A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF

THE NOTION OF PARTICIPATION IN TERMS OF

DECISION-MAKING IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS
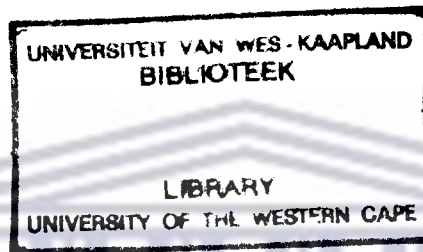
by

Ms P.MOODLEY

A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE NOTION OF PARTICIPATION IN TERMS OF DECISION-MAKING IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS.

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This mini-thesis is submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for the M.Ed. degree in the Department of Philosophy of Education, University of the Western Cape.

SUPERVISOR: Dr YUSUF SAYED   **DECEMBER 1995**

ABSTRACT

A CRITICAL INVESTIGATION OF THE NOTION OF PARTICIPATION IN TERMS OF DECISION-MAKING IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS

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Democratic participation has come into vogue in South African politics, especially education, yet the notion of participation as it relates to decision-making in the arena of school governance remains a concept lacking in clarity. This mini-thesis sets out to investigate critically, the notion of participation in terms of decision-making, with specific reference to black South African schools.

Chapter One sets the context of this discussion by illustrating that democratic participation appears to be a focal point of interest amongst the various stake-holders in the arena of education, the two principle contenders being the state and the historically oppressed black community. It is illustrated that both the state as well as the oppressed community maintain that participation in decision-making is central to effective educational administration, yet there exists major conflict between them about what constitutes the notion of participation.

This mini-thesis proceeds to argue that the root of this conflict between the state and the oppressed community emerges from their different understandings of the notion of participation in decision-making. Stemming from the conflict between the state and the oppressed community about what constitutes the notion of participation in decision-making, Chapter Two proceeds to explore the multiple meanings of the concept. I argue that equality in the exercise and control of decision-making in the arena of school governance forms the essence of participation.

Chapter Three undertakes an historical genesis of participation in decision-making of both the state as well as the oppressed community. Thereafter both the state and the oppressed community's notion of participation in decision-making is analysed and critiqued, against the backdrop of the working definition of participation established in Chapter Two.

Chapter Four recaps the main trends of my argument in this mini-thesis and then proceeds to revisit the working definition of participation as established in Chapter Two. The theory of negotiation is briefly explored, as a possible option for further refining the notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance.

Chapter Five concludes my discussion by arguing that effective participation in decision-making is vital in establishing a democratic education system in South Africa.

DECEMBER 1995

ABSTRAK

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Demokratiese deelname het mode in Suid-Afrikaanse politiek geword, veral in opvoeding. Maar die begrip deelname soos dit verband hou met besluitneming in die arena van skool-bestuur bly steeds 'n onduidelike konsep. Hierdie mini-tesis is daarop gemik om die begrip deelname in terme van besluitneming in histories swart Suid-Afrikaanse skole krieties te ondersoek.

Hoofstuk Een handel oor die konteks van hierdie ondersoek deur om te illustreer dat demokratiese deelname oenskynlik die brandpunt van belang is vir die verskillende rolspelers in die arena van opvoeding. Die twee belagrikste rolspelers is die staat en die histories geonderdrukte swart gemeenskap. Dit word geillustreer dat die staat sowel as die geonderdrukte gemeenskap deelname in besluitneming voorhou as sentraal tot effektiewe opvoekundige administrasie, maar dat groot konflik heers tussen hulle oor wat die begrip deelname behels.

Voorts argumenteer die mini-tesis dat die oorsprong van die konflik tussen die staat en die geonderdrukte gemeenskap uitvloei van hul uiteenlopende verstanings van die begrip deelname in besluitneming. Voortvloeiend uit hierdie uiteenlopende verstanings oor wat die begrip behels eksploreer Hoofstuk Twee die veelvoudige betekenisse van die begrip. Ek argumenteer dat gelykheid in die beoefening en beheer van besluitneming in die arena van skool-bestuur die kern van deelname vorm.

Hoofstuk Drie onderneem 'n historiese genesis van deelname in besluitneming van beide die staat sowel as die geonderdrukte gemeenskap. Hierna word beide die staat en die geonderdrukte gemeenskap se begrip van deelname in besluitneming geanaliseer en gekrietiseer. Dit geskied teen die agtergrond van die werks-definisie van deelname wat in Hoofstuk Twee vasgestel was.

Hoofstuk Vier som die vernaamste punte op van my argument in die mini-tesis tot dusver. Die hoofstuk besoek dan weer my werks-definisie van deelname soos vasgestel in Hoofstuk Twee. Archer se teorie van onderhandeling word kortliks geeksploreer as 'n moontlike opsie vir die herkonseptualisering van die begrip deelname in besluitneming in die arena van skool-bestuur.

Hoofstuk Vyf bied 'n konklusie van my bespreking deur om te argumenteur dat effektiewe deelname in besluitneming noodsaaklik is vir die daarstelling van 'n demokratiese opvoedingssisteem in Suid-Afrika.

DESEMBER 1995

DECLARATION

I declare that **A CRITICAL EXAMINATION OF THE NOTION OF PARTICIPATION IN TERMS OF DECISION-MAKING IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLS** is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all the sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.

PUSHPAKANTHI MOODLEY   **DECEMBER 1995**

Signed: ....

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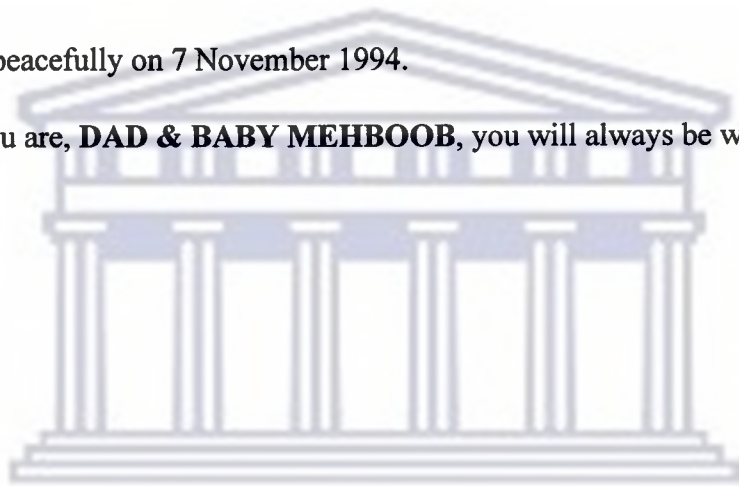
SPECIAL DEDICATION

This research study is dedicated to the memory of two very special people:

- My dad, **Mr M.S.MOODLEY**, a spirit of love, generosity and vitality, who was so senselessly murdered by petty criminals, on the 1 August 1994.

- **MEHBOOB JUNIOR**, my darling baby boy, 'a brief candle of joy'. As destiny would have it, Mehboob Junior entered the world on the 2 November 1994 and departed peacefully on 7 November 1994.

Wherever you are, **DAD & BABY MEHBOOB**, you will always be with me!

CONTENTS

CHAPTER ONE

CONTEXTUALISING THIS STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

Democratic participation has become the catchword in South African politics, especially education, yet the notion of participation with specific reference to decision-making in the arena of school governance, remains a concept lacking in clarity[1]. Pateman (1970), maintains that the notion of participation denotes different understandings for different individuals and groups[2]. In this mini-thesis, I examine critically the notion of participation as it relates particularly to decision-making in the arena of school governance, in historically speaking black South African secondary schools.

In the context of South African education specifically, there has been two principal contenders for participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, namely, 'the state'[3] and the 'oppressed community'[4]. It is interesting to note that both 'groups' unanimously agree that participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, is one of their central objectives concerning the administration of education, yet there exists a major conflict between them about this issue.

My key contention in this mini-thesis is that part of this conflict between the state and the oppressed community, stems from their differing understandings about what constitutes the notion of participation, with specific reference to decision-making in the arena of school governance. I proceed with the argument that there in fact exists a lack of sufficient conceptual clarity of the notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, by both the state and the oppressed community of South Africa.

1.2 RATIONALE FOR THE STUDY

This study has been specifically influenced by numerous factors relating to the history of oppression and general non-participation of black South Africans in the political, social and economic spheres of society. Two crucial factors that have significantly influenced this proposed field of study are identified as follows:

1.2.1 Student unrest and the crisis in education.

1.2.2 The lack of democratic participation and the crisis of legitimacy.

1.2.1 Student unrest and the crisis in school governance

Education in South Africa has, for a long time, been in a state of disarray. This has been the position particularly in so called 'African' secondary education. The crisis in black education specifically was expressed in open rejection of both racial separation of schooling and inequality of provision in education[5]. The lack of accountability of the system of black education to its clients; the failure of the government's efforts to integrate black education into a system of a single ministry, combined with the failure to deliver sufficient improvements in the quality and quantity in the provision of education, resulted in growing resistance to the system.

Since the 1950's there has been marked agitation from students at large about their lack of democratic participation in the political, social and economic spheres of South African society[6]. In the arena of education specifically, the call for democratic participation in South Africa has been the motor driving student protests, especially since 1976[7].

Constant state confrontation with students had given rise to organised resistance and the emergence of the notion of student power[8]. Student politics has been underpinned by the notion of student power since the 1976 Soweto uprisings. This form of student power materialised in student demands for the democratisation of the control of education by the way of democratically elected structures such as Student Representative Councils and Parent Teacher Student Associations, in the 1980's. Kulati (1992), maintains that,

> *The demand for community involvement in the administration and control of education, through structures such as the PTSA's, 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 serving the needs of racial capitalism; and a vote-less majority who had no say on how they wanted to be governed...[9].*

Thus it is noted that decades of protest against apartheid education in schools by pupils, have contested the imposition of an education system over which they have had no control. Perry (1992), captures the essence of this contestation accordingly:

> *At the very heart of this contestation lies the most important demand of all, the demand for the development of an education system that is democratic, which operates in the interests of all South Africans, where all who 'receive' the education have the ability to determine its content and the way in which it is administered[10].*

This crisis in the arena of education as well as the constant call for democratic participation in school governance by students, was one of my reasons for undertaking this study.

