could continue with the on-site observations without experiencing many difficulties.

³¹ African, so-called Coloured and Indian pupils attend Topaz and Opal Primary schools.

After the on-site observations were conducted the researcher proceeded with the study of the two schools by conducting a survey at both schools to ensure that the research findings would be scientific.

Survey Statistics

The statistical outcome of the survey forms³², which were distributed to the parents of Topaz and Opal Primary schools, will now be focused on.

As was made clear in the previous chapter, forms were distributed to the eldest child of a family attending the schools. Given the difficulties in establishing the precise number of parents at the schools, making definite assertions about how many parents are involved in the governance of the school is difficult. In the discussions which follow, it must be understood that the figures need to be approached circumspectly and should be considered to be indicative rather than precise.

Table 2.1: Comparison between Schools

	Topaz	Opal
Pupils per school	782	867
Forms issued to families	588	606
Forms collected	367	337
Forms outstanding	221	269

³² See Appendix 9.

Table 2.2: Comparison between Schools

	Topaz N=588		Opal N=606	
	No.	%	No.	%
Parents/guardians who indicated that they:				
1. attend the school's meetings.	205	34.9	118	19.8
2. serve as a relief teacher (educator) when teachers are absent.	15	2.6	12	2
3. pay the school fees.	270	45.9	265	43.8
4. serve on the school governing body.	9	1.5	8	1.3
5. serve on the school's sub-committees.	4	0.7	15	2.8
6. elected the school governing body members.	59	10	33	5.4
7. communicate with their child/ren's teachers (educators) verbally and in writing.	163	27.2	149	24.6
8. communicate verbally with the school's staff.	68	11.6	80	13.2
9. monitor the academic progress of their children.	286	48.6	228	37.6
10. know what and how their child/ren learn at school.	251	42.7	232	38.7
11. visit the school.	100	17	107	17.7
12. attend the school's social and fundraising events.	57	9.7	91	15
13. support/organise the school's social and fundraising events.	148	25.2	184	30.4
14. assist with the school's extra-mural activities.	39	6.6	38	6.3
15. encourage other parents to interact with the school.	42	7.1	66	10.9
16. accompany their child/ren on excursions.	32	5.4	71	11.7
17. monitor their child/ren's attendance.	328	55.8	283	46.7
18. are aware of the school's code of conduct.	267	45.4	241	39.8
19. emphasize that their child/ren do the assigned homework.	338	57.5	278	45.8
20. participate in the development of the school.	74	12.6	107	17.7

The above summary of the surveys conducted at the two schools indicates in a rough way the nature of parental participation at the schools. Essentially, only a third (34.9%) of Topaz Primary's parents are involved in SGB meetings as opposed to 19,8% of Opal Primary's parents. At both schools there is a small group of parents who participate in the schooling of their child/ren (to the benefit of the whole community) by attending school meetings, school events and by keeping abreast of the school life. It is evident from the survey statistics that there are parents who are not significantly involved in the school. Based on the survey statistics, one can argue,

there are parents who only participate in the schooling of their child/ren on an "on-and-off" basis. Furthermore, the statistics suggest that there are a number³³ of parents who only interact with the school on an individual basis, to protect their child/ren's interests.

Having summarized the statistical outcome of the surveys conducted at Topaz and Opal Primary one can say in a preliminary way that parental participation at the two schools is weak and that, therefore, the SASA (1996) is not being implemented fully. The interviews provided further information and is to this source of information that the discussion now moves.

The Significant Factors behind Poor Parental Participation in Schools

The survey statistics show that parental participation at Topaz Primary (23,4%) and Opal Primary (21,6%) is poor. In order to verify the statistical outcome of the surveys conducted at these two schools the interviews were scrutinized. An analysis of the interviews revealed that there are certain important contextual factors behind poor parental participation in schools.

The following are the seven factors identified as causing poor parental participation at Topaz and Opal Primary:

- 1.) historical experience
- 2.) hostility of staff³⁴
- 3.) role of the manager³⁵
- 4.) social class
- 5.) lack of knowledge
- 6.) preparation for policy implementation
- 7.) miscommunication

³³ 87.4% of the parents of Topaz Primary and 82.3% of the parents of Opal Primary.

³⁴ At Topaz Primary this seems to be the factor which largely contributes to the poor participation of parents.

³⁵ At Opal Primary this seems to be the factor which largely contributes to the poor participation of parents.

1.) Historical Experience

It is evident from the interviews conducted at the two schools that both Topaz and Opal Primary introduced SGB structures into their schools in August 1997 as stipulated by the SASA (1996).

The SASA (1996) is similar to the 1988 Education Reform Act (ERA) passed in England and Wales, which, according to Levacic (1995), sought parental participation in schools. According to Levacic (1995) the ERA (1988) was consolidated in England with legislation such as the Education (Schools) Act 1992, which necessitated that parents, especially those serving on SGBs, become accountable to each other and the broader community.

Writing in 1988, Deem (1988) argued that the ERA (1988) would compound the marginalization experienced by parents as those who had power would be empowered further while those without it would be made worse off. It is suggested in this work that, as South Africa follows the United Kingdom's example, the plight of South African parents will be similarly shaped.

Chisholm, *et al* (1996) note that the SASA (1996) wrought changes in the parental governance of many schools which previously had Parent-Teacher Associations (PTAs). The data collected at Topaz and Opal Primary schools show that many parents had been members of PTAs which served schools and their communities during the Apartheid era. These PTAs were not recognized by the previous government. However, the SASA (1996) provided these parents with a "mouthpiece" by bringing them as Bashiani says "into the arena of political policy and action" (in Beresford, 1992:44).

Mr. Isaacs, the manager of Topaz Primary, stated that: "The present SGB members were elected from the school PTA." A parent-SGB member, Mr. Nash, of Topaz Primary confirmed the manager's statement by stating that: "I had been a member of the old school committee for the

past ten years and my experience just sort of carried over into ... into the governing body..." While this representation of parents is a cause for some questioning given the intention of SGBs to broaden parental participation, it is to be expected that the SGB would draw some of its members from the PTAs given their histories of social activism. Their histories would also impact on the way in which they would implement the SASA (1996). The conceptual framework for this is provided by Ball (1994a) who notes that the histories of the context and the reader's influence the responses had to policy. The same situation arose at Opal Primary, where parents from the PTA were elected to serve on the SGB. Mr. Armien, the manager of Opal Primary confirmed this when he noted that: "Some members of the SGB have served previously on the PTA ... Yes, four or five of the parents of the previous PTA were re-elected on the present SGB."

The histories of Topaz and Opal Primary suggest that at these two schools the managers had the controlling power within the PTAs. The intention of the SASA (1996), however, was to vest power in the parents serving on the SGBs, as the parents were given the majority of the seats on the structure.

Mr. Haven, a parent-SGB member of Topaz Primary said that:

Previously the school was run by the school committee ... Parents could be involved but the principal (manager) would represent the department who would still take decisions on things. He would then not really inform parents about what he wanted to do or about what he did or what he was still going to do. So parents had agreed with everything that the principal (manager) basically did.

As most of the parents serving on the SGBs of Topaz and Opal Primary had served on the PTAs they possessed certain knowledge from their interactions with the school, which parents who had not served on the PTAs lacked. The way of thinking and actions of parents who were PTA members and who became SGB members were influenced by the history of their involvement with the school. It could be argued that this history had a negative effect on non-serving parents.

The formation of SGBs in schools points to the decentralization of power by the government. Poster (1999) discusses this restructuring by the government as does Levacic (1995:130) who states that Kogan's (1984) findings after doing a study of eight SGBs were that:

...it is expecting a lot of the members of any institution that they should operate as rulers, advisers, mediators and assistants at one and the same time and doubly difficult when they belong to an institution that is as spasmodic in its operation as a governing body.

Sayed (1997) notes that the introduction of SGB structures in schools allowed the government to maintain control over the school, whilst the SGB's power merely lies in its right to collect school fees. Mr. Nash of Topaz Primary, who had served on the PTA and now serves on the school's SGB, noted that there was a significant difference between the duties that the PTA and the SGBs had. Nash stated: "I think the workload (of the new structure) is a bit too heavy and there is a vast difference between the SGB and the school committee."

Mrs. Adams, an ex-parent SGB member of Topaz Primary, noted that the change from the PTA to the SGB might have happened too suddenly for certain stakeholders.³⁶ She said: "We came in with a bang." Mrs. Adams' feeling was confirmed by Mr. Isaacs, the manager of Topaz Primary who noted that:

Look if one looks at the election process the parent component was obviously very successful, however I have to admit that this have a history to it. There is a small group of parents who still is not happy with the current parents on it. As I said this is historical....

It was clear that parents served on the PTA without having much power, as authority resided in the hands of the manager of the school. The SGB, as Yasr Haven noted, was fundamentally different as the parents' vote counted with the SGB. He said that:

Our key role we (the SGB members) saw was that to put (implement) whatever policies that the school would operate under. Let me give you an example if pupils were to come to school with any clothes other than their uniform we would be lets call it (be) the local lawmaker to make a law enforceable at the school.

³⁶ The word "stakeholders" is used to refer to the manager, educators, SGB members and the broader parent community of the school.

Haven furthermore noted about serving on the SGB that: "I do not think it is the powers, it is more the opportunity to contribute. With the committees there seem to have been an imbalance."

