

**THE ROLE OF PARENT - TEACHER - STUDENT - ASSOCIATIONS (PTSAs) IN THE
DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE OF SCHOOLS : FUTURE POLICY IMPLICATIONS**

BY

MAKHUBU, TJETJANE SAMSON

**MINOR DISSERTATION SUBMITTED IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF EDUCATION SPECIALISING
IN EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION, PLANNING AND
SOCIAL POLICY**

1993

FACULTY OF EDUCATION - UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

SUPERVISED BY PROFESSOR ASHLEY, M. J.

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.

DISCLAIMER STATEMENT

I, the undersigned, hereby declare that this is my own, original and unaided work that has not been submitted to any other institution for assessment purposes and that all sources, references and peer/tutor/other assistance have been acknowledged.

Signed.....on this day.....of.....in.....

conclusions arrived at, are those of the author and are not necessarily to be attributed to the Centre For Science And Development.

DEDICATION

This research study is dedicated to many people. It is a special dedication to :

- * my unlettered parents, Motsekuoa and Nnini, who instilled in their children early in life that the best way of liberating oneself from whatever bondage was to educate oneself,
- * my loving and caring wife, Matshediso, and our two beautiful daughters, Khahliso and Moleboheng, for the constant support, love and patient encouragement they have always given me. A special 'thank you' for being so understanding and willing to let me go at the time when you needed me most,
- * all the comrades, Black and White, who laid down their lives to see to the total abolition of apartheid and all it stood for. In particular, this research study is a tribute to all the Young Lions who, over the years, either sacrificed their school careers, or got imprisoned, harassed, permanently disabled, and lost their precious lives in their fight for democracy and justice in general, and the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations (PTSAs) in particular.

Their deep-rooted love for democracy and justice, fearless strength and deep commitment towards the eradication of apartheid and oppression of Black men, women and children in South Africa has just paid off as the country moves slowly but surely into a non-sexist, non-racial, just and democratic future.

- * and finally, this study is a dedication to all past and present great African leaders who through their deeds and utterances have fostered in me the belief in Black Worth.

LET THE PEOPLE GOVERN !

ABSTRACT

This research study attempted to gather, present and analyse information regarding the current role of the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations in the democratic governance of secondary schools for purposes of contributing towards the education governance policy discourse as South Africa moves away from apartheid to democracy.

Central to this largely fact-finding exercise was an attempt to make a contribution to an understanding of how the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations, in the execution of their duties, practice both democracy and accountability; operate; resolve tensions and/or differences among parents, teachers and students; impact upon the schools in general; and relate to both the Department of Education and Training and other organs of civil society.

Further, this survey attempted to ascertain in which crucial areas the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations are most lacking, and how these could be strengthened. And finally, an attempt was made in this study to contribute to the possible future role of the Parent-Teacher-Student Associations in the new democratic education dispensation, and how, in the execution of this new role the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations should relate to the new, future democratic government. The study concluded with a number of recommendations for policy in the area of democratic school governance.

The study used largely a survey method. The Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations of three secondary schools under the auspices of the Department of Education and Training in the

Western Cape region were surveyed. The single most important data-gathering instrument used was the interview.

Numerous conclusions were arrived at. First, the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations studied were found to be very powerful and effective in their areas of operation in school governance despite their inability to have access to resources of power, wealth and expertise. These Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations are important education policy actors who are not only influencing policy, but are in total control of very crucial policy areas in their schools.

Second, the study concluded that whereas the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations studied represent an important step towards the full democratisation of education in general, and in their schools in particular, their role in school governance could not be described as an unqualified success. However, despite the problems associated with the PTSAs involvement in school governance, their role does have the potential to make for better schools.

And finally, because of the limited nature of the study in terms of the methodology, scope and time, the conclusions arrived at here cannot and should not be generalised beyond the confines of the study as no attempt was made to embark upon regional or national research exercise.

CONTENTS

1. Rationale of the Study	1-6
1.1. Introduction	1-5
1.2. Methodology	5
1.2.1. Literature Survey	5-6
1.2.2. Field Research	6
2. Review of International Literature	7-58
2.1. Introduction	7-9
2.2. The Changing Educational Environment	9-12
2.3. The Centralisation - Decentralisation Debate	12-26
a) Deconcentration	14
b) Deregulation	14-15
c) Privatisation	15
d) Delegation	15-16
e) Devolution	16-17
i) The culture of learning argument	17-19
ii) The efficiency argument	19-20
iii) The redistribution argument	20-21
iv) The effectiveness argument	21-26
2.4. Why Democratic Governance of Schools?	26-45
a) The tension between democracy and bureaucracy	28-31
b) Improved school performance	31-33
c) Teacher professionalism	33-34
d) Adding democracy to governance	34-37
e) Educational change and school improvement	37-38
i) The crises of economics and management	38-39
ii) The problems of reforms and innovations	39-40
iii) Participation as a means and an end	40-45
2.5. Examples of Community Involvement in School Governance	45-57
2.5.1. Europe	46-52
a) France	46-47
b) Norway	48
c) Denmark	48-49
d) Italy	49-50
e) Germany	50-51
f) The Netherlands	51-52
2.5.2. Britain	52-53
2.5.3. Canada	53
2.5.4. Mozambique	54-57

copy (RAM)
34 - 45

2.6.	Summary of Factors Responsible for Unsuccessful Decentralised and Democratic School Governance Systems	57-58	
3.	The South African Case	59-93	
3.1.	Introduction	59-60	
3.2.	The crisis in the current school governance system in South Africa	61-65	
3.3.	The theory of democratic school governance	66-70	
3.4.	Current statutory education structures in South Africa	71-81	
3.4.1.	Statutory school governance structures in African schools	72-81	
a)	Composition, role and powers of Management Councils	73-74	
b)	Limitations of Management Councils	74-75	
c)	Composition, role and powers of Governing Councils	75-76	
d)	Limitations of Governing Councils	76	
e)	Composition, role and powers of Governing Bodies	76-77	
f)	Limitations of Governing Bodies	77-81	
3.5.	Non-Statutory school governance structures	81-83	
3.6.	School governance policy proposals in the 1990's	83-93	
3.6.1.	The Education Renewal Strategy (ERS)	84-86	
3.6.2.	The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI)	87-91	
3.6.3.	The African National Congress's Policy Guidelines on Education Governance	91-93	
4.	Methodology and Field Findings	94-146	
4.1.	Methodology	94-95	
4.1.1.	Literature Survey	94-95	
4.1.2.	Field Research	96-103	
a)	Introduction	96-98	
b)	Data Gathering	98-103	
4.2.	Time Scale	104	
4.3.	Definitional Issues	104-107	
4.3.1.	Democratic Governance	104-106	} copy 104-107 (ra-)
4.3.2.	Community Involvement and Participation	106-107	
4.4.	Research Process Problems	107-110	
4.4.1.	Literature Search and Review	107-109	
a)	International Literature	107-108	
b)	The South African Literature	108-109	
4.4.2.	Field Research	109-110	
4.5.	Research Themes	110-119	
4.5.1.	Historical Background	110-111	
4.5.2.	The role of the PTSAs	111-112	
4.5.3.	Democracy, decision-making and accountability	112	
4.5.4.	PTSAs operation	113	
4.5.5.	Activities and programmes	113-114	
4.5.6.	PTSAs and the DET	114-115	
4.5.7.	PTSAs and parental organisation	114-115	
4.5.8.	PTSAs and organs of civil society	115	
4.5.9.	PTSAs and gender	116	
4.5.10.	PTSA limitations	116	

4.5.11. The future role of PTSAs	116
4.5.12. PTSAs and a future democratic government	117-119
a) Model A : PTSAs as organs of the state	117
b) Model B : PTSAs as organs of civil society	118
c) Model C : PTSAs as semi-autonomous community organs	118-119
4.6. Field Findings	120-143
4.6.1. Historical background	120-123
a) Political turbulence of the mid - 1980's	120-124
4.6.2. Current roles, duties and powers of PTSAs	123-124
4.6.3. Predominant areas of PTSA involvement in school governance	124-131
a) Hiring and firing of teachers	124-125
b) Hiring of non-teaching personnel	125
c) Fund-raising	126
d) Discipline	126
e) Determination and control of school funds	127
f) Crisis management and conflict resolution	127
g) Liaising with the DET	128
h) Formulation of school policy	128-131
4.6.4. Democracy, decision-making and accountability	132-133
4.6.5. PTSAs operation	134
4.6.6. PTSAs and gender	134-135
4.6.7. PTSAs activities and programmes	135-137
a) Instructional / Pedagogical programmes	136
b) Management / Administrative programmes	136
c) Community-related programmes	137
4.6.8. PTSAs and parental organisation	137-139
4.6.9. PTSAs and civil society	139
4.6.10. PTSAs and the DET	139-140
4.6.11. The future role of PTSAs	140-142
4.6.12. PTSAs and a future democratic state	142-143
4.6.13. Limitations of PTSAs	143
4.7. Conclusions	144-146
4.7.1. The need for PTSA involvement in school governance	144
4.7.2. The present nature of PTSA role in school governance	144-145
4.7.3. Principles guiding PTSAs operation	145
4.7.4. To what extent are PTSAs democratic and accountable?	146
5. Conclusion and Recommendations for Policy	147-154
5.1. Introduction and limitations of the study	147-148
5.2. Conclusion	148-151
5.3. Recommendations for Policy	151-154

copy 142-154

copy p. 155, 156, 157, 160, 162

Bibliography	155-164
Appendix 1	1-4
Appendix 2	5-18
Appendix 3	19-23
Appendix 4	24-31
Appendix 5	32
Appendix 6	33

CHAPTER ONE

RATIONALE OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The South African schooling system has for a long time been in a state of disarray. This is true especially with regard to secondary schools in African education. There are many reasons for this state of affairs. However, one reason for this is that the massive injustice which is at the heart of South Africa's social and political life is glaringly seen in her schooling system, which has systematically and persistently betrayed the aspirations of the majority of the people.

Those betrayed by the schooling system have, over the years, engaged in long and taxing struggles of resistance, which have frequently involved a self-sacrificing disruption and abandonment of individual school careers, serious risk of injury, and sometimes death itself (Morrow, 1988:56).

These chilling words describe in part the contentious nature of education governance in South Africa. Central to popular struggles against Apartheid Education has always been, amongst others, the issue of education governance, an issue that has been contentious in this country for the better part of this century.

As Kulati (1992:2) puts it :

"The demand for community involvement in the administration and control of education, through structures such as the PTSAs, has been central to the struggle against the Bantu Education system. This struggle has been waged within a context characterised by the apartheid ideology of separate development; a highly repressive state which... sought to use education....to produce a docile, servile labour force capable of servicing the needs of racial capitalism; and a voteless majority who had no say on how they wanted to be governed, what form of education their children should have, where they could find work, etc."

Background

The demand for community involvement in school governance in African education can be traced back as far as the time prior to the Union of South Africa in 1910, when African education was then administered and controlled by the missionaries. That was the time when the church - through its mission stations - played a central role in the education of Black South Africans (Christie, 1985:64).

However, Lodge (1984:266) argues that there is lack of documented instances where communities participated in the day to day running of schools, as participation in this area was linked and limited to the building of schools by the communities themselves. Nevertheless, the issue of education governance struck a resonant chord within African communities, presumably because of their contributions in building those schools themselves.

1953 The introduction of the Bantu Education in 1953 was met with opposition by African communities despite the fact that School Committees and School Boards were established "to

allow involvement by parents" (Kulati, 1992:5). Kulati attributes this opposition to the fact that African people were aware that Bantu Education was part and parcel of a broader strategy of political subjugation to deny them representation in key institutions.

Kulati (1992:5) further argues that the establishment of School Committees and School Boards was aimed not only at legitimising the system of Bantu Education, but also at extending central control of schools. This realisation led the teachers and parents to vehemently reject Bantu Education, thus laying a solid foundation for subsequent struggles against Bantu Education and all it stood for.

1980's
Community
Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations
PTSA

The dramatic developments of the mid 1980's and February 1990 which were characterised by the call for People's Education and the beginning of real social and political transformation in South Africa respectively, led to increased calls for community control of education. In African education in particular, the developments of the 1980's which also saw the formation of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and the rise to prominence of the People's Education movement, ushered in a new and unique notion of community involvement in education, namely, the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations (PTSA).

NB

In his study carried out in the 1980's, Molteno found that parents and communities complained about the lack of students' control over their schooling (Molteno, 1984:80). The education struggles of the 1980's were not only national in character, but involved all primary stakeholders in education, namely, parents, teachers and students, as attempts were made to turn schools into sites of struggle for the transformation of the education system.

Despite the lack of legal recognition by the education authorities, the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations became established in many schools in African, Coloured and Indian schools. They became the organisational expression of the demands for parents, teachers and students to have a say in the governance of their schools. However, it soon became clear that little research had been done on the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations and the role they played in schools where they existed. It also became clear that little was known about the form and nature of factors - either positive or negative - that influence the PTSAs in the day to day execution of their duties.

Inasmuch as school governance has always been and still is a thorny and highly contested terrain, there are indications already that issues about governance would remain contentious in the future when attempts would be made to put in place a new democratic education governance system in the country. Issues about the policy-making processes and how the new system is to be controlled, managed and administered are clearly of paramount importance to education governance. The recent multi-party talks in the country have already shed some light of what to expect when transformation of established institutions takes place.

The key question in this study was 'What is the current role of the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations in the governance of secondary schools?' In relation to this, determining the PTSAs' conceptions of democracy and democratic accountability, as well as how the PTSAs relate to the Department of Education and Training (DET), organs of civil society, gender equality, the parent community, and how the PTSAs should relate to a future democratic government, were all crucial to this study.

focus
The focus of this survey was on secondary school governance because the rise and development of the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations in South Africa have always been and still are centrally linked to issues of power and democratic control of schools.

Due to limitations of time and degree requirements, the study was limited to three schools in the Western Cape.

1.2. METHODOLOGY

The study focused specifically on two areas, namely, the survey of literature and field research.

1.2.1. LITERATURE SURVEY

A survey of the international literature on the subjects of democratic governance of schools, community involvement in education, school effectiveness, school-community collaboration and partnerships, school-based-management, and parental involvement in both developed and developing countries, was made.

A survey of these subjects in the international literature assisted in two specific ways. First, it helped define mechanisms of parental, teachers and student involvement in education. Second, it helped develop and strengthen the argument that despite all the problems associated with it, community involvement in education does make for better schools.

With regard to the South African case, a literature search was made of the writings on the education crisis, education governance, parental involvement in education, the People's Education, the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations, statutory school governance structures,

as well as on the most recent policy proposals on school governance contained in the state's Education Renewal Strategy (ERS), the Urban Foudation's Education Policy and System Change Unit (EDUPOL), the National Education Crisis Committee's National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), and the African National Congress's Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa.

1.2.2. FIELD RESEARCH

For this part of the study, a series of semi-structured interviews with twelve people participating in the three PTSAs surveyed and six representatives of organisations working closely - though in different ways - with the PTSAs, was undertaken. The interviewees were chosen on the basis of the positions they occupy either in the PTSAs or in their individual organisations or both.

In keeping with the survey method, all eighteen respondents were asked the same questions under more or less similar conditions (Bell,1993:11), with opportunity for follow-up on significant points in discussions. A more detailed explanation on the methodology is found in Chapter Four, sub-section 4.1.

CHAPTER TWO

REVIEW OF INTERNATIONAL LITERATURE

2.1. INTRODUCTION

Recently in South Africa there has been increasing talk in education circles about the need to tackle head-on the issue of governance of education, an issue that has been highly contentious for the better part of this century. Whereas it is common knowledge to many South Africans that structural change in the country's current education system is inevitable, the actual process in which the final form and nature of a future democratic education system would be decided upon, is yet to get underway despite the launching of the National Education and Training Forum (NETF). Much of this would undoubtedly depend on the outcome of the all-inclusive negotiations involving major internal and external interest groups in education.

At the same time there have been some developments recently, in both the democratic education movement, the African National Congress and state circles to formulate policy options for a post-apartheid system of education governance in general, and school governance in particular. The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), which was a project of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), interrogated various policy options in all areas of education, including governance and administration, within a value framework derived from the ideals of the broad democratic movement in South Africa.

Since any attempt to transform the present South African education system would have to devote considerable attention to decisions about the policy-making process and how the system is to be controlled, managed and administered (NEPI, 1993:1), it is therefore important to examine the experiences of the international community with regard to both the notions of community and/or stakeholder (parents, teachers and students) involvement/participation in education. This is significant for purposes of attempting to inform the policy discourse about a future democratic school governance system in South Africa.

There were several questions this literature survey attempted to answer :

- * What does the democratic governance of schools imply? Included in this question was an attempt to ascertain who controls schools and what powers they have; the nature of the relationships between school governance structures and their respective governments; if involvement by parents, teachers and students in school governance is seen as desirable, what the perceived benefits of such involvement are, and what the most appropriate forms of involvement and/or participation in school governance by parents, teachers and students are.
- * What are the problems commonly faced by parents, teachers and students in participating in school governance?
- * What are the criteria for assessing the success and extent of involvement by parents, teachers and students in school governance?

- * What lessons, if any, can be deduced from the international experience that would be relevant for South Africa as she would be attempting to redefine her future education governance system?

2.2. THE CHANGING EDUCATIONAL ENVIRONMENT

International

Any education system's merits and demerits can neither be reasonably evaluated nor can its future be properly planned and decided upon unless there is consideration of the major forces in the world that strongly impinge on education and are already shaping its future. While some of these forces have only domestic roots, others are global in scope, and as such have far-reaching educational implications. These forces are economic, demographic and political (Coombs, 1988:11).

With references to these forces, Coombs writes that the political changes that were accompanied by the world-wide economic crises in the 1970's and 1980's left their mark on education. He goes further to argue that while some of these changes were peaceful and positive, a distressing number of them involved tragic military conflicts, both within and between nations :

1980

"It was a time when established institutions and power alignments were being stoutly challenged, when newer nations were striving to achieve political stability and older nations to keep theirs from crumbling, when heightened nationalism, insecurity, economic rivalries,

and cultural collisions precipitated a rash of internal and external conflicts, and where a rising wave of protests against repression and of popular demands for participation and greater equity swept across the world" (Coombs, 1988:11-12).

Coombs notes that schools were invariably in the middle of such political and socio-economic disruptions, and that they were often charged with being part of the problem or having failed to avert it as teachers and students were frequently in the vanguard of these protest movements, including outright civil wars and revolutions. These crises left many institutions fragile and vulnerable (ibid.:12).

Closely linked to Coombs' analysis of the education environment is Scott's (1981) analysis of theories of educational governance, which are seen to be directly linked to distinct historical periods associated with schools of management theories current with those times, and Sander's (1989) paradigm for the study of educational governance in different economic, political and cultural contexts.

For Scott (1981), since the changing theories of educational governance are linked to distinct historical periods associated with schools of management theory current at the time, each historical era of governance can therefore be assigned a single key criterion that best describes its focus. On the other hand, Sander (1989), for whom culture is seen as providing the context in which education is practised, argues for adoption of cultural relevance as the major criterion for assessing the applicability of educational models and administrative practices.

41B
Further, since the world economic and political crisis of the 1970's and 1980's, there has been a move towards the democratic governance of schools (Fraser,1988:45-46), a move corresponding with similar approaches to the management of industries. This movement towards the democratisation of schools has been characterised by increased calls for greater participation as a result of which components of civil society demand a greater say in decisions that affect them directly (Fraser,1988:45;Bustos et al,1991;Baron,1981:7-10; Boyd,1990:31).

On the other hand, the education environment seems to be influenced by educational priorities of individual countries, as EDUPOL (1993:4) notes :

"....developing and industrialised countries face the challenge of educating people in quite different ways and for different purposes...."

This might imply that the forms of social participation, among others might be quite different among countries because of their differing educational priorities, as this observation suggests :

"....a striking difference between industrialised and developing countries is the tendency of the former towards centralisation of educational governance and the tendency of the latter towards decentralisation of control" (ibid:14).

Although EDUPOL's above suggestion can be refuted on the basis that many countries in the world, irrespective of whether or not they are industrialised, have governance systems that reflect both centralisation and decentralisation, Hallak (1990) argues in its favour. Hallak's

argument is that in the 1990's the state in developing world is forced to look for partners to share the burden of correcting past and present imbalances, reaching the target for universal literacy, reducing inequalities of access to education, expanding the coverage, improving the quality and increasing efficiency in the use of resources, while in the industrialised world a key measure of social participation in education policy and implementation is its effects on student performance (EDUPOL,1993:4).

However, the significance of this debate about linking educational priorities of both the industrialised and developing countries to the changing education environment is that it suggests a further debate about the modes of educational governance, that is, the extent to which the governance systems are centralised or decentralised.

2.3 THE CENTRALISATION - DECENTRALISATION DEBATE

A survey of the international literature reveals two important facts about the centralisation-decentralisation debate. First, there is evidence that throughout the world, the governance debate revolves around these two structural arrangements. Buckland and Hofmeyr (1992:3) are in agreement with this view :

"The main structural difference between education systems is the extent to which they are centralised or decentralised over time. Centralised or decentralised systems remain very different structurally, although a progressive segmentation and systematisation develops side by side after the initial emergence of each type of system".

Second, the international literature reveals that there is no absolute case for either centralisation or decentralisation of education governance since all the benefits usually associated with each are not necessarily caused by either of the two.

Winkler (1989:4) notes that centralisation-decentralisation can be viewed as a spectrum ranging from a unitary governmental system where the central government has most power or authority to make decisions to a governmental system where local governments and community organisations exercise large amounts of power. Following from Winkler's conception of centralisation-decentralisation is that the ultimate centralised system is one in which all decisions are made in the nation's capital, whereas the ultimate decentralised system is one where all decisions are made by individuals, community organisations, and small local governments.

Since Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations are usually a component of community involvement in secondary school governance, and as it has been conventionally argued elsewhere that the demand for community control of schooling and for the involvement of legitimate primary stakeholders in the daily management of schools is best facilitated within a decentralised system of education governance (Sayed,1992:2), it is therefore necessary to give 'decentralisation' further attention and scrutiny.

One of the major problems in trying to understand educational decentralisation is the terminological confusion (Sayed,1992:3). The concept 'decentralisation' means different things to different people. The problem seems to be that the 'decentralisation' is often used

loosely, and yet it covers a wide range of processes and structures. While on one hand decentralisation refers to the creation of additional sites of administration distinct from the central office, on the other hand it refers to policies that attempt to transfer power and increase participation.

Nevertheless, Rondinelli (1987:16-17) distinguishes among five forms of decentralisation, three of which are also identified by Winkler (1989:5) :

a) Deconcentration

This refers to the transfer of authority to lower levels within central government agencies. Often deconcentration takes the form of creating or expanding powers of regional directorates, as has been the case in Peru, Colombia, Chile and the Philippines (Winkler,1989:4). However, in its weakest sense, deconcentration simply means relocating administrative offices of central government to regions or smaller communities, but does not imply real decentralisation since decision-making powers remain in the central authority (Buckland and Hofmeyr,1992:6;Sayed,1992:3-4).

b) Deregulation

Deregulation is not specifically a decentralisation strategy, but is frequently used to facilitate decentralisation and privatisation by removing the control and regulations which tend to keep decision-making powers in the hands of the authorities at central level. However, according

to Buckland and Hofmeyr (1992:6) deregulation can, nonetheless, facilitate the entry of community-based groups into a service provisioning area and thereby result in a small group effectively gaining control of service provision in the area without protection provided by the state's network of regulations.

c) Privatisation

This involves the transfer of responsibility for provision of a service to a private, but not necessarily local organisation. Privatisation can involve no more than converting a state department into a parastatal corporation, or selling a public corporation to a private organisation.

Although neither of these necessarily implies transfer of power to smaller geographic units, nor does it imply greater opportunities for wider community participation in the decision-making process, it is, however, possible to privatise public services to local community-based groups. This would involve decentralisation, although it does not necessarily guarantee a greater degree of participation in decision-making by community members (Buckland and Hofmeyr, 1992:6).

d) Delegation

This is the transfer of governmental tasks or functions to autonomous bodies such as public corporations and many regional development agencies, which may then receive public funding

and are ultimately accountable to the government (Winkler,1989:4).

On the other hand, Rondinelli (1987:17) defines delegation as the transfer or creation of broad authority to plan and implement decisions concerning specific activities or a variety of activities within specified territorial boundaries to a semi-autonomous public or private organisation that is technically and administratively capable of carrying them out.

As much as there is nothing in Rondinelli's definition which necessarily implies movement of authority closer to local communities (Bucland and Hofmeyr,1992:6), so is the case with Winkler's. Delegation becomes decentralisation only in the sense that it transfers power away from the central administration, and not necessarily to a local administration.

e) Devolution

Devolution implies "the creation of autonomous and independent subnational units of government which have authority to raise revenues and spend" (Winkler,1989:4), and as such "involves transferring responsibility for provision of a service to a local government or regional administration" (Rondinelli et al,1987:62).

Devolution, which is seen as the ultimate form of decentralisation (Bray,1985:56), may also result in a federal form of government in which regional or local governments have responsibility for the finance and provision of elementary and secondary education. Of the five forms of decentralisation identified by Rondinelli, only devolution necessarily implies transfer

of powers to local levels, although all five can be used to remove decision-making powers from the centre. However, decentralisation, in its ideal form, means ensuring wide participation by legitimate interest groups (Weiler,1990:66).

The policy of decentralisation may be an outcome of the failure and weakness of centralised forms of governance. In his study of the democratic governance of education, Fraser (1988:46) argues that centralisation may not only fail to respond to the needs of education consumers at lower levels of the education system, but may also deny parents, teachers and students space to effectively influence the education system at the level where decisions are not only made but are also operationalised.

Specifically, the rationale for decentralisation may be grouped into several broad categories (Winkler,1989:2;Weiler,1991;EDUPOL,1993:5;Farrar and Connolly,1991) :

i) The culture of learning argument

The culture of learning argument emphasises the decentralisation of educational context, thus making it more relevant to local conditions. Responding to this argument in his study carried out in 1991, Weiler argues that in reality the linkage between learning and culture tends to be replaced by the linkage between learning and technology, because the demands of modern labour markets and communication systems seem to require more generalised uniform levels of skills and certification at the national and even international level for which centralised governance is more appropriate (EDUPOL.1993:5).

The culture of learning argument has very serious implications for parents, teachers and students. Clearly, the main concern here is whether or not it is a good policy decision to overemphasise localisation of education content at the expense of its universalisation thereof in an honest attempt to make education relevant to local conditions. One would argue that given the demands of the present and most certainly future market forces, the culture of learning argument becomes a non-starter as the disadvantages of such a policy would far outweigh its advantages.

Local people such as parents, teachers and students who would qualify from an education system whose very foundation would be preference of localised education would have their mobility severely inhibited as their skills and certificates would have no validity outside their boundaries, both at regional, national and international levels. This view is also expressed by EDUPOL (1993:iv) :

"By allowing the curriculum focus to be local specific, it conflicts with the need for universal and general standards of accreditation of skills demanded by labour markets both nationally and internationally".

Localised education can reinforce imbalances in equity because funding is likely to be dependent upon resources of local people. This could lead to a situation where parents would incur additional costs, thus exacerbating economic inefficiency in communities where resource allocation and capability is very low. This is more so in the South African society in general, and the African communities in particular. There is no doubt that localised education could be

used by governments as a means of abdicating responsibility for provision and delivery of education as well as allowing the state to shift its responsibility and accountability for the system onto others, such as parents (*ibid.*:iv), for example.

ii) The efficiency argument

Farrar and Connolly (1991:25), using the term 'administrative argument', see the efficiency argument as enhancing the cost-effectiveness of the educational system, and as being concerned with the most efficient way of delivering educational resources.

However, for Weiler (1991:67), the efficiency argument rests on whether or not there is going to be a significant trade-off between the loss of economies of scale and enhanced efficiency in the use of resources (EDUPOL, 1993:5). On the other hand, Winkler (1989:2) argues that the efficiency argument focuses on the high unit costs of primary and secondary education provided by the inadequate capacity of national governments to administer a centralised educational system.

One can also argue that another explanation for such high unit costs is the cost of decision-making in a system where even the most minor local education matters must be decided by a geographically and culturally distant bureaucracy in the capital city. This view is in agreement with Winkler's (1989:2), when he argues that central to these high unit costs is the frequent application by education ministers of a national standard for curriculum construction and teacher quality, thereby preventing cost savings through adjustments of educational inputs to local or regional price differences.

Nonetheless, EDUPOL (1993:50) argues that research, despite all these, indicate that generally, the decentralised generation and utilisation of resources is favoured. EDUPOL further argues that communities' commitment to providing additional resources is bound to be contingent on a real sharing of power in the decision-making process. However, this is complicated by the fact that governments are happy to accept the additional resources, but are rarely willing to relinquish control and place themselves in a position where their policies can be undermined and ignored (Weiler, 1991, cited in EDUPOL, 1993:5).

iii) The redistribution argument

The redistribution argument has to do with the sharing of power. The argument suggests that decentralised governance structures allow a wider representation of legitimate interests and sources of conflict to be dispersed and diffused. Hence decentralised governance can be a means of conflict management and compensatory legitimating of the state (EDUPOL, 1993:5).