1.2.2 The lack of democratic participation and the crisis of legitimacy.

The concept of 'democracy' means different things to different people. According to Hartshorne (1992), the notions of 'equality' and 'freedom' are conceptually linked to the notion of 'democracy'[11]. Hartshorne argues that "there cannot, in a word, be democratic government without equality; and without a democratic government there cannot be freedom[12]". Hartshorne further maintains that the notion of 'democracy' is inherently linked not only to political power but economic power[13]. He proceeds to contend that no social order will ever satisfy the demands of its citizens equally, or ever seriously attempt the equal recognition of their rights, as long as there are serious inequalities in the distribution of economic power[14].

If 'democracy' is to be perceived as the benchmark by which 'freedom', 'equality', and 'political and economic options' are measured, then Hartshorne's notion of democracy has particular relevance for this mini-thesis. South African history reflects that black people were deliberately and consciously excluded from participating in the political, social and economic spheres of society. The institutionalisation of particular laws, such as 'pass laws' which served to restrict the movement of black people; 'The Land Act' which prohibited black people from owning land and 'The Group Areas Act' which regulated particular residential areas for particular groups of people, are some examples that serve to illustrate that black South Africans were denied basic 'freedom' and 'equality' with white South Africans. Furthermore, on the political front, black South Africans were denied the right to vote, while economically, they experienced serious exploitation.

The position of black South Africans prior to the Union of South Africa through to the 1990's, is illustrated accordingly:

> *What we wanted was to get them practically in the position of being compounded...keep the natives out of harm's way; let them do their work...and at the end of their term of service let them go back to the place whence they came - to the native territories*[15] .

Furthermore, the historically oppressed people of South Africa have been educated to satisfy the purposes of the ruling class. In the words of Es'kia Mphahlele (1988),

> *The oppressed were to be trained to obey white authority, to accept their submissive role, while the white race had to be trained to be true masters and madams,....to feel superior, to believe that, in the true Calvinist spirit, their station in society was God-ordained*[16] .

In the view of Slabbert and Welsh, (as cited by Giliomee and Schlemmer, 1989), this stark inequality in the exercise and control of decision making power in the arena of politics, was certain to erupt in conflict because a white minority power holding group enjoyed racial privilege while a black majority subordinate group suffered racial discrimination and exploitation[17].

Thus from the inception of the Union of South Africa in 1910, the state has been experiencing a crisis of legitimacy because the vast majority of black South Africans perceived the government of the day to be illegitimate, since it was exclusively chosen by a privileged white minority. The crisis in education, the lack of democratic participation, together with the crisis of legitimacy as experienced by the South African state, have all been instrumental in motivating this study, in that these factors have principally sparked of the kind of resistance in South African society that could no

longer be subdued or contained by the state. Furthermore, at the heart of this resistance by the oppressed community evolved their expressed struggle for participation in decision-making, which incidentally, is one of the central concerns of this study.

1.3 AIMS OF THE STUDY

The central focus of this study is to examine critically the notion of participation with reference to decision-making in historically speaking, black South African secondary schools. Five focal questions, which emerged from consideration of the issues raised above, were chosen for this study:

1) What meanings are attached to the concept of participation in decision-making?

2) What meanings are attached to the notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance?

3) How does the state conceptualise participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance?

4) How does the oppressed community conceptualise participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance?

5) What possible tensions exists between the state and the oppressed community in their respective understandings of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance?

It is my intention in this mini-thesis to undertake the relevant review of international and national literature to delineate the various meanings of the concept of participation

in decision-making and subsequently arrive at a possible working definition of the concept. Since the state has been principally involved in policy formulation with regards to education, I set out to unravel and analyse the state's notion of participation by examining government policy and principles that pertain particularly to decision-making in terms of school governance. Parallel to this, the response of the oppressed community to the initiatives of the state is unravelled and consequently the oppressed community's understanding of the notion of participation in terms of school governance is considered. Thereafter an analysis and critique of both the state's and the oppressed community's notion of participation with reference to decision-making in terms of school governance, is undertaken. This mini-thesis concludes by considering possible revisions to the working definition of the concept of participation as outlined in Chapter Two.

1.4 THE METHODOLOGY OF THE STUDY

In this study I have principally embarked on a conceptual analysis of the notion of participation with reference to decision-making. For this purpose, a critical and relevant survey of international and national literature, was undertaken.

With specific reference to the survey of international literature, subjects relating to 'participation in decision-making', 'democratic governance of schools', 'community involvement in education', as well as 'school and community collaboration and partnerships in education', was made. The survey of international literature relating particularly to the notion of participation in decision-making assisted with regards to

providing clarification of the mechanisms relating to community involvement via parent, teacher and student partnerships in education. Furthermore, the survey helped to clarify the different meanings of the concept and assisted in developing the argument that despite all the problems associated with participation in decision-making amongst the various stake-holders in education, participation in the arena of education does make for better schools.

The survey of national literature covered, inter alia, 'the historical evolution of state policy and principles in relation to the administration and control of black education, from the period 1910 through to 1991'; 'the education crisis in South Africa as experienced by students, teachers and parents'; 'statutory school governance structures'; 'People's Education and the demand for community control of schools'; as well as 'the reports of the National Education Policy Investigation'. Documentation relating to state policy was more readily accessible and this was used to obtain an understanding of the state's notion of participation. Given that the oppressed community was not a significant player in terms of being directly involved with policies and principles relating to the actual control and governance of schools from the Union of South Africa through to 1991, it must be noted that attempting to determine the oppressed community's notion of participation in decision-making proved to be a particularly difficult task because of the lack of relevant documentation regarding this issue.

1.5 SOME LIMITATION OF THE STUDY

Firstly, one of the fundamental limitations of this study is that policy-relevant research is not a neutral terrain of investigation. Furthermore, despite one's efforts to remain objective, one's selection and presentation of particular evidence might be perceived to be subjective. Consequently under these circumstances, I am fully conscious that I cannot claim to be fully conclusive in my findings pertaining to the analysis of education policies and their application to black education, with reference to participation in decision-making.

Secondly, though the term 'participation in decision-making' has been accorded ample significance throughout the course of the history of education in South Africa, this concept appears to be clouded with many meanings. Detailed information relating to policy pronouncements, that is, formal policy documents, not implementation of participation in decision-making, has been an area that is somewhat ignored. Furthermore, the availability of documentary analysis with reference to the oppressed community's notion of participation from the period 1910 through to the 1975 is very limited. Consequently, it is difficult to present a detailed analysis of the oppressed community's notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. It must be noted though, that organisations such as the National Education Co-ordination Committee by the way of their National Education Policy Investigation projects, have broken ground in this area. Furthermore, the Department of Education has presently appointed particular individuals and committees to review 'The Organisation, Governance and Funding of schools'[18]. Even though the selection of

material is partial, I have, as far as possible, maintained a self-critical approach in reading documentation and in considering all points of views.

1.6 ORGANISATION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

Chapter One opens with a contextualisation of the study. It serves to introduce the controversy between the state and the oppressed community about what constitutes the notion of participation in decision-making. I proceed with the argument that both the state and the oppressed community have conceptually different understandings of the notion of participation.

Chapter Two investigates the notion of participation by exploring the various strands in this debate about what constitutes participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, through a review of the relevant international and national literature. The chapter concludes by formulating a working definition of the concept of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance.

Chapter Three sets out specifically to investigate how the state conceptualised the notion of participation with reference to decision-making in black South African schools, during the period 1910 to 1991. For this purpose formal policy documents focusing specifically on participation in decision-making and relating principally to black education, are analysed and critiqued. Parallel to this, the response of the oppressed community to the initiatives of the state is critically examined. The chapter

concludes by an analysis and critique of the multiple changing definitions of the notion of participation of both the state and the oppressed community.

Chapter Four re-iterates the claim that both the state and the oppressed community fail to recognise the significance of each other in the arena of school governance. This Chapter also revisits the working definition of participation in decision-making as established in Chapter Two, with the expressed purpose of critically re-examining the working definition and further refining the concept, in the light of the 'theory of negotiation' and its implications of participation.

Chapter Five concludes the study by identifying significant findings, and illustrating the tensions and ambiguities which emerge from the critical examination of both the state's and the oppressed community's notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. It also outlines possible future research directions in this regard.

In summary, it must be noted that this research study principally focuses on the administration and control of black education from the period 1910 to 1991. My central focus in this research study is to unravel both the state's and the oppressed community's understanding of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. My key question focuses on determining how the state conceptualised participation in decision-making by examining particular trends or actual shifts in its perspective with regards to participation in the arena of school governance. Given the broad scope of the selected historical period of the study, it must be noted that my objective is not to furnish a detailed account of education in the period 1910 to 1991, but to concentrate

particularly on those principles and policies that have direct implications for participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance of black South Africans.

CHAPTER TWO

AN EXPLORATION OF THE NOTION OF PARTICIPATION

The central objective of this chapter is to investigate the notion of participation by exploring the various strands in the debate about what constitutes participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, through a review of the relevant literature. This chapter concludes by formulating a working definition of the notion of participation in decision-making.