At both Topaz and Opal Primary schools the main reason that the parent-SGB members like Rusdi Nash of Topaz Primary cite for serving on the SGB is that: "...I see it more as a social duty and responsibility than anything else ... There is no financial motivation to this thing...." The issue of the remuneration of the SGB is raised by Chisholm, *et al* (1996), who mention that these SGBs will be doing the administrative work of the Department. Mr. Nash further elaborated that as a parent he serves on the SGB of Topaz Primary because: "...Obviously the main concern is the education of our children, not necessarily our children, but everybody's children, the whole community of that particular school...."

Mr. Haven, a parent-SGB member of Topaz Primary agreed with Mr. Nash:

...My objective ... in getting involved was to serve my community ... I thought that if you are going to stand on the side there is no way that you are going to have your voice heard, but by getting involved one could maybe make sure that the things that really matter to the community would take preference.

Here, it can be noted that even though the two sites may differ in certain respects, the parent-SGB members of Topaz and Opal Primary schools have similar reasons for serving on the SGB, namely, to see to the upliftment of their communities. However, it is obvious that in one of the three primary contexts (Bowe, *et al* 1992), the context of practice, where policy has to be implemented, the mediation of policy is dependant on the micro-political situation in the different contexts (*ibid.*). Furthermore, the sites observed had their own dynamics, which influenced the ways in which the legislated policy is read and implemented.

2.) Hostility of Staff

The parent-SGB members of Topaz Primary are well aware of the negative effect that apartheid had on their school, and thus want the stakeholders who are still part of the old school to change,

so that all the stakeholders can work as a team to improve the effectiveness of the school. Yasr Haven and Mr. Nash, who are both parent-SGB members of Topaz Primary, agree that a "paradigm shift" has to take place at their school. The educators in particular have to accept that the parents have a "voice" in the education of their children. This is consonant with Hall's (1995a:110) statement that "there is tremendous need to have clearer and deeper understanding of the concept of an innovation." Mr. Haven stated that: "With the changes everybody need to change. Why does everything outside the school change, but nothing inside the school change?"

The parent components of Topaz and Opal Primary's SGBs want to bring about change through consultation and they want to work in conjunction with the educators and the broader parent community. Topaz Primary's SGB had arbitration and mediation processes with certain stakeholders in order to create a platform where all the stakeholders could develop and they were prepared to share their experiences with other schools. Mr. Haven, a parent serving on Topaz Primary's SGB, noted that: "Yes, change management is needed because you know if we would ask simple questions then they (the educators) would always be in a rush to shout but that is interfering with the principal's (manager's) duties...."

Mr. Sherry, an educator of Opal Primary, agrees that a platform for change should be created so that development can take place. This situation of transparency can only come about if all the stakeholders are willing to participate. The same educator stated the following: "To be honest with you up to now it's an excellent idea. We do want transparency. We do want everybody to participate ... everybody to have a say...." This sentiment is supported by Crozier (1998) who notes that the very essence of parental participation lies in the formation of a parent-teacher (educator) partnership.

Mr. Faldi Yawa, one of Topaz Primary's parent-SGB members, made the point that: "Anybody who does not want to work as a team in the best interest of the school will have to seek new territory...." This is the situation at Topaz Primary, where Mr. Hassiem, a parent-member of Opal

Primary's SGB noted that: "...We complement the management of the school. I just basically see us working as a team in the interest of the school."

The parents serving on the SGBs of both schools regard teamwork amongst the different stakeholders as the way forward. Nevertheless, despite the good intentions that the parent-SGB members of these two schools have of serving the school, their task has been made difficult, because of the discord that exists between the different stakeholders.

Mr. Haven, a SGB member of Topaz Primary, noted for example that:

...The extreme and the ridicule that teachers (educators) even play with parents ... A lot of the parents, most of the parents still have the perception that the teacher (educator) is very ... you know a person on a different level, that even the parents respect.

Mr. Nash, the chairman of Topaz Primary's SGB, stated that the parents of the pupils were very critical of how effective the SGB had been but did not really do anything to help to make the school more effective. He stated that:

...There is a great ... high level of apathy out there to deal with ... It is fine sending out these fancy things and standing on a public platform and criticizing the SGB, but when it comes to do time, there would only be a handful of parents that you can rely on.

In identifying the social power relations at the two sites studied and in locating the "social policy along the scale of implementation ... conflicts (were found to be) responsible for the given result" (Offe, 1984:107). At Topaz Primary tension exists between the educators, the parent-SGB members, and the broader parent community. Whilst, at Opal Primary, the manager is at the centre of the controversy between the educators, the parent-SGB members and the broader parent community. The hostility at Topaz and to a certain extent at Opal Primary has been worsened by, or arisen due to: SGB meetings; educator appointments; fundraisers; and, SGB representation.

When SGBs meet they have to work within the parameters of the Constitution of The Republic of South Africa Act 108 of 1996;³⁷ The National Educational Policy Act, Act 27 of 1996;³⁸ The Labour Relations Act, Act 66 of 1995;³⁹ The Educators' Employment Act, Proclamation 138 of 1994;⁴⁰ and, provincial Acts and regulations.⁴¹ The SGB has to be knowledgeable with respect to these Acts if they are to work for the best interests of the school.

In terms of the law it is necessary that SGB-parent meetings be held at least once annually to discuss important issues such as school fees; a code of conduct; dress code; and, fundraising activities. However, at the point in time that this research was conducted the manager of Topaz Primary noted: "...I started in October so I don't know whether they (the SGB) had a meeting with the parents." Opal Primary's SGB had meetings with the parents concerning the school fees and formed sub-committees for the school's 1999 Carnival.

Mr. Haven, a parent-SGB member, stated that a major problem experienced by the SGB of Topaz Primary, because of the gap between the SGB and the educators, is that the educators would always subvert decisions taken in the SGB meetings. Mr. Haven said:

...You see the top structure of the school, the acting principal (manager) of the school would take our decisions back to the staff and they would disagree. They would question the decisions of the SGB and refuse to do anything until it made sense to them ... I don't think that they want to be subordinate to decisions of a parent-controlled body.

Mr. Aslam, who resigned as the educator-SGB representative of Topaz Primary, said that: "A big problem is that the staff and the rest of the parent community does not mandate the SGB. The

³⁷ This is to ensure that the SGB of the school will always make decisions considering the "child's best interest" and the basic human rights of the stakeholders.

³⁸ The national education policy is determined through this Act.

³⁹ "This Act affects the rights and duties of employees, including educators and non-educator members of staff at schools. The Act regulates trade unions and the right to strike, promotes bargaining procedures in the workplace and the participation of employees in decision-making, and deals with other related matters" (*Understanding the SA Schools Act: What Public Governors Need to Know*, 1997:20).

⁴⁰ "This Act deals with subjects such as the following: The appointment and promotion of educators and their terms and conditions of employment, the transfer and secondment of educators, the availability of educators, misconduct and disciplinary procedures" (*ibid.*).

SGB (parent component) takes decisions on their own." Whilst Ms. Kay, one of the educators, mentioned that the SGB has too much power and wants to fully exercise that power. The decentralization of power to schools by the government is clearly causing friction amongst parents and educators.

Sayed (1997) notes that there are contradictions and tensions in the state's discourse around parental governance of schools. This is exemplified by Ms. Kay who noted that: "...The community now recognizes that there are problems. The SGB had grand plans but it fell through and they realize it." The manager of Topaz Primary, Mr. Isaacs says of the differences between the SGB and the educators that: "I can sincerely say that there is a gap." Ms. Kay notes that nothing has been done to resolve the problems experienced between the SGB and the educators and that: "The gap between the SGB and the teachers (educators) is widening ... The SGB recognizes that there are problems but do not want to be confronted with it ... I feel that the situation is getting worse." However, according to the parent component of the SGB of Topaz Primary, they have tried to resolve the problems experienced between them and the educators. Mr. Haven said that: "...We have been to the Minister ... Martha Olckers (previous MEC for Education) ... She sent some departmental officials ... to look at the SGB ... After going through the minutes ... there was no grounds for the complaints."

One of the parents, Mrs. Adams, said that the educators nevertheless: "...Always see you as an outsider ... I think the teachers (educators) see you as the person who wants to make laws for them to live by. So you never really fit in...." The manager of Topaz Primary, Mr. Isaacs, noted that though mediating can be done to discuss the grievances that the SGB members and the educators have: "...There is not any particular will from either of the two parties (the educators and parent-SGB members) to have this meeting." He further noted that: "Last year when I came to the school the staff said categorically that they want nothing to do with the SGB."

⁴¹ The Education Act of each province regulates the education in that province and the SGBs of the schools have to be familiar and follow the legislated education Acts which pertain to the functions that they have to perform (*ibid.*).

One of the duties of the SGB of any school is to appoint educators. Educators may also be appointed into SGB posts, which it (the SGB) has created and is responsible for in terms of remuneration. Ball argues that managers "are now *de facto* (through the governing body) the employers of educators. The possibilities of collegueship (are thus) constrained by this" (1994a:93).

At both Topaz and Opal Primary the need arose to appoint extra educators into SGB posts. Topaz Primary was fortunate to obtain the assistance of the French Embassy which supported a French educator. The Xhosa and the Islamic Studies educators were, however, supported by the SGB. In addition, the SGB committed itself to pay a sum of R30,00 per day to parents who were willing to substitute when educators were absent. Opal Primary also has educators who are employed in SGB posts. In addition they have certain parents who substitute when educators are absent. While the substitute educators are remunerated, the parents are not. At times, however, the educators for whom the parents substitute are in a position to pay the parents for their services. The manager of Opal Primary said that: "There are a few teachers (educators) in governing body posts ... They are paid out of the school fees ... an agreed salary."