Whereas Weiler (1991:45) argues that the presumed outcomes of decentralised planning, that is, great equity or efficiency, are often less important than its legitimating function, Winkler (1989:3) on the other hand argues that the redistribution of political power is rarely stated as an objective of decentralisation, but democratisation or inclusion of marginal groups in society is a frequently stated objective.

Winkler, citing the argument by McGinn and Street (1986) that the redistribution of political power is the primary objective of decentralisation, nonetheless argues that with that as the

objective, decentralisation may be undertaken to empower those groups in society which support central government policies or to weaken groups posing obstructions to those policies.

Winkler's arguments are particularly true of the Mexican example where decentralisation has served to reduce the power of the teachers' union by transferring salary negotiations from the central state to regional governments. Undoubtedly, from this perspective, decentralisation is less concerned with the transfer of power from one level of government to another. And ironically, one consequence of decentralisation may be to increase the effective control of the central government, or at least that of the key decision-makers in the central government (Winkler,1989:3).

iv) The effectiveness argument

In response to the effectiveness argument, Winkler (1989:3) notes that it implies that centralised planning policies popular in the 1960's have resulted in expensive education with decreasing quality.

After independence, many countries, like Guyana, nationalised and centralised their educational systems and established free education as a right. Given current fiscal constraints, such a policy can continue to be followed only with decreasing educational quality. Administration and accountability can be improved in education, it is argued, by making schools more responsive to parents and local communities and eliminating the need for central

government decisions on local educational matters (ibid.:3).

Although decentralised control is reported to have its own benefits - benefits which are mainly administrative, political and ideological (McLean and Lauglo,1985:44) - it is, however, clear that it can also lead to problems as Bray (1984:17) notes :

"Decentralisation cannot be seen as a means of achieving a wide range of objectives, it should not be seen as a solution to all problems and a panacea for all evils. The extent to which decentralisation will achieve any objective depends on its degree and form, most of the objectives which decentralisation is intended to achieve cannot be achieved by decentralisation alone. Decentralisation can itself create new problems, the nature and extent of which depend on its degree, form and factors specific to the country in question".

This view is also supported by Hurst (1985) who argues that

"From what we know of formal organisations in general, there is little evidence to believe that the benefits and advantages so widely associated with decentralised administration are likely to accrue. Changing a system from centralisation to decentralisation may or may not bring about these advantages, it may leave matters no better than before, or make them significantly worse. This is because nearly all the benefits popularly associated with decentralisation are not actually caused by it" (In Lauglo and McLean,1985:42).

Central to Hurst's conclusion is the argument that there are many interested parties to educational decisions, for example, national policy-makers, local administrators, school

worse. In some countries decentralisation has been regarded almost as a panacea, and has been expected to achieve objectives which have been unrealistic and sometimes even contradictory. As Bray (1984:1) argues :

"More circumspect governments have also encountered the complexities of decentralisation. Many projects have proved unexpectedly difficult to operate, and some planners have found their intentions frustrated by the activities of pressure groups within the population. For example, decentralisation of powers is often resisted by officers at the centre who do not wish to lose their political influence and means of livelihood, and it is sometimes abused at local levels by factions which become petty tyrants".

Flowing from the foregone discussion is the conclusion that neither complete centralisation nor decentralisation would be desirable. Rather than thinking in terms of centralisation-decentralisation polarity, it would be better to think in terms of the distribution of power on a great many actors within and outside the school system.

Since nearly all societies are combinations of centralised and decentralised structures of action (Lecy,1966:14), the question then is not whether a system should be centralised or decentralised, but which policy issues are more effectively determined at other levels in the system (Buckland and Hofmeyr,1993:44), the term 'decentralisation' would therefore in different contexts refer to shifts in favour of rather different interest groups, and these shifts are likely to differ greatly in their antecedents and consequences in different countries.

Further, there are other dimensions to examine - notably the variety of types of decisions and

functions. The point being made is that the degree of centralisation-decentralisation of decision-making differs by component in many education systems. For example, curriculum decisions in one education system may be highly centralised at the same time that school construction and finance are very decentralised. Most education systems are a mixed model, reflecting both centralisation and decentralisation. Therefore, one would argue that striking the balance between the two seems to be the most appropriate policy of education governance.

The previous discussion has several important implications for parents, teachers and students in the democratic governance of schools. First, it reminds us that whereas the concept 'decentralisation' has become a widespread phenomenon albeit societies with different histories and make-up, it is not an unqualified good this. What has emerged from the international literature is that not all benefits that are usually associated with decentralisation are necessarily caused by it. For example, a decentralised governance system can reduce and limit stakeholder participation to local elites only instead of enhancing and promoting mass participation.

Secondly, the fact that most societies in the world reflect education governance systems that are a combination of centralisation and decentralisation begs the question 'Which policy functions are best served at the centre, and which are best carried out at the periphery, where parents, teachers and students operate?' Central to this very important policy question is an attempt to find out how school governance structures such as the Parent-Teacher-Student-

NB
//

Associations should relate to their respective governments. Should they be organs of the state where they are totally dependent upon and accountable to it, or should they be organs of civil society where they are independent of the state and are accountable to their respective constituencies, or should they be semi-autonomous structures that work closely with the state but have some degree of autonomy?

Undoubtedly, the latter seems to be the better arrangement as it acknowledges the significance of the mixed model of education governance on one hand, and the fact that participation by primary stakeholders such as parents, teachers and students in the decisions that affect them directly has, over the years, become a widespread phenomenon. While it is the primary responsibility of the state to provide educational services to all and sundry, the call for representation and participation by parents, teachers and students in their countries' operations continues to be heard all over the world.

2.4. WHY DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE OF SCHOOLS ?

"If we win our demands for democratic decision-making, they (principals) are going to have to change their management styles" (National Education Conference Report, 1992:61).

The above statement may be interpreted in many ways. Among others, it may be understood as reflecting the need for a reorientation in the governance and leadership of schools. A demand for a change from the traditional and impersonal bureaucratic style of governance to one which promotes new values and principles seems to be embedded in the statement.

Although this statement was uttered in South Africa, the call for a decentralised and democratic governance for education in general, and schools in particular, continues to be heard all over the world. Communities demand not only greater consultation but also active participation in the governance of their country's operations.

In recent years and in many countries there have been major changes in the organisation and governance of public education. In association with these changes, there have been subnational revisions to the principles governing the organisation and operation of schools and a reshaping of relations between the centre, regions and schools within the education system.

In most countries, shifts in the locus of educational decision-making have been characterised by difficulties and tensions between democracy and bureaucracy, control and autonomy, as well as centralisation and devolution (Chapman and Dunstan,1990:1). The general trend of this movement is to involve far more people than hitherto in the decision-making and opinion-forming processes in education. In not a few cases those who are so involved are little more than observers and in others their roles are limited to relatively minor matters. Nonetheless, increasingly parents, teachers, non-teaching staff, pupils and local citizens are becoming part of the governmental and administrative agencies responsible for educational policies and their implementation (Baron,1981:1).

There are several reasons why there is a need for and movement towards decentralised governance of schools:

a) The tension between democracy and bureaucracy

Beare (1990:9-10) writes that in a literal sense, bureaucracy and democracy cannot co-exist because they are two mutually exclusive terms. Both words contain the suffix (cracy), meaning 'rule' or 'governance'. About bureaucracy, Beare argues that it is a technical term meaning 'government by the departments' (bureaux), by dividing the task into several components and then by allowing specialist units each to control the component allocated to it. Beare further notes that in the case of bureaucracy, the government structure is hierarchical with the person at the top of the pyramid finally responsible for the whole function and for the organisation which carries it out. Therefore, bureaucracy implies 'top-down' management.

In response to this concept of democracy, Beare, a key analyst in this area, further argues that

*"....since the term means government by the people (demos) through a kind of town meeting or an assembly of all those citizens who make up the city state, decision-making in this way would be unwieldy and quite impractical unless a representative government is put in place".
(Beare, 1990:9).*

Democracy, therefore, implies round-the-table discussion and collective decision-making.

Because both 'democracy' and 'bureaucracy' deal with control, with governance, the critical question behind both words is 'Who has control, who is in charge, who has the power and must therefore accept the final responsibility?'

However, on the other side of the spectrum are Chapman and Dunstan (1990), who write that "in the late nineteenth and twentieth centuries public schools were organised in large bureaucratic cysts, characterised by a high degree of centralised control, a clearly defined hierarchy of authority, and extensive set of regulations designed to ensure fair, equitable and uniform treatment of members of the teaching service and an efficient, equitable distribution of resources to schools" (Chapman and Dunstan, 1990:1-3).

What was disturbing, though, was the fact that the operation of these systems was rarely questioned. School principals and staff exercised few degrees of freedom, and structures were in place to enforce compliance in curriculum, personnel, finance and administrative facilities. However, Chapman and Dunstan (1990:12) argue that recently there has been considerable divergence from this pattern as school systems - in response to a broad range of social, political, economic and management pressures - have attempted to decentralise administrative arrangements and devolve responsibility to regions and schools :

"In so doing it has become necessary for policy-makers, system level administrators and representatives of teachers' and parents' associations to address the considerable tension between bureaucratic concerns for hierarchy, impersonality, consistency, economy and maximum efficiency, which characterised traditional practices, and the concerns for participatory decision making and increased localised autonomy in the twentieth century".

Despite the fact the bureaucratic structures are an indispensable requirement in any successful system of administration of public education, the momentum towards democratic governance

and the move towards decentralisation and devolution continues to increase because the tension emerges in decisions about how much control central authorities should retain and how much autonomy should be granted to regions and schools. It is against this background that schools and regional administrators are increasingly introducing democratic decision-making involving parents, teachers, students and administrators despite the fact that such decision-making is constrained (ibid.:2), for it is exercised only within the boundaries of government policies and guidelines.

Arguing that the democracy-bureaucracy is a false dichotomy because democratic structures apply throughout many educational bureaucracies, Chapman and Dunstan (1990:3) conclude that the democratic structures, participation and school-based decision-making are all necessary as they are elements of school improvement which enable a bureaucracy to be more responsive, less authoritative/authoritarian and in control only over the macro issues of policy, thereby leaving to schools the maximum degree of freedom possible for their own determination of principles, policies and practices.

Chapman and Dunstan's conclusion has important implications for the possible relationship that might exist between the parents, teachers and students on one hand and the state on the other. Their conclusion is in line with the view that was expressed earlier on in this study, where the Parent-Teacher-Student Associations are thought of as some kind of semi-autonomous structures that have links with the state but have some degree of autonomy. The fact that macro issues of education policy would be largely the terrain of the state, while

micro issues of policy would be the responsibility of individual schools, is indicative of the fact that the principle of the separation of policy functions is preferred to any other.

b) Improved school performance

Although there is no conclusive evidence to support the idea that involvement by parents, teachers and students in school governance improves student and/or school performance, Fullan (1991:227), a key analyst in this area, nonetheless, argues that there is some evidence that indicates that parental participation in learning activities affects student learning in the school, and as such should not be abandoned. A number of studies does support Fullan's argument and conclusions (Bowles,1980;Melargano et al,1981;Moore et al,1981;Epstein and Dauber,1980).

On the other hand Weiss (1993:69-70), using the concept 'Shared-Decision-Making' (SDM), notes that its advocates claim that it yields better policies. Weiss argues that because teachers have detailed and variegated knowledge about students and curriculum, decisions in which they participate would be based on intimate understanding of context, and thus would be wiser.

Given the areas of teachers' expertise, decisions under SDM would focus on teaching, learning and students' issues :

"Unlike administrators who devote serious time to bureaucratic concerns, paperwork and

managerial routines, teachers can be expected to point the decision-making apparatus at things that matter to student performance"
(Rallis and Highsmith, 1987, in Weiss, 1993:69-70).

The above argument is also supported by Darling-Hammond (1987:356) :

"Shared-decision-making unleashes teachers' creativity. Given a choice, teachers will supply fresh ideas and innovative proposals. They may help revolutionise teaching itself, devising practices that encourage teaching for understanding, critical thinking, and higher order knowledge" (in Weiss, 1993:70).

Further, it is argued that school-based-management, founded on the belief that many decisions inescapably must be made at the school level where parents, teachers and students actually come together, forms part of the critical ingredients in successful education (Boyd, 1990:31). According to Boyd, the significance of this argument lies in the fact that the school is where the people closest to the students and their distinctive needs can decide what needs to be done and how general goals and policies set at higher levels can be best implemented.

In his study of democratic governance of education carried out in the late 1980's, Fraser, whose conclusions are expanded by Boyd, argues that :

"as a result of democratic governance of education, parents, teachers and students feel a sense of ownership of the school... and students all have their morale improved... and the school becomes effective in terms of student performance..." (Fraser, 1988:45-46).

Emanating from the foregone discussion is the conclusion that democratic governance of schools, school-based-management and shared-decision-making are consistent with trends in modern business arrangements that emphasise the advantages of maximum delegation of decision-making to the operational level within a centrally co-ordinated framework. As Boyd (1990:31) has witnessed :

"School-based-management also builds on the widely documented finding that effective schools are, among others, characterised by active staff involvement in school improvement efforts, involvement that fosters commitment and a sense of ownership".

By contrast, highly prescriptive 'top-down' approaches to school governance, as McNeill (1986:54) has observed, diminish the professionalism and commitment of educators, and may even result in them performing substantially below their capacity.

c) Teacher professionalism

When schools are governed democratically and decisions are shared, teachers get treated as professionals who are in charge of their own practice. Shared-decision-making signals to teachers, parents and the broader community that teachers - as professional - are worthy of regard and respect. Shared-decision-making heightens their sense of vocation and improves their morale (Lieberman,Saxl and Miles,1989:87). White (1992) comes out strongly in support of this argument:

"Because they share in decision-making, teachers become committed to the decisions that are made. They gain a sense of ownership of decisions and are more likely to carry them out. They can also be held accountable for what the school does and does not do" (In Weiss, 1993:70).

With regard to the above argument by White, one can conclude that shared-decision-making has the potential to make for better and effective schools as student performance is likely to be raised as a result of heightened teacher professionalism. Also, flowing from the same argument by White is the possibility that more positive results are likely to accrue especially if participation in the schools' decision-making mechanisms can be extended to other primary interest groups, notably parents and students.

d) Adding democracy to governance

Writing about industrial democracy, Baron (1981:10-11) argues that in any industrial or indeed in any complex work situation, "participation in terms of co-operation, the sharing of information and the distribution of decision-making is inevitable". Baron goes further to argue that the essential feature of industrial democracy is that participation goes beyond this and mean that the workers have a substantial say in management and policy-making.

There are two clear messages that come from Baron's analysis of industrial democracy. On one hand, Baron's conceptions of industrial democracy suggest that it is totally opposed to what one can call the 'master-employee' cleavage of the past. On the other hand Baron's analysis suggests that worker interest should at all costs be represented. This analysis also holds true if transferred to a school situation, where not only the interests of teachers and

governments should be represented, but also those of parents and students as educational consumers and/or non-professionals should be taken care of. This is very important as for ages parents, and more so, students, have been left out of the system as odd men out.

In response to the democracy argument, Fraser (1988:45-46) argues that in a democratic society, schools which are to serve and prepare future citizens for a democracy must, obviously, be governed democratically,

"....and to learn about democracy, people must, obviously, be given the opportunity to practice democracy....especially on the part of parents, teachers and students".

Fraser's argument leads to what Dahl (1970) refers to as the 'principle of affected interests', which lays down that all those who are affected by a decision have a right to participate in making it (cited in Baron, 1981:8). The principle of affected interests, undoubtedly, paves the way for the greater involvement of workers in the management of industry, and of parents, teachers and students in the policy-making processes and governance of their schools.

In conclusion, it is important to argue that at the root of the 'adding democracy to governance argument' lies the basic democratic principle that all those affected by decisions have a right to participate in the making of those decisions, and this should be a desirable characteristic of all organisations, despite the problems associated with such participation.

As it has already been argued earlier on in this study, it is through the representation and participation of parents, teachers and students in the decision-making processes of their

schools that they can be brought to identify themselves with policies placed before them and give these their considered support. In this context, participation does not mean that everyone participates in everything, but it however means the enlargement of representative democracy so that no individual or interest group feels alienated from those who represent him/her in matters which are his/her intimate concern.

The argument is that there can be no such thing as preparation for a democratic society which itself is undemocratic, and undemocratic in the sense that parents, teachers and students do not participate on a footing of equality in all decisions affecting their schools. As Morrow (1989:119) puts it :

Examples of democratic decision-making - participatory democracy - education for participatory democracy - education for participatory democracy

"The phase of preparation for, and that of participation in, democracy are inseparable... the only way to learn how to engage in democratic decision-making is by participating in such decision-making. Democratic decision-making is not something which can be learned at a distance, abstracted from a particular context. In short, the only way to become educated for participatory democracy is by participating in democratic decision-making; education for participatory democracy is not some preparatory exercise which hopefully, will be applied to 'real' situations later, it is itself an instance of participatory democracy".

The time is now upon us when it is necessary to ensure that decisions are acceptable before they are ever made, and this means that many and varied sections of the community, such as parents, teachers and students, would have to feel that they have been able to play some part in actually making those decisions. It is against this background that the majority of people, in both established democracies and undemocratic societies, continue to demand greater

consultation and participation in the governance of their respective countries' operations.

One would conclude that there is no sign that this call for democratic governance would diminish at least in the foreseeable future as more people become aware by the day that participation by parents, teachers and students in school governance does offer one promising model for public education for the future. This conclusion is further strengthened by the 'democracy mania' that is currently sweeping across the entire world, especially in the political terrain. Although democratic participation by all the primary stakeholders in education may not necessarily be the only alternative for restructuring schools, it is hard to imagine how school improvement can be widespread without adopting many elements of democratic governance.

e) Educational change and school improvement

Writing about developing countries, Shaeffer (1991:8) argues that there is a need to establish partnership between the school and the community for purposes of facilitating educational change and school improvement. Shaeffer's argument rests on the following quote from the Declaration of Jomtien:

"New and revitalised partnerships at all levels will be necessary partnerships among all sub-sectors and forms of education recognising the special role of teachers and that of administrators and other educational personnel: partnerships between education and other government departments, including planning, finance, labour, communications, and other school

sectors; partnerships between government and non-governmental organisations, the private sector, local communities, religious groups, and families....Genuine partnerships contribute to the planning, implementation, managing and evaluating of basic education programmes. When we speak of 'an expanded vision and renewed commitment', partnerships are at the heart to it" (World Declaration on Education for All, 1990:7).

Several reasons are identified as to why the partnership between the school and the community is a desirable part for educational change and a possible solution to educational problems (Shaeffer, 1991:8) :

i) The crises of economics and management

According to Shaeffer (1991:8), there are crises of economics and management in the world today, both in the North and South, resulting in considerable difficulty in implementing centrally-organised innovations and reforms. There is often neither enough money available nor enough control able to be exercised over the daily workings of the average school, at the very bottom of the education bureaucracy, to guarantee that any reforms planned and projects planned at the central level can achieve their anticipated goals at the school and development activities out to other actors, both for financial and material resources and for assistance in planning and implementing educational change (ibid.:9).

In response to Shaeffer's 'crises of economics and management argument', Mkhwanazi (1992:2) argues that securing partnerships between the school and the community can be done in two ways. The first would be to involve the parents of pupils in the education of their

children both individually and collectively through the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations, the second way of securing partnerships between the school and the community, according to Mkhwanazi, would be "to go beyond the PTSA's to include a wider range of actors in larger, more comprehensive organisations such as village education committees, district education authorities and school management committees" (ibid.:2-3).

The two arguments by Shaeffer, (1991:8) and Mkhwanazi (1992:2-3) have far-reaching implications for education in general. First, they advocate a policy which recognises the right of community members such as the parents, teachers and students to actively participate in the governance of their schools, and this kind of a partnership - as it has been argued earlier on - has the potential to make for better schools, both in terms of the schools' organisational climate and pedagogical benefits.

Second, Shaeffer's and Mkhwanazi's arguments have the potential to relieve the state of a heavy financial burden in as far as education provision and management is concerned. This is particularly true in developing countries where fiscal constraints and imbalances are greater, and consequently, it becomes a necessity to allow parental governance as a form of financial responsibility.

ii) The problem of reforms and innovations

The growing importance of partnerships between the school and community is also attributed to what Shaeffer, (1991:8) describes as "the persistent problem of the relevance,

appropriateness and sustainability of reforms and innovations.

Central to Sheaffer's argument is the observation that even if reforms that are designed in a central ministry could be implemented in the average school, financially and bureaucratically, they might not be relevant to school needs and thus would be unable either to stimulate local demand or to be sustained. This is probably why there is an increasing realisation of the need to decentralise and devolve authority down to other parts of and partners in the system. Such a process is, undoubtedly, more and more evident around the world today. Devolution of power, representative and participatory democracies have become key and operational concepts in many established institutions today; in schools, industries, governments, the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund, and the list is endless.

iii) Participation as a means and an end

It would appear that there is also a growing awareness on the part of many people that participation can be useful both as a means to more relevant and sustainable development and as an end in itself. According to Shaeffer (1991:8), as a means, participation is a way of providing more resources, facilities, and even more places to the education system; of helping the school become more relevant to local needs and conditions; of making the school more effective and efficient through community inputs and monitoring of both students and teacher attendance; and of helping the community to see the value in the school.

However, in addition to collaboration and participation becoming a means to these ends, they, nonetheless, can also become an end in themselves. According to Shaeffer (1991:8-9), there are three levels where this can best be illustrated :

* The individual level

At this level, Shaeffer argues that participation can be an end to changes in knowledge, attitudes, skills, greater awareness, efficiency, self-reliance and better practice.

* The community level

At the level of the community, collaboration and participation can be an end to greater control over information and technologies, the formation of alliances and networks, the generation of new ideas for resolving educational problems, more effective management and control of local resources and the development and strengthening of local organisations.

* The social level

Finally, Shaeffer (1991:8-9) argues that at the social level collaboration and participation could be an end to lower educational costs, greater equity of benefits, and the greater utilisation, maintenance and sustainability of educational programmes.

Shaeffer's analysis of partnerships between the school and the community clearly implies that participation by interest groups such as parents, teachers and students in school governance must be encouraged as they represent democracy in action.

The argument is that irrespective of its shortcomings, democratic participation by parents, teachers and students in the governance of their schools gives them a say in the making of decisions affecting them directly, and consequently, reduces power differentials in the school system.

However, it is equally important to appreciate and acknowledge the problems associated with such participation. Contrary to expectations, participation by parents, teachers and students in the democratic governance of their schools may give them merely a semblance of authority while real power remains securely anchored in the principals' offices or in the hands-off the local elites and regional education officers. Unless carefully planned, the possibility would always exist that the democratic governance system would be either what Weiss (1993:70) describes as

"a gambit of smoke and mirrors used simply to make participants feel good, or an inexpensive means to deflect demands for school reform, a cheap way to show that the system is doing something, without in effect doing much of anything"

Further, it is also possible that participation by parents, teachers and students in school governance may not only be an easy way out for the governments of the day to abdicate their educational responsibilities, but it may also be a way to spread the blame for schools' poor showing and/or performance by putting participants' heads beside administrators' heads on the chopping block.

And finally, one cannot help it but argue that stakeholder participation also has the capacity to be self-destructive as it is likely to be a way to undermine its very base, namely, parent

associations, teacher unions and student organisations. The argument is that because participants would have increased control over their schools, they would, at times, find it extremely difficult to challenge the set power as they themselves would supposedly be an integral part of that power. Nonetheless, the reality of this argument rests primarily on the nature of the relationship between such envisaged school governance structures as the PTSA's on one hand, and the state on the other hand.

However, despite these concerns, the world continues to witness efforts in both democratic and still more in undemocratic societies to amplify consultative, representative and participatory democracies. According to Baron (1981:7), the common-sense use of the concept 'democracy' implies that the right and power to make decisions in public matters - of which education is one - "does not reside in a single individual or group or class of individuals, but in each and every citizen".

Flowing from Baron's comments is the argument that the basic democratic institution then is a general forum in which all may sit and speak in which each case has a vote equal to that of his/her fellows. However, because not all can sit and speak, the people have a basic democratic right to elect their representatives who can sit and speak on their behalf.

If the above is in line with democratic practices, then one is forced to conclude that the democratic governance of schools should be understood as being intrinsically fair, and as providing a model to all of what democracy is all about. If properly planned and implemented, democratic school governance has the potential to improve schools, thus contributing

positively towards the reduction or even elimination of the world crisis in education.

And one of the alternatives to this crisis in education is to allow real and meaningful participation by parents, teachers and students as most of these problems emanate from what Fraser (1988:46-48) refers to as "alienation or exclusion of parents, teachers and students from the schools' decision-making structures". According to Fraser, alienation of parents, teachers and students from such important structures makes them frustrated. He further notes that the times in which teachers in particular feel appreciated for their enthusiasm and commitment are all too rare as the situation "is more often one in which they feel undermined and ineffective, and in which parents and students feel dissatisfied and undeserved" (ibid.:48).

The problem of alienation is likely to be amplified by the bureaucracy which, in many ways, has resulted in schools being turned into outposts of the distant and unresponsive bureaucracy on one hand, and the constant subversion of stockholder inputs as they wend their way through bureaucratic mazes on the other hand.

Citing the National Coalition of Advocates for Students Board of Inquiry, Fraser (1988:47)

writes :

"From parents we've heard about practices and policies that present barriers to their involvement ...parents seeking more input are stymied by teachers and administrators who perceive their autonomy, turf and professionalism are being challenged. We've heard of school officials who developed very effective techniques for deflecting parents' attempt at involvement".

About the alienation of students from their school's decision-making bodies, the NCAS Board of Inquiry notes that :

"...the ideology about the present school system is based on the idea that students are not going to learn, and therefore someone has to make them. If you base a system on control rather than on interaction, the results are apathy, alienation and dropouts. This is not the kind of experience to prepare for active democratic involvement either in school or in the larger society" (ibid.:47-48).

It is clear that the exclusion of parents, teachers and students from the governance systems of their schools can impact negatively on education. It is also clear that their involvement can be part of a broader strategy to help resolve some major educational problems, and there are some strong arguments from the international literature that support this conclusion. In summary the international literature informs us that despite all its shortcomings, stakeholder involvement and/or participation can :

- * improve student performance
- * improve schools' organisational climate
- * raise teachers' morale
- * heighten teacher professionalism
- * develop sense of ownership of the schools by communities
- * resolve financial and management crises in schools
- * democratise schools, education and society
- * help sustain educational reforms and innovations
- * make bureaucratic accountability more responsive and transparent
- * realise teacher commitment and creativity
- * and most importantly, participation is a basic democratic right for all citizens, including parents, teachers and students.

2.5 EXAMPLES OF COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

This section of the international review explores some issues related to the notion of community involvement, of which parental, teacher and student involvement is one aspect, in the democratic governance of schools. Emphasis would be placed specifically on those countries in which 'community involvement' in school governance appears to be taking the form of the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations (PTSAs), even though terminology may differ from one country to the other.

2.5.1. EUROPE

a) FRANCE

According to Beattie (1981:183), French schools are governed under the Education Act of 11 July 1975 (the Loi Haby), which distinguishes among nursery (ecoles maternelles), primary (ecoles elementaires) and secondary schools (colleges and lycees).

In the secondary sector, the school governance structures are School Councils (conceal establishment), which are constituted by the following :

- * the head teacher
- * five members of the administrative personnel
- * five rather ill-defined, but co-opted persons representing the locality
- * five elected teacher representatives
- * five elected parent representatives
- * as well as five student representatives for the upper secondary (the lecce) and two student representatives for the lower secondary (the college)

Dependent upon the School Council and reporting to it is a Discipline Council responsible for serious matters such as suspensions of teachers and students from school. Representation and participation is also provided at class level, where each class has attached to it both the Teachers' Councils - consisting of all those who teach it - and the Class Council, which is constituted by two delegates from each of the following constituencies :

- * teachers
- * parents
- * students
- * pastoral personnel
- * and medical personnel (Beattie, 1981:184)

The Class Council, whose main responsibility is to discuss progress and promotions, is chaired by the school's Head Teacher (ibid.:184). Beattie further notes that the functions of the French School Councils remain generally unclear and uncertain because of the central government's refusal to contemplate effective devolution of power from Paris to elected local authorities or schools. Nonetheless, despite these problems, the pivot of the participatory system in France remains the School Councils which consists of the principals, teachers, parents and students as well as community members in the case of secondary schools.

And finally, parental organisation is so widespread in France to an extent that French Parent Associations are not only reported to have considerable power of their own, but also receive funds for their roles from the Ministry of Education, and have a legal right to be consulted in all educational policy issues.

b) NORWAY

In Norway, the school governance structures at secondary level are also known as School Councils. A constitutional provision exists for parents, teachers, senior students and non-teaching staff to have their own councils and for representatives of these sectors, together with the principals and representatives of their respective Municipal School Boards to come together on School Councils.