2.1 MULTIPLE UNDERSTANDINGS OF THE CONCEPT

Prior to an exploration of the notion of participation with reference decision-making in the context of historically speaking, black South African secondary schools, it is necessary to understand what is meant by 'participation'. One of the fundamental problems with the concept 'participation' is the absence of clarity and consensus as to what participation exactly is and what it is meant to achieve. Lucas (1976), crisply summarises this situation accordingly :

> *Participation has come into vogue. It is on everybody's lips. But like many vogue words it is vague. Everybody wants it, but it is not at all clear what 'it' is, and would-be participants are often dissatisfied with all attempts to meet their demands[19] .*

According to the Odham's Dictionary of the English language, 'participation' is defined as, "The act of participating; to share in something or to have a hand in something[20] ."

Thus the notion of participation has come to be commonly associated with some sort of activity. The range of these activities vary in nature.

Various writers have attempted to define the concept of participation in decision-making but they have all emphasised different aspects of this concept. Macpherson (1966), claims that "participation principally refers to an individual's involvement in political decision-making[21]." Verba, Nie and Kim (1987), maintain that participation refers to, "Those legal activities by private citizens, that are more or less directly arrived at, influencing the selection of governmental personnel and the actions they take[22]." Groombridge (1981), perceives participation "as occupying one position on a hierarchy of involvement and maintains that it is stronger than consultation but weaker than determination[23]." White (1983), asserts that participation principally constitutes, "Equality in the control and exercise of power[24]." Consequently the notion of participation appears to be somewhat complex as it is used to refer to a wide variety of different situations by different people.

These brief definitions suggests that the notion of participation is linked to political, social and economic activities in our society. Participation can be seen as an equivalent to political democracy at a national level and it appears to have a functional role in particular contexts at a local level. To clarify how the notion of participation in decision-making is to be understood in the context of this mini-thesis, cognisance is taken of the many and varied definitions of the notion of participation and an attempt is made to synthesise these understandings.

In order to delimit the study, three dimensions of the notion of participation in the arena of school governance are considered. These are:

1) Participation and policy planning;

2) Participation and consultation;

3) Participation and decision-making power.

These three issues are perceived to be important because:

a) They help clarify what constitutes the essence of participation.

b) They assist one in comprehending how the principle of participation operates in practice.

c) They serve to illuminate the differences amongst concepts that relate to participation, but are distinctly different from participation.

2.2 PARTICIPATION AND POLICY PLANNING

Since the central focus of this mini-thesis is fundamentally about participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance and school governance principally involves the organisation and administration of education planning, I now proceed to examine the relationship between participation and policy planning in order to illustrate how effective educational planning fundamentally involves the participation of individuals directly affected by decisions relating to the governance of schools.

The term 'participation and educational policy planning', first made its appearance as early as 1973 in the United States Foreign Assistance Act[25]. This act called for a new paradigm of development in the sphere of education policy planning; one that was based

on self-reliance and the effective distribution of resources among social groups. Subsequently in the context of international development, it seems that the concept of participation, which applied specifically to the sphere of 'participatory policy planning', emerged as an alternative to 'technocratic planning' advocated by organisations in the early 1950's and 1960's.

The concept of 'technocratic planning' refers to a process which is based on the skills of the planner as a technician with access to data, an ability to identify and choose from among possible solutions and a capacity to forecast the future. Technocratic planning in the sphere of education is clearly 'expert-driven'. This technocratic planning showed a disappointing performance in practice, in improving educational and other social conditions in developing countries[26]. In reaction to this, educational observers argued that educational planning could be treated effectively only with the direct involvement of a significant proportion of the people affected by these programmes or decisions[27]. Thus 'participation' or more specifically 'participatory policy planning' therefore represented a movement away from technocratic planning towards an approach in which the knowledge and views of individuals involved in the educational system were taken as essential ingredients for the formulation of educational policies and programmes. Principally then, 'participatory policy planning' centrally constituted the involvement in decision-making processes, of those individuals directly affected by proposed educational policies and programmes. This discussion emanating from participation and policy planning significantly impacts on the definition of participation in decision-making, in that 'participation' strongly connotes the involvement in decision-making of the people directly affected by decisions taken in the sphere of school governance.

2.3. PARTICIPATION VS CONSULTATION

The notion of 'participation' is often perceived to be synonymous with 'consultation'. Holmes (1985), and Adams (1987), notes that in the sphere of school governance, participation in decision-making has frequently been conflated with 'consultation'[28]. Though 'participation' and 'consultation' are both linked to decision-making, they are distinctly different from each other.

The term 'to participate' suggests some sort of direct involvement in a particular activity; for example, one participates in a debate; one participates in a code of sport or one participates in the process of taking a particular decision. When one participates in a debate for example, one accepts the responsibility of involvement; one consequently becomes directly involved in the actual process and one is subsequently able to influence the outcome of that debate depending on the strength of one's argument.

'Consultation', on the other hand, describes a situation where views are listened to and considered but the final decision is not taken by all those involved in the discussion[29]. To clarify this point, in the context of schools, principals might consult with their staff about an issue such as 'a breakdown of discipline' in the school. Staff observations, perceptions and suggestions are sort for the purposes of clarity of the problem, but the principal ultimately makes the final decision, because he or she is held accountable as head of his or her school. Though teachers might have 'participated' in a discussion about the breakdown of discipline at their school, the decision about what action is to be instituted against offenders remains the prerogative of the principal. The principal can

choose to accept some of the suggestions proposed by his or her staff, or he or she can ignore their suggestions altogether. It is in this instance that 'consultation' is claimed to have occurred.

'Participation' may be perceived to be similar to 'consultation' in the sense that both these activities require people to make an input into some sort of activity. But the essential difference between the two in terms of decision-making is that 'participation' connotates direct decision-making, that is, the participants in the process have the ability to make or take decisions. 'Consultation', on the other hand, implies indirect involvement in decision-making, in that those consulted are in no way guaranteed that their input into the process will significantly influence the outcome of that decision. That choice lies in the hands of those key players who have the ability to take that decision in question.

Pateman's theory relating to 'pseudo-participation' and 'genuine participation' aptly illustrates the distinction between 'participation' and 'consultation'. Pateman (1970), in presenting her case against representative democracy, emphatically argues that representative democracy does not go far enough in facilitating 'genuine' individual participation because the notion of representation implies that the representatives rather than the affected individuals exercise actual power in the process of decision-making[30]. Consequently participation by the way of representation, in Pateman's terminology, is perceived to be 'pseudo-participation'. Pateman (1970), further argues that 'genuine participation' is a "process where each individual member of a decision-making body has equal power to determine the outcome of a decision[31]." In terms of Pateman's

argument then, the notion of 'consultation' may be equated to 'pseudo-participation'; while the notion of 'participation' may be equated to 'genuine or full participation'. Thus in the context of my discussion relating to 'participation' and 'consultation' with reference to decision-making, there clearly is a significant difference between 'participation' and 'consultation'. The notion of 'participation' is more active while the notion of 'consultation' is more passive. This distinction between 'participation' and 'consultation', together with Pateman's argument relating to what constitutes 'pseudo-participation' clearly impacts on my definition of participation in the context of this mini-thesis. The notion of 'genuine participation' connotates equality amongst participants, in their ability to make or take decisions in an 'active capacity'.

2.4 PARTICIPATION AND DECISION-MAKING POWER

Stemming from my discussion pertaining to the difference in the relationship between 'participation' and 'consultation', I will now examine the relationship between participation and decision-making power. At this point, it must be noted that my fundamental concern in this mini-thesis is not about 'power per se', but about the 'power to decide'. I have argued that in terms of decision-making, the notion of 'participation' is intermittently linked to direct decision-making, in the sense that one has the ability to make or take significant decisions. I have further argued that the notion of 'consultation' on the other hand, is intermittently linked to indirect decision-making. Thus the critical issue in considering the notion of participation is to examine who has, or does not have, the ability or 'power' to make or take particular decisions, in the arena of school governance.

It must be noted that for one to have 'decision-making power', one must be in a position to decide. If one is not in a position to decide by virtue of one's status in the group, then one clearly is not involved in the process of genuine participation, but rather 'pseudo-participation, because one does not enjoy equality in the exercise of decision-making or decision-taking. In an attempt to substantiate my claim, I draw attention to White's (1983) assertion that participation in decision-making principally constitutes, "Equality in the control and exercise of power[32]." In her definition of participation in relation to decision-making, White (1983), effectively argues that central to the notion of participation is the ability to exercise and control the power to decide[33]. Thus to be a genuine participant is to be an individual vested with decision-making power.

This view was captured at the first National Consultative Conference on 'The Crisis in Education, by Father Smangaliso Mkhatshwa (1985), who argued that:

> *The dynamics of the struggle requires a practice of democracy, of criticism...the growing participation of the people in taking charge of their own lives, their own literacy, the creation of schools and health services...which impel people to set forth upon the road of progress[34].*

In a similar vein Fay (1975), claims that engagement in critical discourse is intended to enable individuals to:

> *increase their autonomy by making it possible for them to determine collectively the conditions under which they will live...all the members of the group actively engage in deciding what it is they want, and what arrangements must be altered or established in order to fulfil themselves...This model requires that there be a free flow of natural and uncoerced expression from the actors to the experts and vice versa, and this kind of discourse can only occur when the population is free from domination or threat[35].*

Thus genuine participation implies having decision-making power. In attempting to comprehend the dynamics that exists between 'participation' and 'decision-making power' in the context of school governance, the first crucial step is to determine the nature of the system of school governance. I deem this move to be vital in that in unravelling the nature of the system of school governance, one is required to investigate who has the power to make decisions about school governance and how these decisions are arrived at in practice. Issues pertaining to 'Who decides?' and 'How decisions are make?', shed significant light on the whole question of participation in decision-making which is the central concern of this mini-thesis.