At Topaz Primary three educators were appointed by the SGB into posts advertised by the WCED, however no clarity could be reached on WCED appointments at Opal Primary. An ex-SGB member of Topaz Primary said: "We appointed the principal (manager), the vice-principal and a HOD (Head of Department)."

The educators of Topaz Primary were dissatisfied with the WCED appointments made by the SGB. They were aggrieved and, according to Mr. Nash, stated that: "The (parent component of the) SGB is incompetent." This matter worsened to the extent that arbitration had to take place. Mr. Nash noted that the conflict between the SGB and the educators was worsened by the educators, who took political positions around the issue: "...With the arbitration process in 1997,

they (the educators) came to school with their NP rosettes and things on their chests. We are ANC members." Mr. Yawa, a parent-SGB member, noted: "Let me tell you the teachers (educators) at one stage ... and this is on record, used the National Party against the SGB, that we have proof of." This confirms Evett's forecast that "staffing matters will increase ... the likelihood of conflict arising in schools" (in Ball, 1994a:63).

Due to their (the educators') dissatisfaction with the appointments made by the SGB, the educators of Topaz Primary furthermore accused the parent-SGB members of aiming to make Topaz Primary a Muslim school. Mr. Nash explained that the objections to the appointments had many facets. He said:

Just to conceptualize the whole thing is that what happened is that this monster (problems because of the appointments made by the SGB) arose and this is a multi-faceted monster whereby it presented religious conflict, personal character conflict, it was even political conflict as well.

The main reason for the tension between these stakeholders is that the educators wanted the SGB to appoint the vice-principal into the position of manager. They, allegedly, also accused the present manager of wanting to make Topaz Primary a Muslim school. The educators had apparently also influenced the parents to believe that this was so.

According to Mr. Isaacs: "One of the major factors is religion being a factor in this dispute, as far as my post is concerned...." Mr. Haven elaborated: "When his (the manager's) nomination was finalized and we (the parent-SGB members) announced it (to the staff) ... except for two teachers (educators) the rest all walked out before the announcement could be made." The parent-SGB members, however, argued that: "We had proper interviews and used proper criteria and came up with the best qualified candidate for the job."

Mrs. Taliep and Mr. Cassiem, who both serve as educator-representatives on the SBG of Opal Primary, mentioned that the appointment of a Xhosa educator was a contentious issue at their school. Mr. Cassiem noted that: "I feel that one need that they (the parent-SGB members) have

not looked at is that we do have a lot of Xhosa-speaking pupils." Mrs. Taliep said that: "Mr. Armien (the school's manager) has for a long time now harped that a Xhosa teacher (educator) must be appointed. Nevertheless, this has not happened despite the existence of a vacant teaching post at Opal Primary."

Topaz and Opal Primary have also experienced many problems with fundraising functions, which they held to supplement their income. At Topaz Primary educators did not support the functions. Mr. Haven said that: "It (the fundraising function) were fully initiated by the SGB. There was no teacher (educator) involvement." Moreover, a single parent had taken much of the initiative. The educators of Topaz chose not to participate, because they could not agree on the date (which was decided on by the parent-SGB members) that the fundraiser was to be held.

The parent who was co-opted onto the fundraising committee and who organized the High Tea function was not aware of who the other parents on this committee were. There thus certainly seemed to be problems where Topaz's fundraisers were concerned. This can further be gleaned from the following comments made by Mr. Isaacs of Topaz Primary: "...A certain member wanted an Eat and Treat and the staff managed to have this thing postponed so therefore this person withdrew himself and never lifted a finger...." Mrs. Daniels, the parent who was co-opted onto the fundraising sub-committee, had the following to say: "Ja (Yes), I'm very involved with the fundraising. Last year I can say I almost single-handedly organized the Eat and Treat for them...." Despite the problems that the SGB of Topaz Primary might have encountered with fundraising efforts, Mrs. Daniels felt that the SGB could improve on their efforts, because they were doing it for the children of Topaz Primary.

Mr. Armien of Opal Primary, noted that he would appreciate it if more parents involved themselves in the fundraising of the school: "Parents could get involved, but at the end of the day you are left with a hand full of parents who will avail themselves on official structures such as a SGB." Nevertheless, Mrs. Essop, a parent of Opal Primary said:

Ek het besluit ek gaan nie meer na meetings nie en na hulle (die skool se) geldmaak dinge nie. (I have decided that I am no longer going to the school's meetings and fundraisers.) ... What are you doing with the money? ... Hulle willie he jy moet daai dinge weet nie ... jy is te inquisitive. (They don't want you to know those things ... you are too inquisitive.)

Ball (1994a:101) argues that "parental governors are typically recruited rather than elected." Topaz and Opal Primary do not have their full SGB complement and this is a cause of friction at both schools. The parent-SGB members of Topaz Primary admit that they are considering co-opting parents. Mr. Nash, of Topaz Primary said: "...We are on the verge of co-opting the parents." According to Section 23 (6) of the South African Schools Act (1996) SGB members can be co-opted at the request of certain parties. They may assist the SGB, but have no voting rights, according to *Understanding the SA Schools Act: What Public Governors Need to Know* (1997:25).

Although the SASA (1996) stipulates that the manager, along with five parents, two educators, and one non-educator should serve on the SGB in primary schools, the situation at the two sites observed is as follows:

Table 3:

	Manager	Educators	Non-educators	Parents
Topaz Primary	1	2	0	4
Opal Primary	1	2	0	4

It would seem that both Topaz and Opal Primary had problems filling the non-educator post. At Topaz Primary, according to Mr. Isaacs, this was because, "The non-educator, no he is no longer on the SGB. He resigned because of his wife's ill health. I think he had problems with transport...." At Opal Primary the manager had the following to say: "He (the non-educator) had other job opportunities so he left the school." As at Topaz Primary, the non-educators at Opal

Primary had too little ownership of the SGB, so that they would then cite timing of the SGB meetings and transport as excuses for their absenteeism.

The SGB representation at both Topaz and Opal Primary schools are illustrative of Bowe, *et al's* (1992:22) point that the positions which the stakeholders adopt in regard to the legislated texts (SASA, 1996) depend on how they have to deal with it, understand it and the way in which this will allow them to give meaning to the text.

Section 30 of the SASA (1996) elaborates on the different sub-committees that a SGB of a school may have. Amongst others these are finance committees, fundraising committees, appointment committees, sport committees, etceteras. Topaz Primary has certain of these sub-committees, but there is no clarity amongst all the stakeholders as to which sub-committees are actually in existence. Mr. Haven, a parent who served as the treasurer, noted: "...We then put a strategic governance plan in place so that we would have the various sub-committees." No clarity could be obtained amongst the educators as to which sub-committees functioned at Opal Primary. However the manager, Mr. Armien noted that: "We have as part of the SGB, sub-committees. These parents are prepared to be co-opted onto the sub-committees and we have a ... I would say about twenty⁴² such parents." According to the manager of Opal Primary, the SGB of the school has quite a few different sub-committees which were all formed to meet the needs of the school.

3.) Role Of The Manager

Opal Primary's manager noted that the relationship between the educators and the parents serving on the SGB could be improved. The staff supports the SGB at this school and does most of the work that the parent community has to do, to indicate their support of the SGB.⁴³ The

⁴² The survey statistics indicates that four parents serve on Topaz Primary's sub-committees, whilst it indicates that fifteen parents serve on Opal Primary's sub-committees.

⁴³ Shortly after this study was conducted at Opal Primary, the SGB was dissolved.

manager of Opal Primary, Mr. Armien, said of the parental involvement at this school: "(It is) ... not as I would love it to be ... Mostly our parents come forward around our fundraisers ... We do want them to become involved on the official structures. We have to be patient ... give them time...."

At Opal Primary the staff had certain grievances, however because these concerned the manager of the school, the educators never confronted him, but requested that the SGB handle the matter. Mr. Hassiem, a SGB-parent of Opal Primary admitted the following: "We have problems that we are working with. We had the problem of the communication between the principal (manager) and the educators." Members of staff argued that even though the manager of Opal Primary had interpersonal skills, his managerial approach was authoritarian. Mrs. Taliep, an educator-SGB representative of Opal Primary, noted:

The principal (manager) does not listen to anybody ... He sees it as his school, whilst leaving everybody behind ... He does not listen ... He only hears himself ... He is very glib for the educators and even the parents on the SGB. He runs the SGB, the school, everything ... He has arguments with the SGB ... He is powerful.

Mr. Cassiem, an educator who serves on Opal Primary's SGB with Mrs. Taliep confirmed her comments when he remarked that: "He (the manager) dominates."

Fullan notes that the principal (manager) is the most important person in impeding or promoting change and "...as such represents a fertile ground for considering the concept of implementation in action" (1992:82). Mr. Sherry, an educator of Opal Primary used the Foucauldian term of the "disciplinary sciences" as described by Hoy (1988), saying that the manager of this school practices "pseudo-participation": "...Where we (the educators) are told that certain decisions ... We are going to have a carnival ... These decisions were made in advance already. We are made to feel at the time that we are deciding." Mr. Cassiem, a colleague of Mr. Sherry, confirmed his statement by noting that: "When it comes to decision-making, it's made already (by the manager). They (the parent-SGB members) just rubber-stamp it."

Ball argues that "pseudo-participation provides the illusion of control" (1987:126). This means that the manager of Opal Primary wants the educators, parent-SGB members and broader parent community to believe that they are in control whilst he is actually the one wielding the power.