Perhaps the two most important aspects of the school governance in Norway worthy to be highlighted are firstly, the fact that not only parents, teachers and students are represented, but also members of other formations such as the Municipal School Boards enjoy participation, and secondly, that their right to participate is entrenched in the constitution, thus legislating "...accountability on the part of the school and have consequent legal sanctions for ensuring compliance..." (EDUPOL,1993:7).

c) DENMARK

The Danish education system is said to give more legal recognition and informed support to school-community partnerships than any other in the world. The education system in general, and the school governance system in particular, appears to be rooted deep in the notion of community involvement.

In Danish education, the school governance structures are called School Boards, and are

constituted by parents, teachers and students, and all have equal voting rights. And one of the most important functions of the School Boards is that they have the power to appoint teachers (Ace, 1991, cited in EDUPOL, 1993:7), which is an important policy function.

d) ITALY

The school governance structures in Italy are the Participatory Councils. And writing about these councils in the Italian secondary schools, Pridham (1981:227-230), notes that these councils are composed of an equal number of parents, teachers, students and non-teaching staff (six of each in a school under five hundred students, and eight in larger schools).

There is, however, a condition for student participation in these councils, namely, that "only those students whose ages are above sixteen are eligible to serve" (i^{vid}.:227).

Further, Pridham (1981:228) writes that the elections for Participatory Councils take place every three years, with the exception of the student representatives who are elected annually. Whereas the meetings of the Participatory Councils are shared by a parent chosen by absolute majority of the council, an interesting aspect of these councils is that their work is directed by an Executive Committee elected from all the constituencies represented on the Participatory Councils. The Executive Committee comprises one parent, one teacher, one student, one member of the non-teaching staff, and the principal who serves as the chairperson of the committee.

There are, however, differences between the role of the Participatory Council on one hand and the Executive Committee on the other. For example, the Executive Committee is responsible for drawing the agendas of the Participatory Council meetings, submitting proposals to it, and implementing its decisions. On the other hand, the Participatory Council is responsible for the allocation of classes to students, adoption of the school calendar and time-table to local needs, and additions to the curriculum and extra-curricular activities such as school trips.

e) GERMANY

Dekker (1989:39) writes that the educational policy and governance system in Germany are guided by participatory democracy, and are protected by all educational legislation. This view is stressed by the German Educational Council :

"In the present context it has become impossible to exercise central control over social institutions as complex as the modern school. A democratic society demands that schools should have their own decisions about internal matters within the legislature framework, of course" (cited in Dekker, 1989:45).

The German school governance structures are called School Councils, and sometimes School Committees, and comprise parents, teachers and students. Also in the scene are Parents' School Councils which reportedly yield a considerable amount of power in the field of teaching. For example, the approval of this council is a prerequisite for any changes in teaching and experiments. Further, the German parents, as an organised sector, have strong

influence over the revision of the examination for secondary schools and university entrance requirements (ibid.:47).

f) THE NETHERLANDS

In the Netherlands, both primary and secondary education are provided for privately, and this means that parents are largely responsible for the establishment and running of educational institutions. A legal entity which usually forms part of an umbrella church organisation - which is either Protestant or Catholic - or a public educational organisation is appointed (Berkhout,1989:107).

Parents and the church form part of the controlling and administrative structures of schools through umbrella organisations. Each Dutch school has a Joint Authority Council which has the power to make decisions with regard to the schools, and parents, teachers and students are represented on them (Ministry of Education and Science,1987:107).

Although education policy formulation is the domain of parliament, the Joint Authority Council and other social structures with an interest in education are consulted, and can make contributions in the form of advice.

To conclude, in the six European countries thus briefly reviewed, there is a general emphasis on each constituent element of the school community - whether parents, teachers, students or the non-teaching staff - having its own body from which representatives are drawn.

In the main, despite the fact that parents, teachers and students enjoy their democratic right to participate, a much analysis of their role, powers and duties indicates that they lack real power as most of their functions are advisory rather than executive, although in some cases they have minor administrative responsibilities.

2.5.2. BRITAIN

In Britain, the school governance structures are known as the Governing Bodies, and are found largely in England and Wales. Governing Bodies are composed of parents, teachers and students, and unlike in the past, they are no longer subordinate to the Local Education Authorities (Dekker,1989:45).

Dekker (1989:46) writes that the British parents are highly organised and powerful largely due to the Parents Charter, which is quoted as being a prime example of constitutionally effective parental involvement in education. Nonetheless, Wragg (1990) argues that although the British Parent Charter has given parents some degree of power in the education system, it is, however, not real power as compared with their counterparts elsewhere in the world, especially at crucial decision points (cited in EDUPOL,1993:8).

In addition to the Governing Bodies, British secondary schools also have School Councils which together with their sub-committees, provide for direct participation by students.

An interesting aspect of the British Governing bodies is that they share a general overall responsibility with Local Education Authorities and the school heads in the area of curriculum,

and play an active role in the appointment of teachers.

2.5.3. CANADA

Canada has a federal system of governance, and is characterised by a complete devolution of responsibility for the provision of school education to each of her ten provinces. Decentralised education governance is exercised through the District School Boards, Teacher Associations, Student Councils, and Parent-Teacher-Student-Organisations.

The democratisation of the running of Canadian secondary schools has been realised through the establishment of Administrative Committees, which are constituted by parents, teachers and students (Katz, 1974:29-40).

The Parent-Teacher-Student-Organisations have responsibilities ranging from the discussion of school programmes to fund-raising, while the Student Councils - from which representatives on the Administrative Committees are drawn - are responsible for extra-curricular activities, publication of school newspapers, fund-raising, maintenance of discipline, drawing and enforcing of the code of conduct, and ensuring fair treatment of students by staff and other students (ibid.:40).

2.5.4. MOZAMBIQUE

Perry (1992:9) writes that the Mozambican system of school governance is a complex web of representative democracy structures designed to incorporate the entire school community, that is students, teachers, maintenance and administrative personnel, in the tasks of implementing education, running schools and in the process of contributing to review and assessment of the education system.

It would appear that it is the primary objective of the Mozambican system of education to give teachers, students and functionaries some degree of responsibility for the administration and management of their schools as this statement by the Mozambican Minister of Education (1977) shows :

"As vanguard centres schools must be organised as places where students, teachers and functionaries create together correct relationships, developing a revolutionary practice for the collective advance of all the members of the school community. Collective work must constitute the fundamental method employed in the school. Students, teachers and functionaries must discuss and plan together, thus contributing to collective participation in the activities of school and society" (cited in Searle, 1981:21).

In the Mozambican secondary schools, the major democratic governance structures are the School Committees, comprising representatives of all school structures such as the Teachers' Committees, Class Committees, School Sections, as well as Workers' and Directive

Commissions. The functions of School Committees are to :

- * assume responsibility for the smooth running of schools
- * take decisions over the governance of schools
- * evaluate the school governance system
- * and to consult widely with the entire school population over all matters pertaining to the governance of schools (Searle, 1981:29).

A striking feature of the Mozambican school governance system is that in secondary schools large enough to have non-teaching staff such as the secretaries, clerks, cleaners and kitchen staff, all have representation on the School Committees, and consequently have a say in the schools' decision-making processes. Further, other than through school-community links - where issues such as literacy programmes, cultural events, building and repairing of schools are fostered - there are no formal structures that facilitate parental participation.

In conclusion, it is important to mention that whereas the intention of the Frelimo government was to achieve complete democratisation of the country's school governance system, an evaluation of this system portrays it as having failed to achieve this objective. Marshall (1985:175) attributes this failure to the inexperience of the personnel and lack of training in the democratisation of decision-making :

"While the Party and state at top levels advocated broad participation, mass democracy was often shunned.....in favour of centralisation"
(cited in Perry, 1992:15).

On the other hand, the Ministry of Education and Culture in Mozambique argues that the failure of the democratic school governance system was due to :

- * a general lack of understanding of the objectives and mechanisms for implementing democracy
- * inadequately qualified participants
- * lack of clarity on the exact role and functions of the school-based structures
- * lack of proper communication channels between the District Commission and school governance structures
- * lack of flexible application of the governance structures
- * and that insufficient efforts were made to transform the old methods of operating (cited in Searle, 1981:34).

Nonetheless, despite this gloomy picture painted by the Mozambican experience, it is inevitable to arrive at the same conclusion that Searle (1981:32) arrives at, namely that :

"As part of any effective plan for decentralised school governance....and as part of empowering principals, teachers, parents and students.... and in order to improve the quality of education, attention must be given to those closest to the school, where decisions are operationalised".

There is no doubt that the problems facing our schools require significant changes to the school system, and central to these problems are school governance issues. Ways need to be explored and found on how best to include parents, teachers, and students, along with representatives of other organs of civil society in the governance of their schools. If democracy is what we are told it is, then, this is how schools should be run as it is the right way to do business in a democracy. Anything less than this is likely to encourage the continuation of the education crisis.

This is particularly true of parent, teachers and students who are "increasingly perceiving the present devolution movement to be against their interests, to be inconsistent with their own goals for stakeholder participation, and to be contrary to the foundations and traditions of public education" (Connors and McMorrow,1990:96). And finally, the fact that democratic participation has, over the years, become a widespread phenomenon albeit in societies with different histories and make-up, makes this argument even stronger.

2.6. SUMMARY OF FACTORS RESPONSIBLE FOR UNSUCCESSFUL DECENTRALISED AND DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL GOVERNANCE SYSTEMS

The key arguments drawn from the international literature on reasons why decentralised and democratic governance of schools often become unsuccessful can be summarised as follows :

- * the unwillingness of governments to devolve real power to lower units of educational governance, leading to what Hanson (1989:46) describes as "decentralisation as recentralisation"
- * party politics, which usually lead to the extensive politicisation of the education governance system.
- * lack of continuity, which means that as governments change, existing structures and personnel are often dropped or transferred in favour of new structures and personnel stressing the priorities of the new government.
- * lack of formalisation, which means that lack of formal and legal recognition of management structures of the educational system leads to weak and not well-institutionalised structures. Thus, informal procedures, strong personalities and personal contacts often dominate the process of decision-making and programme execution in school governance.
- * lack of capacity, which refers to lack of experiences, trained and skilled personnel for participation in governance structures.
- * insufficient funds to implement the democratic system of administration and management.

- * a general lack of understanding of the objectives and mechanisms for implementing democracy.
- * teachers feeling threatened by participation of non-professional in the school governance system.
- * deliberate efforts to prevent meaningful stakeholder participation by bureaucrats and education officials who feel that such participation would erode their power base.

CHAPTER THREE

THE SOUTH AFRICAN CASE

3.1. INTRODUCTION

In the past few months, South Africa has been engaged in a process of broader social transformation, and so many of her social systems have been changed as a result. It is therefore appropriate to mention that the much of the situation described in this chapter applied largely at the time of writing.

The system of educational organisation and administration in the Republic of South Africa reflects the pattern of the present Nationalist Party government's past policies. Central to the South African economic, political and all other social systems lies the outgoing Nationalist government's policies of apartheid which, in very specific ways, get reflected in the Black-White dichotomy.

As is the case in many social systems in South Africa, the education system in general, and the school governance system in particular, also clearly mirrors the country's racial policies and a constitutionally divided society. Consequently, this has placed the South African school governance system in a deep crisis, especially on the part of the African education, as every single state policy on education and school governance has been found to have inherent components of the apartheid system, and was therefore discredited.

This chapter aims at accomplishing five specific objectives. First, it aims at giving a laconic overview of the crisis in the present South African system of school governance. This will help to contextualise and highlight the contentious nature of the country's school governance system.

Second, this chapter will give an expose' of the theory of the democratic school governance as it has developed in the South African education context. Central to this would be an in-depth analysis of the 'philosophy' of People's Education for People's Power.

Third, current statutory school governance bodies in South Africa will be identified and discussed. These bodies, provided for in African, Coloured, Indian and White schools, would be analysed and evaluated in terms of their composition, roles, duties and powers. However, in keeping with the limitation of the study, much emphasis would be placed upon African education.

Fourth, and perhaps most importantly, non-statutory school governance structures currently operating in African schools would be identified and discussed. Fifth and finally, the most recent policy initiatives and/or proposals on school governance that have emerged in the 1990's will also be looked at and evaluated.

3.2. THE CRISIS IN THE CURRENT SCHOOL GOVERNANCE SYSTEM IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section of the study does not intend to give the historical evolution of the South African system of school governance. It, however, gives an analytical account of the crisis in the current school governance system as it is reflected in the system's major features, criticism, and the people's response to the state policies on school governance.

The National Education Policy Investigation (1993:6-7) argues that the system of education governance that has evolved in South Africa this century is not only one of extraordinary complexity, but to call it a system is in fact erroneous. In effect, the form of the present South African education governance system could more usefully be described as a fragmented, uncoordinated system of systems, differentiated on the basis of the racial, ethnic and regional divisions of the country's society (NEPI, 1993:7; EDUPOL, 1993:31-35; Buckland and Hofmeyr, 1993:11). Further, EDUPOL: (1993:32) describes the South African governance bodies as "uneven and low on accountability, and steered by an obscure and closed policy process".

As a 'system of systems', education governance in South Africa takes a very peculiar nature, there are for instance, fifteen ministers of education in the country. And as a 'fragmented and uncoordinated' structure, there are four separate education systems for Transkei, Bophuthatswana, Venda and Ciskei (TBCV states), six for Qwaqwa, Kwazulu, Lebowa, Gazankulu, Kwandebele and Kangwane, three for White, Indian and Coloured education, and one general education system for African who live in the so-called 'White South Africa' (NEPI, 1993:7).

Among other things, the differentiation of the education system as described above has far-reaching implications for system and resource management. For example, the White system is provincially-based and makes provision for parental participation on Provincial Education Boards, while the same cannot be said about other systems. Thus, each system of governance has its own particular characteristics, impulses and inertias. The overall system is united and integrated by the structures and ideology of apartheid (ibid.:8).

These, along with the associated constitutional arrangements which control the functioning of the various systems, have created racial and class inequalities in the distribution of educational resources and facilities. The result is while other systems suffer from a crisis of abundant resources, both human, material and financial, others suffer from a crisis of undersupply of the same resources and facilities. That is why Buckland and Hofmeyr (1992:10) argue that the seriousness of this problem was highlighted in 1976 when "the glaring problems of the African and Coloured education systems were brought forcibly to public attention by widespread uprisings".

The racial and ethnic fragmentation of the South African education system has resulted in the wasteful duplication of structures and committees for the provision of education, as EDUPOL (1993:33-34) observes:

"...there are essentially four sets of sub-systems: the three 'tricamerals' which provide, separately, for the control of education for Asians, Coloureds and Whites, the two 'general affairs' departments, (DET and DNE), the six Self Governing Territories (SGT's) education departments, and four TBVC departments. In all, there are nineteen separate departments divided on racial, ethnic, geographic

and functional lines. These nineteen departments operate under the control of fifteen Ministers in fourteen cabinets implementing an array of different Education Acts".

The above gloomy picture forces one to agree with NEPI (1993:11) :

"Even when individual departments are administered with relative efficiency, the overall effect at the level of the national..." and more so at the individual level, "...is one approaching chaos. Committees that have largely similar if not identical functions have to be replicated across all levels of the various departments".

Such a fragmented governance system has resulted to a large and uncoordinated bureaucracy with long lines of accountability. What is even more disturbing is the fact that this large bureaucracy is not only highly politicised at the top level, where Director-Generals exercise considerable influence on policy formulation and adoption, but also has vested interest in the system continuing as it is (ibid.:12).

The fragmentation of the system, and consequently bureaucracy, has created a situation where policy formulation is not only fragmented too, but is also contradictory. This crisis is further compounded and complicated by what NEPI (1993:13) describes as "parallel structures to ensure articulation of the policy formulation process", which tends to be left in the hands of senior bureaucrats and a number of advisory bodies reporting to racially and ethnically different political authorities, resulting in extensive Black-White bureaucracies (ibid.:12).

Further, the South African governance system, both at the national and local levels of the system, suffers from a major crisis of legitimacy. This is particularly true in African education,

where this crisis has been characterised by a long history of significant contestation of the education governance process. Apart from the fact that this crisis was due to the illegitimacy of the political system, a major and popular criticism of the country's present education governance system is that

"...it has not facilitated the participation of parents, teachers and students in decision-making structures" (ibid.:13).

However, it is important to take notice of the complexity of the crisis :

"In some departments, particularly in the privileged sector, parents are represented on high-level bodies such as the Provincial Education Councils. At the school level, all departments make provision for some kind of participation of individuals and members of communities through School Councils and Management Committees. However, in DET schools this has until recently, been confined to an advisory role and responsibility for raising additional funds" (ibid.:13).

The developments of the mid-1980's and beyond saw the South African system of governance being pushed further into the legitimacy crisis. The rise to prominence of People's Education was the single biggest cause for this as the struggles against apartheid education took a new course, as it is explicitly explained by Mashamba (1992:10) :

"The struggles ranged from protest against the injustices of the system, to the challenge

of its power, authority, legitimacy and structures. They have occurred on a broad front - in the township, in the 'homelands', on the factory floor and institutions of learning. Sustained protest in the form of...stayaways, consumer boycotts and school boycotts forced the state to react by sending the SAP and SADF into the townships, factories and schools in an attempt to regain control of a situation which had become ungovernable in traditional apartheid ways".

It is commonplace today that the statutory school governance bodies exist in name only, especially in African education, and where they do exist, they do so alongside alternative structures such as the Civic Associations, Student Organisations and Councils, and Teacher Unions which in many ways have become the embodiment of People's Power and control of their school system.

There is no doubt that the legitimacy crisis from which the present school governance system suffers had far-reaching educational, political, social and economic implications for South Africa. State power was openly defied as People's Power existed alongside it, and it was "precisely this type of people's organisation that the government's various states of emergency have been declared. It was the continuing failure of the state to regain control over the nerve centre of the educational system - the schools - that was responsible for the continuing crisis" (Mashamba, 1992:10).

3.3. THE THEORY OF DEMOCRATIC SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

The fact that the call for stakeholder participation is a widespread phenomenon throughout the world cannot be overemphasised enough. People demand greater consultation and involvement in the control of their schools, and South Africa is no exception, especially when viewed against the fact that her school governance system has always been and still is a highly contested terrain between the state and the people.

In attempting to give an expose' of the democratic school governance as it has evolved in the context of South Africa, this section of the work will look specifically at the 'philosophy' of People's Education for People's Power, because "no any other ideology best supposes a democratic say in and control of education than People's Education" (van der Walt, 1989:139).

In order to comprehend the essence of the theory of democratic school governance, the starting point should be to acknowledge that the current apartheid system of administration and control in South African schools is undemocratic, and provides no structured opportunity for community participation in the decision-making and policy-formulation processes. Hence one of the major demands by the people has always been for community control of schooling and for community participation in school management and administration (NEPI, 1993:4).

Further, it should be acknowledged that in African education in particular where parental involvement was provided for, it was largely discredited and rejected because it was perceived as attempting to legitimise an illegitimate system, it was largely parental governance and was equated to financial responsibility, it excluded teachers and students, and it was seen as

co-option of those who participated by the system. And amongst others, it was against such a background that the theory of democratic school governance evolved.

Clearly the concept 'democratic school governance' supposes a particular form of community involvement, where the term 'community' has reference to parents, teachers and students. Van der Walt (1989:139) best illustrates this argument :

"People's Education is a form of education which has to fulfil the needs of the whole community. The term 'people' suggests co-operation among all segments of society, the pupils, their parents, the teachers and also the community at large...It is expected that the whole community will participate... in a mass effort to acquire a non-racial democratic South Africa. In most cases people look at the local school to effect the necessary changes, although it is recognised that schools do not exist in vacuums".

Emanating from van der Walt's statement is the fact that democratic school governance implies participation by parents, teachers, students and the broader community for purposes of, amongst others, effecting the necessary changes. As a result of this kind of mass participation, schools would never be the same again, and these changes would permeate the entire community as schools do not exist in vacuums.

Following logically from this characteristic of complete community involvement in education governance, is the demand by exponents of People's Education to have a say in the control of their education (van der Walt, 1989:130), and this is where the concept 'democracy' comes in.

On the balance, democracy may be consultative, representative or even participatory. However, in People's Education, the concept 'democracy' "signifies mass participation by all people in the organs of People's Power..." (Mashamba,1992:22). Mashamba goes on to argue that democracy, a key word in People's Education circles, means that whatever occurs or is decided, should only be undertaken after consultation of all involved. However, one would argue that there is a contradiction in Mashamba's conception of consultation on one hand and participation on the other. The argument is that consultation need not mean participation. Although the two concepts have reference to decision-making process, in the former, those who are consulted do not necessarily participate in decision making, whereas in the latter, they do.

The process of control in People's Education differs from that of the Department of Education and Training. The DET is primarily hierarchical, and this means that it exercises 'top-down' control, whereas decisions in People's Education can only be operationalised after consultation with a wide range of other players has taken place. In this context, consultation is about consensus-seeking.

The theory of democratic school governance may also be understood as a manifestation of Marxist-Socialist education which reveals features like anti-capitalism, communalism and collectivism (van der Walt,1989:143). Central to van der Walt's statement is the argument that People's Education is highly politicised and ideological, as he further argues :

*"Its (People's Education) progressiveness
should be seen against the backdrop of the*

politicisation of the Black community of the Republic of South Africa...The underlying argument is that Apartheid education is politicised anyway and that People's Education has to be politicised in order to counteract it" (ibid.:143).

Further, democratic school governance implies unity among parents, teachers and students as the importance of such a united action was stressed at many National Education and Crisis Committee conferences, where parents were encouraged not to participate in statutory school committees. Instead, participants were encouraged to establish Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations so that parents, teachers and students could come together to understand each other's demands and problems.

Writing about the significance of this unity and the role of PTSAs in fostering it, Sisulu (1986:18-19) argues that :

"...students, parents and teachers now have democratic organisations available through which we have begun to take some control over education. They provide the vehicle through which divisions between young and old, teachers and parents can be overcome..."

The importance of united action by parents, teachers and students was stressed by Johnson (1986:20) in one of the NECC conferences on the education crisis in South Africa during the mid-1980's :

"As students, we have come to realise that alone there is very little we can achieve in the face of such a monstrous

regime. But with our parents...and teachers we shall be able to pull things together and protect ourselves in the face of naked brutality".

In conclusion, the theory of democratic school governance as it has evolved in the context of the People's Education movement in South Africa supposes a united and democratic involvement of parents, teachers, students and the broader community in the governance of their schools. People have a basic democratic right to have a say in the decisions that affect them directly, and this can be achieved through either consultative, representative or participatory democracy.

Democratic school governance theory is also pro-change, and recognises schools as important units for effecting the necessary changes. However, since schools do not exist and operate in vacuums, the envisaged changes can only be effected if certain social, economic and political contexts are changed. This argument rests on the belief that stakeholder participation in school governance would inevitably lead to the establishment of not only a transformed school governance, but also a transformed community; a just, free, united and democratic community. The fact that it espouses Marxist-Socialist ideals makes it primarily political, and as such is an instrument for social and political change. And whether this theory would gain more ground or would die a natural death as South Africa moves into a democracy, remains to be seen.

3.4. CURRENT STATUTORY EDUCATION STRUCTURES IN SOUTH AFRICA

The point has already been made that the South African school governance system is not only complex and fragmented, but it is also differentiated along regional, racial and even ethnic lines. It is in acknowledgement of these realities that in analysing the education governance structures as provided for by the current South African law, there is no escaping the Black-White dichotomy that has become a characteristic feature of the South African society in general, and the school governance system in particular.

This section of the study will briefly look at the current statutory and racially-different school governance bodies in terms of their composition, roles, duties and powers. Because of the focus of the study, specific attention would be given to African education. Nonetheless, it is important to mention that each of the other three remaining racial groups, namely, Coloureds, Indians and Whites, has its own education system, and consequently, its own school governance structure or structures. The major differences among these bodies are with regard to their composition, role, duties and powers.

However, with the exception of the governance structures that form part of the Model C package in White education, where parental involvement is meaningful and greatest, all others are lacking in almost every policy function as their roles are largely limited, insignificant and advisory in nature. In both Coloured and Indian schools, these structures suffer a legitimacy crisis, and are largely discredited and rejected as they are perceived mainly as Parent Committees.

3.4.1. STATUTORY SCHOOL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES IN AFRICAN SCHOOLS

Writing in the mid-1960's about community participation under Bantu Education, Feit (1967:149) argued that "Bantu Education heralded a broadening of participation to parents in the running of their schools", specifically because of the establishment of the School Committees and School Boards. Makhubela (1978:70-81), in his analysis of the Bantu Education system, partially supports Feit's argument. However, Makhubela qualifies his reasoning by arguing that this was so largely because prior to 1948 there had been no coherent education strategy of policy governing African schools.

On the other hand, Kulati (1992:5) argues that the establishment of School Committees and Boards was not primarily aimed at increasing parental involvement in education, but it was aimed specifically at legitimising the system of Bantu Education and extending central control over African schools as "Bantu Education was part and parcel of a broader strategy of political subjugation to deny Africans representation on key institutions".

On becoming aware of this strategy, it became clear that Bantu education was bound to fail. Teachers, parents, churches and political bodies - for the first time in the history of the South African school governance system - embarked on the first of their many mass campaigns against education to an extent that by 1979, the apartheid regime was forced to pass a new Education and Training Act No. 90 of 1979. The passing of this Act led to the establishment of the Management Councils (Government Gazette No. 828 of 30/04/1982 as amended by

GNR No. 2365 of 25/11/1988), Governing Councils and Bodies (Government Gazette No. 2366 of 25/11/1988).

The establishment of these new school governance structures effectively replaced both the discredited School Committees and Boards in African schools, which had been rejected by most communities because of their unrepresentative nature and their failure to give participants a genuine say in school governance.

a) Composition, role and powers of Management Councils

According to Government Notice No. 2365 of 25/11/1988, the establishment of Management Councils in African schools was aimed at giving parents a greater say in the running of schools. The view is also expressed by the Education and Training Act of 1979 :

"With a view to providing for active involvement by parents and the community in education and in order to make provision that the secretary shall be advised regarding prescribed matters in connection with the control and management of state-aided schools and community schools, the Minister may for any such school or schools establish such local or domestic councils, committee boards or other bodies as he may deem expedient, and he may accord representation on such council, committee board or other body any person".

The Management Councils comprise nine to eleven members, nine of which are elected in a parents meeting and the remaining number is co-opted. The policy arena belongs almost

exclusively to the Minister of Education, who may consult with the Management Council.

The stipulated functions of these Councils are to :

- * advise the principal on the school policy to be followed with regard to the school's admission policy and maximum enrolment of pupils
- * consider disciplinary steps against pupils
- * look after school property and buildings, and to report any damage or repairs to the Circuit Inspector
- * make recommendations to the office of the Circuit Inspector about applications for use of school facilities by the community
- * have some control over school funds
- * account for the revenue and expenditure of the school in a general meeting
- * recommend the appointment and dismissal of teachers to the office of the Director-General
- * report any teacher for incompetency, misconduct and mental or physical defect
- * advise the principal on the organisation of extra-mural activities, school functions, school magazines and regular letters to parents
- * and finally, management Councils have the power to enquire any complaint levelled against the school (Government Gazette, 25/11/1988).

b) Limitations of Management Councils

The Management Councils were introduced in African schools to replace the discredited School Committees and School Boards that were rejected by the vast majority of the African people because of their dismal failure to give people genuine participation in school governance. These bodies were also rejected largely because they were perceived as instruments of control and of protecting White minority power and privilege in South Africa.

Management Councils are severely limited in regard to their composition. All their members - with the exception of the principals - are parents, hence Mkhwanazi (1993:5) describes them as enhancing and facilitating parental governance. The fact that teachers and students do not enjoy participation in these structures has made them unacceptable in African Education.

While in some cases they have been rendered ineffective, in others they have become completely dysfunctional.

And finally, a closer analysis of the functions of Management Councils reveals that their role is very limited and insignificant. Their duties are primarily advisory and policing in nature. Clearly, Management Councils fall short of meeting popular demands as made by the people.

c) Composition, role and powers of Governing Councils

According to government regulations, Governing Councils are supposed to be established only in exceptional cases such as

"...in the case of schools of which students are boarders and which are located in areas where there is no local community or only a community which has fewer or no ties with the school" (Government Gazette, 25/11/88:18).

Governing Councils consist of not more than eleven parents, out of which three are appointed by the Regional Director after consultations with local interested parties: three are nominated by a committee; three are elected by parents whose children attend a particular school; and the remaining two are elected by both the Regional Director and parents. The principals are ex-officio members of the Governing Councils.

With regard to their functions, Governing Councils are expected to :

- * consider action against pupils who misbehave
- * advise the principals on the schools' admission policy, especially regarding the ages of pupils
- * advise the principals on the opening and closure of schools
- * advise the principals on the duration of the schools' study periods and breaks
- * control school funds
- * recommend the appointment, promotion and discharge of teachers
- * help the principals to draft schools' policies
- * and finally, they are expected to supervise schools (ibid.:20).

d) Limitations of Governing Councils

There are very little differences between Management and Governing Councils, especially with regard to their composition, powers and duties. Governing Councils remain largely Parents Committees as still no teachers and students are represented on them. Their duties are also predominantly advisory and policing in nature, and they have no access to real and meaningful policy-making processes. And like all those bodies which came before them, Governing Councils were also rejected and rendered highly ineffective in many African schools.

e) Composition, role and powers of Governing Bodies

Governing Bodies exist in state-aided farm schools, and consist of five members, namely, the owner of the farm on which the school is built and four parents of pupils attending that particular school (EDUPOL,1993,Appendix 1:5). The principal participates as an ex-officio member.