Gittell (1967), contends that there are essentially three forms that school governance could take in relation to participation in decision-making :

    1) a closed system of governance;

    2) a limited system of governance;

    3) an open system of governance[36].

If participation involves decision-making power, then a clarification of the nature of each of these systems of school governance should illustrate the different forms of educational decision-making, as well as who exercises and controls decision-making power in the relevant context.

1) A Closed System of Governance

In a 'closed system' of school governance, participation in decision-making is vested in the hands of an elite or privileged few who are perceived to be 'experts' in this field. Generally these experts are professional technocrats that have the technological 'know-

how' in this avenue, or political authorities who claim to know what is 'best for the people'. Consequently participation in decision-making in relation to school governance in a closed system of school governance, is restricted to those so called 'experts' on the grounds that they know best what is good for the ordinary people.

2) A Limited System of Governance

In a 'limited system' of school governance, participation in decision-making is encouraged via the institutionalisation of a system of advisory boards or advisory committees. Though these advisory boards or advisory school committees are instituted with the intention of widening the arena of participation, the terms 'advisory' and 'limited' significantly spell out the nature of decision-making powers vested in the hands of these respective participants. These participants clearly have very limited powers in the arena of decision-making as they fundamentally serve a consultative function and consequently are unable to take or make final decisions.

In state controlled schools, for example, an advisory committee has certain decision-making powers vested in its hands. They may have the power to decide about the formulation of the code of conduct for a particular school, together with the management structures of the school. They may have the power to decide about the form fund-raising events for the school should take or they may have the power to decide what the criteria of admission for the school should be. But with regards to the appointment or dismissal of teachers, advisory boards or advisory committees have limited decision-making power in these instances. They may have the authority to make recommendations to the provincial education department pertaining to the hiring or

dismissal of particular teachers, but that final decision-making power to make or take such decisions is vested solely with the department in question.

At this point it must be noted that I draw a distinction between what I perceive to be 'essential decision-making power' and 'non-essential decision-making power'. 'Essential decision-making power' refers to the exercise of control in those particular situations that matter significantly because they are deemed to radically affect the quality of one's life. For example, in the context of school governance, policy planning with specific reference to curriculum design, is deemed to be an 'essential decision-making power' because decisions relating to curriculum shape one's learning experiences and ultimately one's quality of life. I argue that one's career options are largely shaped by the courses one has studied at school, consequently involvement in decisions relating to curriculum design is perceived to be an exercise of 'essential decision-making power'.

'Non-essential decision-making power' on the other hand, refers to the exercise of power over decisions that do not radically affect the quality of one's life and is therefore deemed insignificant in relation to exercising 'essential decision-making power'. For example, in the context of school governance, decisions pertaining to 'fund-raising ventures' to improve the finances of the school do not critically affect the lives of children at school, provided that the school is reasonably subsidised by the state and that basic resources required for effective education are secured. Thus decisions pertaining to the type of fund-raising venture relating to a consideration about whether one should have a fashion show or a fête, is not a critical decision when compared to decisions

relating to curriculum design. This distinction between 'essential and non-essential decision-making power' is important in the context of this mini-thesis, because if participation in decision-making principally constitutes being involved only with non-essential decisions, then one's participation is not deemed to be worthwhile or genuine. Thus I argue that for participation to be meaningful, one needs to be involved in the process of essential decision-making.

The preceding discussion about 'essential and non-essential decision-making power' contributes significantly to one's understanding of the role played by advisory boards and advisory committees, and the functions they were associated with, in the limited system of school governance. It is gleaned that although these advisory boards or advisory committees exercise some decision-making powers in particular areas of school governance, they do not have final decision-making authority in all areas of school governance. That is to say, advisory boards and advisory committees appear to be principally involved with decisions of a non-essential nature. It is further gleaned that all participants in this system of school governance do not enjoy equal status in their exercise of decision-making power.

3) An Open System of Governance

In a so called 'open system' of participation in school governance, ordinary citizens are offered the opportunity to take part in the decision-making process as influential participants[37]. The notion of 'influential participants' is crucial in that these citizens enjoy equal status with all participants in the process. Subsequently they are perceived to have the power and the ability to challenge or contest decisions and ultimately to

significantly change the course of action the group is likely to take. Thus participants in this system of school governance appear to have the power to make and take 'essential decisions' in the context of school governance.

In accordance with the Education Affairs Act 70 of 1988, for example, the school management boards in state-aided schools are endowed with executive, management and controlling powers[38]. The school management board has the implied power to 'manage' the school as it deems fit. Issues such as the admission criteria; the control of pupils, professional conduct of teachers; staff appointments, promotions and termination of employment are determined by the school management board. Though it is evident that management boards enjoy a high level of autonomy, particular decisions can only be instituted subject to the approval of the Minister of education. It is evident then that in an open system of school governance all participants have relatively equal power in the arena of decision-making.

From the preceding discussion relating to the three forms of decision-making the nature of school governance could take, I draw the following conclusions:

a) A closed or limited system of school governance promotes 'pseudo-participation', because such systems of governance fundamentally require individuals to be involved in making or taking 'non-essential decisions'.

b) In terms of participation, participants must have decision-making power over essential issues, if participation is to be deemed genuine.

c) An open system of school governance is best suited for that end.

2.5 PROPOSED WORKING DEFINITION OF PARTICIPATION

In summary, my discussion thus far has established that:

1) The notion of participation appears to have multiple meanings as it is used to refer to a wide variety of different situations by different people.

2) Participation in the arena of school governance, implies the involvement in decision-making processes, of the people directly affected by decisions taken.

3) Though 'participation' and 'consultation' are both linked to decision-making, they are distinctly different from each other. The notion of 'participation' is more active, while the notion of 'consultation' is more passive.

4) The notion of 'genuine participation' as opposed to 'pseudo-participation', connotates equality amongst participants, in their ability to make or take decisions in an 'active capacity'.

5) Participants must have decision-making power over essential issues, if participation is to be deemed genuine.

6) An open system of school governance is best suited for this end.

In an attempt to consolidate a working definition of participation with reference to decision-making in the arena of school governance, I argue that the notion of participation refers to any activity or process that requires individuals or groups the opportunity to be directly involved in some sort of activity, that further implies an act of sharing among respective participants. Arnstein (1971), appropriately comments that all to often:

> *In the name of citizen participation, people are placed on rubber-stamp advisory committees or advisory boards for the expressed purpose of*

engineering their support. Instead of genuine citizen participation, the bottom rung of the ladder of involvement signifies the distortion of participation into a public relations vehicle by power-holders[39] .

In the context of this mini-thesis then, participation in decision-making does not mean "the illusion of involvement, the opportunity to speak without being heard, the receipt of token benefits or the enjoyment of stop-gap, once every summer palliative measure[40] "as this simply amounts to pseudo-participation.

I argue that 'direct involvement' and 'full participation' exemplifies the spirit of equality amongst the respective participants, as all the 'players in the arena' enjoy equal privilege and equal opportunity to express their preferences, probably through a system of voting. The process of participation involves a 'shared effort' amongst the respective participants, to arrive at decisions that are mutually acceptable. This, however does not imply that the group does not experience conflict about decisions to be made. The crucial point is that every participant enjoys equality in terms of the process of decision-making, but those decisions that enjoy popularity amongst the respective participants, are carried through as the final decisions. Furthermore, the knowledge and views of individuals immediately affected by the educational system are taken as essential ingredients for the formulation of educational policies and programmes. That is to say, the people directly affected by decisions taken in the sphere of educational planning and school governance have a right to be involved in making those decisions that significantly impact on their lives, because such a process ensures that their interests are given adequate consideration. Thus the notion of participation in decision-making in

the context of this mini-thesis implies genuine involvement in decision-making or in White's (1983) terminology, equality in the exercise and control of decision-making power[41]. In a similar view, Pateman (1983), maintains that "Participatory democracy, rests on the principle that any exercise of power should be shared equally between all those involved, unless this can be shown, to be either impracticable or damaging to the realisation of democratic values[42]".

Since school governance fundamentally relates to decision-making, the next chapter examines the state's policies relating to participation and decision-making, in the respective structures of school governance. For this purpose three key inter-connected issues are explored :

a) Who makes decisions about education in the arena of school governance? This question seeks to explore who the principle participants or key role players are, in the process of decision-making in the arena of school governance

b) What are the actual areas of decision-making that these key participants are involved in? This question seeks to ascertain whether all prospective participants are equally involved in all areas of school governance or whether the participation of particular participants is limited to specific areas of governance?

c) How are these decisions arrived at? This question seeks to clarify the form of decision-making in particular policies and proposals.

The next chapter turns its attention towards clarifying these issues.

CHAPTER THREE

THE STATE'S NOTION OF PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING AND THE OPPRESSED COMMUNITY'S RESPONSE TO IT'S INITIATIVES

This chapter investigates how the state conceptualised the notion of participation as it relates to decision-making in black South African schools, during the period 1910 to 1991. The period 1910 is deemed an appropriate introduction period for the purposes of this research study, as this was the year that formative formal education was introduced for black South Africans. The year 1991 is deemed an appropriate point to conclude this study, as the year 1992 once again, marks a significant shift in the state's initiatives with reference to black education.

In an attempt to unravel the state's notion of participation in decision-making, this chapter focuses fundamentally on legislation pertaining to black education; the principles embodied in the reports of educational commissions, and official policy statements issued with reference to black education. Parallel to this, I attempt to investigate the oppressed community's response to the state's initiatives and subsequently unravel the oppressed community's notion of participation in decision-making with reference to school governance, using the available though scant documentary evidence[43]. For this purpose, the following questions require to be investigated:

1) How did the oppressed community respond to the initiatives of the state concerning participation in decision-making?