Rusdi Nash of Topaz Primary describes the type of governance at his school as being "interactive", noting that all the stakeholders have a role to play in this type of governance. He noted that:

We have what we call "interactive governance" ... where we would have pure consultation with teachers (educators), with the parents and after we got feedback from those we would formally make a decision and implement as we said a code of conduct as part of a specific rule. So there is consultation, it is just unfortunate that the teachers (educators) at that stage ... we didn't have the same vision.

Despite the conflict that resulted because of the appointment of Topaz Primary's manager Mr. Nash said that: "We (the stakeholders) do not infringe ... There is a difference between governance and the administration of the school ... that is the principal's (manager's) functions."⁴⁴ Hall (1995a) notes that the "educational milieu" is very complex. This is evident in observing a site and understanding its true nature and realizing how difficult it is to achieve effectiveness when a change has to be institutionalized. One can comprehend this when comments are made by parents such as Mrs. Essop of Opal Primary, who said that: "Ek wil niks te doen met daai man (die bestuurder) he nie. (I want to have nothing to do with that man (the manager) ... Hy is regtig van die duiwel af. (He really is the devil's own)."

Furthermore, the difficulty in implementing the SASA (1996), with regard to parental participation in SGBs, can be gleaned from comments such as the following, where the manager of Topaz Primary rather evasively notes that: "In my capacity as principal (manager) I have just focused on the last two years that I have been appointed, so I cannot say how effective they (the SGB) were in prior years." Mr. Isaacs could however have intervened to settle the differences between the

⁴⁴ The distinction between "governance" and "professional management" is made in *Understanding the SA Schools Act: What Public Governors Need to Know* (1997:14).

educators and the parent-SGB members of Topaz Primary, because as Fullan (1992:82) says: "...Principals (managers) influence (the) implementation of given innovations."

The manager of Opal Primary seemed to be unaware of the grievances that the educators addressed to the SGB concerning him as an SGB member and as the manager of the school. Asked about the effectiveness of the SGB he simply said that: "I can't comment ... really." It can be noted that as Ball (1994a) has found in his study of the local contexts of policy that there are different discourses and relationships evident on the micro-level. The negative manner in which certain stakeholders at both of the schools reacted to the introduction of the SGB, its nature, functions and aims can be attributed to their understanding of change. As Hall (1995a) notes, it can be said that in the "old paradigm" change was an event not a process. It can be argued that it is this understanding of change which allows the stakeholders to regard the implementation of this policy as being linear, though it is not. Hall (1995a:107) further notes that the adoption of the legislated policy texts would automatically follow with the changes, however the educational arena is much more complex presently.

At both schools it can be noted that problems had been experienced with the proper implementation of the SASA (1996) as stated in *Understanding the SA Schools Act: What Public Governors Need to Know* (1997). The problem with the effectiveness of the SGB at Topaz Primary centred around a problem between the SGB and the educators of the school because of a.) the appointment of the present manager of the school; b.) because the SGB and the educators were always on opposite sides where issues such as fundraisers were concerned; and, c.) because the SGB believed that the educators influenced the broader parent community where certain issues are concerned.

4.) Social Class

Mr. Nash of Topaz Primary said that as their school is situated in a "privileged area" they receive about ninety percent of their school fees. The SGB attributes this to the school manager as he always sends out reminders to the parents. Opal Primary has experienced more difficulty with the payment of school fees by parents.

Mrs. Taliep, an educator of Opal Primary noted: "Parents were quite angry and aggressive that they had to pay (school fees) ... They openly challenged the governing body (in a meeting)." Mr. Hassiem, the chairman of Opal Primary's SGB reasoned that: "According to the Schools' Act, it is not compulsory for pupils to pay school fees ... but we have gotten people (parents) to sign that they will endeavor to pay the school fees."

The SGBs of both Topaz Primary and Opal Primary have tried to supplement the income of the school by using other means besides the school fees. It would seem however that Opal Primary had to go to extra lengths to raise money as their school fees were not paid in as well as that of Topaz Primary.

The SASA (1996) states in Sections 39 (1) to 40 (2) how the SGB should enforce the payment of school fees by the parents or the guardians of the learner. It explains a.) when parents/guardians have to be charged school fees; b.) that the parents have to decide the amount that they have to pay; c.) that it is the duty of each and every parent/guardian to pay the school fees; d.) what happens when parents/guardians appeal against the paying of school fees; and, e.) how the SGB can enforce the payment of school fees.

5.) Lack of Knowledge

Sections 23 (1) and Section 23 (2) of the SASA (1996) specify who the elected members of a SGB should be. The SGB is responsible for the "governance" of the school. Sections 16 (1) to Section 26 of the SASA (1996) lists the nature, aims, and functions of the SGB, amongst which is how the body should be composed and the co-opting of members who cannot vote. The powers, duties, and functions that SGB members have to perform are of such a nature that some of these are compulsory and others can be performed if the SGB has the necessary skill.

Mr. Sherry, an educator of Opal Primary, said that they have communication problems with the SGB-parents and the broader parent community: "...because of their social background." Mr. Nash is *au fait* with the role that he has to perform as the chairman of Topaz Primary's SGB and is quite familiar with the SASA (1996). The SGB of Topaz Primary is thus aware of the law as legislated in Section 15 of the SASA (1996), which elaborates on the role of each stakeholder in the governance of their school.

It is clear that the SGB of Topaz Primary wants to make a difference at their school and is interested in fulfilling its responsibilities. However, very few of the educators and parents have an understanding of the SASA (1996). The parents of Topaz and Opal Primary regard the educators as the constituents who possess the knowledge where the SASA (1996) is concerned. The parents furthermore expressed the need that the educators have to inform them. However, the educators cannot empower the parents because they themselves lack the knowledge where the SASA (1996) is concerned. As previously noted, Ms. Kay, an educator at Topaz Primary, said the SASA (1996) is: "...a lot of jargon." Whilst Mr. Sherry, an educator at Opal Primary, stated, for example, that: "I will be honest with you, I will not be able to quote you the Act. The general things I might know. The involvement of parents ... The empowerment of parents ... giving parents more say in what is happening in the school...." And "...Few parents and teachers have an understanding of it. It is too detailed making it difficult to grasp." Ball's (1994a:12) perspective

on how the stakeholders will take ownership of an innovation is that they will "either try to fathom the changes on their own or try to do so as a group." The reality of Ball's (1994a) statement can be gleaned from the data collected at Topaz and Opal Primary.

6.) Preparation for Policy Implementation

It is evident from the findings that the process of educational policy is uneven, especially where the context of practice is concerned. This statement relates to the implementation of the SASA (1996) where, SGB members of Topaz Primary have had more workshops than SGB members of Opal Primary. Evidence of this can be gleaned from the following comment made by Mr. Haven, the treasurer of Topaz Primary's SGB:

...We would have our own caucuses ... recommendations come in and we will workshop it with parents and teachers (educators) ... We have taken the process from A to Z ... We would workshop the SASA (1996) ... We would workshop the Provincial Gazettes.

Mrs. Adams, an ex-SGB member of Topaz Primary, noted about the workshops that: "We (the parent-SGB members) always attended the SGB workshops whenever we were invited." This suggests that the parent-SGB members of Topaz Primary aimed for the implementation of the SASA (1996), where parental participation is concerned, to be as authentic as possible. The following was noted about capacity building workshops by Mr. Hassiem, who is a parent-SGB member of Opal Primary: "We (the parent-SGB members) are just going now, we have not been before...." Mr. Armien, the manager of Opal Primary noted that most of the initial SGB workshops were for managers only. He said that: "...Largely principals (managers) were targeted to get the principle off the ground."

It can be argued that the implementation of SGBs in schools was a learning curve for many stakeholders, who had to decide where, how and who should take the lead.

7.) Miscommunication

Mr. Haven of Topaz Primary answers Deem's (1988) question as to whether parents want to have a voice in the education of their children, by saying that: "...The more you make a noise the more unpopular, disliked or even hated you become." At both Topaz Primary and Opal Primary it seems that the problem is that the stakeholders do not communicate effectively, thus misunderstandings arise. As Mr. Isaacs of Topaz Primary said, it is important to establish a platform where dialogue can be had so those problems can be solved. The following was also mentioned by Mr. Isaacs: "If you are going to have a parent community who is going to assist the school ... now if there is no communication between them they are going to become apathetic...." Ms. Kay of Topaz Primary noted that: "The SGB-parents and the teachers (educators) are from two different worlds ... They must talk to each other...." The SGB of Opal Primary also tried to establish a platform where communication could take place. As noted in the previous section many problems arise due to misunderstandings, which can be eradicated if the stakeholders communicate. Mr. Armien of Opal Primary said: "Look here, a lot of it is misunderstanding." Mr. Sherry of Opal Primary also cited the absence of transparency as a problem at the school, along with mistrust and misunderstanding.

Topaz Primary seems to be the site where there is extensive mistrust, though Opal Primary has quite a few problems of its own. It has been noted that mistrust can be eradicated if all the stakeholders involve themselves in the school.