As far as their role, powers and duties are concerned, Governing Bodies :

- * are expected to comply with all regulations relating to the schools' admission policies and control of the department equipment
- * have a say in the appointment, promotion and discharge of teachers, though subject to the education ministerial approval
- * are empowered to receive, hand over or even return teachers' salary cheques
- * supervise the principals and teachers, subject to control by the Circuit Inspector
- * consider inspection reports as well as instituting and defending legal action against the schools (EDUPOL, 1993, Appendix 1:5).

f) Limitations of Governing Bodies

These structures have very limited and insignificant role in schools where they exist. They are also unrepresentative of all the primary stakeholders with an interest in education.

The evaluation of Governing Bodies may not be complete unless one contextualises the farm school governance system. The importance of this context lies in fostering and maximising one's understanding of the special character of farm schools.

There are two crucial Acts in the history of farm schools: the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the Education and Training Amendment Act of 1988 (Graaf, 1992:215). The Bantu Education Act was responsible for removing African farm schools from the control of missions and giving them over to farmers.

The transference of African farm schools to farmers impacted heavily on education. Firstly, it meant a further entrenchment of unequal power relations between farmers and their workers, as farmers who had over time built up an overwhelming position of power over their workers, had control of schools now added to that (ibid.:216).

Secondly, although farm schools constitute the second largest category of African schools in South Africa, many farm children are outside the school system as not all farmers are unwilling to provide and maintain schools for children (an undated DET Notice R.P45:12). It must be appreciated, however, that the initiative rests squarely on the farmers, since they are owners of the land on which schools are built. The argument here is that building a school on privately-owned land, despite the availability of subsidies from government, remains more than a moral suasion for the farmer.

The farmers, despite the establishment of Governing Bodies, wield much power in the management of schools built on their land. Farmers are not only members of Governing Bodies, but are in fact the pivotal figures in these schools. As Graaf (1992:216) puts it :

"In theory, the state and the farmers are dual managers of the schools, but in practice, the farmer as owner of the land has the power to open or close schools and to evict teachers and pupils from his property".

There is no doubt that there are many problems that flow from farmers' control of the schools built on their land, and these are problems that are primarily associated with the ownership of land. These are problems associated with insufficient finance and sluggish initiative in starting schools, the use of school children as farm labourers, the danger of schools being closed or neighbouring children being refused access to these schools (ibid.:227).

Coupled with the farmers' ownership of the land is the fact that four other members of Governing Bodies are parents who are more likely to be in the same farmers' employ. Should

this be the case - as it is suspected and argued - it is clear that the farmers' influence and power over the school matters would not be challenged as Governing Bodies thus constituted would have precious little impact upon the farmers' authority. The seriousness of this problem is reflected in the following comment by Graaf (1992:227) :

"It is within the farmer's discretion to set up a Governing Body or not".

In conclusion, statutory school governance structures in African education have come and gone. When the Nationalist Party government came to power in 1948, it pursued two objectives which the African people were able to identify : segregated and differentiated education governance structures for different racial and ethnic groups, and state control over all education in the interest of Afrikanerdom. The majority of the African people became aware that education was used to divide and control, to protect White privilege and power - socially, economically as well as politically - and to ensure Afrikaner dominance.

Although it is a historical fact that the chief attempt made by the apartheid government to broaden community participation in the governance and administration of African schools came with the inception of the infamous Bantu Education Act of 1953, such an attempt was bound to fail as it was purely parental governance, and was more of a financial responsibility on the part of Black communities and a political exercise than it was real and meaningful governance. Mkhwanazi (1993:2-3) does emphasise this argument further :

"The state had clearly intended to transfer much of the burden of financing education... onto the local committees. The state wanted to provide a community role for the officially acceptable representatives of Black interests, enabling more conservative figures in the community to strengthen their position by exercising a degree of real power".

It is therefore clear that statutory school governance structures in African schools were perceived by the apartheid state as essential both for creating allegiance to apartheid and

"...as providing a means of squeezing Black communities financially to subsidise the kind of cheap mass education which the state was aiming at". (Mkhwanazi, 1993:3).

Nonetheless, these structures failed in many ways to play the hegemony role they were designed to fulfil. The 1976-1980's was a period of mass political mobilisation in which activities subjected the Management Councils, Governing Councils and Governing Bodies to endless attacks and undermined their legitimacy and authority from the outset.

These school governance bodies were also rejected because they were regarded as agents of an unpopular and illegitimate state, and as such were bound to fail. Undoubtedly, the final nail in the coffin of these structures was struck in the mid-1980's when the notion of community participation took the form of Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations. There is also no doubt that the failure of the apartheid state's policies on school governance could be located within and ascribed to the broader political, economic and social framework as well as to the fragmented and uncoordinated system of systems.

However, it must be noted that the state's school governance policies in White education have been relatively successful and legitimated despite the fact that they are also unrepresentative of all primary stakeholders in education. This is particularly true of the Clase models, where White parents enjoy meaningful participation in the decision-making organs of their schools. Nonetheless, Model C schools have problems of their own too. To many people, these schools seek to entrench the power of White parents during the period of transition and beyond. The argument here is that the degree of authority devolution prevalent in Clase schools may be used to increase the negotiation strength of White parents as South Africa moves into democracy.

3.5. NON-STATUTORY SCHOOL GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES

Non-statutory school governance structures that currently exist in South Africa are Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations (PTSAs), and are reported to exist in fewer than two hundred and fifty schools under the auspices of the Department of Education and Training (DET), House of Delegates (HOD) and House of Representatives (HOR), and their development has been very uneven (EDUPOL, 1993:viii).

Writing about the historical evolution of the notion of community involvement in education in South Africa, Kulati (1992:11) argues that Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations essentially emerged as an oppositional response to the state's unilateral imposition of governance structures - using schools as the site of the political struggle against the repressive policies of apartheid.

A crucial distinctive feature of PTSAs is their insistence on the democratic process as an objective in itself. The involvement of all the stakeholders is seen in itself to guarantee the achievement of their aim - the democratisation of school governance. PTSAs are perceived as some form of alternative structures for exercising community control of schooling and organs through which People's Power could be realised (Kulati,1992:11).

Nevertheless, PTSAs are hampered by the lack of legal recognition by the education authorities plus the absence of mechanisms to mediate the conflicting interests of the three interest groups involved, that is parents, teachers and students (EDUPOL,1993:vii). Further, it is argued that even where PTSAs operate, levels of parental involvement remains low as parents remain marginal in the running of schools (ibid.:46).

However, despite these limitations, Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations remain the only school governance structures inside and outside government circles that had become the organisational expression of the demands for communities to have a say in the education of their children (Kulati,1992:11). They represent the first genuine step towards giving parents, teachers and students real democratic representation on and participation in the management of their schools.

Unlike all other statutory school governance structures, PTSAs have not been imposed on the communities they purport to serve, and are legitimated on the ground that they are representative and democratic, and have been brought about by the mass democratic movement in the country (NEPI,1993:7). Their relationship with the board democratic

movement is further shown by the National Education Policy Investigation's (NEPI) policy proposals on the future school governance system in South Africa.

NEPI (1993:47) and Buckland and Hofmeyr (1993:69) propose that PTAs should, in a future governance system, be key governance structures at school level. Both NEPI and Buckland and Hofmeyr further propose that at the level of individual schools, policy should be developed in consultation with PTAs. However, policy-formulation should take place within the framework of national and regional policies.

3.6. SCHOOL GOVERNANCE POLICY PROPOSALS IN THE 1990's

The most recent policy proposals in the area of school governance that surfaced in South Africa in the 1990's , have emerged from the state. Education Policy and System Change Unit, National Education Policy Investigation, and the African National Congress's policy guidelines.

This section of the study will look specifically at policy proposals as initiated by the state and NEPI on one hand, and the ANC policy guidelines for a democratic South Africa on the other hand. in an attempt to achieve this objective, specific attention would be given to issues of governance and administration.

3.6.1. THE EDUCATION RENEWAL STRATEGY (ERS)

In an attempt to contribute towards the education policy discourse for a future South Africa, the current state's Department of national Education launched the Education renewal Strategy in 1991, and later in 1993. This discussion document contains major proposals on how to change the current state policies in education. However, of particular relevance to this study are the proposals made with regard to community participation in school governance.

The ERS proposes Management Councils as future school governance bodies in the new South Africa, and goes further to say these structures "must be established in all schools with increased decision-making powers and executive functions" (ERS,1991:75-76). The Management Councils, according to the ERS (1991:75) must have the power to :

- * provide and finance electrical and water services to schools
- * acquire educational aids, media, etc.
- * recommend appointment of teaching and extra-mural staff
- * subvert teacher salaries
- * influence the school's admission policies subject to the framework determined by the regional authority
- * and if they so wish, Management Councils can select students to have observer status on them.

Clearly, the ERS proposals favour a decentralised system of school governance, as there is a commitment to delegation of authority over education to the community or school on the argument that the state cannot or should not be solely responsible for education (NEPI,1993:18). Although the ERS (1993:75-76) talks of 'increased decision-making powers and executive functions' being accord to Management Councils, a clear and detailed analysis

for their functions show nothing of the sort.

The proposed role of Management Councils would be largely advisory in many respects, and this argument is also supported by Buckland, Kulati and Sayed (1992:9) :

"The new Management Councils will still play a largely advisory role...albeit with increased responsibility for financial management. In fact, the only major change seems to be the fact that Management Councils will have to foot a larger slice of the bill incurred in the day-to-day running of the school".

The ERS proposals have far-reaching implications for parents, teachers and students. Firstly, as participation would be opened for parents only, this would confirm the argument by Mkhwanazi (1993:9) that throughout the history of community involvement in education in South Africa, parental governance has always been equalised to financial responsibility.

Secondly, the non-participation of teachers and students in Management Councils almost certainly mean that they would not be acceptable in African communities. Thirdly, the ERS proposals do not seek to empower the communities to have any meaningful say in the education of their children. There is no doubt that this discussion document regards community involvement in school governance more as a means of financing schools than as an objective in itself.

In fact, the ERS does not propose to give parents more power by advocating a decentralised policy. However, one would argue that decentralisation as proposed by the ERS aims at

safeguarding and entrenching current racial and educational inequalities on one hand and minority interests on the other. As a result of decades of apartheid policies, a decentralised school governance might as well ensure that wealthier communities retain greater educational resources at the expense of the poor.

Buckland, Kulati and Sayed (1992:9) emphasise this fact:

"Indeed, the combination of 'diversity', decentralisation and a decision-making autonomy being linked to greater financial responsibility means that not only will schools remain segregated and unequal but that those schools in control by the community than the schools in disadvantaged areas".

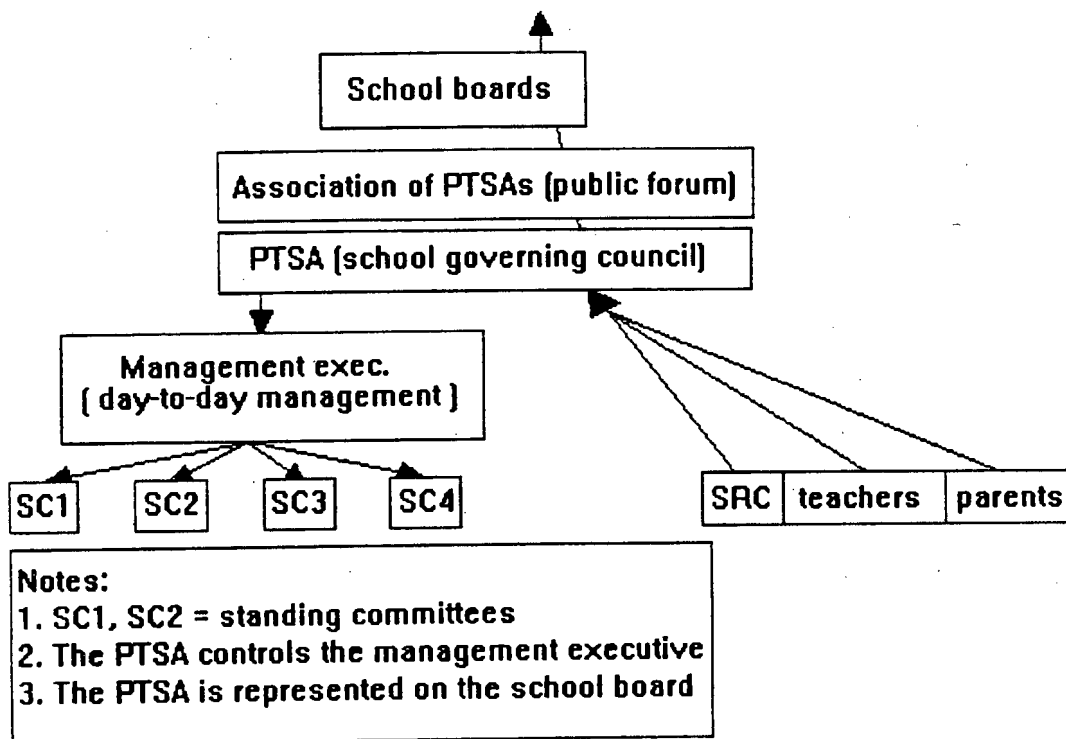
It is clear, therefore, that the Education Renewal Strategy proposals on school governance have little that is of value. These proposals do not at all signify a radical departure from the current apartheid policy as there is no indication that the government is not only willing to broaden and democratise participation in school governance, but also that there is a commitment to fundamentally transform the current system of segregated and racial school governance.

If the history of the South African school governance is anything to go by, then the Management Councils - as proposed by the ERS - are almost certainly the non-starters as part of any future plan to democratise school governance.

3.6.2. THE NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY INVESTIGATION (NEPI)

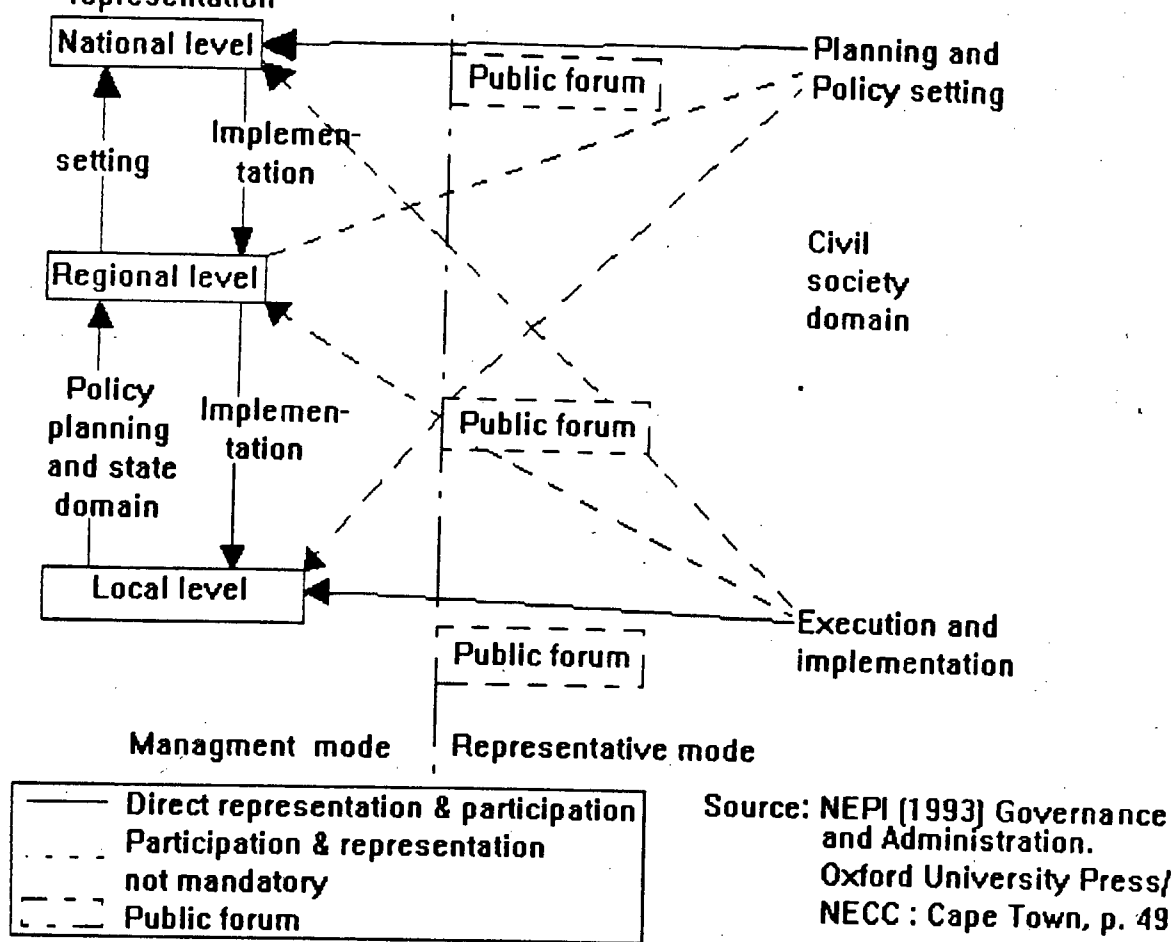
The National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI) was a project of the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), and was conducted between December 1990 and August 1992. The brief of the investigation was to interrogate policy options in all areas of education within a value framework derived from the ideals of the broad democratic movement in the country (NEPI,1993:vi). However, only policy options on school governance were of particular significance to this section of the study.

Figure 3.1: Governance at the school level



Source : NEPI [1993] Governance and Administration.
Oxford University Press/NECC : Cape Town, p. 47

Fig 3.2. The Democratization grid with respect to management and participation/representation



NEPI (1993:25), arguing that the articulation of the demand for increased community participation in the governance of school emerged in the context of resistance and struggle, and that most of its proposals assume the existence of an illegitimate state authority, identifies the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations as future primary units of school level governance. This is also the policy position held by Buckland and Hofmeyr (1993:69).

According to NEPI (1993:47), PTSA's would, in the future, function as Governing councils (see Fig.3.1), and would be responsible for making local school policy within the nationally and regionally provide framework. Policies would have to be adopted formally by the elected Governing Council, and would be limited to those issues which the national policy framework determine should be the provide of school authorities.

Nonetheless, responsibility for the day-to-day school management would lie with the School Management Committee, which would include the principal and senior staff, and could involve student participation in the main committee and sub-committees (ibid.:41, Buckland and Hofmeyr, 1993:69).

Further, NEPI (1993:47) proposes that PTSAs should also have members in both management and representative capacities (see Fig.3.2), where the former is understood to be primarily the domain of the government, and involves the day-to-day management of schools, and the latter is largely the domain of parents, teachers and students, and is concerned with informing the management mode about the concerns and interests of organisations, groupings and individuals in the community. The representative mode is largely concerned with the policies of school management, and representatives are accountable to the people or organisations they represent.

An analysis of NEPI's school governance perspective reveals that it represents a radical and major departure from past and present state policies with regard to the governance of schools. Apart from contending that a future school governance system should consist of national, regional, local and institutional levels (see Fig.3.2.), the NEPI proposals have, as their central aim, the democratisation of school governance, especially through civil society participation in that process. As NEPI (1993:44) puts it :

"These involve making visible the power relations that underlie administration and control; facilitating broader participation in governance through the creation of dual

*modes of representation and management;
and strengthening the capacity of wider
interest groups in civil society for
participation in governance".*

However, there appear to be some problems when one analyses these proposals in terms of their relationship to some of the principles that guided NEPI in the execution of its brief. First, NEPI assumes that the future school governance system would be non-racial (NEPI,1993:50), and that their proposals would promote an overall non-racial governance structure. This assumption, at least in part, seem to underplay the fact that the apartheid system has created a society that is characterised by deep racial, ethnic and class divisions.

Although NEPI does acknowledge this fact, and that a new system of governance would have to be phased in progressively, one wonders if in practical terms, non-racialism will ever be realised. The argument here is that racial, ethnic and class divides at all levels of the South African society are real, and not 'artificial' as NEPI claims. A school and PTSA in Khayelitsha, for example, will almost certainly remain purely African for the better part of the post-apartheid period as it is unlikely that there would be an influx of White, Indian and Coloured students into African schools at anytime in the future. Instead, it is expected that more African and Coloured students would flock into White and Indian schools than is currently the case. Non-racialism would therefore be realised on an extremely limited scale as both White and Indian school systems would not cope with the expected influx.

Second, NEPI uses non-sexism as one of its guiding principles, and one would imagine that, amongst others, central to this principle is the move towards ensuring equal participation of

men and women in school governance structures. Without such a commitment, it would be difficult to imagine how non-sexism could be realised. Since NEPI does not raise this issue, one could therefore argue that in NEPI circles, the principle of non-sexism does not enjoy high priority as there was not even a separate research report on the subject of gender and education.

Nonetheless, NEPI proposals represent the first and real move towards the genuine democratisation of school governance in South Africa. The single biggest challenge facing NEPI policy proposals on school governance, though, appears to be whether or not PTSAs would enjoy the same legitimacy and acceptance in White schools, if they were to become the focus of power at school level in a future education dispensation in South Africa.

For now, Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations seem to be the only school governance structures that do not only enjoy support among African, Coloured and Indian schools, but they are also the only structures that have the potential capacity to represent the interests of parents, teachers and students.

3.6.3. THE AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS'S POLICY GUIDELINES ON EDUCATION GOVERNANCE

According to the African National Congress's policy guidelines on education governance, the administration and management of education on one hand and the development of educational policy on the other, will be governed by the principle of democracy within a unified national education and training system (ANC Policy Guideline, 1992:29). This policy is driven,

amongst others, by the realisation that the present governance system lacks in democracy, accountability and efficiency at the local level - the three features that can be built by effective and democratic structures of institutional governance that "should represent the interests of parents, teachers and students" (Draft ANC Education Policy, 1993:5) "and workers" (ANC Policy Guidelines, 1992:29) who should actively participate in both formal and non-formal education.

The ANC argues that the democratisation of the education and training system can best be achieved by creating a balance between the role of the central state and that of regional and local authorities. While the central state would be responsible for the development of national policies and principles, financing education, the development of a national curriculum, and the development and maintenance of national standards, regional and local authorities would be responsible for the day-to-day administration and management of education and training system (ibid.:29).

Although the African National Congress does not make specific and detailed education governance proposals, its guidelines do, however, have a direct bearing on school governance.

Central to the ANC's policy guideline is a commitment to the democratic participation of parents, teachers, students and workers in the governance of their schools :

"The ANC believes in democratic participation, not only in the development of policy in education, human resources and science and technology, but in the administration and management of institutions in these fields.

We are committed to the establishment of relevant structures for such participation". (ANC Policy Guidelines, 1992:29).

In conclusion, it is important to mention that the ANC policy guidelines on education governance are, in very specific ways, similar to NEPI's policy proposals. Both the ANC and NEPI are driven by the desire to achieve a highly transparent, accountable and democratic system of school governance, a system that would recognise that organs of civil society have the right to actively participate in governance of their schools.

Nonetheless, the ANC policy guidelines are of primary importance to education and training in general, and school governance in particular, since the ANC would be an influential and major partner during the next five years of the Government of National Unity in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

METHODOLOGY AND FIELD FINDINGS

This chapter represents the main thrust of the study, and aims at presenting a detailed account of the methodology used to gather the data and the findings that have emerged from the field work.

4.1. METHODOLOGY

As Chapter One has already indicated, the research was primarily an analysis of the role of the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations (PTSAs) in the democratic governance of schools. As a survey, the study was on fact-finding (Bell,1993:11), and was intended to be illuminative and explorative (EDUPOL,1993:61), and aimed specifically at obtaining information which can be analysed and patterns extracted for purposes of contributing towards the school governance policy discourse in South Africa.

The study was located in two methodological approaches, namely, a survey of literature and research in the field.

4.1.1. Literature Survey

A survey of the international literature was carried out on the subjects of decentralised and

democratised governance of schools; community involvement in education; school-community partnerships/collaboration/links; school effectiveness; shared decision-making; school-based management; as well as parental involvement in education in both industrialised and developing countries (see Chapter Two).

The survey helped in two specific ways. First, it helped define mechanisms of community involvement in education. Second, it helped develop and strengthen the argument that despite all problems associated with it, community involvement in education does have the potential to make for better schools.

With regard to the South African case, a literature search was done of the writings on the crisis in school governance, parental involvement in school governance, current statutory governance structures in South Africa, particularly in African schools, People's Education and Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations as non-statutory governance structures, as well as on the most recent policy proposals in the area of school governance as put forward by the state's Education Renewal Strategy' (ERS) Urban Foundation's Education Policy and System Change Unit (EDUPOL), the National Education Crisis Committee's (NECC) National Education Policy Investigation (NEPI), and the African National Congress's (ANC) Policy Guidelines on Education Control.

4.1.2. Field Research

a) Introduction

This section explains why the study was approached in a particular way, and not in others.

The instrument that was used to collect the data in this study was the interview, and specifically the semi-structured interviews, and were carried out on individual basis.

Semi-structured interviews are the most common and useful instruments for data collection in survey research (Borg and Meredith,1989:418). This instrument is unique in that it involves the collection of data through direct verbal and face-to-face interaction between individuals. However, the researcher was aware that this direct interaction can also be the source of disadvantages, unless it was adequately employed.

The principal advantage of any interview situation, including the semi-structured interview situation, is adaptability (Jolliffe,1986:28). The researcher was able to make full use of the responses of the subjects to alter the interview situation. This enabled the researcher to follow-up leads and thus obtain more data and greater clarity as feedback was provided immediately.

The semi-structured interview as a data collecting instrument was also found to be reasonably objective while still permitting a more thorough understanding of the respondents' opinions and reasons behind them. Borg and Meredith (1989:452) emphasise this argument :

"The semi-structured interview is generally most appropriate for interview studies in education. It provides a desirable combination of objectivity and depth, and often permits gathering valuable data that could not be successfully obtained by any other approach".

Further, the researcher employed semi-structured interviews among certain people in a limited number of secondary schools in the Department of Education and Training's Western Cape Region, thus making the study to be narrow in scope. Although the researcher was aware that surveys may be broad in scope and that survey data may be gathered from every member of the population (Van Dalen, 1979:286), he was also aware that surveys may be confined to one small unit, such as the school system, where the units of analysis may be management structures (ibid.:286).

In this study, PTSAs were the units of analysis, and the nature of the study was such that the researcher had to use people participating in them as respondents. As small samples are usually more appropriate than larger samples in many educational research projects, especially where role-playing and depth interviews are central (Jolliffe, 1988:444), the researcher had to choose certain participants among others in PTSA circles.

Respondents were chosen primarily on the basis of the positions they occupy either in the PTSAs or in their respective organisations or both. The obvious consideration involved in the selection of these subjects was to get people who would be able to supply the information the researcher wanted. In attempting to achieve a representative sample of all those who make up

the school population, one representative of each sector was interviewed. A more detailed account of this follows later in subsequent sections of this study.

In addition to the above, the researcher was aware of other possible approaches that could have been employed in this study. First, the researcher could have used postal questionnaires which, together with interviews, are the most common instruments for data collection in survey research (Borg and Meredith, 1989:418). However, this instrument was not considered for use because of :

- * time constraints, especially on the part of the researcher
- * its inability to provide immediate feedback
- * its failure to probe deeply enough to provide a true picture of opinions and feelings
- * fear of low response from the subjects. The problem of non-respondents is, according to Borg and Meredith (1989:418), the biggest problem with the questionnaire study. Obviously the first question that comes to mind is 'How would the results have been changed if all subjects had returned the questionnaire?'

Another instrument used for data collection is the structured interview. However, this tool was not employed because it does not accommodate open-ended discussions (ibid.:420). Structured interviews are usually relevant for public opinion polls, where the interviewer asks each respondent a brief series of questions that can be answered either 'yes' or 'no', or by selecting one of a set of alternative choices. The respondent's answers are not followed up to obtain greater depth, and the level of structure in this case is such that the data could be collected quite satisfactory with a mailed questionnaire.

b) Data gathering

This section of the study gives a detailed account of how the data were collected.

A series of semi-structured interviews with people participating in the PTSAs on one hand, and education authorities as well as people representing some organisations that are involved in school governance issues on the other hand, was undertaken.

Firstly, the data were collected from people participating in PTSAs in three secondary schools in the DET's Western Cape region. For purposes of anonymity, these schools - which are described in details later in this section - would be referred to as schools A, B and C.

In consistence with the survey method, respondents were asked the same questions in, as far as possible, the same circumstances, and information was gathered by means of interview questions administered by the interviewer (Bell, 1993:11).