2) What situations gave rise to the demand for community participation in the arena of school governance?

3) What were the ideological underpinnings of the oppressed community's demand for the control of their children's education?

Since the scope of this investigation spans a lengthy period of eighty one years, (1910-1991), it is not possible to provide a thorough and comprehensive review of black education during this period. Rather, my immediate objective is to focus on specific educational principles and policies that relate to the issue of participation in decision-making, in order to establish the shifting definitions of the notion of participation during this period.

In order to pursue the task of unravelling the state's notion of participation in decision-making and the oppressed community's response to the initiatives of the state, this chapter identifies three periods to illustrate the shift in state policy pertaining to participation in decision-making with reference to black education. These significant periods are delineated as follows:

(i) From the Union of South Africa through to 1947[44].

(ii) The period 1948 through to 1975[45].

(iii) The period 1976 through to 1991[46].

3.1 FROM UNION THROUGH TO 1947

3.1.1 State Policy in terms of Black Education[47]

Prior to proceeding with a discussion of the nature and form black education took when the Union of South Africa was established in 1910, a brief reference is made to the state of black education just before the establishment of Union. According to Hartshorne (1992), up until the year 1910, the main initiatives in the provision of primary schooling for black South Africans had come from the mission churches[48]. Similarly Christie (1985), maintains that the church, through its mission stations, played a central role in terms of administering and controlling black education[49]. The limited resources available to the missions had tended in the first place to be concentrated in the major institutions which missionaries had set up, and those available to schools were minimal. Thus Hartshorne (1992), argues that the distribution of and access to schools prior to 1910 was haphazard and there is little evidence to suggest that there was any sense of real planning to meet the needs of the people concerned[50].

The Union of South Africa which came into being in 1910, was the first attempt to formalise black education. The Union government legislated that the administration and control of black education was to be vested in the four separate provincial councils[51]. Within the provincial context, Africans attended segregated and under-funded schools, run under a different set of regulations from white schools[52]. The nature of African school administration varied considerably from province to province, especially during the period 1910-1947. The one consistent factor was that African schools were

segregated from those of whites. Furthermore, individual schools were generally under the charge of various missionary societies.

In 1918, the province of Natal established state-run schools for Africans. By 1937 there were 92 such institutions with an enrolment of 12 977 students. By way of contrast, government-aided schools, almost all of which were mission-run, numbered 672 with an enrolment of 67 897 students[53]. Thus, even in Natal, most Africans attending school did so under missionary auspices. The Cape Province, which had the longest tradition of significant support for African education, had the most developed system of African schools. In 1920-1921, for instance, the Cape, with 34,9 percent of the Union's total African population, accounted for 76,5 percent of the total of African students enrolled[54]. The Transvaal, on the other hand, with only a slightly smaller African population, 31,8 percent in total, expended only 11,6 percent of government aid on African education and enrolled only 16 percent of the total number of students[55]. The Orange Free State followed a pattern similar to that of the Transvaal.

The development of separate administrative sub-structures for African schools was associated with a general effort after World War 1 to 'reform' African education. With the exception of the Transvaal, the provinces had by 1924 established within their departments of education, separate sub-departments for African schools under the direction of chief inspectors of native education. The Transvaal did not take such a step until 1935, although it did have separate inspectors for African schools as early as 1920.

In addition to these separate administrative sub-structures, there existed advisory boards on African education. The purpose of these boards was to provide "advice" on African educational issues to the appropriate provincial school administrators. Their membership generally comprised of white missionary officials who, for the most part, were acquainted with the conditions of schooling for the African community. In some instances, a limited number of Africans, usually with close church ties, were also members of the boards.

The role of the provincial departments of education lay primarily with the professional supervision and inspection of government and government-aided schools. A staff of white school inspectors carried out these functions. In the Cape, African schools were under the same inspectors as 'European' and 'Coloured' schools, but they reported on African schools. In 1924, all the provinces began to employ African school supervisors to work under the direction of the inspectors. With the partial exception of the Cape, the administration of African schools was almost exclusively in white hands.

In the year 1935, the government appointed the Interdepartmental Committee on Native education, namely the Welsh Commission, which reported in 1936. The Committee, under the chairmanship of W.T.Welsh of the Cape Province, consisted of the four provincial Chief Inspectors of Native Education. The commission's main terms of reference were concerned with whether the central government should take over the administration of 'Native Education' from the provinces; what the relationship between the government and the missionary bodies should be, and what should be the aims and purposes of 'Native Education'[56].

Rose (1975), quotes the findings of the Interdepartmental Committee of 1935 in respect of black education, accordingly:

> *It is in a state of chaos, ...the position is so hopeless, ...it is utterly unsatisfactory,...To think that the defects will vanish by merely exhorting those responsible for the work to try and carry on as best they can, is unfair, not only to the Native People- whose educational needs are most pressing-but also to those who have given life-long and devoted services as missionaries and as government officials, to Native Education*[57] .

The report of the Interdepartmental Committee of 1935 proposed that the legislative authority, with regard to the education for black South Africans should be vested in the provincial councils. The administration of education was to be in the hands of separate branches in the respective education departments. Furthermore, an advisory board, whose function it was to act as a liaison between the schools and the head of the education department, had to be instituted in each province[58].

At the end of 1936, a joint meeting of representatives of the four provincial Advisory Boards on Native Education was held to consider the recommendations of the Welsh Committee. The members, largely representative of missionary interests, generally were in agreement about accepting these recommendations, with minor dissent[59]. In spite of further deputation's to government from the joint advisory boards, little action followed the recommendations of the Welsh Report. There was some improvement, in the level of government funding pertaining to black education, but the other issues raised by the Committee were not addressed. This was so because 'Native Education', in political terms, was a fringe issue pushed into the background by the struggle between Afrikaner and English-speaking interests for political and economic power, and

more immediately because the outbreak of the Second World War in 1939 caused energies and resources to be directed to the waging of war[60] .

KEY ISSUES AND THEMES CONCERNING THE STATE'S NOTION OF PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE PERIOD 1910 TO 1947

In an attempt to determine how the state conceptualised participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, let me proceed to identify some of the trends that emerge in black education during this period.

It is noted that prior to the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, missionaries took the initiative to provide some form of education for black people. Thus the auspices of the administration and control of black education fell under the jurisdiction of "white missionary managers". The task of these managers was to supervise the moral and religious instruction of the pupils, ensure that school buildings were well maintained and finally to nominate teachers to be considered for appointment by the department[61] . Thus prior to the establishment of the Union of South Africa, it can be gleaned that participation in decision-making for the state, essentially constituted the involvement of white missionaries administrating and controlling black education.

With the establishment of the Union of South Africa in 1910, one notes a shift in the state's perspective of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. Union government legislated that the administration and control of black education was to be removed from missionary control and vested in the four separate

provincial councils. Thus it is inferred that the state's conception of participation in educational decision-making constituted provincial involvement and control of black education. Missionary influence in black education gradually waned, as the power of decision-making in education was formally transferred from the churches to the four respective provincial councils. It can be gleaned that there is a significant shift in the state's notion of participation with particular reference to the administration and control of education in terms of form, agency and locus of control; individual missionary management came to be replaced by a "depersonalised bureaucracy"; missionary administration came to be replaced by state administration; and the locus of control began to shift from the mission stations to the state.

With particular reference to provincial control of black education, it is noted that each department of education in the respective provinces, in due course, developed separate administrative sub-structures for African schools. This move has crucial implications for the state's conception of participation in that these sub-structures came under the control of "white chief inspectors of education". Thus the arena of control of black education was extended to include the involvement of "white chief inspectors of education".

In addition to the creation of these separate administrative sub-structures relating to the administration of black education in the four provinces, the institution of advisory boards, which served in an "advisory capacity" reflects a further shift of the state's notion of participation in decision-making. Though the members of these advisory boards were generally "white missionary officials", the fact that a limited number of

Africans formed part of the composition of these advisory boards is particularly significant, in that for the very first time, the state had taken the initiative to allow for the participation of black people in their children's education.

With specific reference to the Welsh Commission, the following recommendations in relation to the administration and control of black education, were made:

i) The general administrative and financial control of black education should be the responsibility of central government.

ii) The legislative authority pertaining to black education was to be vested in provincial councils.

iii) The administration of education was to be handled by separate branches in the respective education departments.

iv) Advisory boards to liase between schools and the heads of the respective departments of education in each province, were to be instituted.

The recommendations by the Welsh Commission of 1935, with particular reference to participation in decision-making, were not drastically different from the position adopted by the Union government, except for the recommendation that the Union government should take central responsibility for the general administration and financing of black education. Thus it is deduced that the appointment of the Welsh Commission did not have any significant impact on the issue of participation in decision-making, with reference to the involvement of black people in their children's education.

In summary, the state's conception of participation in decision-making during this period reflects the following changes:

a) Prior to the Union, the churches via their missionaries were centrally involved in the administration and control of black education.

b) When the Union of South Africa came into being, the administration and control of black education shifted from missionary control to the four provinces.

c) Each province established separate sub-departments in education, for black South African as a means of extending greater participation at a provincial level.

d) The creation of advisory boards that allowed for limited participation of some black missionaries was the first significant move on the part of the state to allow black people to be involved in their children's education.

Despite the fact that the nature of the administration and control of black education varied from province to province, certain features relating to the administration of black education were common to all provinces and these features manifested themselves in the following ways:

i) Schools for blacks and whites were segregated.

ii) Regulations for black schools differed from that to white schools.

iii) Black schools were under-funded in relation to white schools.

From a careful examination of the common features relating to the administration and control of black education in the four provinces, it is argued that black people were not

regarded as equal citizens of South Africa in that schooling for them was a segregated issue, as well as the fact that regulations affecting them differed markedly from white South Africans. Under these set of circumstances it is noted that although some black people might have served on advisory boards, there was little opportunity for the majority of black citizens to be meaningfully involved in the processes of decision-making in the arena of school governance, as a result of their ascribed inferior status.