Conclusion

Every cosmos has its own micro-politics and the quantitative and qualitative analysis of the sites studied in this research are indicative of the approaches used by the schools in relation to SGBs. Inconsistencies exist in SGBs, as certain practices are performed at Topaz and Opal Primary, whilst others are performed only at Topaz or Opal Primary. This is illustrated in the following

table, where the outstanding points of comparison between Topaz and Opal Primary are highlighted:

Table 4: Outstanding Points of Comparison between Schools

Topaz Primary	Opal Primary
➤ A SGB structure exists.	➤ A SGB structure exists.
➤ Power resides in the SGB.	➤ Power resides in the manager.
➤ Certain parents who had served on the PTA now serve on the SGB.	➤ Certain parents who had served on the PTA now serve on the SGB.
➤ The SGB has not held meetings with the broader parent community.	➤ The SGB has held meetings with the broader parent community.
➤ Appointments were made by the SGB into SGB and WCED posts.	➤ Appointments were made by the SGB into SGB and WCED posts.
➤ The SGB has not received the support of the educators and broader parent community with fundraising efforts.	➤ The SGB has received the support of the educators and a small group of parents with fundraising efforts.
➤ 1 Manager, 2 educators, 4 parents, and 0 non-educators serve on the SGB.	➤ 1 Manager, 2 educators, 4 parents, and 0 non-educators serve on the SGB.
➤ The parent-SGB members have attended capacity-building workshops.	➤ The parent-SGB members have not attended capacity-building workshops.
➤ The SGB manages to get 90% of the parents to pay school fees. ⁴⁵	➤ The SGB has a low success rate with the payment of school fees.

⁴⁵ This is according to the SGB-parents, however the survey statistics indicates that 45.9% of the parents of Topaz Primary pay the school fees.

One of the visions of the SASA (1996) was to achieve teamwork amongst the educators, parents, pupils, and the broader community. However, the SGB of both Topaz and of Opal Primary have stakeholders who are in conflict with one another. This is because the power bases at these two schools practice what Deem (1988) refers to as the marginalization of parents, where those who have power are further empowered, whilst those who do not have power are further disempowered.

The rhetoric of action at Topaz Primary is supposedly "interactive participation," where all the stakeholders decide with the SGB, which then considers the votes and makes the final decision. However, an analysis of the data indicates that only the parent-SGB members of Topaz Primary have been empowered by the SASA (1996). This can be also be deduced from the comment made by Mr. Nash that: "...There is a power struggle." It can be argued that this is because there is no inter-relationship between the parent-SGB members, the educators, and the broader parent community of Topaz Primary. Furthermore, the SASA (1996) entered Topaz Primary, where various problems existed between the different stakeholders, making the smooth implementation of this policy an impossibility.

Mr. Sherry, an educator of Opal Primary, said that with the implementation of the SASA (1996) the rhetoric of action at this school is "pseudo-participation", where all the educators are made to believe that they make the decisions, but one person (the manager) had already made it for them. An analysis of the data indicated that the power resides in the manager of Opal Primary. It can be argued that the manager of this school leaves little space for the empowerment of the parent-SGB members, educators, and the broader parent community. Furthermore, when the SASA (1996) entered this school, the manager already had an autocratic style.

Ball (1994a) and Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) note that the path of policy is non-linear as it is implemented in various stages and unevenly. They argue that the policy process does not only consist of the context of practice where policy is implemented, but also of two other primary

contexts, viz: context of influence and the context of policy text production. Whilst, Mokgalane, *et al*, state that "there is no easy transition from visions and positions stated on paper and their realization in practice ... In the process, some of the original goals may be elaborated or transformed in such a way that significantly changes their impact" (1996:1). The reality of the practices referred to by Ball (1994a); Bowe, *et al* (1992; 1996) and Mokgalane, *et al* (1996) can be seen in the comparison between Topaz and Opal Primary.

University of Cape Town

Chapter 5

Conclusion

We shall not ignore the way that things stay the same or the ways in which changes are different in different settings and different from the intentions of policy authors.

(Ball, 1994a:20)

The focus of the dissertation is the extent to which the SASA (1996) has been realized with respect to parental participation in SGBs in two schools in the Athlone area. As such, this study presents an analysis of what Brown refers to as the "ideology of parentocracy" (in Ball, 1994a:100), an ideology which is embedded in the SASA (1996).

Essentially this devolution was a "response of the government to a crisis in power and control" (Ball, 1994a:8), and legislated that SGBs must be formed in schools and as such allowing parents to become involved in the schooling of their children in two ways: 1.) by serving on the school governing body (SGB); and, 2.) by providing the SGB with support through participation in the everyday activities of the school. Essentially, the implementation process of SGBs in the two schools studied will be regarded in the light of Saunders' (1986:1) remark that " (the) conception of policy implementation is that of a process of modification and adaptation of policy messages by participants or, ... 'policy users'...."

The evidence of this study suggests that parental participation in schools is by no means a given. In the two schools studied here, it is clear that:

- participation of parents in these two schools is minimal;
- the SASA (1996) further empowered parents who already had power and, paradoxically, further disempowered parents on the margins; and relatedly,
- the identities of parents serving on SGBs could be predetermined, thus negatively affecting non-serving parents.

These outcomes are evident in the following:

- the histories of the context impacted on the way in which the SASA (1996) was implemented;
- though SGBs have the right to collect school fees, they experience difficulty in doing so;
- the workload is burdensome to the SGB;
- these two schools were not ready for the implementation of the SASA (1996) when it was introduced;
- the educators have difficulty accepting the participation of parents in the two schools;
- confusion exists between the stakeholders as to the SGB's and the manager's duties;
- there is a lack of teamwork between the various stakeholders;
- the manager⁴⁶ impedes the proper implementation of the SASA (1996);
- the stakeholders have little knowledge of the SASA (1996); and,
- little communication takes place between the various stakeholders, thus there is mistrust and misunderstanding.

The afore-mentioned points reveal the difficulties confronting schools. It can be argued that the difficulties in these two schools are "the outcome of the pursuit of group interests rather than organizational interests via ... micro-politics" (Hoyle, 1988:263).

In accordance with the three "broad categories" adoptive extension, accommodation and containment which Saunders (1986) has identified as the responses of individuals to externally imposed changes; it can be argued that the schools have taken on the policy but adjusted it in the process. The first form of adjustment is: 1.) adoptive extension. This is an interpretation of

⁴⁶ This is at Opal Primary.

adoption where the school takes the legislated texts seriously, thus bringing about whole school change "involving changes in organisation, content, assessment and teaching approaches" (Saunders, 1986:5). In the two schools this has not been instituted, instead; 2.) accommodation, which is the act of reformulating the legislated text to maintain the present form of the school, has taken place at Opal Primary. This means that though the structure of Opal Primary was changed to accommodate the SGB, the degree to which the policy was implemented was limited. This is because the manager of the school shaped the school's conditions to the extent that it limited the understanding that the educators and parents had of the policy. Whilst; 3.) containment, which is the absorption of policy into the school culture, seems to a certain extent, to have happened at Topaz Primary. This means that though Topaz Primary has SGB members who reflect that they have an understanding of the SASA (1996) and who try to fully absorb its rules and regulations into the school's culture, there are certain barriers which impede them from attaining their goal. The three responses to policy implementation noted by Saunders are experienced at the schools because when the practicalities of implementing the policy are obvious to the implementers changes are made to the policy and the implementation of it in accordance with the "sets of priorities, preoccupations and interests participants may have" (1986:2). The changes made to the policy and the implementation process are not mentioned and sometimes not meant to occur but is the reality of how policy is practiced (*ibid.*). Although all three processes referred to can happen simultaneously at a school, Saunders (1986:6) notes that four factors affect the categorization of a school into one of the three categories, these are: 1.) the present state of the school; 2.) the history of the school; 3.) the manner in which the policy is interpreted; and, 4.) the interpretation that is placed on the school and the implementers as "change agents". The schools which follow "adoptive extension" or "accommodation", are according to Saunders (1986:15) "more likely to enhance the status of the school co-ordination, either by giving the role to a senior post holder or by providing the 'climate' in which efforts of the co-ordinator are supported and given the necessary credence."

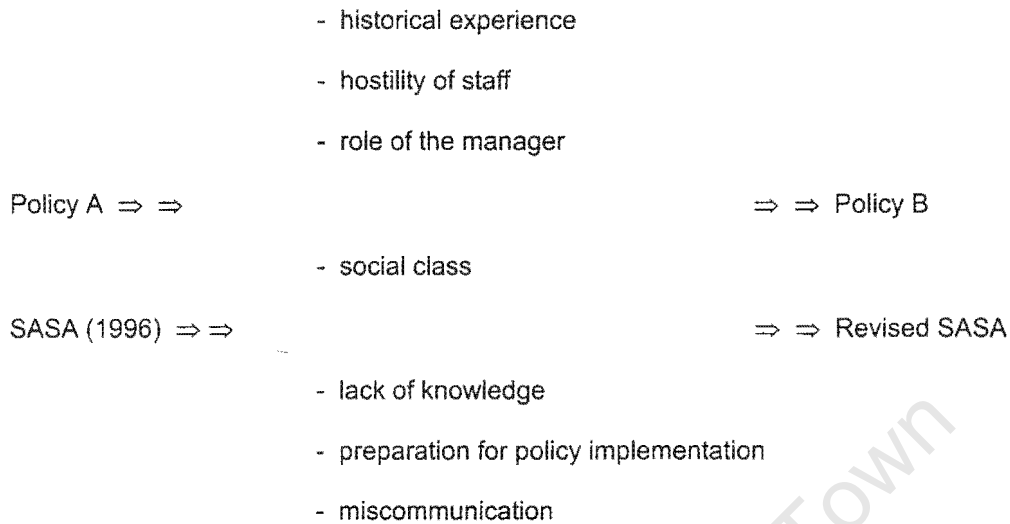
It is argued furthermore in this study that the approaches used by the two schools in the establishment of their SGBs, led their SGBs to become sites of control as opposed to sites of democracy as envisaged by the legislated policy. When the legislation was passed the then Minister of Education, Professor SME Bengu, remarked that the Hunter Commission was "asked to advise us how unity and equity and democracy and quality were to be achieved in an education system which must be the most fractured and inequitable on the face of the earth" (*Report of the Committee to Review the Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools* (The Hunter Commission Report), 1995:1). What has emerged from the two schools observed for this study is precisely the opposite.