The interviews, which formed the back bone of the field research, were aimed at gathering the data related to the following questions :

- * What led to the establishment of the PTSAs in each school?
- * What was the present role of PTSAs in each school? is this role positive or negative?
- * Do parents, teachers and students have specific and separate responsibilities with PTSAs, or do they have a collective responsibility?
- * What are the PTSAs' conceptions of democracy, accountability and decision-making?
- * How do PTSAs in each school operate?
- * What are PTSAs activities and programmes in each school, and to what extent these activities and programmes have been successful or unsuccessful?
- * What is the nature and form of the relationship between each PTSA and the DET?
- * To what extent does lack of parental organisation impact upon PTSAs'?
- * How does each PTSA surveyed relate to other organs of civil society?
- * Are PTSAs gender-sensitive?
- * How PTSAs can relate to a future democratic state in South Africa?
- * What can be the future role of PTSAs in a future democratic education dispensation?
- * In which crucial areas do PTSAs lack most?

Semi-structured interviews were also carried out among people representing different organisations. These organisations were the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), Khayelitsha Education and Resource Centre (KERIC), the Congress of South African Students (COSAS), and the Department of Education and Training (DET).

Whereas the first three organisations were selected purely on the basis of their involvement in the PTSA movement over the years, the DET - as education authorities - was chosen because of its working relationship with PTSAs.

There were several important reasons why Schools A, B and C were used as sites of research. School A was chosen specifically because some people within the PTSA circle in the Western Cape believed that this school has a model PTSA by any standards. School A is known for its excellent matriculation results despite the fact that it is located in the middle of various squatter camps, and as such draws its student intake from these informal settlement areas. It was hoped, therefore, that using this school would shed some light into what a 'good' and 'effective' PTSA can and cannot do in the area of school governance.

School B was chosen because firstly, it is not an ordinary but a comprehensive school with a teaching staff comprising both White and African teachers. Secondly, the school has a long history of the struggle for the establishment of PTSAs (SASPU National, 1986:14). The school was once closed down indefinitely by the DET during the height of the mid-1980's students uprisings, and was subsequently reopened by the combined effort of parents, teachers and students in an open defiance of the education authorities. With its long history of and

experience in the PTSA movement, it was hoped that this school would enrich the study.

On the contrary, School C was chosen primarily because of its unique history, locality and PTSA reputation in the Western Cape. The school, formerly located in one of the African townships in the Western Cape, now finds itself operating from one of the unused school buildings in a White residential area in the Cape. Confronted with a severe shortage of space in the township, the school's PTSA fought and won a battle for occupation of an unused White school in town.

However, despite this success, the PTSA of School C is known in the PTSA circles in the Western Cape as the "PTSA where everything went wrong" (KERIC Director, interviewed on 05/11/93). It was hoped, therefore, that this school will also enrich the study by giving a completely different scenario from Schools A and B.

After establishing that PTSAs in these three secondary schools are composed of representatives of their respective constituencies, that is, parents, teachers and student, and that some of these representatives hold executive positions either in their respective constituencies or in the PTSAs or both, it was then decided to select the interviewees on the basis of the constituencies they represent and positions they occupy in PTSAs or their constituencies or both. The primary objective was to get people who would be able to supply the information the researcher needed, and it became immediately apparent that selecting respondents in this manner was the most appropriate way.

The significance of interviewing different categories of people, that is, parents, teachers, students, education authorities, and prominent leaders of other organs of civil society such as KERIC, COSAS and the NECC, can be explained at three levels. First, it was expected that these different categories of people would have had different perspectives on the issues raised up by the study, and that these would enrich the study.

Second, given the limited scope of the study, it was important to interview as many different categories of people as possible as an attempt to strive for some degree of 'representativeness'. It should, however, be mentioned that the researcher was under no illusions whatsoever that true representativeness could be achieved given the constraints of time and degree requirements (see sub-section 5.1.).

Third and most importantly, given the nature of the study's units of analysis, namely, the PTSA's, interviewing parents, teachers and students on one hand, and education authorities as well as leaders of external interest groups on the other hand, was inevitable. The argument here is that although the primary focus of the study was on the PTSA's, some attention had to be directed to those categories of people with whom they (PTSA's) negotiate directly and/or work closely. Undoubtedly, education authorities (DET) and other organs of civil society (COSAS, KERIC and the NECC) fit these descriptions.

A total number of seventeen interviews was conducted, representing a breakdown of twelve interviews (four per school) among PTSA participants, and five interviews between three organs of civil society on one hand and the education department on the other (see Tables 4.1 and 4.2)

A BREAKDOWN OF INTERVIEWS AMONG PTSA PARTICIPANTS

Table 4.1

NAME OF SCHOOL(S)	PARTICIPANT(S)		POSITION(S) HELD	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS PER SCHOOL
A	Principal	A	Headmaster ; PTSA ex-officio member	4
	Parent	A	PTSA chairperson ; Parent accociation chairperson	
	Teacher	A	PTSA secretary ; SADTU Shopsteward	
	Student	A	SRC Chairperson	
B	Pricipal	B	Headmaster ; PTSA ex-officio member	4
	Parent	B	PTSA Chairperson	
	Teacher	B	PTSA Secretary	
	Student	B	SRC Chairperson ; COSAS treasurer	
C	Principal	C	Headmaster ; PTSA ex-officio member	4
	Parent	C	PTSA Chairperson	
	Teacher	C	PTSA Secretary ; SADTU Shopsteward	
	Student	C	SRC Chairperson	
TOTAL NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS				12

A BREAKDOWN OF INTERVIEWS AMONG NON - PARTICIPANTS IN PTSA_s

Table 4.2.

ORGANISATION / DEPARTMENT	POSITION(S) HELD	NUMBER OF INTERVIEWS PER ORGANISATION / DEPARTMENT
KERIC	Director	1
NECC	Administrative Secretary	1
COSAS	Secretary	1
DET	Regional Director	1
	Public Relations Officer	1
Total Number of Interviews		5

NB
Governance

4.2. Time Scale

Field study covered the phase 5 October - 5 November 1993 during which a total number of seventeen interviews were undertaken in Cape Town, Khayelitshaa, Langa, Belville, Salt Rive and Mowbray. Each of these semi-structured interviews lasted approximately seventy minutes.

4.3. Definitional issues

Two concepts, namely, 'democratic governance' and 'community involvement' were central to the study. The discussion that follows explores these concepts.

4.3.1. Democratic Governance

In attempting to define the concept 'democratic governance', the study was influenced largely by the discourse of the mass democratic education movement in South Africa, especially the People's Education movement.

According to Van der Walt (1989:138-139), "People's Education supposes co-operation among all segments of society: the pupils, their parents, the teachers, and also the community at large....and all people, irrespective of which ethnic groups they belong to, are expected to be involved....and to participate in the social process".

Following logically from this comment is that democracy in terms of People's Education coincides with the expanded idea of the people. Democracy means that whatever happens or is decided, should only be undertaken after consultation and with the involvement and participation and with the involvement and participation of all involved. This idea of democracy is also supported by Fraser (1988:45-46); Morrow (1988:146); Baron (1981:1); and Beare (1990:1). Democracy is, therefore, either consultative, representative, or participatory.

Governance was understood to mean not simply the system of administration and control of education in a country, but the whole process by which education policies are formulated, adopted, implemented and monitored. Governance is, therefore, an issue not simply at the broad national level, but also at every level of the system down to the individual school (EDUPOL, 1993:64 and Buckland and Hofmeyr, 1992:1).

all levels

On the basis of the foregone discussion, and specifically for the purpose of this study, the concept 'democratic governance' of schools was conceived as referring to a system of school administration and control where parents, teachers, students and other members of organs of civil society are not only consulted and represented, but actively participate in their school's decision-making processes and structures where policies are formulated, adopted, implemented and monitored.

In the words of a student leader in the Western Cape in 1986, democratic control means :

*"...participating is decision-making,
formulating policy and programmes of*

action...and implementing an administering them. But because not everybody can be part of every structure, so people mandate others to represent their interests and be accountable to them"
(SASPU National, 1986:23).

NB
Participatio

4.3.2. Community Involvement and Participation

The concept 'community', like 'involvement', is multifaceted. Connors and McMorrow (1990:75-78) argue that communities may be defined in terms of common characteristics, purposes and interests - geographic, political, economic, racial, cultural, philosophical and religious. They also note that the concept 'community' can also be used to distinguish 'lay' from 'professional' status.

However, in the context of this study, the concept 'community' was used to refer to both professionals (teachers and administrators) and non-professionals (parents, students and other members of civil society). Underpinning this definition was the People's Education discourse, which seem to suggest that only this type of community has the ability to transform a historically oppressive and unjust school governance system, and 'install an new democratic culture jointly with other liberatory forces in the community" (EDUPOL, 1993:64).

'Involvement', according to Connors and McMorrow (1990:76), denotes some form of or level of inclusion of non-professionals in the operation of a school or system or both. This inclusion may be formal or informal, proactive or re-active, subordinate or dominant.

Further, Connors and McMorrow see 'involvement' as being different from 'participation', for the latter implies an active role in educational decision-making, ranging from advisory to deliberative community participation is specifically about the claims of parents, in some circumstances, the students, as well as groups and institutions in the local and wider community, to an active role in shaping educational policy and practice (ibid.:77).

On the other hand, Shaeffer (1991) distinguishes between two forms of 'involvement', that is, 'collaboration' and 'participation' (cited in EDUPOL, 1993:64-65). 'Collaboration' is seen as a consultative process at best, whereas 'participation' implies partnership and intervention.

Although these definitions do not indicate the contentious nature of 'involvement' as is the case in the South African context, they were, nonetheless, understood to be communicating one message across, that is, 'involvement' is either collaborative or participative, and that 'participation' is the hard edge of 'involvement'.

4.4. Research Process Problems

The issues raised in this section of the study are split into two areas, namely, those related to the literature search and review, and those that arose out of practice in the field.

4.4.1. Literature Search and Review

a) International Literature

Initially, there was one big problem that arose out of a review of the international literature, and that was the fact that the concept 'Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations' - as an entity - is almost unique to South Africa. The closest the researcher came to finding PTSAs per se on the international scene was through a Journal article that supposedly discusses the transformation of PTAs to PTSAs. However, this article, entitled 'Students Can Make A Difference', could not be accessed by the researcher despite several attempts to get hold of it.

Nonetheless, this 'problem' was later on solved through a survey of several European, American and African countries' school governance structures, whose close analysis showed parental, teacher, student, and sometimes broader community participation in school governance. The only difference was that these structures operated under names different from PTSAs (see Chapter Two, sub-sections 2.5.1. - 2.5.4.). It is therefore proper to say the subject fell into a neat category and became easily accessible, though with some initial hiccups.

b) The South African Literature

Apart from the crisis in African education - a subject that is well-researched and documented in South Africa - there has been little work published on the country's governance system; People's Education; PTSAs; and community involvement in education. This was found to be the case despite the fact that the South African governance system has been highly contentious for the better part of this century.

The lack of material in this regard meant that the study had to rely not only on conference papers and the little that has been published, but also on the field work itself.

4.4.2. Field Research

There were numerous problems that arose in this regard. The main one was the failure to have early access to schools between May and September 1993. There were two reasons why access was not possible at the time. First, there was 'Operation Barcelona' going on then - a theme that was coined by COSAS in the Western Cape - and emerged out of the much publicised skirmish between African students at secondary level and the DET over the school and examination fees nationwide.

As negotiations between the NECC and DET about these fees deadlocked, students took to the streets, and consequently, schooling came to a halt. The impasse which ensued was later broken at the political level, only after intervention by the President of the African National Congress.

Second, access to schools was not possible at the time because immediately after 'Operation Barcelona', the South African Democratic Teachers Union (SADTU) got involved in an industrial action against the government because of the dispute over teacher salaries and continued rationalisation of Coloured teachers, and unilateral restructuring of education by government.

Nonetheless, by the time access was possible, the researcher continued to experience some problems. Despite adequate preparations and interview appointments made in good time, some would-be interviewees either failed to honour these appointments or withdrew at the eleventh hour, citing absence of mandates from their respective constituencies as the reason for their unavailability. What that meant was that one had to wait until mandates were secured. It took a second and sometimes a third attempt to have some of the appointments honoured. At the same time this meant reshuffling the interview schedule from time to time.

4.5. Research Themes

This section of the study aims to highlight, and where necessary, discuss themes around which the data were collected. Whereas some of the themes were extracted from the literature, others were incorporated into the study after indepth discussions with my supervisor and the director of the Khayelitsha Education and Resource Centre (KERIC) in Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

4.5.1. Historical Background

The primary objective here was to ascertain precisely what had led to the establishment of PTSAs in each secondary school surveyed. The discussion with the director of KERIC (5/10/93) revealed that the development of PTSAs can be traced at three different levels, that is, national, community and school levels, and that each level has its own scenario different from the other. The KERIC director argued that at the level of individuals schools, different

schools would have different factors militating in favour of the establishment of PTSAs despite the fact that the demand for PTSAs would be called both at community and national levels.

This argument seem to be supportive of EDUPOL's (1993:vii) conclusion that the development of PTSAs has been very uneven since their conception in South Africa. On the other hand, Kulati (1992:10-17) paints a picture that partrays the development of PTSAs being directly linked to crises management in schools, People's Education, and finally the day-to-day management of schools as a result of the phase ushered in largely by the post-February 1990 era.

On the basis of the foregone discussion, it was therefore necessary to ascertain precisely what led to the establishment of PTSAs in each school surveyed. This also served as a prelude to determining the exact role the Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations play in each school.

4.5.2. The Role of PTSAs

PTSAs have been identified by the NECC and NEPI, amongst others, as future primary units of local-level governance. However, there have been few opportunities for exploring not only the full implications of the role of PTSAs in school administration and control, but also for determing precisely what this role was.

The little that is known about PTSA roles is that they are sometimes conflicting and contradictory (NEPI,1993:27). Therefore, there was a need for more systematic analysis of

the role of PTSA's and of parents, teachers and students in the school governance process.

4.5.3. Democracy, Decision-making and Accountability

Kulati (1992:10) writes that the battles fought in the 1980's and out of which PTSA's were born, did not only arise out of a rejection of the despised Bantu Education system, but became focused on the question of the democratic control of schools.

Since the concept 'democracy' means different things to different people (Mashamba, 1992:16), it was important to find out the PTSA's conceptions of democracy on one hand and decision-making on the other. Equally important was an attempt to answer the questions :

- * How does each PTSA exercise accountability?
- * To whom is each PTSA accountable?

EDUPOL (1993:19) arguing that the meaning of 'accountability' is in its context, writes that democratic accountability involves some basic recognition that the final control over the government and administration should be vested in the citizens of the state to whom elected office-holders are accountable.

Nonetheless, since not all forms of popular accountability are necessarily democratic, it was therefore important to ascertain whether or not PTSA's are democratic both in decision-making and accountability.

4.5.4. PTSAs Operation

This theme emerged largely from the researcher's observation of and experience in the PTSA movement. Although it is often assumed that PTSAs are established on the basis of existing good relationships between parents, teachers and students, on the contrary, there have been incidents negating this assumption in the past. Some of these incidents have been on mass media, whose parents would complain bitterly about students' and teachers' unilateral decisions to take to the streets, for example.

On the basis of the above, it became important to find out what mechanisms are there for purposes of managing and resolving these differences among PTSA components.

4.5.5. Activities and Programmes

One of the primary objectives of establishing PTSAs was to get them involved in activities and programmes within and beyond the schools (SASPU National, 1986:15). By stressing parental and community involvement in education, the idea was promoted that education is not solely an activity which takes place in schools but one which affects all people in all spheres of life.

This argument, for example, was recognised in the resolutions which proclaim that People's Education aims to :

"eliminate illiteracy, ignorance and exploitation of any person by another and enables workers to resist

exploitation and oppression at their workplace" (van der Walt, 1989:25).

In addition, PTAs were not only established as alternative management structures for exercising community control of schooling, but also as organs through which People's Power could be realised in an educational setting (Kulati, 1992:11). It was imperative to find out the nature and form of activities and programmes PTAs are engaged in for the realisation of these aims, and how successful or unsuccessful these activities/programmes have been.

4.5.6. PTAs and the DET

This theme emerged purely from the literature. The present apartheid state has never recognised PTAs as legitimate structures in schools (NECC Commissioned Paper, Date Unknown) to an extent that this hampers PTAs (EDUPOL, 1993:vii) in their daily functioning.

On the other hand, it has been argued elsewhere that current statutory school governance structures have, by and large, been rendered ineffective and are dysfunctional (see Chapter Three), and that PTAs enjoy legitimacy and support in African communities.

Flowing logically from the two contradictory positions would be an argument that this contradiction presupposes the existence of some form of relationship between the DET and PTAs. It was therefore important to determine precisely what kind of relationship existed between PTAs and the DET, and how the lack of legal recognition impacts on the

functioning of PTSAs.

4.5.7. PTSAs and Parental Organisation

In African communities and of the three PTSA components, only parents lack some form of organisation into local, regional and national organisations or associations. Teachers and students, on the other hand, are organised into very strong organisations, and wield considerable power and strength as policy actors (EDUPOL, 1993:28-30).

EDUPOL further argues that although the NECC in particular claims to represent the interests of parents, there is, however, no parental organisation equivalent to students' and teachers' that represent parents directly. This state of affairs begs for one question: "In what ways does this lack of parental organisation affect PTSAs?"

4.5.8. PTSAs and Organs of Civil Society

The policy proposals on a future school governance system by NEPI (1993:47-50) argue for a direct representation of civil society structures, such as COSAS, in the democratic governance of individual schools. This was also found to be the policy position of EDUPOL and the ANC. The primary aim here was, therefore, to find out in what specific ways do PTSAs relate to organs of civil society.

4.5.9. PTSA's and Gender

The struggle against Apartheid education, amongst others, aimed at achieving a new democratic, non-racist and non-sexist education dispensation.

However, there are huge gender imbalances in South Africa, especially with regard to executive administrative and management positions in the country in general, and in the education system in particular. Administration and policy-making in education remain the province of men although women make up a large population of educational workers (Blackmore, 1993:27).

It was therefore significant to find out to what extent are PTSA's gender-sensitive, and finally, to determine the ratio of male/female participation in each PTSA surveyed.

4.5.10. PTSA limitations

This theme aimed at ascertaining in what specific areas do PTSA's lack, and how these shortcomings can be strengthened.

4.5.11. The future role of PTSA's

For purposes of informing the policy discourse on the future school governance system in South Africa, it was important to investigate the possible role PTSA's can play in the future.

4.5.12. PTSAs and a future democratic government

This theme emerged largely from an undated NECC commissioned paper on governance. In this paper, three models of the possible relationships between PTSAs and the state are outlined

a) Model A : PTSAs as Organs of the State

In this model, PTSAs are completely governed by and responsible to the state. PTSAs members are appointed by the state and report, as a body, to the state. The state would define the scope of work and agenda of PTSAs; provide the requisite training for their effective workings; and outline clear lines of accountability to PTSAs as well as to individual sectors within PTSAs. For example, the state would draw up a code of conduct for students which would be implemented through PTSAs.

In this model, PTSAs make representations to the state when problems arise and the state would decide how and whether to act on these representations. The regular workings of PTSAs would be confined largely to fundraising activities; community outreach and enforcement of codes of conduct.

The model also proposes that PTSAs should not be involved in political activities, but would make orderly representations to the state on issues political. The state - assumed to be democratic - would pay for all activities associated with PTSAs, including a nominal fee for individual members for their contributions to these governance structures.

b) Model B : PTSAs as organs of Civil Society

In this model, PTSAs are completely independent of the state and are accountable only to the local, regional and national networks of PTSAs which would be constituted outside of the state even though they would be located within a state structure, such as a school.

PTSAs members would be democratically elected by all parents, teachers and students who would be associated with individual schools. Local PTSAs define their agenda for action, however, they would, in conjunction with regional and national PTSAs, jointly draw up codes of conduct and a framework for national action which would govern the activities of local PTSAs.

The functions of PTSAs would incorporate political, educational and social activities. PTSAs, for example, would be actively involved in fundraising activities for individual schools, but would also reserve the right to decide on political action at the national level. In order to minimise state interference, PTSAs would be financially independent of the state, and members would contribute to them on a voluntary basis.

c) Model C : PTSAs as Semi-autonomous Community Organs

In this model, PTSAs would have links with the state, but would be primarily accountable to communities they serve. The state would finance PTSAs activities, including national training programmes for PTSAs structures on issues ranging from 'how to run a meeting' to more complex concerns such as 'democratic administration'.

While the state as funder could require certain responsibilities from PTSAs, those requirements would be specific and limited. For example, the state could require that PTSAs provide a monthly budget of expenditure to regional state education departments, or that PTSAs provide annual reports on their activities.

Further, whereas the state would have certain technical requirements for PTSAs, through their national and regional networks, would reserve the right to protest state decisions. For example, if the state would not deliver textbooks to regions effectively or the demand for salary increases for teachers is not met, PTSAs on local/regional/national levels can collectively and/or individually register their protest in various ways.

Codes of conduct for various sectors would be compiled and legitimated through PTSAs structures. PTSAs would be school-level structures making representations to the state on issues such as unfair dismissals and appointment of teachers. A PTSA member would serve at different levels, on state education department committees as a PTSA representative.

However, there would be areas in which PTSAs and the state education departments would have joint duties, such as textbook selection for a particular region and teacher appointments in a particular school.

As could be seen, the critical question sought here was to determine the degree of distance between PTSAs as school governance structures and a future democratic state.

4.6. Field Findings

This section of the study focuses on the substance of the interviews carried out in the field. In presenting the findings, the study will use research themes. However, full and detailed interview reports are presented at the end of the study (see Appendix 2). In reporting the interviews, the researcher did not quote respondents verbatim, and it should be noted that this was the case for reasons of time and degree requirements.

4.6.1. Historical Background

The aim of this sub-section was to ascertain precisely what factors led to the establishment of PTAs in each of the three schools surveyed. The majority of respondents cited the following as factors responsible for the establishment of PTAs in their schools :

a) Political turbulence of the mid-1980's

The mid-1980's were characterised by a high level of political repression in South Africa. The government, armed with a policy of 'total onslaught' to its opponents using 'die swart gevaar' rhetoric to consolidate its power, experienced one of the worst educational crises the country has ever witnessed.

In the midst of these developments, the National Education crisis Committee (NECC) was launched, and immediately began to contest state power by encouraging the establishment of

democratically-elected Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations (PTSAs) to exist alongside state power.

According to respondents in each of the three PTSAs surveyed, their schools were under tremendous pressure to establish PTSAs. This pressure could be traced at three different levels, namely, the NECC, community, and individual schools :

* the NECC level

The NECC was mandated to help establish organs through which 'People's Education for People's Power' could be realised and operative. At the level of individual schools, PTSAs were identified as relevant for such a purpose, and consequently, the NECC pressurised each of the schools surveyed to establish PTSAs.

* Community level

Communities, driven by the desire to govern their own schools on one hand, and yielding to pressure from the NECC on the other, exercised pressure onto individual schools to establish PTSAs. Further, the high level of political polarisation in communities led to the emergence of 'war-lords' which were bent to failing the cause of People's Education by whatever means necessary, including violence, death and destruction. PTSAs, therefore, had to be established as custodians of activists in school campuses.

* School level

The study found that there were different and specific factors that militated in favour of the

establishment of PTSAs at this level.

School A cited the principal's leadership style (between 1986 and 1990); racism; ethnicity and corruption as specific reasons that led to the establishment of its PTSA. According to Teacher A, "the principal was a typical autocrat who unilaterally made decisions, especially those affecting the staff and students directly" (interviewed on 25/10/93). The principal, who himself was White, deliberately recruited and appointed White male teachers in what he calls "executive positions" in the school, to an extent that in less than a year, all Heads of Departments (HODs), with one exception, were White and male. These appointments were made regardless of the fact that there were Black teachers in the school who qualified for such positions. This situation, according to Teacher A, was perceived by all and sundry as naked nepotism, racism and prejudice.

The appointment of the only Black HOD was controversial. He was appointed to head a Xhosa department, and yet he was as Tswana speaker who could hardly hear, speak, read and write Xhosa (Teacher A, interviewed on 25/10/93).

On corruption, it was found that the principal embezzled school funds. Between 1986 and 1990, the principal had 'loaned' ten thousand rands to what Teacher A calls "the principal's favourite teachers", and this money was never recovered and couldn't be satisfactorily accounted for by the principal.

Schools B and C cited specifically the political turbulence of the mid-1980's and the undemocratic nature of the statutory Management Councils as primary reasons that led to the establishment of their respective PTSAs.

4.6.2. Current roles, duties and powers of PTSAs

Although School A was more informative than Schools B and C on this subject, there were, however, sufficient responses to determine exactly the current role, duties and powers of PTSAs in all the three schools surveyed (see Fig.4.3.)

Fig. 4.3. Current Role(s) , Duties and Powers of PTSAs per school

SCHOOL(S)	A	B	C
Role(s) / Duties / Powers / of the PTSAs	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Active involvement and participation in Staff Development Programmes, whose purposes are to: enable teachers to grow and develop professionally ; make teaching effective ; and make learning easy. * Advertises vacant teaching posts in mass media. * Interviews, screens, selects and appoints teachers * Dismisses teachers. * Promotes teachers to senior positions where such vacancies exist. * Formulates school policy. * Runs school magazine. * Raises funds and secures sponsorship for school activities. * Appoints non-teaching personnel. * Punishes and rewards bad and good behaviour among teachers and students alike. * Liaises with the DET. * Determines and controls school funds. * It is the decision making body in the school. * Revolves crises and conflicts. * Sanctions all school activities. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Interviews and selects teachers for employment. * Appoints and dismisses teachers. * Advertises vacant teaching posts. * Disciplines teachers and students. * Monitors school funds. * Gives or denies access to the school. * Resolves crises and conflicts. * Promotes community involvement in school matters. * Fund-raises for the school. * Liaises with the DET. * Hires non-teaching staff. * Draws school policy. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Interviews and appoint teachers. * Dismisses teachers. * Fund-raises for the school. * Maintains and looks after school buildings, together with the care taker. * Resolves conflicts and crises. * Manages school funds. * Liaises with the DET. * Formulates school policy. * Ensures that school policy is properly implemented. * Disciplines teachers and students alike. * Hires non-teaching staff.

An analysis of the data in Fig.4.3. provides a wealth of information about predominant areas of PTSA involvement that emerged from the field work, that is, those associated with hiring and firing of teaching and non-teaching personnel, fund-raising, discipline, liaising with the DET, control of school funds, crises management and conflict resolution, and formulation of school policy.

It is, however, important to realise that with the exception of School A, no school reported the direct involvement of its PTSA in pedagogical issues and the day-to-day management of schools. Although the role, duties and powers of PTSAs remain largely limited, they, nonetheless, have made significant gains and progress in wresting power away from the state education departments over very important policy issues (see Fig.4.3.).

4.6.3.1. Predominant areas of PTSA involvement in school governance

a) hiring and firing of teachers

It has emerged explicitly from the field research that PTSAs in each of the three schools surveyed perform this important policy function. Central to appointments of new teachers are the following stages: identification of the need to have additional teachers; placement of advertisements in print media; interviewing of applicants; screening and selection of appropriate teachers. This entire process is the joint responsibility of all sectors represented on PTSAs. According to respondents, the DET's role in this process is to ensure the speedy payment of the newly-appointed teachers' salary cheques.

The hiring of teachers by PTSAs includes senior teachers, heads of departments, as well as principals. For example, the current principal of School A was hired by the PTSA. Further, promotions of teachers from assistant teaching ranks to senior teachers and heads of departments positions, is also the exclusive domain of PTSAs. The criterion used for promotion of teachers entails adequate professional and academic qualifications, experience and merit.

Apart from hiring and promoting teachers, PTSAs in the three schools surveyed were found to have the power to dismiss teachers, both on temporary and permanent posts, should the need to do so arise.

In all these three areas, the decision to hire, promote and dismiss a teacher is the PTSA decision. The DET only endorses. In many respects, this makes the DET an administrative wing of PTSAs, and serves to demonstrate the amount of power PTSAs have at their disposal despite the fact that they are non-statutory.

b) hiring of non-teaching personnel

This category of staff includes clerical, cleaning and care-taking personnel. As was the case with the hiring of teachers. As was the case with the hiring of teachers, PTSAs interview, screen and appoint appropriate persons in this category, and furnish their decision to the DET to facilitate their speedy payment.

c) fund-raising

Hit hard by shortage of funds, the three schools surveyed - through their PTSAs - are engaged in fund-raising activities. These activities, among others, include concerts, raffles, and approaching big businesses for sponsorships. School A, for example, reported huge success in securing sponsorship for some of its activities.

d) discipline

PTSAs in the three secondary schools are involved in addressing discipline problems regarding both teachers and students. Four main disciplinary problems were identified :

- * high rate of alcoholism/drunkenness among teachers and students
- * high rate of absenteeism, especially among teachers
- * abuse of power/authority by teachers
- * and an unwillingness by guardians to take full responsibility over children/students whom their are not their biological or natural parents. It emerged from the field work that quite a substantial number of the students in the three schools surveyed came from the Ciskei, and Transkei, and that this situation had far-reaching implications for discipline in schools.

Respondents in all three schools reported huge success in this area, and attributed it to intervention by PTSAs. Commenting about teacher disciplinary problems in particular, Student A said that "there have been considerable decline of teacher alcoholism and absenteeism as the thought of teachers being hauled into a PTSA forum and made to account, scares them off " (interviewed on 05/11/93).

e) determination and control of school funds

PTSAs have the power to determine the school fees payable annually by students. However, this cannot be done and become enforceable unless each constituency represented on PTSAs has been consulted, and mandate given. In school A, for example, the school fees have been raised by its PTSA from twenty rands to forty rands in 1993.