3.1.2 The Oppressed Community's Response

The introduction of missionary education in the 19th century was met initially with rejection. Kulati (1992), argues that,

Communities at large saw very little benefit from sending their children to mission schools, for their children assisted directly in substance farming or cattle rearing, which was the governing factor of their lives[62] .

However, as the consolidation of conquest from settler colonists advanced, there was a move from certain quarters of the community to accommodate missionary schooling. This move came largely from the local chiefs who encouraged their sons to attend missionary schools so that they could effectively "understand the ways of the white man[63] ".

At this point it must be clarified that in the period 1910 through to 1947, the response of the oppressed community to the initiatives of the state has been little researched. However, the overall picture from the available evidence indicates that in the first half

of the 20th century there was sporadic collective resistance by students at particular educational institutions. Most of the concerted resistance arose in rural secondary schools and teachers' training colleges. The 'cause' of student resistance was generally provided by some immediate issue or set of issues of which the most common was food. According to a letter written by a student to the Editor of *Inkundla ya Bantu*, (date unspecified),

> *The conditions of living in many of our colleges are very poor...Some schools have no proper water system. Nearly in all of them, the diet is bad...Now and again you find that the food is poorly cooked and inadequate supervision is exercised in its preparation[64].*

However, despite the frequency with which the food question cropped up in student strikes, the problem did not start and end with food. "The strikes indicate a new sensitiveness to treatment meted out to black students by those schools which have had trouble; a natural reaction when the entire African community has began to see their problems in the light of their future as full citizens[65]".

Thus the lack of students' control over their education, or more specifically, their schools, was the critical reason for student discontent, as the following extract from the 1945 issue of *The South African Outlook* states:

> *About the end of March we had at one of our Native educational institutions another of those riots that from time to time have so disturbed their live in the past 25 years. It was not marked by much destruction of property...but it was an attempt on the part of the students to usurp authority. It seems unthinkable that any body of pupils should have claimed the right to govern, or thought themselves capable of governing, an educational institution . . . [66].*

As a result of grievances relating to a lack of participation in decision-making with respect to their schooling, numerous initiatives to circumvent or undermine the state's control over schooling were underway. In 1938 the African College and a few schools which were to form the nucleus of the Mayibuye Night School, were started by a group of students from the University of the Witwatersrand[67]. These schools appeared to encourage participation of their students in the general affairs of the school. A Pupil's Council was established and meetings were held on a monthly basis to discuss issues concerning student welfare. Recommendations about subjects taught and the general running of the school were also made.

No other evidence has been found of students having attempted to broaden their resistance into the community during the period under review. Generally, it remained restricted to the bounds of individual establishments and there appears to have been minimal student involvement in political organisations.

Another source of resistance within the school system came from the teaching corps. However, Molteno (1984), maintains that it is probably impossible to determine the extent of teachers' attempts to undermine the system through the content and style of their lessons behind closed doors[68]. Though there is no documented evidence illustrating overt resistance on the part of black teachers in the first half of the century, to their lack of involvement in decision-making in the arena of education per se, when they did raise their voices publicly, it was most commonly to demand higher salaries and better working conditions for themselves On the 6 May, 1944, for example,

teachers along the Reef staged a demonstration in support of their demand for improved salaries. Teachers and community members marched through the streets of Johannesburg singing 'Morena Boloka' and bearing banners which included demands for a free universal education and more schools[69].

Resistance also came from outside the school system, in particular from parents and political organisations. A parents' association was formed in Natal as early as 1939. Another was formed in Transkei during the 1940's. Parents opposed 'Native Education' in its structure and its content. At the first conference of the Bantu Parents' Association held in Natal, on 30 June 1939 in Durban, the Parents' Association articulated its discontent accordingly,

> *This conference condemns the new method of instruction to Native children, that is the medium of instruction to be Zulu from Std 1 to Std IV. While this Conference is in favour of the Union Government taking over Native Education from Provincial Administration, it strongly opposes the transfer of Native Education to the Native Affairs Department...We urge very earnestly on the minister of Native Affairs, (Education) not to establish a precedent that is totally opposed by all parents of Native children . . . [70] .*

The most fundamental question to be raised by parents was that of education control. The 1939 conference of the Bantu Parents' Association recorded its conviction that,

> *The time has come when the Authorities in charge of Native Education should consult the parents of Bantu children in any change of school syllabus and other changes that vitally concerned the education of the Native child[71] .*

In 1944, *Inkundla ya Bantu* observed that "On the education front Africans are gradually marshalling their forces for united action...The struggle for better education and higher salaries is a national affair and part of a national struggle[72]. *Inkundla ya Bantu* further asserted that it was, "The eternal right of the African parent to say what form of education shall be given to his child[73] ".

Reflecting globally on the period from 1910 through to 1947, it can be gleaned that the oppressed community's involvement in terms of participation in decision-making in school governance was practically non-existent in this era. This is deduced from records of overt resistance, particularly from students and the parent community, as a result of their lack of participation in decision-making in the arena of education.

With specific reference to student resistance, it is gleaned that amongst other issues, the lack of control over their education was the paramount reason for their resistance. As a counter-move to their lack of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, students and parents embarked on their search for a participatory system of education outside of state schooling via the establishment of night schools. The Mayibuye Night School was the most prominent of them, and it appeared to encourage meaningful involvement of students in the general affairs of the school, through the establishment of structures such as 'Pupil's Councils'. In such councils, issues concerning student welfare were discussed and recommendations about subjects taught and the general running of the school were made by students themselves

With particular reference to parental participation in decision-making, it is noted that participation was limited to the peripheral functions of the building of schools by the community themselves[74]. Though parent committees were established in some instances, it has been gleaned that their powers were limited as they functioned purely in an "advisory capacity". Except for a reference to parent committees which were supposed to operate in an advisory capacity, there is a lack of documented instances where communities participated in the day to day running of the school[75].

Thus opposition to the initiatives of the state pertaining to the administration and control of black education in this period, came largely from the parent community. It is noted that parents expressed their strong opposition to 'Native Education' in its content and structures and urged the state to note 'the voice of the community' in this regard. Furthermore, as a result of their lack of participation in their children's education, parents organised themselves into forums to demand their right to be involved in decisions affecting their children.

From a general overview of this period, it can be gleaned that the oppressed community's view of participation varied in form, in that the community had embarked on their search for a participatory system of education outside of state schooling, via their establishment of night schools. Thus the only kind of genuine participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, by the oppressed community at large, took place outside of state schools. The community clearly did not have any power to make significant decisions in the arena of school governance.

3.2 THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1975

3.2.1 The State's Policy in terms of Black Education

When the National Party came into power in 1948, it began to institute its policy of separate development. This policy of separate development had serious implications for black South Africans generally and for the administration and control of their education specifically, because black South Africans came to be legally and constitutionally perceived as being composed of different race groupings, namely 'Africans'; 'Indians' and 'Coloureds'.

The EISELEN COMMISION OF 1949

In January 1949, the government appointed the Eiselen Commission to investigate, amongst other issues, the organisation and administration of the various branches of 'native' education. The commission concluded that there were certain weaknesses pertaining particularly to administration and control, prevailing in the system of education for black South Africans. In the main these were as follows :

  a) The educational programme was not part of a socio-economic development plan;

  b) There was no active participation of black people in the control of their education;

  c) Inspection and supervision of school were inadequate;

  d) The general orientation of their schooling was too academic;

e) Teachers were not sufficiently involved in the broader planning of general development schemes for the people concerned[76].

Thus it can be inferred that at the time the Eiselen Commission came into being, the state of black schooling was far from satisfactory. However, it must be noted that the solutions proposed by the commission, were to be based on a pre-determined political and economic ideology as to the place of 'Bantu education', in the wider scheme of things[77].

The Eiselen Commission's finding that "There was no active participation of the Bantu in the control of education[78]", is particularly significant in the context of this mini-thesis in that it validates the claim that despite the articulated intentions of the state in various policy statements pertaining to black education, participation by the black community prior to the 1940's, did not materialise in practice.

The main recommendations of the Eiselen Commission, with reference to the administration and control of the education for black South Africans were as follows:

i) *In order to ensure efficient co-ordination of planning, the control of Bantu education should be removed from the provincial administration and be vested in a separate department, under the aegis of the central government[79].*

ii) *The proposed Department of Bantu Education should make provision for a measure of decentralisation, by establishing six regional divisions, each with its own regional director and staff of administrative and professional assistants[80].*

iii) *The appointment of Bantu to senior posts in the teaching service, such as sub-inspectors of schools, should be instituted[81].*

As a result of the direct influence of the Eiselen Commission, the state was encouraged to pass the Bantu Authorities Act of 1951. The 1951 Bantu Authorities Act set up a hierarchy of tribal, regional and territorial authorities with limited legislative, executive and judicial powers. The proposal of the Eiselen Commission was that schools in the 'native' reserves should be controlled and run by these Bantu Authorities. It was further suggested that primary schools should be run by the 'tribal authorities' and secondary schools by the 'regional authorities'[82].

THE BANTU EDUCATION ACT OF 1953

The recommendations of the Eiselen Commission culminated in The Bantu Education Act No. 47 of 1953. The Bantu Education Act was passed by parliament two years after The Bantu Authorities Act. The Bantu Authorities Act was designed for indirect but rigid rule through 'government -created' chiefs and headmen. The Bantu Education Act of 1953 signified a further shift in the state's understanding of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance.