While both schools managed to establish their SGBs by the end of August 1997, and so fulfilled the requirements of the SASA (1996), they both demonstrated how complex the processes of policy implementation are. Some of these implications are worth pausing over, viz: that only certain parents seem to make their voices heard in SGBs; that the various stakeholders struggle to work together as a team; that dialogue and accountability are difficult to establish at schools; and thus, that stakeholders have difficulty in communicating effectively.

The argument presented here is that mediation and reinterpretation take place with the implementation and practice of policy as it is recontextualized, because of the dynamics of the 'sites' and because of the micro-politics that is at play in the various contexts. It is argued that before a policy which has been passed at the macro-level is implemented on the micro-level, an assessment must be made of the context which the policy has to enter.

The diagram, which follows, is an illustration of the contextual factors, which shaped the contexts of Topaz and Opal Primary when the SASA (1996) entered these two schools.

Diagram 1:



The argument presented here is that the boundaries of Topaz and Opal Primary schools were predetermined by contextual issues such as: a.) historical experience; b.) hostility of the staff; c.) role of the manager; d.) social class; e.) lack of knowledge; f.) preparation for policy implementation; and, g.) miscommunication, when the SASA (1996) was received in these two schools. As such, the SASA (1996) failed to authentically permeate the boundaries of Topaz and Opal Primary. Instead, what emerged were interpretations that were in line with what the schools could cope with. The SASA that emerged from this process was, therefore, a distorted version of the original.

One of the major factors which needs to be highlighted where the construction of "context" (Ball, 1994a) is concerned, is the role that the manager of the school plays in exercising his authority. He can employ various leadership styles and Ball (1987:124) differentiates between the leadership styles as "forms of participation; response to opposition and strategies of control" that managers adopt. The data gathered suggests that the extent to which the manager uses "power play" to manipulate a situation relates to his leadership style. Foucault argues "that power is

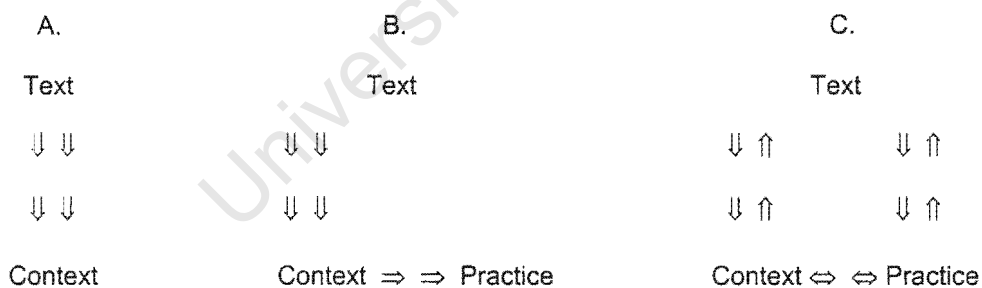
embedded in the governing structures of order, appropriation and exclusion by which subjectivities are constructed and social life is formed" (in Popkewitz and Brennan, 1998:18).

What is fore-grounded in the data is that the power wielded by the manager causes dilemmas and turbulence. This was particularly evident at Opal Primary where personality clashes had occurred because of the abuse of power by the manager. The tension which then prevailed due to c.) and worsened by (a - b and d - f), caused the certain SGB members, educators and the broader parent community to withdraw themselves from the school. This qualifies Ball's (1994a:64) analysis that,

Policy initiatives are not unproblematically translated into school practice. Rather they must be mediated through a pre-existing institutional infrastructure, composed of individuals, inscribed within each school's political culture.

It is because there are "issues of power and culture" present in the decentralization discourse that policy is interacted with in the three different ways illustrated in diagram 2.

Diagram 2:



In a.) the text is received in the context, but the theory of the text is not put into practice. The scenario that b.) sketches is one where the text enters the context and the theory is put into practice without the stakeholders having an understanding of the policy. The ideal situation is depicted by c.) where the text permeates the context and is put into practice, as the text, context and practice are "implicit in each other". This, c.), seems to be the situation that the SASA (1996)

may have been developed for. In c.) the issues would be less complex than what we find at Topaz and Opal Primary schools.

Importantly, the context in which schools are located has to be taken into account when educational policies are designed and formulated. In South Africa particularly there is a need for this, because of the country's history. The ideology of apartheid constructed a certain set of political, economic, social and cultural conditions in South Africa (see the work of Soudien, 1999a), which had the effect of exaggerating the power of particular groups and subverting the influence of others.

Furthermore, each school has its own history relating not only to its literal location, but also to its stakeholders. These histories have a major impact on the way in which educational policies are received in schools. These multiple histories come into play in the encounter of stakeholders with the text resulting in multiple interpretations and forms of implementation of policy. Ball (1994a) refers to these forms of implementation as non-linear.

In regard to the SASA (1996) the "history" of the parents is of particular importance. It was inevitable that there would be non-linearity in the implementation of the SASA (1996), because few of the parents had been exposed to the power that the SASA (1996) burdened them with. During the Apartheid era parents could be conveniently "invisibly present". The post-apartheid legislation, however necessitated that parents become actively involved in the schooling of their children. The data gathered suggests that some of the parents of Topaz and Opal Primary were struggling with this new accountability. The question to be asked however is not whether parents can or really want to be involved in schools, but whether the "insiders" (the educators and the managers of the schools) want parents to be involved in schools.

Although schools had PTAs in the past, most of the decisions were made unilaterally, because the perception of parents was that the manager of the school had what Popkewitz, *et al*,

(1998:17) refer to as "sovereign power." This perception set a precedent in schools, where the manager was regarded as the "ruler" and the parents the "ruled". This is the history of parental participation at Topaz and Opal Primary. The SASA (1996) aimed at eradicating this hierarchy, however the culture of "subjugation" and "domination" still seems to prevail in these two schools, because an Act cannot change the "underlying power relations". The inevitability of this situation, can be ascribed to the acontextual nature of the SASA (1996).

Any educational policy, which does not take the different backgrounds that the schools have or the different circumstances that they find themselves in, into account, allows for non-linearity in the implementation of it. The enactment of a policy only establishes that "structural change"⁴⁷ is brought about, but it does not mean that the practices in schools will change, as it is difficult to change "people's attitude, behaviour, performance and way of acting." Bernstein argues that the "boundaries of consciousness" that people have must be changed (in Ball, 1994a:8).

The argument presented in this study, to reiterate, is that the SASA (1996) has to be amended as it is acontextual. Riseborough, 1992 (in Ball, 1994a:23) argues that,

In practice in complex modern societies we are enmeshed in a variety of discordant, incoherent and contradictory discourses, and 'subjected knowledges' (which) cannot be totally excluded from the arenas of policy implementation.

The evidence that there is a dichotomy between this educational policy (the SASA, 1996) and the contexts which it entered, is grounded in the data. It is suggested that the present Minister of Education, Professor Kader Asmal, should commission a review of the SASA (1996).

This study aimed at examining the educator-parent-community micro-politics operating at the two schools in the Athlone area and the extent to which the implementation of policy is promoted or impeded by the complexities surrounding the context of the school. It is hoped that the data gathered allows one to gain an understanding of how the communities of the two schools interpreted and responded to the implementation of the policy on school governance.

Continued research

The aim of this study was to analyze how the implementation of the South African Schools Act (SASA, 1996) has been realized in two schools in the Athlone area, with respect to parental participation in school governing bodies (SGBs).

Further research can broaden the scope of policy and the policy process by continuing to examine: a.) how different sites generate different meanings of school governance policy through their implementation of the legislated text; b.) the micro-politics involved in the implementation of the policy of school governance; c.) the possibilities and constraints of school governance policy implementation within the South African context; d.) the differences and similarities experienced with the implementation of the school governance policy in the South African context; e.) how the government can establish stronger policy implementation teams, in terms of their understanding of the contexts of South African schools; f.) how the government can design policies which would be more informed as to what happens on the ground level; and, g.) the possibility of the formation of SGB-community outreach programmes via the internet.

⁴⁷ Appendix 10 shows where SGBs fit into school structures.

REFERENCES

- Alford, R. and Friendland, R. (1985) *Powers of Theory: Capitalism, the State and Democracy*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.
- Anderson, G.L. (1998) "Towards authentic participation: Deconstructing the discourses of participatory reforms in education", in *American Educational Research Journal*, Vol. 35, No. 4, pp. 571-603.
- Bacharach, S.B. and Lawler, E.J. (1998) "Political alignments in organizations: Contextualization, mobilization, and coordination", in *Power and Influence in Organizations*, Kramer, R.M. and Neale, M.A. (eds.), London: Sage Publications.
- Ball, S.J. (1987) *The Micro-Politics of the School: Towards a Theory of School Organization*, London: Methuen & Co.Ltd.
- Ball, S.J. (1990) *Politics and Policy Making in Education: Explanations on Policy Sociology*, London: Routledge.
- Ball, S.J. (1994a) *Education Reform*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Ball, S.J. (1994) "Some reflections on policy-making: A brief response to Hatcher and Troyna", in *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 171-182.
- Beare, H. and Boyd, W.L. (1993) "Introduction", in Beare, H. and Boyd, W.L. (eds.) *Restructuring Schools: An International Perspective on the Movement to Transform the Control and Performance of Schools*, London: The Falmer Press.
- Bell, L. (1988) *Management Skills in Primary Schools*, London: Routledge.
- Beresford, E. (1992) "The politics of parental involvement", in Allen, G. and Martin, I. *Education and Community*, London: Cassell.
- Bernstein, B. (1990) *The Structuring of Pedagogic Discourse, Vol. 1V: Class Codes and Control*, London: The Falmer Press.