In addition, PTSAs in the three schools surveyed also control school funds. This, amongst others, means that school funds may not be used without that being sanctioned by PTSAs, and that they have free access to schools' financial records and/or books.

f) Crises management and conflict resolution

This emerged from the survey as one of the most common roles of PTSAs in the three schools surveyed. According to respondents, PTSAs spend most of their time trying to break impasses resulting from teachers' industrial actions and student boycotts, which usually create tensions within communities.

Further, much time is spent by PTSAs in trying to minimise or eradicate conflicts among PTSA constituencies themselves on one hand, and between PTSAs or any of its components and the DET on the other hand. According to most respondents, the role of PTSAs in crises/conflict management is significant in as far as it has given parents, teachers and students a rare opportunity to collectively address differences among them.

g) Liaising with the DET

In the three schools surveyed, statutory governance structures such as Management Councils are non-existent, and secondly, principals function largely as PTSA members. This means that PTSAs function as schools' governing bodies, and consequently, are responsible for keeping links and communication between their schools and the DET. Although principals may liaise with the education department, they may, however, not enter into any binding agreements with the DET without securing the approval of PTSAs.

Further, it has also emerged from the survey that PTSAs reserve the right to give or deny access to DET officials in schools. All three PTSAs surveyed reported their respective schools as 'no-go-areas' for DET officials. This situation should at least have serious pedagogical implications as it implies that members of the inspectorate can no longer evaluate teachers, and unless PTSAs so wish, education authorities cannot even know precisely what goes on in schools under their auspices.

h) Formulation of school policy

All respondents from the three schools reported that their respective PTSAs are responsible for the formulation of their schools' policies. School C went as far as reporting PTSA involvement in the implementation and monitoring of adopted policies.

TABLE 4.4. PREDOMINANT AREAS OF PTSA INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

School	Advertisement of vacant teaching posts	Day-to-day school managment	Interviewing teachers	Apointment of teachers and non-teaching staff	Dismissals of teachers	Cirriculum issues	Fund - raising	School funds	Peda- gogical issues	Liaising with DET	Promotion of commu- nity Involve- ment	Crises/ Conflict Manage- ment	Discipline	School policy	Maintenance of school buildings
A	/	X	/	/	/	X	/	/	/	/	X	/	/	/	X
B	/	X	/	/	/	X	/	/	X	/	/	/	/	/	/
C	/	X	/	/	/	X	/	/	X	/	X	/	/	/	X

Notes
 / : Involvement
 X : Non-involvement

The majority of responses received from interviewees indicated that the current role of PTSAs in the school governance is both positive and negative (see Table.4.5.). These data compel one to conclude that there is probably no absolute case for PTSAs involvement in school governance, and this analysis is in line with the findings of the international literature, that in all criteria of community involvement in education governance, there are 'pros' and 'cons' (see Chapter Two).

Three reasons were identified as impacting negatively on the role of PTSAs :

* the political affiliation of PTSAs

The three PTSAs surveyed are not apolitical. Their participants, particularly teachers and students, belong to and often hold executive positions in SADTU and COSAS respectively, and these are charterist organisations. Their proximity to the ANC poses serious threats and problems to those community members whose political home is not the ANC.

* Stakeholder role within PTSAs

The survey also found that the failure to define precisely what the role of each constituency represented on PTSAs should be, impacts negatively on PTSAs role. The policy question here is that 'Should each PTSA sector function separately but within the broad parameters set by a PTSA forum, or should PTSAs function collectively as an entity?'

* Power relations

Most respondents reported that parents wield too much power in PTSAs forums to the detriment of PTSAs in general. This may be attributed to lack of capacity in processes such as

democratic governance on one hand, and failure by PTSA's to define the scope of involvement by non-professionals in school governance.

Nonetheless, it has also emerged from the study that PTSA's involvement in school governance has positive results, too. Although there is no conclusive evidence yet to support these claims, it is, however, encouraging to note that PTSA involvement in school governance does have the potential to make for better schools.

Fig. 4.5. THE POSITIVE AND NEGATIVE ASPECTS OF PTSA INVOLVEMENT IN SCHOOL GOVERNANCE

ORGANISATION SCHOOL	AREA OF PTSA INVOLVEMENT	+	-	x	EXPLANATION / REASON
A	* Staff Development Programme * Fund-raising * Discipline * Interviewing, hiring and dismissal of teachers	/	/	/	* Teachers have grown professionally ; Parent / Teacher / Student relationships have improved ; better and more effective teaching and learning methods have evolved (TA, 28/10/93 ; Pr A, 05/11/93) . * Lessens schools' financial burden. * Minimizes or eliminates teachers' abuse of power on one hand, and teachers' and students absenteeism and alcoholism on the other ; heightens issues of work and professional ethics among teachers ; stabilises school environment. * Parents and teachers see student involvement in this area as invasion of teacher professionalism ; students see this as an opportunity to know first hand teacher qualifications, and to commit them to teaching and nothing less.
B	* Control of school funds * Decision - making * Crisis / conflict management	/	/	/	* School funds are efficiently managed ; however, PTSA involvement in this area often prevents good use of school funds. * All primary stakeholders in education are represented ; however, this process has become the exclusive domain of parents because they wield too much power in PTSA. * Ensures collective effort to improve schools.
C	* PTSA role in general	/	/	/	* Many positive gains have been made by PTSA, however, the parent sector inhibits progress as it is largely unorganised.
KERIC	* PTSA role in general	/	/	/	* Enhances community participation in school governance, however, PTSA's allegiance and loyalty to one political party is problematic.
DET	* PTSA role in general	/	/	/	* Recognizes the democratic right of everybody to participate in school matters ; however, PTSA can be very disruptive at times.
COSAS	* PTSA role in general	/	/	/	* Improves organisational climate of schools ; however, teachers manipulate parents for their own selfish ends, thus resulting in confrontations and contradictions in PTSA forums.
NECC	* PTSA role in general	/	/	/	* Improves school environment, however, failure to define specific role by parents, teachers and students, remains a problem in PTSA circles.

Notes : + : Positive / - : Negative / x : Both positive and negative

4.6.4. Democracy, decision-making and accountability

With the exception of School C, PTSAs in both Schools A and B were found to be democratic, both in decision-making and accountability (see Table 4.6.). Their conception of democracy was that democracy is consultative, representative and participatory. The idea was found to be to involve the entire school population - through its elected representatives - in the decisions that affect them directly.

With regard to the decision-making processes, the survey showed that decisions in PTSA forums are usually arrived at through compromise and consensus. In fact, the operative word here is 'consensus', and it was understood to refer to a general or widespread agreement among PTSA participants.

In the PTSAs surveyed, particularly in Schools A and B, accountability was found to be two-field. First, PTSAs are, as entities, accountable to individual schools, and secondly, each individual PTSA component is accountable to the constituency it represents. Thus, accountability was found to be exercised on two levels, that is, the school and constituency level. Central to this exercise is the issue of mandate-seeking.

Table 4.6. Democracy, decision - making and accountability

SCHOOL	NATURE OF DEMOCRACY	HOW DECISIONS ARE MADE	ACCOUNTABILITY TO WHOM ?	HOW IS ACCOUNTABILITY EXERCISED ?
A	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Participation is the right of every parent, teacher and student. * Democracy is consultative, representative and participatory. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Democratic guidelines exist for decision - making. * Every participant has a right to influence decisions. * Decisions are arrived at by compromise and consensus. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * PTSA is accountable to the school. * Each PTSA component is accountable to its own constituency. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * PTSA seeks mandate from the school population, and report - back to it. * Each PTSA sector receives mandate from and reports back to its constituency.
B	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Democracy is consultative, representative and participatory. * However, parental involvement is low. * Parents often come to PTSA forum without mandates. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Decisions are arrived at largely by consensus. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Each PTSA component is accountable to its constituency. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Report - back to and mandate seeking from individual PTSA constituencies.
C	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * PTSA is undemocratic, it is almost a Parents' Committee. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * Decisions are taken by parents unilaterally. * Parents' views and decisions are unquestionable and undebatable. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * PTSA is largely accountable to parents. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * PTSA receives instructions from and reports back to parents.

4.6.5. PTSAs operation

What has emerged from the survey was that the assumption that PTSAs are established and function on the basis of good relationships between parents, teachers and students was false. There are many differences and tensions among participants in PTSAs. The most common causes of these tensions in the three PTSAs surveyed were found to be :

- * teachers feeling uneasy about participation of parents and students in matters teachers regard as purely professional, for example, appointment and dismissal of teachers
- * teachers and parents feeling uncomfortable about student participation in interviewing teachers for employment. While teachers and parents perceive this involvement by students as improper, students on the other hand feel it is their democratic right to participate in all school matters
- * the intransigence of parents as a result of the amount of power they wield
- * nepotism with regard to promotion and appointment of teachers
- * lack of parental organisation, which often makes parents to come to PTSA forums without mandates
- * disciplinary problems, particularly when they involve teachers
- * the tendency by teachers and students to act independent of PTSAs, for example, during strikes and boycotts
- * conflicting interests among parents, teachers and students.

4.6.6. PTSAs and gender equality

Table 4.7. THE MALE / FEMALE REPRESENTATION ON PTSAs

SCHOOL	NUMBER OF MALES IN EXECUTIVE POSITIONS	NUMBER OF FEMALES IN EXECUTIVE POSITIONS	NUMBER OF MALES SERVING IN PTSA	NUMBER OF FEMALES SERVING IN PTSA	TOTAL NUMBER OF PARTICIPANTS IN PTSA
A	5	0	15	6	21
B	5	0	12	3	15
C	5	0	15	0	15
TOTAL	15	0	42	9	51

These statistics exclude the category of principals, who are PTSA's ex-officio members. However, the Male / Female ratio in this category was 2 :1.

The survey further ascertained that there was not even any mention of some kind of an affirmative action programme specifically to promote and facilitate female participation.

The low-level participation of women in PTSAs questions seriously PTSAs' belief in non-sexism, especially when viewed against the fact that in South Africa, gender discrimination has either excluded or subordinated the nature of women's participation in all socio-economic and political institutions. Combined with apartheid, this has resulted in African women being the most exploited and poverty-stricken section of the South African population (ANC Policy Guidelines, 1992:2).

However, most respondents attributed this low level of female participation to factors ranging from low level of political consciousness among women to the fact that the majority of women in the Western Cape originally came from rural areas. The combination of these factors, according to respondents, make non-participation by women unavoidable.

4.6.7. PTSAs activities and programmes

Out of the three PTSAs surveyed, only School A's PTSA was found to be involved in serious activities and programmes. These programmes directly addressed instructional/pedagogical, management/administrative and community issues:

a) instructional/pedagogical programmes

There were two programmes run by the PTSA of School A which had a direct bearing on instructional issues, and the Staff Development Programme and the Performance Appraisal Project. The Staff Development Programme has as its objective the improvement of both teaching and learning. Parents, teachers, and students come together and deliberate about how best to achieve effective teaching and learning in the school, and where necessary, expert inputs from outside the school are sought.

The purpose of the Performance Appraisal Project is to raise the level of commitment and professionalism among teachers in particular. Throughout the academic year, teachers are evaluated by their colleagues, parents and students, and at the end of the year best teachers are announced, and each given a merit award.

b) management/administrative programmes

Two specific programmes were identified, namely, the School Administration Improvement Programme and Financial Management Programme. The objective of these programmes is to build capacity among PTSA participants about school and financial management.

c) community-related programmes

The PTSA in School A was found to be involved in AIDS Education Programmes, where the objective was to sensitize the community about the realities of AIDS. This indicated the school's sensitivity to issues of community, national and international importance.

In conclusion, participants in the PTSA of School A were of the opinion that the programmes they have embarked upon have been very successful and effective. For example, they believed that as a direct result of their involvement and participation in these programmes, teachers have grown professionally, teachers' commitment to teaching has risen, learning has improved, school administration is more efficient, and there has been no embezzlement of school funds.

4.6.8. PTSAs and parental organisation

What has emerged clearly from the study was that out of the three sectors that constitute PTSAs, only the parent component lacked some form of organisation into local, regional and national associations, and that this lack of organisation impacted negatively on PTSAs.

In the words of the principal of School A, "lack of parental organisation leaves some spaces in PTSAs. Organisations such as the South African National Civic Organisation (SANCO) have pushed their luck as a result because only organised people can participate. The problem was that this involvement clouds education with civic and political issues" (interviewed on 05/11/93).

On the same subject, the principal of School B responded this :

"This is a big problem. Year in and year out you see the same parent faces in PTSAs because parents hardly attend their meetings to elect new representatives. This questions the democratic nature of PTSAs. It also makes a mockery of PTSA accountability" (interviewed on 26/10/93).

The chairperson of School A's PTSA echoed his frustration thus :

"Lack of parental organisation means that the majority of parents are left in the dark about PTSA work. Even those of us who participate often come to PTSA forums without mandates. We, therefore, do not participate effectively in PTSA forums". (interviewed on 30/10/93).

Lack of parental organisation - as an entity of its own - is clearly a major problem for PTSAs.

Whereas the history of parental involvement in South African showed that in the past, parental involvement has been lacking because of their unwillingness to collaborate with the apartheid state, it couldn't be precisely understood why it has not been on the increase lately, particularly after the establishment of PTSAs.

However, some of the reasons to have emerged from the findings of the survey on why parental involvement was so insignificant were :

- * high illiteracy level among parents
- * high unemployment rate among parents
- * lack of parental organisation

- * lack of interest among parents to get involved
- * and lack of incentives for involvement.

4.6.9. PTSAs and civil society

The concept 'civil society' was understood to mean all organisations which operate outside government circles, for example, labour, religious, civic and political organisations.

The study found that there are no standing and formal relationships between PTSAs and other organs of civil society. Nonetheless, as individual members of their respective communities, leaders of community organisations do gain representation on PTSAs, particularly in their capacities as parents or teachers.

Further, the study found that the only form of direct contact between PTSAs and other organs of civil society usually occurs when either there are functions to rename schools, or when there are workshops running, or when the need arises to address civic and broader political problems.

4.6.10. PTSAs and the DET

All interviewees agreed that there is a relationship between PTSAs and the DET, and responses varied from 'a working' to 'a very formal' relationship. However, one thing that remained clear was that PTSAs, despite their working relationship with the DET, are the de facto and not the de jure school governance structures, and as such, their contact with the DET has no legal bindings.

Apart from the fact that PTSAs are not enacted in the present South African education dispensation, it is difficult to tell precisely the nature of the relationship between PTSAs and the DET. The director of KERIC reinforced this argument :

"It is difficult to tell the nature of the relationship between the two. When schools are orderly, the DET becomes very intransigent. But when there is trouble, the DET co-operates fully with PTSAs. It seems to me it is a marriage of convenience" (interviewed on 05/11/93).

This uncertainty serves to confirm EDUPOL's (1993:vii) conclusion that the single biggest problem confronting PTSAs was the lack of legal recognition by the education authorities as legitimate school governance structures.

4.6.11. The future role of PTSAs

All respondents unanimously agreed that PTSAs have an important role to play in a future education dispensation. One of the DET officials interviewed saw PTSAs as being guaranteed a role in the future, particularly when they were viewed from the democracy point of view. His argument was that there would be a democratic government in place, and it would be obliged to tolerate and promote democratic practices. (interviewed on 28/10/93).

The study identified the following as proposed future roles of PTSAs :

- * establishment and strengthening of local, regional and national associations of PTSAs
- * formulation and implementation of school policy
- * hiring and dismissal of teachers
- * curriculum development and implementation
- * in-service training for teachers
- * provision of services such as health, counselling and educational to students
- * day-to-day management of schools
- * fostering democratic practices.

Of the eight proposed future roles of PTSAs, four of them are very definitely professional in nature. These are curriculum development and implementation, teacher inservice training, provision of health, counselling and educational services, as well as the day-to-day management of schools.

Arising from these envisaged roles is the question 'Is involvement by parents and students in professional matters desirable ?' This question may be answered at two levels. First, involvement by non-professionals in matters professional may be undesirable because of the obvious lack of expertise of 'lay' men and women (parents and students) in areas such as curriculum development which, under normal circumstances, are usually left in the hands of experts.

However, it is the basic democratic right of all citizens, including parents and teachers, to participate in their country's operations. Recognising the obvious lack of such skills in these fields, especially among students, it would be better if their involvement could be informal, reactive and subordinate, and could only be limited to broad aspects of these areas. In fact, the new Curriculum Model for South Africa supports this view : "The involvement of all interest

groups from within and from outside education is a basic principle underlying the development and maintenance of the curriculum for pre-tertiary education. The development of the generally applicable facets of the curriculum must be a joint venture by all the interest groups. Structures which facilitate development work in terms of inputs at grassroots level are necessary...." (ACMSA,1991:2).

What is of paramount significance from the above ACMSA quote is the fact that in outlining the principles and procedures of some of these professional areas, the state recommends the involvement of all interest groups, of which parents and students are some. This is in keeping with developments elsewhere (see Chapter Two).

4.6.12. PTSA's and a future democratic state

Three models outlining possible relationships between PTSA's and a future democratic state were presented to interviewees (see subsection 4.5.12), and were expected to make their choice.

All the respondents saw Model C as the most appropriate arrangement that best illustrates their perception of future state-PTSA relationships. According to this model, PTSA's should in the future operate as semi-autonomous community organs which have links with the state, but are relatively autonomous.

By and large, Models A and B were found unacceptable because the former was seen as a recipe for legitimising state dictatorship, whereas the latter was perceived as a recipe for continued confrontations between the state and PTSAs. In contrast, Model C would allow community participation in the provision and control of education while recognising that the primary responsibility of providing education services lies with the state (NECC leader, interviewed on 29/10/93).

4.6.13. Limitations of PTSAs

The aim of this theme was to determine crucial areas in which PTSAs were most lacking. The main findings of the study may be summarised as follows :

- * trained and skilled leadership
- * financial resources
- * failure to give parents significant involvement
- * lack of legal recognition by the state
- * failure by PTSA members to adhere strictly to a code of conduct
- * low female representation/participation
- * failure to define roles for PTSA components

These findings served to confirm NEPI's (1993:57-58). Referring to them as key issues, NEPI specifically mentioned capacity building, access to resources, and separation of policy functions as areas that needed further debate and discussion by a wide range of interest groups.

4.7 Conclusions

The field research produced the following answers to the questions asked at the outset of the study :

4.7.1. The need for PTSA involvement in school governance

As a result of the literature reviewed and participants surveyed in this study, there appeared to be some general agreement that parents, teachers and students should have a say in the governance of their schools. After all, it is a basic democratic right that people should have a say in the decisions that affect them directly.

In South Africa, specifically, the need for PTSA involvement in school governance would increase as the new democratic government assumes office.

4.7.2. The present nature of the PTSA role in school governance

Owing to the lack of legal recognition of PTSAs by the state education departments and PTSAs' own organisational problems, the present role of PTSAs is limited but very effective.

Although they are involved in non-instructional issues such as conflict/crisis resolution, liaising with the DET, and disciplinary problems, PTSAs have, however, managed to successfully wrestle away from the state very important policy functions such as :

- * appointments of teachers and non-teaching personnel
- * promotion of teachers
- * dismissal of teachers
- * formulation of school policy in general
- * determining who should and shouldn't have access to schools
- * determination and control of school funds

The significance of these policy functions serves to illustrate the extent to which PTSA's have important education policy actors despite lack of legal recognition on one hand, and without key resources of power, wealth and expertise on the other hand.

4.7.3. Principles guiding PTSA's operation

In the execution of their duties, PTSA's are guided by principles of democracy and democratic accountability. Democracy, a key word in PTSA circles, means that whatever is decided upon, should only be undertaken after the consultation of all involved. It also means that all who are directly affected by the decisions should not only be represented, but must actively participate in the decision-making processes. Therefore, PTSA's conception of democracy is both consultative, representative and participatory.

In line with the democratic governance of schools, PTSA's have created an extraordinary short circle of democratic accountability. The precise and explicit meaning of 'democratic accountability' in PTSA circles is that representatives cannot do as they like. They have to carry out the mandate of the constituencies who have elected them, represent their views, and report back to them from PTSA's, and where possible, seek new mandates.

4.7.4. To what extent are PTSAs democratic and accountable?

PTSAs are democratic and accountable to a limited degree. The nature of their democracy and accountability is seriously dented by unequal representation/participation of stakeholders in terms of gender and insignificant parental involvement. While PTSAs stress representative participation and hold in high esteem the principle of non-sexism, there is, however, no mention of affirmative action to promote more female participation, especially in executive PTSA positions.

On the other hand, low or absence of parental involvement means that 'parent representatives' often come to PTSA forums without mandates from their constituency, and consequently, report-back to nobody. In many respects, this situation almost turns PTSAs into Teacher-Student-Associations (TSAs), and contradicts the very essence of PTSAs

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS FOR POLICY

5.1 Introduction and limitations of the study

The aim of this study was to obtain information which could be analysed and patterns extracted about the present role of Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations (PTSAs) in the democratic governance of schools for purposes of contributing towards the education governance policy discourse as South Africa moves into a democracy.

Although the study has yielded a rich variety of perspectives on the role of PTSAs in the democratic governance of the three secondary schools surveyed in the Department of Education and Training's Western Cape region on one hand, and the external interest groups on the other hand, conclusions arrived at do not necessarily represent the views of the constituencies surveyed as the study was not at all representative.

The study was meant to be illuminative and exploratory, and it follows logically from this that conclusions arrived at in this study cannot be generalised as the study did not necessarily capture the full range of views and perspectives, and as not attempt was made to survey PTSAs in school under the auspices of Houses of Delegates and Representatives. This was largely due to time constraints and degree requirements on the part on the researcher.

Further, the study was limited in terms of its methodology. As a survey, the study would largely manage to provide answers to the questions 'What?'; 'Where?'; 'When?'; 'Who?'; and 'How?'. It was not easy to find out 'Why?', as causal relationships are rarely if ever proved by the survey method (Jolliffe, 1988:446). The main emphasis was on fact-finding, and using the interview method was a relatively cheap, quick and effective way of obtaining information, given time and financial constraints.

Nonetheless, the researcher was aware of other methodologies that could have been used, like the case study methodology, which is an umbrella term for a family of research methods having in common the decision to focus on inquiry around and instance (Bell, 1993:12).

5.2. Conclusion

While there is some degree of concern, ambiguity, and sometimes uncertainty about what PTSA's can and cannot do, the overarching conclusion of this study is that their current role is not only limited, but is also highly effective and powerful. Despite their involvement in largely non-instructional issues, lack of legal recognition by education authorities, and their general lack of access to key resources of power, wealth and expertise, PTSA's control some key education policy areas in the field of school governance.

However, PTSA's control over these policy areas is not without some 'contestation' from the state, especially when this is viewed in the light of the state's continued financial role on one hand, and that the relationship between PTSA's and the state education departments is

primarily a marriage of convenience. When the situation best suits the state, it co-operates; but when it does not, it becomes intransigent. This description highlights the existence of dual power in schools, that is, state and PTSA power, and each exists alongside the other.

From the international experience it is explicitly clear that involvement of parents, teachers and students in education is not an unqualified 'good thing'. There is no absolute case for a decentralised system of school governance as some of the benefits usually associated with it are not necessarily caused by it. As EDUPOL (1993:51) puts it : "On all criteria there are potential benefits and problems".

Nonetheless, the call for community involvement/participation in education continues to be heard throughout the world. Central to this call are two arguments, namely, that 'participation' in operations of one's country is one's basic democratic right, and that despite all problems associated with it, parental, teacher and student involvement in school governance does have the potential to make for better schools.

In the three South African schools surveyed, the role of PTSAs was found to be fraught with problems of failure to define stakeholder role within PTSAs; conflicting interests between parents, teacher and students; lack of financial resources; lack of expertise among PTSA participants on the democratic governance of schools; and lack of parental organisation. These rate among the biggest problems hampering the successful operation of PTSAs in schools.

However, the involvement of PTSAs in school governance has the potential to help resolve some major educational problems. If properly conceived, planned and implemented, PTSAs can:

- * help achieve democracy and accountability in schools, thus exemplifying them for the broader society
- * restore the culture of teaching and learning so lacking in African schools
- * make education and school bureaucracy more responsive to the needs of people it serves
- * legitimise education
- * generate additional financial resources for the benefit of schools
- * build capacity among parents, teachers and students at the lowest level of the education system
- * improve student performance
- * help establish significant school-community partnerships for the benefit of both
- * improve the organisational climate of schools
- * create harmony between communities and the state
- * foster better relationships between parents, teachers and students

And finally, the fact that all respondents in this study unanimously agreed that PTSAs should, in the future, serve as semi-autonomous community organs which would have links with the state but would be accountable to communities they would be serving, is very significant. Embedded in this model is the assumption that the time when education authorities and bureaucrats could unilaterally impose policies from 'top-to-bottom' has come and gone. People have the right to demand either consultation, representation or participation in their schools' decision-making and policy-making, adoption, implementation and monitoring processes.

No interest group and/or constituency would in the future have the capacity and power to go it alone. The resolution of the South African political problem in recent months has best

illustrated this.

5.3. Recommendations for policy

Bearing in mind the sensitivity and complexity to the South African school governance system, but at the same time recognising both the inevitability of transformation and the relevance of the principle of 'structural continuity' in this area of education, the research recommends that :

5.3.1. the concept of 'democratic government' of schools, which respects the democratic rights of parents, teachers, students, and sometimes workers, to advocate and see to the successful realisation of their interests in education in general, and schools in particular, should be promoted.

This could be done formally through the launching and dissemination of The Democratic Education Governance Charter, or informally through both the print and electronic media. The Democratic Education Governance Charter should be constitutionalised so as to enable parents, teachers, students and where necessary, workers, to have effective participation in school governance.

5.3.2. lack of parental organisation in local, regional and national associations must be addressed as a matter of urgency. Efforts must be taken by both the National Education Crisis Committee and other organised PTSA components to help parents organise themselves as a constituency on their own.

5.3.3. Parent-Teacher-Student-Associations should try and strike a balance between their involvement in instructional and non-instructional issues. As is the case with most of the development countries, community involvement in education aims primarily at improving students' academic performance. In South Africa, particularly in African education, student performance is the lowest.

5.3.4. The huge gap of representation/participation in PTSAs in terms of gender, must be immediately addressed. This could be done through targeting women for capacity building or placing a requirement for PTSAs to have equal representation of men and woman.

5.3.5. Urgent attention should be given to minimising and where possible, to eradication tensions, differences, contradictions and confrontations between parents, teachers and students. This could be done by clearly defining what the role and scope of work of each PTSA sector should be.

5.3.6. A single non-racial, non-sexist and democratic school governance policy which spells out precisely what PTSAs can and cannot do, must be developed and put in place. This policy should be the outcome of inclusive negotiations among all interest groups in education. This could be done through the newly-established National Education and Training Forum, or through the launching of The School Governance Forum.

5.3.7. PTSAs should be both participants and watchdogs in school governance. This could be done by ensuring that PTSAs operate as semi-autonomous community organs, having links

with the state but accountable to their communities/constituencies. This would enable PTSAs to assist the new state in the provision and control of educational services, but it would also give PTSAs the right to protest in case the state fails to deliver services.

5.3.8. PTSAs should have local, regional and national associations for purposes of impacting directly and effectively on education policy.

5.3.9. Empowerment of parents, teachers and students in the democratic governance of schools should be encourage. This could be done through running workshops involving all PTSA sectors around issues such as 'democratic governance'.

5.3.10. The roles of principals and heads of departments as schools' Management Teams in the light of the fledging PTSA movement, should be reviewed as a matter of urgency. This could be reviewed as a matter of urgency. This could be done through engaging a wide range of interest groups in debates and discussions around issues such as 'Who should be responsible for the day-to-day management of schools?', and 'What is it that PTSAs can and cannot do in practical terms?'

5.3.11. PTSAs should be enacted

5.3.12. community involvement in school governance must be encouraged. This could be done by giving incentives to participants.

5.3.13. efforts need to be taken and means and ways explored on how a non-racial, non-sexist and democratic school governance system could be achieved in South Africa.

5.3.14. and finally, PTSAs activities must be funded. This could be done by the state, and a separate budget could be drawn for such purposes.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

ACE, (1991), cited in Shaeffer, S.(1991) Collaborating for Educational Change : The Role of Parents and the Community in School Improvement, International Institute for Educational Planning (IIEP), The Oxford Conference : The Reforms of Educational Systems to Meet Local and National Needs. Unpublished manuscript.

ACMSA(1991) A Curriculum Model for South Africa. Government Printers:Pretoria.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, (1992). Policy Guidelines for a Democratic South Africa, As Adopted at National Conference 28-31 May 1992.

AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS, (1993) Draft ANC Education Policy Guidelines

ARCHER, M. (1984) Social Origins of Educational Systems. University Edition, Sage : London.

BARON, G. (1981) Pressure for Change in School Government. In Baron,G. (ed) (1981) The Politics of School Government, Pergamon Press : Oxford.