In terms of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, the control of education of black South Africans was to be taken over from the provincial departments and a separate 'Bantu Education' section was to be set up in the Department of 'Native Affairs'. This Department of 'Native Affairs' was headed by a white minister.

The principal effect of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 was that black education was brought under unitary state control. Although this measure had been suggested by the

Interdepartmental Committee of 1936, it was not adopted by the Smuts government. The Eiselen Commission Report stressed that a planned, centrally controlled schooling system for black South Africans was an important element in the overall development of South Africa in terms of ensuring its labour needs[83].

The Bantu Education Act stipulated that all black schools were required to be registered with the government. This measure enabled the government to close any educational programme which did not support its aims. The administrative differences pertaining to the types of schools in operation for black South Africans, amongst the four provinces in the previous decades, were to be replaced by a uniform system of education. Three types of schools could operate: community schools; government schools; and private, state-aided schools, including mission schools. Schools falling into the last category could only operate with government permission. In 1955 the state enacted legislation to restrict the operation of mission schools even further, with the result that mission education was reduced more dramatically.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953, gave wide powers to the Minister of Bantu Education, including control over teachers, syllabuses, and 'any other matter relating to the establishment, maintenance, management and control over government Bantu schools'. The Act further empowered the minister to create school boards, school committees, and to manage or control government schools[84]. The regulations which structured the new system provided for the implementation of school committees which were partly elected by the parents. In both rural and urban areas, four to six of the committee members could be elected by parents[85]. It could be inferred that the creation

of school boards and school committees was aimed at drawing local communities into the new system. Though the Act made provision for community participation in the running of schools through school boards and school committees, control was always in the hands of the state.

School committees were responsible for instituting and controlling school funds, for maintaining school buildings and grounds, and for erecting new buildings if it deemed necessary. Furthermore, a school committee gave advice to the school board on the functioning of the school or schools under its aegis. To add to their functions, the school committee also advised the Department about the appointment and efficiency of teachers. If deemed necessary the school committee had the right to expel pupils[86] .

School boards played a significant role with reference to the employment of teachers as they acted as the employers of teachers in the schools under its control. While the Secretary of Bantu education had certain powers, the appointment, discipline and dismissal of teachers was legally in the hands of school boards. Other functions of the school board included the maintenance and the control of schools under its jurisdiction; the allocation, control and maintenance of school equipment; the investigation of complaints and the supervision of the finances of school committees[87] .

THE CREATION OF THE HOMELANDS

The creation of 'the homelands' policy signalled a further shift in the state's notion of participation in decision-making. The 'homelands' or 'Bantustan policy' was an

important part of the National Party's plan for promoting its ideology of separate development in South Africa. The passing of the Bantu Self-Government Act, No.46 of 1959, was perceived to be "the legal cornerstone of subsequent 'homeland' developments[88]. The preamble to this Act stated that black South Africans were not homogeneous but were made up of 'national units' distinguished in terms of language and culture. The 1959 Promotion of Bantu Self-Government Act provided for the establishment of separate black governments by geographically fragmented homelands, under the influence of the all-white South African government. The education of black South Africans was envisaged to be divided into six regions on a more or less 'ethnological' basis, with a director in charge of each region. Furthermore, each region in turn, was sub-divided into inspectorates, headed by a white inspector who was to be assisted by Bantu sub-inspectors and supervisors[89].

In educational terms the creation of 'homelands' was perceived as a means of extending participation to the black community. In order to strengthen participation in homeland structures, the local authority was given the right to nominate six of the members of the school committee[90]. However, these nominations were subject to approval by Pretoria, and the secretary of Native Affairs could appoint a further two members of the committee[91]. In the urban areas, the remainder of the school committee members, comprising a majority, were direct appointees of Pretoria or the Local Native Commissioner[92].

In the years between 1963 and 1975, ten separate education departments, hiving off from the Department of Bantu Education, were created. As each one was established, a

Secretary of the Department and a complete bureaucracy was set up, duplicating many of the functions of the central department. Initially, seconded white officials were placed in the senior positions in these homeland departments, in order to ensure that South African educational policies were followed. Gradually, however, under pressure from the homeland concerned, white officials were replaced by people from the homelands.

KEY ISSUES AND THEMES CONCERNING THE STATE'S NOTION OF PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING IN THE PERIOD 1948 TO 1975

The year 1948 ushered in the rule of the National Party and its policy of separate development. It is gleaned that the state's notion of participation in decision-making underwent significant changes in the period 1948 through to 1975 as seen in the following features:

1) The National Party's philosophy of apartheid and its implication for participation in the arena of education.

2) The recommendations of the Eiselen Commission with specific reference to participation by black South Africans in the sphere of education.

3) The culmination of the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and its implications for participation in decision-making.

4) The introduction of the 'homelands' concept as a means of extending participation in decision-making for black South Africans.

A close examination of each of these features reflect that they impact significantly on the shift in the state's perspective of participation in decision-making in the arena of black education.

The National Party's philosophy of apartheid has particular implications for the state's notion of participation because the philosophy of apartheid directly affected how the state subsequently envisaged participation by the black community to occur, in the arena of education. When the National Party came into power in 1948, it proceeded to set the stage for separate development in all spheres of life generally, and in education, specifically. The administration and governance of education specifically, came to be structured as 'separate entities' for particular groups of people, according to particular 'racial delineation' as specified by the state. Thus participation in educational decision-making was principally envisaged to occur separately, along racially segregated lines.

The recommendations of the Eiselen Commission of 1949, with particular reference to the administration and governance of black schools, also had significant implications for the state's conception of participation in decision-making in that the commission's recommendation that the Department of Bantu Education should make provision for a measure of decentralisation, by establishing six regional divisions of education, was subsequently intended to extend the arena of control of education. Thus regional decentralisation of educational governance was perceived as a means of extending participation. Furthermore, the commission's recommendation that the black community should be more actively involved in the education of their children is

particularly significant in that this was the first direct attempt to extend participation and involve the black community in the education of their children.

With the culmination of the Bantu Education Act of 1953, various changes followed in the sphere school governance for black South Africans specifically. Of notable importance is the fact that schools came to be re-organised on a fragmented, sectionalist or 'tribal' basis under the control of Bantu Local Authorities. These Bantu Local Authorities were created as a means of ensuring the active participation of black South Africans in matters affecting the education of their children. Bantu local authorities were envisaged to gradually take over the control of schools run by missionary societies, provincial administrations, communities and tribes[93]. Community participation in the sphere of education was envisaged to occur via partially elected school committees and school boards under the aegis of 'Bantu Authorities'. Thus it is gleaned that the state's notion of participation by the black community was conceptualised via the creation of Bantu Local Authorities which ultimately became responsible for the administration and control of education for black South Africans.

The introduction of the geographically fragmented 'homelands' policy by the South African state, also known as the policy of 'racial decentralisation'[94] by the South African state, marks a further shift in its notion of participation in decision-making. It is inferred that the state perceived the homelands policy as a means of further extending participation of the black community, by creating 'separate black states' and subsequently entrusting the responsibility for administrating and controlling their own

education via the establishment of these separate departments of education in the respective homelands.

In summary, it could be stated that the essence of the state's notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance in the era 1948 to 1975, evolved via the institutionalisation of school boards, school committees and advisory committees respectively. 'Separate development' in the guise of 'the creation of Bantustans', appears to have been the cornerstone underlying state notion of participation in decision-making in this era. The mechanics of this philosophy of separate development came to be implemented via The Bantu Education Act of 1953 and the institutionalisation of the 'homelands' policy, which was argued to allow for greater participation in educational decision-making.

3.2.2 The Oppressed Community's Response

The introduction of Bantu Education ignited wide-scale resistance from teachers; parents and political organisations, as massive campaigns against its implementation was embarked upon. Although characterised by differences in the tactics to be adopted to oppose the system, the opposition from the oppressed community was widespread. The most fundamental question to be raised by students, parents, teachers and community organisations alike, were the issue of participation in decision-making, in terms of the administration and control of their education.

Student resistance during the seven years which elapsed between the National Party's victory in 1948, and the formal introduction of Bantu Education in 1955 continued in much the same way as outlined in the preceding section, (cf. Molteno, 1984). A brief catalogue of student resistance in this period serves to illustrate the height of student discontent about the quality of their lives and their lack of participation in decision-making in the arena of education. In February 1950, forty students of St Matthew's College in the Cape were charged with public violence. Later in the same year, student boycotts in the form of strikes, occurred in the Transkei. In September of 1950, 200 students were dismissed from Adams College in Natal for breach of discipline. They were accused of planning to destroy school property and injure 'loyal' students. In July 1952, 74 students from the Mfundisweni hostels near Flagstaff, were found guilty of violence arising from a 'disturbance' in which the boarding mistress of the girls' dormitory was attacked. In August 1952, 84 students were arrested for 'rioting' at the Bensonvale Training School, near Aliwal North. All the institution's thatched buildings were burnt down, food supplies were destroyed, and windows were broken. In 1953, 184 students at Bethal Training institute were arrested after they had stoned classrooms and used gallons of petrol to set fire to them.

Heightened student resistance in the form of school boycotts and riots continued to occur into the 1960's when there were mass demonstrations against the institution of pass laws, leading to the police killings at Sharpville and Langa. The declaration of a state of emergency, as well as the banning of the African National Congress and the Pan-African Congress added greater momentum to this wave of resistance. The expression of student dissatisfaction with regards to how the education of black South

Africans was administered and controlled; as well as their articulated concern about their lack of involvement in decision-making in schools, culminated in mass demonstrations. These demonstrations of opposition to the political order outside the school became the order of the day. Horrell (1964) maintained that, "Such disturbances increased in numbers and in severity during the following decade[95]", that is the 1970's.