- Blackmore, J., Kenway, J., Willis, S. and Rennie, L. (1994) "What's working for girls? The reception of gender equality policy in two Australian schools", in Marshall, C. (ed.) *The New Politics of Race and Gender*, London: Falmer Press.
- Bowe, R., Ball, S.J. and Gold, A. (1992) "The policy process and the processes of policy", in *Reforming Education and Changing Schools*, London: RKP.
- Bowe, R., Ball, S.J. and Gold, A. (1996) "The policy process and the processes of policy", in Ahier, J., Cosin, B. and Hales, M. (eds.) (1996) *Diversity and Change*, London: Routledge.
- Burgess, R.G. (ed.) (1988) *Strategies of Educational Research*, Lewes: The Falmer Press.
- Caldwell, B.J. (1993) "Paradox and uncertainty in the governance of education", in Beare, H. and Boyd, W.L. (eds.) *Restructuring Schools: An International Perspective on the Movement to Transform the Control and Performance of Schools*, London: The Falmer Press.
- Cannell, C.F., and Kahn R.L., (1968) "Interviewing", in Lindzey, G. and Aronson, E. (eds.), *The Handbook of Social Psychology, Vol. 2, Research Methods*, New York: Addison-Wesley.
- Cape Argus*, Monday, 21st June 1999.
- Cape Argus*, Thursday, 24th June 1999.
- Cape Argus*, Tuesday 29th June 1999.
- Chisholm, L. & Vally, S. (1996) "Finance and governance in recent conflicts over policy", in *Wits EPU: Quarterly Review of Education and Training in South Africa*, Vol. 3, No. 4, (Internet Journal, No Page Numbers).
- Christie, P. and Potterton, M. (1997) "School development in South Africa: A research project to investigate strategic interventions for quality improvement in South African schools", University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg: Education Department.
- Cohen, L. and Manion, L. (1989) *Research Methods in Education*, London: Routledge.
- Crozier, G. (1998) "Parents and schools: Partnerships or surveillance?", in *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 13, No. 1, pp. 125-136.
- Davies, D. and Johnson, V.R. (1995) "Crossing boundaries: An introduction", in *International Journal of Educational Research*, pp. 3-7.

Deem, R. (1988) "The Great Education Reform Bill 1988 - Some issues and implications", in *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 2, pp. 181-189.

Denzin, N. K. (1988) "Triangulation", in Keeves, J.P. (ed.), *Educational Research, Methodology and Measurement*, pp. 511-513, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Department of Education (1996), The South African Schools Act, 1996: No. 84, Pretoria: Government Printer.

Department of Education (1996) The South African Schools Bill, Notice 513: 1996 Pretoria: Government Printer.

Department of Education (1995) *White Paper 1: Education and Training in a Democratic South Africa*, Government Gazette Vol. 357 No. 16312, Pretoria: Government Printer, RP 130/1996.

Donn, G. (1995) *Education Policy in the New South Africa: Centre-Province Relations*, (Occasional papers, No. 56, Edinburgh: Centre for African Studies, Edinburgh University).

First Steps: School Governance Starter Pack: A Resource for School Governing Body Members (1997), Pretoria: Department of Education.

Foucault, M. (1977) *The Archeology of Knowledge*, London: Tavistock.

Fullan, M. (1992) *What's Worth Fighting for in Headship?*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Fullan, M. (1993a) *Change Forces: Probing the Depths of Educational Reform*, London: Cassell.

Fullan, M. and Stiegelbauer, S. (1993) *The New Meaning of Educational Change*, London: Cassell.

Gilmour, D. (1997) "Intension or in tension? Recent education reforms in South Africa", (Paper presented at the annual meeting of the Comparative and International Education Society, Mexico City, 19-23 March.

Guba, E.G. and Lincoln, Y.S. (1988) "Naturalistic and rationalistic enquiry", in Keeves, J.P. (ed.), *Educational Research, Methodology and Measurement*, pp. 81-85, Oxford: Pergamon Press.

Hall, G.E. (1995a) "The local educational change process and policy implementation", in Carter, S.G. and O'Neill, M.H. (eds.) *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementation*, London: The Falmer Press.

- Hall, G.E. and Carter, D.S.G. (1995) "Epilogue: Implementing change in the 1990's", in Carter, D.S.G., and O'Neill, M.H. (eds.) *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementation*, London: The Falmer Press.
- Hatcher, R. and Troyna, B. (1994) "The policy cycle: A Ball by Ball account", in *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 2, pp. 155-170.
- Henry, M. (1993) "What is policy?: A response to Stephen Ball", in *Discourse*, Vol. 14, No. 1, pp. 102-105.
- Hord, S.M. (1995) "From policy to classroom practice: Beyond the mandates", in Carter, D.S.G., and O'Neill, M.H. (eds.) *International Perspectives on Educational Reform and Policy Implementation*, London: The Falmer Press.
- Hoy, D. C. (1988) "Foucault: Modern or postmodern?", in Arac, J. (ed.) *After Foucault: Humanistic Knowledge, Postmodern Challenges*, London: Rutgers University Press.
- Hoyle, E. (1988) "Micro-politics of educational organizations", in Westoby, A. (ed.). *Culture and Power in Educational Organizations*, England: Open University Press.
- Jacklin, H. (1997) "School governance and financing under apartheid: Towards a spatialised account", in Bak, N. (ed.) *Going for the Gap*, Kenwyn: Juta and Co., Ltd.
- Levacic, R. (1995) *Local Management of Schools: Analysis and Practice*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Makyut, P. and Morehouse, R. (1994) *Beginning Qualitative Research: A Philosophic and Practical Guide*, London: The Falmer Press.
- Meason, L. (1988) "Interviewing: A strategy in qualitative research", in Burgess, R.G. (ed.) *Strategies of Educational Research*, Lewes: The Falmer Press.
- Mokgalane, E. & Vally, S. (1996) "Between vision and practice", in *Wits EPU: Quarterly Review of Education and Training in South Africa*, Vol. 4, No. 1, (Internet Journal, No Page Numbers).
- Morgan, G. (1989) "Empowering human resources", in Riches, C. and Morgan C. (eds.) *Human Resource Management in Education*, Buckingham: Open University Press.
- Offe, C. (1984) *Contradictions of the Welfare State*, Cambridge: MIT Press.

Patton, M.Q. (1990) *Qualitative Evaluation and Research Methods*, Newbury Park: Sage Publications.

Petersen, T. (1998) "Policy after legislation: A case of accommodation? A case study of a school's response to externally imposed educational reform between 1994 and 1996", Minor Dissertation, UCT: Faculty of Education, (Unpublished). ✓

Popkewitz, T.S. and Brennan, M. (eds.) (1998) *Foucault's Challenge: Discourse, Knowledge and Power in Education*, New York: Teachers College Press.

Poster, C. (1999) *Restructuring: The Key to Effective School Management*, London: Routledge.

Ranson, S. (1995) "Theorising education policy", in *Journal of Educational Policy*, Vol. 9, No. 21, pp. 55-170.

Report of the Committee to Review the Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools (The Hunter Commission Report) (1995), Pretoria: Department of Education.

Report of the Main Committee of the HSRC Investigation into Education: Provision of Education in the RSA (De Lange Report) (1981), Pretoria: HSRC.

Republic of South Africa (1996), The South African Schools Act, No. 84, 1996, Government Gazette 15, November 1996, No.17579.

Samoff, J. (1997) "Frameworks! South African Education and Training Policy Statements, 1994-1996", (Paper presented at the annual conference, Comparative and International Education Society, Mexico, 19 - 23 March 1997).

Samoff, J., Rensburg, I. and Groener Z., (1994) *From Critique to Consultation to Curriculum: Education Policy in Post-Apartheid South Africa*, African Studies Association, pp. 1-50.

Saunders, M. (1986) *Emerging Issues for TVEI Implementation*, 2nd Edition, Lancaster: University of Lancaster.

Sayed, Y. (1996) "Democratizing educational governance in South Africa: Policy problems and Prospects", (Unpublished).

Sayed, Y. (1997) "Understanding educational decentralization in post-apartheid South Africa", in *The Journal of Negro Education*, Vol. 66, No. 4, pp. 354-365.