BARON, G. (ed) The Politics of School Government. Pergamon Press : Oxford.

BEATTIE, N. (1981) The Politicization of School Government : The French Example. In Baron, G. (1981) The Politics of School Government. Pergamon Press : Oxford

BEARE, H. (1990) Democracy and Bureaucracy in the Organization of School Systems in Australia : A Synoptic View. In Chapman, J.D. and Dunstan, J.F. (1990) Democracy and Bureaucracy : Tensions in Public Schooling. The Falmer Press : London.

BEHR, A.L. (1989) Education in South Africa. Academica : Johannesburg.

BEHR, A.L. (1988) New Perspectives in South African Education, Butterworths : Durban

BELL, J. (1993) Doing Your Research Project : A Guide for First-Time Researchers. In Education and Social Science. Open University Press : Buckingham.

BERKELY, G. (1990) Tensions in System-wide Management. In Chapman, J.D. and Dunstan, J.F. (1990) Democracy and Bureaucracy : Tensions in Public Schooling. The Falmer Press : London.

BERKHOUT, S.J. (1989) The Education System of the Netherlands. In Dekker, E. and Van Schalkwyk, O.J. (1989) Modern Education Systems, Interpak : Pietermaritzburg.

BLACKMORE, J. (1993) Education Administration as a Masculinist Enterprise. In Blackmore, J. and Kenway, J. (eds) (1993) Gender Matter in Educational Administration and Policy. The Falmer Press : London.

BORG, W.R. and MEREDITH, D.G. (1989) Educational Research : And Introduction, Longman : London.

BOWLES, D. (1980) School-Community Relations, Community Support, and Student Achievement : A Summary of findings. In Fullan, M. (1991) The New Meaning of Education Change. Teachers College Press : New York.

BOYD, W.L. (1990) Balancing Competing Values in School Reform : International Efforts in Restructuring Education Systems. In Chapman, J.D. and Dunstan, J.F. (1990) Democracy and Bureaucracy : Tensions in Public Schooling. The Falmer Press : London.

BRAY, M. (ed) (1987) Community Support for Education in less Developed Countries : Issues and Policy Implications, Pergamon Press : Oxford.

BRAY, M. (1984) Educational Planning in a Decentralised System : The Papua New Guinean Experience. Sydney University Press : Sydney.

BUCKLAND, P. and HOFMEYR, J. (1993) Education Governance in South Africa. EDUPOL Resource Document Series, Vol.1, No.1, January 1993.

BUCKLAND, P. and HOFMEYR, J. (1992) The Governance of Education in South Africa : A Working Paper. The Urban Foundation, EDUPOL, July 1992.

BUSTOS, F. (1990) Educational Planning, Administration and Management in Africa. In Prospects, Vol.21, No.1, UNESCO.

CHAMPMAN, J.D. and DUNSTAN, J.F. (eds) (1990) Democracy and Bureaucracy : Tensions in Public Schooling. The Falmer Press : London.

CHEEMA, G.S. and RONDINELLI, D.A. (eds) (1983) Decentralization and Development : Policy Implementation In Developing Countries. Sage : Beverly Hills.

CHISHOLM, L. (1986) From Revolt to A Search for Alternatives : Broadening the Education Base. In Work in Progress, No.42, May 1986, pp 14-19.

CHRISTIE, P. (1985) The Right to Learn. Raven Press : Johannesburg.

CONNORS, L.G. and McMORROW, J.F. (1990) Governing Australia's Public Schools : Community Participation, Bureaucracy and Devolution. In Chapman, J.D. and Dunstan, J.F. (1990) Democracy and Bureaucracy : Tensions in Public Schooling. The Falmer Press : London.

COOMBS, P.H. (1988) *World Crisis in Education*. John Hopkins University Press : Baltimore.

DAHL, (1970), cited in Fraser, J.W. (1988) *Democratic Governance and Effective Education*. In *Equity and Choice*, vol.4, No.3, 1988, pp 45-50.

DARLING-HAMMOND, L. (1987) *Schools for Tomorrow's Teachers*, cited in Weiss, C.H. (1993) *Shared Decision-Making About What? A Comparison of Schools With And Without Teacher Participation*. In *Teachers College Record*, Vol.95, No.1, 1993.

DEKKER, E. (1989) *The Education System of the Federal Republic of Germany*. In Dekker, E. and Van Schalkwyk, O.J. (eds) (1989) *Modern Education Systems*. Interpak : Pietermaritzburg.

DEKKER, E. and VAN SCHALKWYK, O.J. (eds) (1989) *Modern Education Systems*. Interpak : Pietermaritzburg.

DET(date unknown) *Department of Education and Training Notice R.P. 45*. Government Printers:Pretoria.

EDUCATION AND TRAINING ACT of 1979.

EDUPOL (1993) *Parental Involvement in Education*. The Urban Foundation : Johannesburg.

EDUCATION RENEWAL STRATEGY (1991) *Committee of Heads of Education Departments*, Pretoria.

EPSTEIN, J.L. and DAUBER, S.L. (1988) *Teacher Attitudes and Practices of Parent Involvement in Innercity Elementary and Middle Schools*. Paper presented at the American Sociological Association Annual Meeting, cited in Fullan,M. (1991) *The New Meaning of Education Change*. Teachers College Press:New York.

FARRAR, and CONNOLLY, (1991), cited in Weiss, C.H. (1993) *Shared Decision-Making About What ? A Comparison of Schools With and Without Teacher Participation*. In *Teachers College record*, Vol.95, No.1, 1993.

FEIT, (1967), cited in Makhubela, S. (1978) *An Analysis of Bantu Education in the Western Cape*. Unpublished M.Ed.Thesis, University of Cape Town.

FINDLEY, B. and FINDLEY, D. (1992) *Effective Schools : The Role of the Principal*. In *Contemporary Education*, Vol.63, No.2, 1992, pp 102-105.

FRASER, J.W. (1988) *Democratic Governance and Effective Education*. In *Equity and Choice*, Vol.4, No.3, 1988, pp 45-50.

FULLAN, M. (1991) The New meaning of Education Change. In Teacher College Press, New York, pp 226-250.

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE No.2365, 25 November 1988.

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE No. 828 of 25/11/1982

GOVERNMENT GAZETTE No. 2366 of 25/11/1988

GRAAF, J. (1990) Farm Schools in the Western Cape : A Sociological Analysis. Occasional Publication No.94, Research Unit for the Sociology Department, University of Stellenbosch.

GRAHAM-BROWN, S. (1991) Education in the Developing World : Conflict and Crisis. Longman : London.

HALLAK, (1990) Investing in the Future : Setting Educational Priorities in the Developing World. UNESCO/IIEP, Paris, cited in EDUPOL (1993) Parental Involvement in Education. The Urban Foundation, Johannesburg.

HANSON, E.M. (1984) Administrative Reform in the Venezuelan Ministry of Education : A Case Analysis of the 1970's. In International Review of Education, XXX, pp 119-146.

HANSON, E.M. (1989) Decentralization and Regionalization in Educational Administration Comparisons of Venezuela, Columbia and Spain. In Comparative Education, Vol.25, No.1, 1989, pp 155-176.

HARMAN, G. (1990) Democracy, Bureaucracy and the Politics of Education. In Chapman, J.D. and Dunstan, J.F. (1990) Democracy and Bureaucracy : Tensions in Public Schooling. The Falmer Press : London.

HUGHES, P. (1981) Parents and School Government in Australia. In Baron, G. (1981) The Politics of School Government. Pergamon : Oxford.

HURST, P. (1985) Decentralisation : Panacea or Red Herring? In Lauglo, J., McLean, M. and Bray, M (eds) (1985). The Control of Education : International Perspectives on the Centralization-Decentralization Debate. Heinemann : London.

JIMENEZ, E. and TAN, J.P. (1987) Decentralised and Private Education : The Case of Pakistan. In comparative Education Journal, Vol.32, No.2, 1987.

JOHNSON, L. (1986), cited in Kruss, G. (1988) People's Education: An Evaluation of the Concept. CACE: University of the Western Cape.

JOLLIFE, W. (1988) An Introduction to Educational Research. Longman: London.

- KALLAWAY, P.** (1984) *Apartheid and Education : The Education of Black South Africans. Part IV.* Ravan Press : Johannesburg.
- KATZ, J.** (1974), cited in Makhubela, S. (1978) *An Analysis of Bantu Education in the Western Cape.* Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Cape Town.
- KULATI, T.** (1992) *An Examination of the Historical Evolution of the Nation of Community Participation in South Africa, NEPI Working Paper.* University of Western Cape EPU.
- KRUSS, G.** (1988) *People's Education: An Evaluation of the Concept.* CACE, UWC.
- LAUGLO, J.** (1990) *Factors Behind Decentralisation in Education Systems : A Comparative Perspective With Special Reference to Norway.* In *compare*, Vol.20, No.1, 1990.
- LAUGLO, J. and McLEAN, M.** (1985) *The Control of Education : International Perspectives on the Centralization-Decentralization Debate :* Heinemann : London.
- LECY, (1966),** cited in Searle, C. (1981) *We're Building A New School: Diary of a Teacher in Mozambique.* Zed Press: London.
- LIEBERMAN, A., SAXL, E. and MILES, M.** (1989) *Teacher Leadership : Ideology and Practice,* cited in Weiss, C.H. (1993) *Shared Decision-Making About What? A Comparison of Schools With and Without Teacher Participation.* In *Teachers College Record*, Vol.95, No.1, 1993.
- LYONS, R.** (1985) *Decentralized Educational Planning : Is it a Contradiction?* cited in Launglo, J. and McLean, M. (1985) *The Control of Education : International Perspectives on the Centralization-Decentralization Debate.* Heinemann : London.
- MAKHUBELA, S.** (1978) *An Analysis of Bantu Education in the Western Cape.* Unpublished M.Ed. Thesis, University of Cape Town.
- MALHERBE, E.G.** (1977) *Education in South Africa 1923-1977. Volume II,* Juta : Cape Town.
- MARSHALL, J.** (1985) *Making Education Revolutionary.* In Saul, J. *A Difficult Road: The Transition to Socialism in Mozambique.* Monthly Review Press: Britain.
- MASHAMBA, G.** (1992) *A Conceptual Critique of the People's Education Discourse.* Research Report No.3. University of Witwatersrand EPU, March 1992.
- McGINN, N. and STREET,** (1986). *Educational Decentralisation : Weak State or Strong State?* In *comparative Education Review*, Vol.30, No.4.

McNEILL, (1986), cited in Boyd, W.L. (1990) Balancing Competing Values in School Reform:International Efforts in Restructuring Education Systems. In Chapman, J.D. and Dunstan, J.F. (1990) Democracy and Bureaucracy:Tensions in Public Schooling. The Falmer Press:London.

MELARAGNO, R., LYONS, M. and SPARKS, M. (1981) Parents and Federal Education Programs:Vol. 6. Parental Involvement in Title I Projects.Santa Monica, C A : System Development Corporation, cited in Fullan, M. (1991) The New Meaning of Education Change. Teachers College Press:New York.

METCALFE, M. and RULE, P. (1992) Build Your PTSA : A Manual For Organizing PTSAs. NECC/SACHED, Johannesburg.

MINISTRY OF EDUCATION AND SCIENCE (1987), cited in Berkhout, S.J. (1989) The Education System of the Netherlands. In Dekker, E. and Van Schalkwyk, O.J. (1989) Modern Education Systems. Interpak : Pietermaritzburg.

MKHATSHWA, S. (1985) Keynote Address to the First National Consultative Conference, December 1985, reprinted in Kruss, G. (1987) People's Education : University of Western Cape, Bellville.

MKWANAZI, Z. (1993) Parental Involvement in Educational Policy Discourse in South Africa : 1954-1992. Unpublished manuscript.

MKWANAZI, Z. (1993) Parental Involvement in Soweto Schools : Head Teachers' Perceptions. Unpublished manuscript.

MOLTENO, F. (1986) Students Struggle for their Schools. Centre for African Studies, University of Cape Town.

MORROW, W. (1988) Chains of Thought. Southern Book Publishers : Cape Town.

MOZAMBICAN MINISTER OF EDUCATION (1977), cited in Searle, C. (1981) We're Building the New School:Diary of a Teacher in Mozambique.Zed Press:London.

NAIDOO, K. (1990) The Politics of Student Resistance in the 1980s. In Nkomo, M. (ed) (1990) Toward a Democratic Education in South Africa. World Press : New Jersey.

NASSON, B. (1988) Bitter Harvest : Farm Schooling for Black South Africans. In Perspectives in Education, Vol.10, No.1, University of Witwatersrand, Johannesburg.

NATIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE REPORT (1992) Resolutions of Commissions three and four, held at Broederstroom,Pretoria.

NATIONAL EDUCATION POLICY INVESTIGATION (NEPI) (1993) Governance and Administration. Oxford University Press/NECC : Cape Town.

NCAS BOARD OF INQUIRY (1986), cited in Fraser, J.W. (1989) Democratic Governance and Effective Education. In Equity and Choice, Vol.4, No.3.

NECC Commissioned Paper on the Relationships between PTAs/PTSAs and the state. NECC National Conference. Undated paper.

OKEYE, M. (1986) Community Secondary Schools : A Case Study of a Nigerian Innovation in Self-Help. In International Journal of Educational Development, Vol.6, No.4, 1986.

OTA, C.C. (1986) Community financing in Zimbabwe. In Prospects, Vol.16, No.3, UNESCO, 1986.

PEARSON, N.L. (1990) Parent Involvement Within the School : To Be Or Not To Be. In Academic Therapy, Vol.23, Part 5, Education Canada, pp 523-528.

PERRY, H. (1992) Comparative Study of the System of Administration and Control of Schooling in Mozambique, Canada, Sweden and Nicaragua. NEPI Working Paper, 1992.

PRIDHAM, W. (1981), cited in Baron, G. (1981) The Politics of School Government. Pergamon Press : Oxford.

RALLIS, S. and HIGHSMITH, M. (1987) The Myth of the Great Principal, cited in Weiss, C.H. (1993) Shared Decision-Making About What? A comparison of Schools With and Without Teacher Participation. In Teachers College Record, Vol.95, No.1, 1993.

RENSBURG, I. (1986) People's Education : Creating a Democratic Future. In Work in Progress, No.42, Johannesburg.

RONDINELLI, D.A., NELLIS, J.R. and CHEEMA, G.S. (1984) Decentralization in Developing Countries : A Review of Recent Experiences. World Bank Staff Working Paper No. 581. World Bank : Washington D.C.

SANDER, B. (1989) Management and Administration of Education Systems : Major Issues and Trends. In Prospects, Vol. XIX, NO.2.

SASPU National, No.14, 1986.

SAYED, Y. (1992) A Critique of Decentralization of Educational Administration : Reconceptualising the governance of Schooling. NEPI Working Paper, University of Western Cape, Belville.

SCOTT, W.R. (1981) Developments in Organization Theory : 1960-1980. In American Behavioral Scientists, Vol.24, 1981.

SEARLE, C. (1981) We're Building The New School : Diary of A Teacher In Mozambique. Zed Press : London.

SHAEFFER, S.J. (1992) Collaborating for Educational Change In Non-Formal Basic Education. Report of An IIEP Seminar and Workshop held in Nairobi, Kenya, 21-29 January 1992.

SHAEFFER, S.J. (1991) Seminar on School and community Collaboration for Educational Change and Community Collaboration for Educational Change. Report of An IIEP Seminar held in Cipanas, Indonesia, 26 May to 6 June 1991.

SISULU, Z. (1986) The People's Education for People's Power. In People's Education : A Collection of Articles from December 1985 to May 1987. University of Western Cape, Belville.

VAN DALEN, D.B. (1979) Understanding Educational Research : An Introduction. McGraw-Hill : Sydney.

VAN DER WALT, J.L. (1989) People's Education : Its Essence and Direction. In Transformation.

VAN DEVENDER, E.M. (1988) Involving Parents : How and Why? In Academic Therapy, Vol.23, Part 5, pp 523-528.

WEILER, H.N. (1991) An Exercise in Contradiction? Comparative Perspectives on Educational Decentralisation. In Educational Evaluation and Policy Analysis. Winter : Stanford University.

WEISS, C.H. (1993) Shared Decision-Making About What? A Comparison of Schools With and Without Teacher Participation. In Teachers College Record, Vol.95, No.1, 1993.

WHITE, (1992), cited in Weiss, C.H. Shared Decision-Making About What ? A Comparison of Schools With and Without Teacher Participation. In Teachers College record, Vol.95, No.1, 1993.

WINKLER, D.R. (1989) Decentralization in Education : An Economic Perspective. Working Paper on Education and Employment. The World Bank's Population and Human Resources Department, March 1989.

WITS EPU/NECC (1993) Draft Policy for the System and Structure of Schooling. A Report to the Centre for Policy Development of the ANC, March 1993.

WORLD BANK (1988) Report on Sub-Saharan Africa : Policies for Adjustment, Revitalization and Expansion. The World Bank : Washington D.C.

WORLD DECLARATION ON EDUCATION FOR ALL (1990), cited in Shaeffer, S. (1991) Collaboration for Educational Change. The Role of Parents and the Community in School Improvement. Unpublished manuscript.

WRAGG, T. (1990) Parent Power, cited in Macleod, F. (ed) Parents and Schools. The Contemporary Challenge. Palmer Press:London.

INTERVIEWS

C L (COSAS LEADER), Western Cape Branch, interviewed on 29 October 1993, Salt River, Cape Town.

DET PRO (DET Public Relations Officer), Western Cape Region, interviewed on 28 October 1993, Belville, Cape Town.

DET RD (DET Regional Director), Western Cape Region, interviewed on 28 October 1993, Belville, Cape Town.

K D (KERIC Director), interviewed on 5 November 1993, Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

NAS (NECC Administrative Secretary), Western Cape Branch, interviewed on 29 October 1993, Salt River, Cape Town.

P A (Parent and PTSA Chairperson in School A), interviewed on 30 October 1993, Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

P B (Parent and PTSA Chairperson in School B), interviewed on 25 October 1993, Langa, Cape Town.

P C (Parent and PTSA Chairperson in School C), interviewed on 28 October 1993, Tourist Information Centre, Cape Town.

Pr A (Principal of School A), interviewed on 5 November 1993, Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

Pr B (Principal of School B), interviewed on 25 October 1993, Langa, Cape Town.

Pr C (Principal of School C), interviewed on 28 October 1993, Mowbray, Cape Town.

S A (SRC Chairperson and Student representative on School A's PTSA), interviewed on 5 November 1993, Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

S B (SRC Chairperson and Student representative on School B's PTSA), interviewed on 26 October 1993, Langa, Cape Town.

S C (SRC Chairperson and Student representative on School C's PTSA), interviewed on 28 October 1993, Mowbray, Cape Town.

T A (Teacher, SADTU shopsteward and School A's PTSA secretary), interviewed on 28 October 1993, Khayelitsha, Cape Town.

T B (Teacher representative on School B's PTSA), interviewed on 26 October 1993, Langa, Cape Town.

T C (Head of Department and Teacher representative on School C's PTSA), interviewed on 28 October 1993, Mowbray, Cape Town.

APPENDIX 1

INTERVIEW THEMES AND QUESTIONS

THE ROLE OF PARENT-TEACHER-STUDENT-ASSOCIATIONS (PTSA_s) IN THE DEMOCRATIC GOVERNANCE OF SCHOOLS : FUTURE POLICY IMPLICATIONS

1. HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

1.1. What factors led to the establishment of the PTSA in your school?

2. ROLE OF THE PTSA_s

2.1. What role(s) does your PTSA play in your school?

2.2. In your opinion, is this role positive or negative or both?

Give an explanation.

2.3. Does each of the PTSA sectors have separate and specific roles within your PTSA, or does your PTSA function collectively as an entity?

3. DEMOCRACY, DECISION-MAKING AND ACCOUNTABILITY

3.1. Does your PTSA subscribe to democracy?

3.2. If so, how would you describe its nature?

3.3. How does your PTSA make decisions?

3.4. To whom is your PTSA accountable?

3.5. How does your PTSA exercise accountability?

4. PTSA_s AND GENDER EQUALITY

- 4.1. Is your PTSA gender-sensitive?
- 4.2. What is the male/female ratio in your PTSA?
- 4.3. What factors are responsible for less, or no female representation/participation in your PTSA?

5. PTSA OPERATION

It is often assumed that PTSA_s are established and operate on the basis of existing good relationships between parents, teachers and students. However, there have been incidents negating this assumption in the past.

- 5.1. Do you experience tensions/differences between parents, teachers and students in your PTSA?

Explain.

- 5.2. How do you resolve these differences/tensions when and where they exist?

6. PTSA_s ACTIVITIES AND PROGRAMMES

- 6.1. What kinds of activities/programmes has your PTSA embarked upon?
- 6.2. How successful have these activities/programmes been?

Explain.

7. PTSA_s AND PARENTAL ORGANISATION

Of the three PTSA sectors, that is, parents, teachers and students, only parents lack some form of organisation into local, regional and national associations.

7.1. Does this lack of parental organisation have any effect on your PTSA?

7.2. If so, in what specific ways does it impact upon your PTSA?

8. PTSA_s AND THE DET

PTSA_s are not legally recognised by the DET

8.1. What effect does this lack of legal recognition have on your PTSA?

8.2. Does our PTSA have any form of a relationship with the DET?

8.3. If yes, how would you describe the nature of this relationship between your PTSA and the DET?

9. PTSA_s AND CIVIL SOCIETY

9.1. In what ways does your PTSA relate to other organs of civil society?

10. PTSA_s AND A FUTURE DEMOCRATIC STATE

Model A : PTSA_s as organs of the state.

PTSA_s are completely governed by and responsible to the state, and the state defines the scope of work and agenda, and outlines of accountability for PTSA_s.

Model B : PTSAs as organs of civil society

PTSA are independent of the state and are accountable to local, regional and national networks of PTSAs. PTSAs members are elected by their constituencies, that is, parents, teachers and students. PTSAs define and draw their own scope of work and agenda respectively.

Model C : PTSAs as semi-autonomous community organs

PTSAs have links with the state, but are primarily accountable to communities they serve. The state makes certain requirements to PTSAs as it finances their activities. However, PTSAs have a legal and democratic right to protest when the state fails to deliver educational services.

10.1. In your opinion, which model best describes your desired future PTSA-state relationships?

Explain.

11. THE FUTURE ROLE OF PTSAs

11.1 Do you see any future role for PTSAs in the new democratic education dispensation?

Explain.

12. LIMITATIONS OF PTSAs

12.1. In which crucial areas does your PTSA lack?

APPENDIX 2

INTERVIEW REPORTS

**INTERVIEW WITH TEACHER A
PTSA SECRETARY IN SCHOOL A
KHAYELITSHA, CAPE TOWN
28 OCTOBER 1993**

Apart from the developments at national and community levels during the mid-1980's, the establishment of the PTSA in School A could be attributed to the former principal's leadership style; appointed of predominantly White male teachers into 'executive positions'; appointment of a Setswana speaking teacher into the position of 'head of the Sexhosa department'; and corruption at leadership level.

According to Teacher A, the former principal was a typical autocrat who did not believe in an all-inclusive decision-making process. Highly qualified, experienced and competent African teachers, whose promotions was long overdue, could not get promotion as the principal embarked on a deliberate exercise of recruiting and appointing White male teachers into 'heads of departments' positions. In less than a year, all heads of departments, except one, were White males.

The teachers were angered by these developments, especially by the appointment of a Motswana teacher in the position of 'head of department' for the Department of Sexhosa, since he could hardly read, write, speak and hear Sexhosa. Further, the teachers' anger was fuelled by the discovery that the principal had misappropriated approximately ten thousand rands of

the school funds. It was later found that this money was 'shared' between the principal and his 'favourite' teachers, and it was never recovered.

Lack of legal recognition of PTSAs by the DET affect the operation of PTSAs severely. However, Teacher A felt that their PTSA is very effective and powerful. In their school, the PTSA play a role in the following areas :

- * staff development; where issues such as professional ethics, effective teaching and learning are paramount,
- * advertisement of vacant teaching posts,
- * hiring and dismissal of teachers,
- * improvement of the schools' administration and financial management,
- * fund-raising,
- * disciplinary problems,
- * sanctioning of school activities,
- * drawing of school policy.

PTSA role is seen as being largely positive, particularly with regard to raising teacher professionalism; achieving effective teaching and learning; reducing teacher and student alcoholism; improving the school's organisational climate; restoration of the culture of teaching and learning; relieving the school of its financial burden; and transparency in the control and use of school funds.

The key operative words in the PTSA are democracy and accountability. Democracy is both consultative, representative and participative.

Tensions often exist among PTSA sectors, and are usually addressed both at the PTSA and constituency level. The significance of referring problems to constituencies is that by the time these issues are brought to a PTSA forum, decision-making becomes much easier.

Although no legal recognition of PTSAs exist yet, the DET, however, fully recognises the PTSA, to the degree that the DET has in many ways become the administrative wing of PTSAs. For example, the PTSA i interviews, hires, promotes and where necessary fires teachers, and the DET endorses, pays, and keeps records of such decisions.

There is a role for PTSAs in the future, particularly in the light of the political changes currently sweeping across the country. PTSAs must operate as semi-autonomous community organs in the future school governance system. The important of such a relationship between PTSAs and the state lies in the fact that financial problems currently experienced by PTSAs may be alleviated.

The most crucial areas in which PTSAs are currently lacking are management skills; financial resources; and failure to give parents a significant involvement in governance.

**INTERVIEW WITH PARENT A
PTSA CHAIRPERSON IN SCHOOL A
KAYELITSHA, CAPE TOWN
30 OCTOBER 1993**

PTSAs are very important instruments of bringing order and stability in schools. This is evidenced by their success in resolving crises and conflicts involving schools and the DET on one hand, and PTSA components on the other. School A has been successfully stabilised by the PTSA, particularly following the events prior to its establishment.

Parents A sees student participation in the process of hiring teachers highly unacceptable. His argument is that students lack maturity and insight into professional issues. School A responsibility of the defunct. School Committees are now the domain of PTSAs.

Lack of parental organisation was something of the great concern for Parent A. it poses a serious threat to the survival of the PTSA movement. Quite often parent representatives come to PTSA forums without clear mandates.

**INTERVIEW WITH STUDENT A
SRC CHAIRPERSON AND PTSA
MEMBER IN SCHOOL A
KHAYELITSHA, CAPE TOWN
5 NOVEMBER 1993**

The purpose of establishing PTSAs was to facilitate community control of education. In School A, this has been achieved, and the school is under total community control. For example, the PTSA determines who can and cannot enter into school premises, and this

includes DET officials.

Student A saw student involvement in interviewing, hiring, promoting and even dismissing teachers as very important. Firstly, it is their democratic right to participate in the school's decision-making structure. After all, schools are meant for them. Secondly, student involvement in this area gives them a rare opportunity to know first-hand the qualifications and the degree of commitment of teachers who are going to teach them. Their involvement gives them an opportunity to commit these teachers to teaching, and nothing less.

**INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL A
PTSA EX-OFFICIO MEMBER AND
PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOL A
KHAYELITSHA, CAPE TOWN
5 NOVEMBER 1993**

School A is governed by its PTSA. All decisions are taken at the PTSA forum. Principal A sees his role as that of facilitator. Although he acknowledges that the buck stops at him as principal, the PTSA was, however, in control.

According to Principal A, the most important aspect of PTSAs was that his burden as the principal has reduced as a result of involvement by others. PTSA is a process, problems which arise are merely technical. Success and failure of PTSAs depend upon the culture of the PTSA itself. PTSAs should be part of the new education dispensation.

**INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL B
PTSA EX-OFFICIO MEMBER AND
PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOL B
MOWBRAY, CAPE TOWN
26 OCTOBER 1993**

The environment and climate of the school has improved since the establishment of PTSA. Teacher and student alcoholism and absenteeism have reduced substantially because of their fear of being brought into a PTSA forum where they are called upon to account. This has positive results for the school.

However, Principal B was more concerned about PTSA involvement in school funds. Whereas she acknowledged that management of school funds has improved as a result of PTSA involvement, she, however, had some concerns, especially with regard to the use of school funds. According to Principal B, sometimes PTSA makes unreasonable demands that ultimately prevent the release of money for the benefit of the school.

Principal B was also concerned about low level of parental involvement in PTSA activities. According to her, low parental involvement is due to lack of organisation of parents as a sector on its own, and this affects PTSA work. PTSAs have not earned full legitimacy and respectability, as result.

**INTERVIEW WITH STUDENT B
SRC CHAIRPERSON AND PTSA
MEMBER IN SCHOOL B
LANGA, CAPE TOWN
26 OCTOBER 1993**

The PTSA represents community interests. Schools belong to communities, and they are too important to be left in the hands of the bureaucrats only.

Student B sees their PTSA as having succeeded in bringing back the culture of teaching and learning in their school. Further, their PTSA represents a collective effort by parents, teachers and student to improve the school.

What was of concern to Student B was the absence of a federation of PTSAs. Such a federation was necessary for purposes of ensuring that people's demands are better articulated. This would give PTSAs more bargaining power than they have at present.

**INTERVIEW WITH PARENT B
PTSA CHAIRPERSON IN SCHOOL B
LANGA, CAPE TOWN
25 OCTOBER 1993**

The greatest concern for Parent B was the fact that their PTSA was still largely a crisis management council. Although Parent B was conscious of other important PTSA functions in their school, he saw PTSAs as having failed to evolve from crisis management to fully-fledged school governance structures. Nonetheless, the role of their PTSA in crisis resolution was beneficial and useful. His greatest wish is to see PTSAs being enacted and parental involvement increased.

**INTERVIEW WITH TEACHER B
PTSA SECRETARY IN SCHOOL B
LANGA, CAPE TOWN
26 OCTOBER 1993**

As a result of the PTSA, the school's organisational climate has increased; teacher morale has risen; and disciplinary problems have reduced. However, the greatest concern was the parent sector. According to Teacher B, parents wield considerable power and influence within the PTSA, possibly because of their financial contributions to school funds. Parents have the ability to hamper progress in the PTSA forums. Much of PTSA decisions are parents' decisions.

Parents are also a problem in the area of student discipline. Since most of the students are staying with guardians and not their biological parents, parents are generally disinterested in helping the PTSA to combat unacceptable practices by students. On the other, biological parents are overprotective of their children.

**INTERVIEW WITH PRINCIPAL C
PTSA EX-OFFICIO MEMBER AND
PRINCIPAL OF SCHOOL C
MOWBRAY, CAPE TOWN
28 OCTOBER 1993**

The PTSA has brought much discipline and order in the school. Prior to its establishment, the level of absenteeism and alcoholism was higher among teachers and students. However, all have changed since the PTSA was established in School C.

The greatest concern for Principal C was the parent component of the PTSA. According to his experience, parents behave as though they have exclusive powers to run the school.

Teachers and students are hardly given an opportunity to make a contribution in PTSA forums. Their PTSA had, in many ways, become a Parents Committee, with teachers and students serving as rubberstamps.

However, Principal C was convinced that PTSAs have a role to play in the future education system. All what need to be done is to ensure that power relations between PTSA components are addressed. Guidelines must be drawn as to how schools must be run in a democracy.

**INTERVIEW WITH PARENT C
PTSA CHAIRPERSON IN SCHOOL C
TOURIST INFORMATION CENTRE
CAPE TOWN
28 OCTOBER 1993**

Parent C was highly concerned by the principal's failure to change his old style of leadership in the light of new developments in education. According to Parent C, the principal is an autocrat who enjoys unilateral decision-making despite the presence of PTSA.

Generally, PTSAs are very useful, and a future state would not do without them. School governance must be the province of PTSAs to exercise power and accountability.

**INTERVIEW WITH TEACHER C
PTSA SECRETARY AND HEAD OF
DEPARTMENT IN SCHOOL C
MOWBRAY, CAPE TOWN
28 OCTOBER 1993**

Generally, the PTSA has stabilised the school. Its fund-raising capacities have eased a lot of financial problems. Order and discipline have improved. However, the parent sector remains a major problem. Parents are the 'bully boys' of the PTSAs. Teacher C attributed this kind of behaviour on the part of parents to lack of management skills among parents.

Teacher C saw PTSAs as future governance structures in schools. They are democratic and accountable, and represent an important vehicle of community participation.

**INTERVIEW WITH STUDENT C
SRC CHAIRPERSON AND PTSA
MEMBER IN SCHOOL C
MOWBRAY, CAPE TOWN
28 OCTOBER 1993**

The central issue in PTSAs is democracy. Despite the fact that the student body comprises various student organisations, each pursuing an ideology different from others, there is harmony and unity when it comes to electing student representatives. The SRC is non-partisan, and every student can gain participation in it irrespective of his/her political beliefs.

PTSAs give students an opportunity to control their schools. The greatest concern for Student C was what he saw as a power struggle between teachers and parents. According to Student C, parents and teachers are always at each other's throats. Nonetheless, PTSAs are very useful, and cannot be wished away.

**INTERVIEW WITH KERIC DIRECTOR
KHAYELITSHA, CAPE TOWN
5 NOVEMBER 1993**

The development of PTSAs can be traced at three levels, that is, national, community and school levels. At the national level, the People's Education movement was the power behind the call for PTSAs as alternative-structures of school governance, and as organs of people's power.

At the community level, there were developments and patterns that were peculiar to each community, which strengthened PTSA developments. For example, warlords who were opposed to the struggle for freedom would attack political activists in schools, and this situation called upon organisations such as PTSAs to protect activists.

At the level of individual schools, much depended upon the conditions and level of political activism in each school. Each school, therefore, had its unique reasons why it had established the PTSA.

PTSAs are generally very useful and cannot be wished away. However, their biggest problem was their open bias to one political organisation. This was seen as a major problem for PTSAs.

**INTERVIEW WITH REGIONAL DIRECTOR
DET WESTERN CAPE REGION
BELVILLE, CAPE TOWN
28 OCTOBER 1993**

The DET and PTSAs have a formal, working relationship. In fact, the DET is tolerant of PTSAs. However the Regional Director was optimistic that PTSAs have the potential to improve schools, and would definitely constitute part of a future democratic governance system.

His optimism emanated from the fact that participants in PTSAs and their respective communities have tasted power, and would not let it go easily. The fact that the future state would, hopefully, be democratic was seen as an added advantage for PTSAs.

**INTERVIEW WITH THE PRO
DET WESTERN CAPE REGION
BELVILLE, CAPE TOWN
28 OCTOBER 1993**

According to the DET's Public Relations Officer, PTSAs are not the de jure bodies. They are the de facto structures of education in schools, and as such their contact with PTSAs do not have any legal bindings.

Nonetheless, his conception of PTSAs was that they play a very important role in the governance of schools, and their significance lies in the fact that they give communities a say in the running of their schools.

The DET PRO was also certain that PTSAs have an important role to play in the future democratic state, especially in the area of formulation and implementation of policy at the level of individual schools.

**INTERVIEW WITH ADMINISTRATIVE SECRETARY
NECC, WESTERN CAPE REGION
SALT RIVER, CAPE TOWN
29 OCTOBER 1993**

Commenting about the role of PTSAs in general, the Administrative Secretary of the NECC said that PTSAs have improved schools' organisational climate. This was attributed to PTSA involvement in disciplinary problems and in giving parents, teachers and students a chance in the governance of their schools.

There is some degree of uniformity in the functioning of PTSAs because of the role played by the NECC. The NECC was responsible for setting up the code of conduct and constitution for PTSAs. There are other non-governmental organisations which were also assisting in this regard. Of note were CRIC and KERIC, which were primarily responsible for building capacity among PTSA participants.

However, his greatest concern was failure by PTSAs to define stakeholder roles within PTSAs. This causes confusion and contradictions within the PTSA movement.

**INTERVIEW WITH COSAS LEADER
COSAS WESTERN CAPE OFFICE
SALT RIVER, CAPE TOWN
29 OCTOBER 1993**

PTSAs play an important role in school governance. They hire, promote and dismiss teachers, and this represents a major breakthrough for PTSAs. They also discipline teachers and students alike for the betterment of schools.

There is no doubt that parents, teachers and students who participate in PTSAs have grown in stature as they practice democracy and learn what it takes to be accountable. However, the COSAS leader saw decision-making as one area where PTSAs still lack. He was not quite happy with the majority vote being used as a decision-making tool. According to him, a simple majority vote sidelines the minority who are not agreement with particular decisions.

Further, there was concern about the way teachers manipulate parents for their own selfish ends. This usually results in confrontations and contradictions within PTSAs, thus seriously affect the effectiveness of PTSAs.

APPENDIX 3

A DRAFT CODE OF CONDUCT FOR PTSAs - DEVELOPED BY DELEGATES AT THE NATIONAL EDUCATION CONFERENCE IN MARCH 1992

A. Student Responsibilities

1. The primary responsibility of student is to learn. The education system can work only if students learn. Students themselves develop as individuals because they learn and the community and society in general also benefit if students learn effectively.

2. Effective learning involves the following :

a) Each individual should develop to his/her full potential, not only in terms of school work, but also as a member of society and with regard to culture.

b) Students should develop as active, independent and critical learners who are self-disciplined and motivated.

c) Students should participate in helping to make decisions about the learning process. For example, they should have a say in curriculum development, and also in the evaluation of themselves, their peers and their teachers.

d) Students should participate in structures that govern their learning, of example, in PTSAs.

3. For effective learning to happen, we need :

a) Mutual respect between students and teachers and among students themselves.

i. Students and teachers are equal as human beings.
However, because of their different roles, they are not equal in terms of their power in the classroom.

ii. In the case of relationships among students, equality based on mutual respect means that students have as much to learn from each other as from the teacher in the classroom.
Students should work together to support each other rather than working individually.

b) Students to develop respect for their parents and for the community in general.

- c) Students to attend school and classes regularly and punctually.
- d) Students to do properly all work assigned by the teacher.
- e) Students to avoid anti-social behaviour which disrupts the learning process such as drunkenness, assault and the carrying of dangerous weapons. This includes any criminal or oppressive behaviour such as rape and sexual harassment, vandalism to school property, the non-return of textbooks, etc..
- f) Students to adhere to the rules and regulations of the school, including grievance procedures.
- g) Student to tolerate differing views relating to academic, social, cultural and political issues in the classroom, within the institution, as well as within the community.
- h) Students to form Student Representative Councils to represent the views and interests of the students within decision-making structures of the institution. SRCs should be : i) non-party political: ii) the supreme body representing the views of the students within the institution. In the case of student political organisations, while they have the right to exist and to organise within the institution, they cannot replace or subsume the role of the SRC.

B. Teachers

1. The primary responsibility of teachers is to teach. Good teaching in the classroom is essential to education and it is the basis of the professional status and dignity of the teacher. Good teaching also helps students to develop as individuals and to develop the community and society in general.
2. Effective teaching involves the following :
 - a) Teachers should continue to search for new, effective and appropriate methods of teaching and learning.
 - b) Teachers should assess students to evaluate whatever they have reached a sufficient standard of education at various stages of their lives.
 - c) Teachers should continue to search for new, progressive and innovative methods of assessing student performance.
 - d) Teachers should identify students' aptitudes, strengths and weaknesses so that they can guide students in their career choices.

- e) Teachers should guide students in dealing with the difficult and emotional trials of youth.
- f) Teachers should help students to develop a sense of self-discipline and responsibility so that they can become active, independent and responsible members of society.
- g) Teachers should inform parents regularly about the progress and development of their children. They should do this in a way that empowers parents and thus allows them to be actively involved in the education of their children.
- h) Teachers should participate with parents, students, authorities and experts in formulating policy as well as in planning curricula and constructing syllabuses.
- i) Teachers should participate in decision-making structures at all levels of the education system.

3. In order to undertake these teaching responsibilities, teachers should :

- a) Develop loyalty to their profession and to their work.
- b) Develop mutual respect between teachers and students, among teachers themselves and between teachers and parents. In order to achieve this mutual respect, there should be good communication among teachers, parents and students, and teachers should be open to constructive advice and criticism.
- c) Develop respect for their jobs; in particular, this means that they should be punctual, attentive, of sober mind and body, enthusiastic and well-prepared in lessons, etc..
- d) Participate actively in departmental and union forums.
- e) Protect and respect the educational resources in their care.

4. Teachers should develop teacher unions to represent the views and interests of their members.

This involves :

- a) Defending the interests of teachers with regard to conditions of service and levels of remuneration.
- b) Identifying what teachers need in terms of resources and education, and aiming to meet these needs together with the authorities.

5. The authorities should provide the following :

- a) In-service training that is developed together with teacher unions. The aim of this training should be to provide teachers with the skills necessary to achieve their responsibilities.

- b) Conditions of service and levels of remuneration that serve to motivate rather than to discourage teachers in their work.
- c) Open channels of communication with teachers and their unions with the aim of trying to solve problems rather than making them worse.
- d) The authorities eliminate all graft and corruption because these undermine effective teaching.

C. Parents and the community

1. The primary educational responsibility of parents (and of the community through its organisations) is to help to develop a healthy, co-operative educational environment at home, in the community and at school.
2. In order to undertake this responsibility, parents and community organisations should :
 - a) Involve themselves actively, both as individual parents and as a collective, in the structures that govern the schools, such as PTAs. These structures affect the education of their children.
 - b) Have regular discussions with their children about general school matters. Such discussions will help to inform parents about conditions in the schools and about the views and concerns of their children.
 - c) Attend and call for regular class and school meetings. These meetings should keep parents informed and updated about the school and its environment.
 - d) Get to know their children's teachers and develop a healthy, open and co-operative relationship with them.
 - e) Be approachable, communicative and understanding in their dealings with students, teachers and the school administration.
 - f) Instil in the children positive attitudes and values of education and of life skills.
 - g) Try to create a home environment that will allow students to study - for example, by helping student to put aside time for their homework, as well as for television viewing and for play.

h) Protect and respect the educational resources such as textbooks, etc. in their care.

SOURCE : METCALFE, M. and RULE, P. (1992:28-35) Build Your PTSA : A Manual for Organising PTSAs. NECC/SACHED TRUST, JOHANNESBURG.

APPENDIX 4

NECC DRAFT CONSTITUTION FOR PTSAs

1. NAME

The name of the association shall be : Parent-Teacher-Student Association, hereafter called the Association.

2. AIMS AND OBJECTIVES

- 2.1 To further the interests, well-being and education of the pupils of the community.
- 2.2 To foster co-operation and sound relationships among parents, teachers and students.
- 2.3 To encourage further self-education in the understanding of our society and the educational system.
- 2.4 To promote, develop and encourage the above ideal 2.2 practically and financially.
- 2.5 To struggle for one, free, socially relevant education system in a non-racial democratic society.
- 2.6 To do or perform all such other acts, deeds of functions as may be coincidental or conducive to the attainment of the above objectives.

3. POLICY

The Association shall by way of resolutions or declarations set out its policies on matters effecting the interests of its members.

4. ACTIVITIES

To achieve these aims the PTSA will :

- 4.1 organise general meetings of the parents', teachers' and students' representatives where -
- 4.1.1 healthy relations can be established;
 - 4.1.2 parents will have the opportunity to discuss and evaluate the progress of the students;
 - 4.1.3 parents and teachers can discuss with student representatives educational and other related problems;
 - 4.1.4 views can be exchanged on matters such as child-raising, home education, hazards of drugs, social behaviour and career guidance;
- 4.2 assist the staff, when asked, in the extra-mural activities of the school;
- 4.3 address those matters which in their opinion hamper the progress of the students and which could benefit them.

5. SCHOOL FUND

- 5.1 School funds shall be raised through :
- 5.1.1 contributions from parents and guardians which are annually determined;
 - 5.1.2 additional funds shall be raised through activities organised by the Association.
- 5.2 These funds shall be used for the development of educational facilities, e.g. sports, library, laboratory facilities, etc.
- 5.3 Any funds raised for a particular purpose (e.g. sports facilities, laboratory equipment, school feeding project) shall be regarded as trust money.

6. MEMBERSHIP

- 6.1 Membership shall be open to parents and guardians of students attending school.
- 6.2 Membership shall be open to persons whose children attended the school at any time in the past
- 6.2.1 on special application to the Executive Committee (EC), or
 - 6.2.2 at the special request of the Executive Committee.

6.3 Membership shall be open to all teachers of the school.

6.4 The Student Representative Council will nominate three (3) students to represent itself on the PTSA Executive Committee.

PATRONS

6.5 Persons not qualifying for membership in terms of 6.1 or 6.2 or 6.3 but who have rendered special services to the school or whose co-operation or advice may be of special value to education, can be co-opted as patrons by consensus of the EC and approval of the General Meeting. Such patrons can attend meetings in an advisory capacity when invited by the EC.

7. LIAISON

The Association shall liaise with and affiliate to other organizations with similar aims and objects.

8. MEETINGS

8.1 Annual General Meeting

8.1.1. Within two (2) weeks of the opening of schools each year the Chairperson will call an Annual General Meeting (AGM).

8.1.2. At the AGM an Executive Committee (EC) will be elected for a term of office of one year.

8.1.3. The Annual Reports and Audited Financial Report shall be presented by the Chairperson and the Treasurer.

8.1.4. Any of the activities mentioned in Article 3 can be raised and referred to the EC for further discussion and execution.

8.1.5. Notice of the AGM shall be served to members two (2) weeks prior to the date of the meeting.

8.2 General Meetings

- 8.2.1. At least three (3) general meetings shall be held annually excluding the AGM.
- 8.2.2. A special general meeting can be called by the EC on its own accord, as well as at the request of the general membership, with the proviso that at least twenty-five per cent (25%) of a specific group, i.e. teachers, parents or students, be canvassed.
- 8.2.3. At least seven (7) days written notice must be given to all members of any general meetings.
- 8.2.4. The quorum of any general meeting, including the AGM, shall be fifty per cent (50%) plus one of the eligible delegates.

9. ADMINISTRATION

The administration of the Association shall be vested in the Executive Committee which shall be consist of the Office-Bearers and nine (9) other members.

- 9.1 Office-Bearers of the Association shall be a Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer.

Executive Committee

- 9.2 The Executive Committee shall consist of the Office-Bearers together with nine(9) additional members, three (3) of whom shall be teachers, three (3) students and three (3) parents. The school Principal shall be an ex-officio member.
- 9.3 The Executive shall review the progress of the Association.
- 9.4 The Executive shall be elected at the first General Meeting and thereafter at the Annual General Meeting. They shall hold office until the next AGM.
- 9.5 The Executive shall be entitled to co-opt members of the Association to form Sub-Committees or particular purposes, e.g. fund-raising, publications, education, etc.
- 9.6 The Executive shall execute all decisions taken at General Meetings.
- 9.7 Vacancies in the offices of the Association shall be filled by decision of the EC.
 - 9.7.1 Any resignation from the EC can only be done in writing.
 - 9.7.2 The EC can terminate the office of any member of the EC who, without furnishing an acceptable reason, is absent at three (3) consecutive meetings.

9.7.3 Interim vacancies will be filled by co-option.

9.8. In the event of any other vacancies occurring in the EC, such vacancies shall be filled at the next General Meeting.

9.9 The Committee may institute, conduct, defend or abandon any legal proceedings by and against the Association, its Office-Bearers or members, or otherwise concerning the affairs of the Association.

9.10 All decisions of the EC shall be subject to ratification by the General Meeting.

9.11 Only members present at the election meeting will be eligible for election to the EC. However, a member may be elected in absentia if he/she has previously expressed in writing his/her willingness to serve.

10. ELECTION PROCEDURES

10.1 At the AGM a returning officer who shall preside over elections of the EC will be elected.

10.2 At the AGM the returning officer will call on the delegates to nominate and second candidates for the fourteen (14) seats.

10.3 Students, parents and teachers shall each be represented by not more than fifteen (15) delegates.

10.4 Nominations can be accepted verbally. However, 9.11 will apply.

10.5 Voting shall be by show of hands. Each voter shall be entitled to one vote only.

10.6 The election of EC members shall take place in the following order : Chairperson, Vice-Chairperson, Secretary, Assistant Secretary and Treasurer, after which the additional members shall be elected or nominated.

10.7 The returning officer will hand over the chair to the elected Chairperson who will be Chairperson of both the PTSA and EC.

11. DUTIES OF THE OFFICE-BEARERS

11.1 Chairperson

11.1.1 The Chairperson shall preside at all general and executive meetings.

- 11.1.2 The Chairperson shall sign all minutes of such meetings after same have been duly adopted upon motion, duly moved and seconded.
- 11.1.3 The Chairperson shall exercise such supervision over the affairs of the Association that usage and custom appertain to his/her office.
- 11.1.4 The Chairperson shall deliver the Annual Report at the AGM.
- 11.1.5 The Chairperson shall have a deliberative vote only.
- 11.1.6 Statements shall be made by the Chairperson in accordance with the spirit of the Constitution.

11.2 Vice-Chairperson

The Vice-Chairperson shall exercise the powers and perform the duties of the Chairperson in the absence of the latter.

11.3 Secretary

- 11.3.1 The Secretary shall attend all meetings and both perform such duties and keep such records as the EC may from time to time decide upon.
- 11.3.2 The Secretary shall receive requisitions for meetings and issue notices of such meetings.
- 11.3.3 The Secretary shall keep a register of all members, take careful minutes of all meetings and keep a record of all correspondence received and copies of correspondence dispatched.
- 11.3.4 The Secretary shall present the report of the EC at the AGM.

11.4 Assistant Secretary

He/she shall assist the Secretary in the performance of his/her duties.

11.5 Treasurer

The Treasurer shall be required to keep a correct record of the finances of the Association and shall submit written reports to the EC and general members and a duly audited financial statement at the AGM.

- 11.5.1 All monies due to the Association shall be paid to the Treasurer who shall issue a receipt therefor.

- 11.5.2 The Treasurer shall deposit all monies received in a savings account to the decided upon by the EC.
- 11.5.3 The Treasurer shall make such payments and purchases as are decided upon by the EC.
- 11.5.4 The signatures of any three of the Chairperson, Secretary, Treasurer and Principal shall be required to draw money for purchases. For payments see 11.5.3.

12. DUTIES OF THE EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE

- 12.1 The EC will perform its duties in accordance with the Constitution.
- 12.2 The EC will plan ways and means to execute the Activities (see 3.1 to 3.5).
- 12.3 The EC shall follow up suggestions and resolutions of the General Meeting.
- 12.4 The EC can appoint from its sub-committee or co-opt other PTSA members from such subcommittees on specific matters.
- 12.5 In consultation with the Chairperson the EC shall arrange dates and times for General Meetings and EC meetings or other PTSA functions and give notice to all members concerned.
- 12.6 The EC shall prepare the agenda for General Meetings.
- 12.7 The EC shall meet whenever necessary but at least twice per quarter.
- 12.8 At the last meeting of the year the EC must adopt a report of activities and finances to be tabled at the AGM the following year.
- 12.9 The quorum for all meetings shall be the half plus one.
- 12.10 In the case of a tie in the voting the Chairperson is entitled to a casting vote.

13. AUDITOR

- 13.1 The Auditor shall be appointed at the AGM.
- 13.2 The Auditor shall examine the accounts and relevant documents of the Association at least fourteen (14) days before the AGM and submit a written report thereof.

14. RELATIONSHIP WITH THE STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL (SRC)

The Association shall facilitate the implementation and smooth running of the SRC at the school.

15. LIMITATION OF LIABILITY

The resources of the Association shall solely be liable for the debts of the Association, and the Office-Bearers and members shall not be personally liable for such debts of any portion thereof.

16. AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION

16.1 Amendments to this constitution can be made at the AGM or a special general meeting only after the general body has been given fourteen (14) days notice of the proposed alteration.

16.2 The quorum shall be at least fifty per cent (50%) plus one, of whom two-thirds (2/3) must vote for the proposed alteration before the constitution can be amended.

DISSOLUTION

The Association may be dissolved at a special general meeting called for such purposes by a majority vote of two-thirds of the members present.

If upon winding up or dissolution of the Association there remains after satisfaction of all its debts and liabilities any assets whatsoever the same shall not be paid to or distributed among the members of the Association but shall be transferred to the School Fund to be used by the school as it may deem fit except for designated funds.

SOURCE : METCALFE, M. and RULE, P. (1992:90-96) Build Your PTSA : A Manual for Organising PTSAs. NECC/SACHED TRUST, JOHANNESBURG

APPENDIX 5

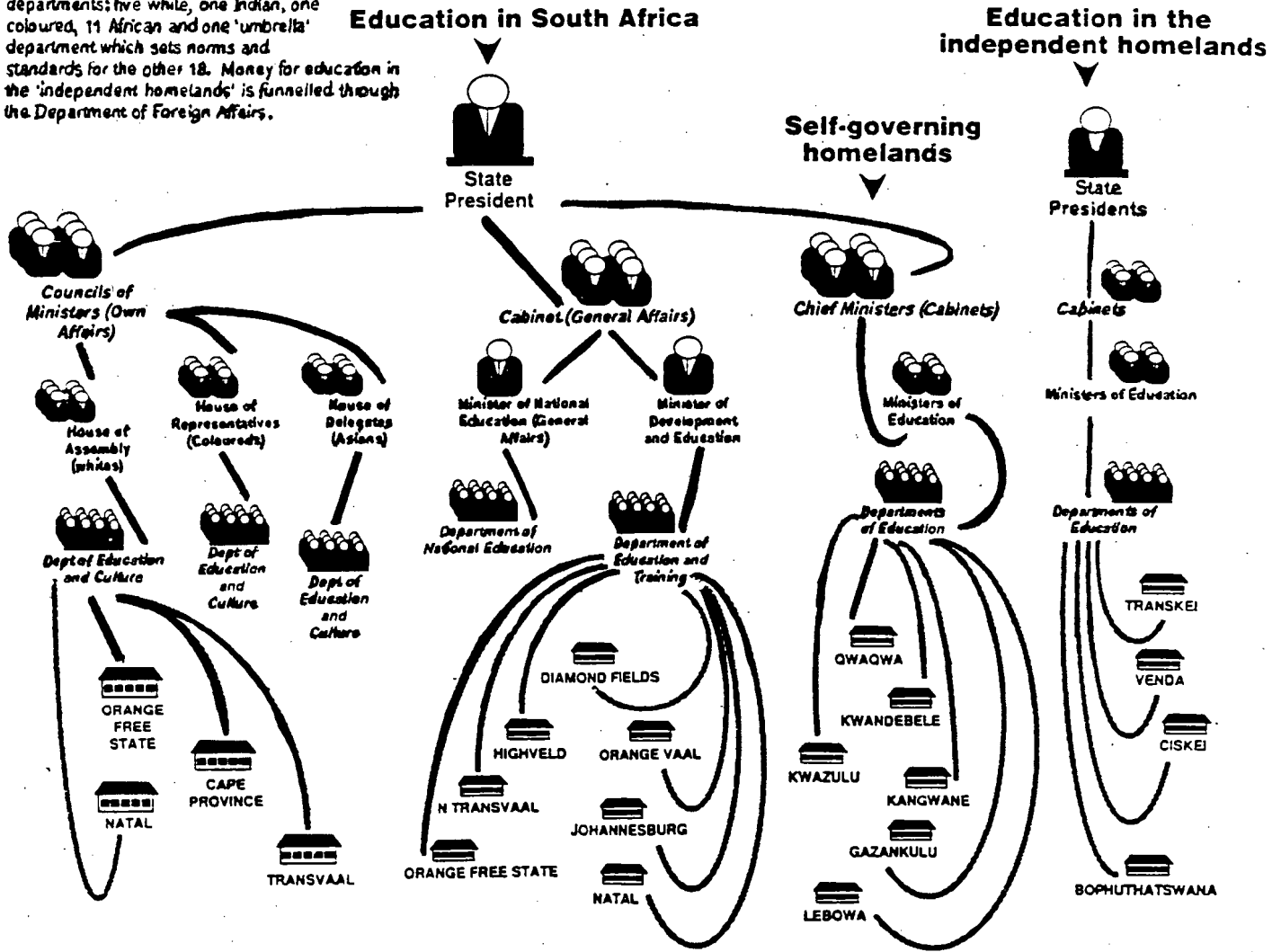
SUMMARY OF ADVANTAGES AND DISADVANTAGES OF INCREASED COMMUNITY INVOLVEMENT IN EDUCATION ADMINISTRATION AND POLICY

CRITERIA	ADVANTAGES	DISADVANTAGES
PEDAGOGICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * raises the importance of education in the eyes of students and the value of the school in the eyes of the community. * creates a healthier learning environment. * it is thought to improve student attendance and lower dropout rates. * helps appropriate and relevant curriculum support for new educational horizons for their students, particularly disadvantaged children. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * it has not been proved to improve student performance directly. * by allowing the curriculum focus to be locally specific, it conflicts with the universal and general standards of accreditation of skills as demanded by labour markets.
ECONOMICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * releases additional resources in an environment where governments face financial or economic crisis. * provides a more effective way of implementing governance as it is less likely to face the particular problems and constraints of centralised systems. * increases equity of education benefits as the state can increase access of educational opportunities for communities which are disadvantaged. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * reinforces inequities if funding is dependent on the resources of the local communities. * requires a better quality of trained staff at all levels and therefore incur additional costs. * it could incur additional costs to enable parents, teachers and students to participate effectively. * it could exacerbate economic inefficiency in situations where there are very low levels of resource allocation.
POLITICAL	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * it does allow for greater accountability and responsiveness at local level. * it can allow greater sustainability of reform and innovation as they are likely to be more appropriate school-community link culture that encourage a sense of concern about the quality of life. 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> * it could allow the state to shift accountability for the system onto other groups, such as parents, teachers students. * it can be used as a means of inertia of systems, bureaucracies and even individuals. * it often implies a particular orientation of national governance and funding which may undermine it if not correctly synchronised.

APPENDIX 6

THE CONVOLUTED STRUCTURE OF EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA - THE ROAD TO ONE EDUCATION SYSTEM

■ The amazing mess that is apartheid education. There are 19 education departments; five white, one Indian, one coloured, 11 African and one 'umbrella' department which sets norms and standards for the other 18. Money for education in the 'independent homelands' is funnelled through the Department of Foreign Affairs.



SOURCE: The Weekly Mail, 15 to 21 February 1991