- Shaeffer, S. (1992) "Conceptual framework for collaboration in educational change", in *Collaborating for Educational Change: The Role of Teachers, Parents and the Community in School Improvement*, pp. 3-35, International Institute for Educational Planning (UNESCO).
- Soudien, C. (1999a) "Social conditions, cultural and political life in working-class Cape Town, ca. 1950 to 1990", U.C.T.: Unpublished Paper.
- Soudien, C. (1999) "Heralding the new South African: The relationship between educational policy and identity", UCT: Unpublished Paper.
- Sowden, S. and Keeves, J.P. (1988) "Analysis of evidence in humanistic studies", in Keeves, J.P. (ed.), *Educational Research, Methodology and Measurement*, pp. 513-526, Oxford: Pergamon Press.
- Squelch and Lemmer (1994) "Managing change and conflict", in *Eight Keys to Effective School Management in South Africa*, South Africa: Southern Book Publishers.
- Strauss, A. and Corbin, J. (eds.) (1997) *Grounded Theory in Practice*, London: Sage Publications Inc.
- Sunday Times*, 17th October 1999.
- Sunday Times*, 20th October 1999.
- Taylor, N. and Vinjevold, P. (eds.) (1999) *Getting Learning Right: Report of the President's Education Initiative Research Project*, RSA: JET.
- The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, Act 108 of 1996, Cape Town, South Africa.
- The National Education Policy Investigation: The Framework Report and Final Report Summaries* (NEPI Report) (1993), Cape Town: Oxford University Press.
- The Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools: Education White Paper 2* (1996), Pretoria: Department of Education.
- Understanding the SA Schools Act: What Public Governors Need to Know*, Pretoria: Department of Education.
- Vincent, C. (1996) *Parents and Teachers: Power and Participation*, London: The Falmer Press.

Whitty, G., Power, S. and Halpin, D. (1998) "Restructuring education in five countries", in *Devolution and Choice in Education: The School, the State and the Market*, Buckingham: Open University Press.

Woods, P. (1988) "A Strategic View of Parent Participation", in *Journal of Education Policy*, Vol. 3, No. 4, pp. 323-334.

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 1

LIST OF INTERVIEWEES, DATE, PLACE OF INTERVIEW AND METHOD

* Pseudonyms have been used to protect the identities of the respondents.

Ms. Shihaam Daniels, 19 October 1999, Topaz Primary School, Tosca, Electronically Recorded.

Ms. Anne Kay, 19 October 1999, Topaz Primary School, Tosca, Manually Recorded Field Notes.

Ms. Aneesa Geyer, 20 October 1999, Topaz Primary School, Tosca, Manually Recorded Field Notes.

Mr. Isgak Isaacs, 21 October 1999, Topaz Primary School, Tosca Electronically Recorded.

Mr. Rusdi Nash, 21 October 1999, Home Of SGB Secretary, Tosca, Electronically Recorded.

Mr. Faldi Yawa, 21 October 1999, Home Of SGB Secretary, Tosca, Electronically Recorded.

Mr. Yasr Haven, 21 October 1999, Home of SGB Secretary, Tosca, Electronically Recorded.

Ms. Salma Adams, 22 October 1999, Home of Ms. Adams, Tosca, Electronically Recorded.

Ms. Karriema Moos, 25 October 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Manually Recorded Field Notes.

Mr. Gasant Cassiem, 26 October 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Electronically Recorded.

Ms. Fatima Taliep, 26 October 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Electronically Recorded.

Ms. Maude Davids, 26 October 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Manually Recorded Field Notes.

Ms. Sheila Sawyer, 27 October 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Manually Recorded Field Notes.

Ms. Maria Basson, 27 October 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Manually Recorded Field Notes.

Ms. Sara Essop, 27 October 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Manually Recorded Field Notes.

Mr. John Sherry, 28 October 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Electronically Recorded.

Mr. Amier Armien, 28 October 1999, 2 December 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Electronically Recorded.

Mr. Ashraf Hassiem, 2 November 1999, Home Of Parent, Oaks, Electronically Recorded.

Mr. Amier Armien, 2 December 1999, Opal Primary School, Oaks, Electronically Recorded.

APPENDIX 2

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

I,, the/a/an of/at
....., understand that **Asa Du Toit** is researching the
implementation of the South African Schools Act of 1996, pertaining to parental participation in
schools and hereby agree to be interviewed for that purpose.

Note:

1. The interview will be recorded to ensure the accuracy of statements to be used as direct quotations in the dissertation.
2. The confidentiality of the recorded information will be respected.
3. The respondent will remain anonymous.
4. If required, the respondent will receive a transcript of the recorded interview to verify it.

Signature:..... Venue:.....

Date:..... Time:.....

Asa Du Toit
61 Pluto Road
Surrey Estate
Athlone
7764

Telephone: 021 6374435

Fax: 021 6374435

e-mail: ad@yebo.co.za

APPENDIX 3

INTERVIEW WITH SCHOOL GOVERNING BODY (SGB) MEMBERS

The South African Schools' Act of 1996 made it compulsory for all schools to have school governing bodies. Why do you serve on the SGB?

How often does the SGB have a meeting?

What is the present representation on the SGB?

What do you understand the role of the SGB members to be?

Did the SGB members attend capacity building workshops?

Does the SGB function in terms of a constitution?

What vision does the SGB have for the school?

What mission statement has the SGB decided on for the school?

In terms of the school's code of conduct for pupils, what disciplinary measures are the teachers (educators) allowed to use?

How has the SGB dealt with the issue of parents having to pay the school fees?

Has the SGB members been involved in the curriculum planning of the school?

What views do the SGB have on the present management of the school?

Has the SGB appointed any of the teachers (educators) in departmental posts?

Are there any teachers (educators) who have been appointed in governing body posts?

To what extent has the SGB taken the needs of the learners into consideration (when they appointed teachers (educators) or when they did any other planning thus far)?

What fundraising efforts have been initiated by the SGB during its term in office?

Does the SGB provide the different constituencies (teachers (educators) and parent community) with financial statements of the fundraising programs?

What other projects have the SGB, teachers (educators), and broader parent community collaborated on?

If the SGB has experienced difficulties amongst themselves, with the parents or the teachers (educators), have those problems been resolved? How?

APPENDIX 4

INTERVIEW WITH MANAGER

The South African schools Act of 1996 legislated that all schools should have school-governing bodies (SGBs). How was this school affected by the formation of such a statutory body?

What problems were experienced with the formation of the SGB?

Why did the school experience those problems?

What is the representation on the SGB like, presently?

What is the relationship between the SGB and the broader parent community like?

Why does the SGB interact with the rest of the parent community in those ways?

What are the problems that the SGB have experienced with the different constituencies (teachers (educators), and the broader parent community?

Why has the SGB experienced those problems?

Has the SGB used any means to resolve those problems?

What means did the SGB use to resolve the difficulties?

Why did the SGBs methods succeed or fail?

In your opinion, how can the difficulties experienced by the SGB be resolved?

APPENDIX 5

INTERVIEW WITH PARTICIPATING/NON-PARTICIPATING PARENTS

What is your relationship with your child's school like?

How often have you been to the school?

Why did you go to the school?

Have you made contact with the school in any other ways?

Why did you contact the school then?

What problems have you experienced with/when interacting with the school?

How do you think those problems can be overcome?

Do you know who the school's governing body members are?

In your opinion, how do the SGB interact with the broader parent community?

Have you encountered any problems with the school's SGB?

What understanding do you have of the South African Schools' Act of 1996?

APPENDIX 6

INTERVIEW WITH EDUCATORS

What is parental participation at this school like presently?

How do the SGB and the broader parent community interact with the school?

Why do the SGB and the broader parent community interact with the school in those ways?

What problems have been experienced with having contact with parents (including those parents serving on the SGB)?

Why were those problems experienced?

Have those problems been resolved?

If yes, how and if no, why not?

The questions that have been posed centres around the nature of the partnership between the parents and the school/teachers, for which the SASA (1996) provides a framework. What understanding do you have of this Act?

APPENDIX 7

TOPAZ PRIMARY SCHOOLS' LETTER OF NOTIFICATION OF RESEARCH TO THE PARENTS

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 8

OPAL PRIMARY SCHOOLS' LETTER OF NOTIFICATION OF RESEARCH TO THE PARENTS

University of Cape Town

APPENDIX 9

SURVEY
PARENT-EDUCATOR PARTNERSHIPS

CONFIDENTIAL

NB: Parent/Guardian of pupil to COMPLETE only one copy of the survey and SEND it BACK to school, please.

Name of Pupil:..... Grade:.....

Name of Parent:..... Telephone No:.....

DRAW A CIRCLE around one of the five letters (A; B; C; D; E) following each item (1 - 20) to show the answer you have selected.



C = Occasionally

D = Seldom



University of Cape Town

As a parent/guardian of a child/ren at the school, I

OFFICIAL

USE

- | | | | | | | |
|--|---|---|---|---|---|--------------------------|
| 1. attend the school's meetings. | A | B | C | D | E | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 2. serve as a relief teacher when teachers (educators) are absent. | A | B | C | D | E | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 3. pay the school fees. | A | B | C | D | E | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 4. serve on the school governing body. | A | B | C | D | E | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| 5. serve on the school's sub-committees. | A | B | C | D | E | <input type="checkbox"/> |

6. elected the school governing body members. A B C D E
7. communicate with my child/ren's teachers (educators)
verbally and in writing. A B C D E
8. communicate verbally with the school's staff. A B C D E
9. monitor the academic progress of my child/ren. A B C D E
10. know what and how my child/ren learn at school. A B C D E
11. visit the school. A B C D E
12. attend the school's educational events. A B C D E
13. participate in the development of the whole school. A B C D E
14. support/organise the school's social and fundraising events. A B C D E
15. assist with the school's extra-mural activities. A B C D E
16. encourage other parents to interact with the school. A B C D E
17. accompany my child/ren on excursions. A B C D E
18. monitor my child/ren's attendance. A B C D E
19. am aware of the school's code of conduct. A B C D E
20. emphasize that my child/ren do the assigned homework. A B C D E

O