According to Molteno (1984), there is no evidence of overt student opposition to the Eiselen Commission's proposals or the Bantu Education Bill[96]. Principally, it was teachers, through their respective teachers organisation, The Cape Teachers' Association (CATA), The Teachers League of South Africa (TLSA), and The Transvaal African Teachers' Association (TATA), who mounted the first concerted resistance to Bantu Education, as they were crucially affected by the consequences of its implementation, with particular reference to the lack of participation in decision-making.

The first serious instance of conflict between CATA and the educational authorities was in 1950 when new provincial regulations, aimed at easing over-crowding by imposing a quota system on schools was instituted, without consulting teachers[97]. These regulations subsequently effectively excluded 30 000 pupils from schooling in the Eastern Cape. In 1952, CATA's annual conference condemned the Eiselen regulations, calling on its members to "organise the people and explain to them the recommendations of the report[98]". In 1953, in defiance of warnings from the authorities, 200 teachers met at Queenstown to discuss ways of resisting Bantu Education.

With particular reference to participation in decision-making, teachers argued that their authority as educationalists was undermined as they had no say in determining the curriculum as what they were to teach was determined completely by the state and was closely monitored by department inspectors. Thus teachers perceived themselves as nothing more than employees of the state, accountable not to the parents or the community their pupils came from, but to state bureaucrats. Teachers subsequently mobilised their grievances about these situations through their respective teacher organisations.

From the preceding discussion, it seems evident that conflict and resistance was heightened in the arena of education with the advent of the Bantu Education Policy. Molteno (1984), maintains that the oppressed community in general, were from the outset, implacably opposed to the system of Bantu Education[99]. The oppressed community was said to have perceived Bantu Education as part and parcel of the imposition of passes, Bantustans and the whole repressive apparatus of the apartheid state. In the period of the initial implementation of Bantu Education, parents played a particularly prominent part in the popular opposition mounted against it. Many refused to send their children to Bantu Education schools. In places, schools were burnt down. Such actions demonstrated the intensity of parents resentment against Bantu Education. Furthermore, it was parents, not students, whom the African National Congress attempted to mobilise in support of its campaign to resist Bantu Education.

Political organisations too, such as the African National Congress, launched its campaign to resist Bantu Education. The decision to oppose Bantu Education was taken

in May 1954, shortly after the passage of the Act. The African National Congress announced the launch of its 'Resist Apartheid Campaign', with the Bantu Education Action being one of six issues of contention. Concrete plans for resistance only emerged at the African National Congress' annual conference held in Durban, in December 1954. The National Executive of the Congress recommended the withdrawal of children from schools for a week. However, the conference itself over-ruled the Executive, resolving in favour of an indefinite boycott, timed to begin on the 1 April, the date of the administrative transfer of schools. Furthermore, the African National Congress undertook to mount campaigns that discouraged participation in school committees and school boards.

The striking feature in all of these demands by parents, teachers, students and the political organisations alike is their dire need to take command of their education and to be crucially involved in the processes of decision-making at grassroots level. Thus for the oppressed community in general, participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance fundamentally amounted to control by the people in educational decision-making. In the attempt to transform the processes of school governance, it is argued that though genuine involvement concerning educational decision-making by the community at large was desirable, the lack of any clear articulation by the oppressed community about the role other stake-holders were to play in school governance, reflects a degree of inadequacy by the oppressed community, in their conceptualisation of participation in decision-making, in the era 1948 to 1975.

3.3 THE PERIOD 1976 THROUGH TO 1991

3.3.1 The State's Policy in terms of Black Education

From the 1960's through to the 1970's, it is noted that the state no longer talked about 'tribally or racially' based participation. The state's commitment to participation in decision-making appeared to be a secondary consideration in relation to its overwhelming repressive actions to entrench its philosophy. For the state, the period 1976 through to the 1980's was characterised by the use of violence. The state's overriding aim until the end of 1977, "was to batten down the hatches on continuing student protest[100]." State repression took the form of expulsions, school closures, arrests of students and teachers and finally, the banning of eighteen Black Consciousness groups, including the Association for the Educational and Cultural Advancement of the African People of South Africa, The South African Students Organisation (SASO)[101].

Until 1978, there were few signs that the state had any intention of subjecting education to any kind of investigation that might question the basic assumptions on which it was founded. According to Hartshorne (1992), calls for commissions of investigation into education were either rejected or ignored[102]. In the wake of the events of 1976-1980, the pressure on the state for investigations relating to education continued unabated and came from four main sectors of society: the private sector, teachers, parents and the black community in general.

By the end of 1980, a new trend in the state's notion of participation in decision-making seems to have emerged. The state appeared to have embarked on a more conciliatory policy. Massive student protests in education during the 70's and 80's, appeared to have put the question of education reform on the immediate agenda of the state as it undertook to "transform the apartheid system in order to satisfy black aspirations[103]." Subsequently, the state appointed various commissions to investigate the causes of unrest imminent in black schools. In so doing, the state began to reformulate its notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance.

During the post 1976 era, three crucial documents reflect the changes in government thinking regarding participation in decision-making in relation to school governance:

(i) The Education and Training Act 90 of 1979,

(ii) The De Lange Commission report of 1981,

(iii) The Educational Renewal Strategy Discussion Document of 1991.

Each of these documents will be discussed subsequently.

(i) The Education and Training Act 90 of 1979

The Education and Training Act 90 of 1979 was generated by the recommendations made by the Cillie commission. This act is significant in that it attempted to amend the Bantu Education Act 47 of 1953 with a view to providing for the active involvement of parents and the community in education, and consequently made provision for the establishment of school councils, school boards and school committees, with the

explicit objective of conferring certain powers in the sphere of the control and management of schooling to the community[104] .

In terms of the actual control and administration of black education, point 2 of the Education and Training Act 90 of 1979 specified that:

> *It shall be the function of the Department under the direction and control of the Minister to perform all the work necessary for or incidental to the general administration of education for blacks[105] .*

With reference to the determination of education policy, point 3 of the Act specified that:

> *The Minister may after consultation with, or consideration of proposals made by the Council, from time to time determine the general policy to be pursued in regard to education in schools within the framework of established principles .[106]*

With reference to the establishment of councils, committees, education boards and the conferring of certain powers with regards to community schools, point 7 (i) and 7 (iii) of the Education and Training Act 90 of 1979 distinctly specified that:

> *(i) With a view to providing for the active involvement by parents and the community in education ...the Minister may establish such local or domestic councils, committees, boards or other bodies as he may deem expedient, and he may accord representation on such council, committee, board or other body to any person.*
>
> *(iii) The Minister may at any time disestablish any council, committee, board or other body established in terms of subsection (i) or withdraw such duties, powers or functions determined by him...from such a council, committee, board or other body[107] .*

Despite the stated commitment in the Education and Training Act 90 of 1979 to extend participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, it is important to note that in accordance with this act, the Minister still retained fundamental powers with reference to the general administration and control of education.

In terms of policy determination in the sphere of education, though the Minister had the option of consulting the council in his efforts to determine policy plans, the prerogative of decision-making still remained the privilege of the Minister in question. Furthermore, the fact that the Minister was vested with the power to establish councils and boards of education; appoint council members if it suited him to do so, as well as disestablish such councils or boards of education, reflects that power was still vested in the hands of the white Minister of education.

This suggests that the intention of The Education and Training Act, with specific reference to participation in decision-making, was to ensure that via its Minister of education, the state controlled school boards, school committees and school councils. Thus despite the "intended" innovations instituted by the Education and Training Act 90 of 1979, participation in decision-making by black South Africans in the arena of school governance, was still extremely limited and superficial.

(ii) The De Lange Commission

In the years that followed the Soweto protest of June 1976, there had been many appeals to the state to set up a government commission to investigate black education in South

Africa[108]. In retrospect, it is noted that the state commissioned an investigation of this nature thirty years previously, with the Eiselen Commission of 1949-1951. Though surveys and investigations about the conditions relating to black education in South Africa had been carried out by private organisations such as the Education panel[109] in the early 1960's and SPRO-CAS[110] in the early 1970's, neither had any influence on state policies and actions, because they were not founded on an apartheid philosophy.

The decision by the state to appoint the De Lange commission was motivated by four factors:

a) The education system was failing to cope with the economic needs of South Africa.

b) The emergence of discontent from the teaching sector relating to their lack of involvement in educational decision-making.

c) The growing dissent amongst the parent community, who now demanded a greater say in their children's education.

d) The Cillie Report which chronicled the Soweto student uprisings.

The post 1976 era indicates that there had been a growing awareness in the commercial and industrial sectors that the education systems were failing to cope with the economic and developmental needs of South Africa[111]. It was beginning to be realised that economic growth and productivity could not be maintained if blacks did not play a greater role in commerce and industry, a situation that was being hampered by both political constraints and educational inequalities. In general, however, the fundamental

issue of separate systems of education was not challenged, and reforms were sought within existing dispensations.

A further source of pressure on government came from the teaching profession. While dissatisfaction about salaries was a significant issue for teachers, inadequacy in relation to the consultative and negotiating mechanisms through which decisions affecting the profession and education in general could be influenced by direct participation, was clearly a major issue of contention. All teachers' bodies were in agreement in their dissatisfaction relating to their lack of participation in these crucial matters[112].

Parallel with teacher dissatisfaction, there had also been a growing groundswell of dissent among parents and community bodies[113]. This was not limited to any one sector of the South African people, although quite clearly it was strongest in the black community. It was fairly widespread, although the reasons for discontent differed from community to community. Parents had began to demand a far greater say in the education of their children, and in particular a far wider freedom of choice in the schooling available to them.

Finally, the Cillie report, which chronicled the 1976 Soweto uprising of black South Africans, was also one of the factors that persuaded the state that it was necessary to make some public response to the education crisis documented so fully in the report[114]. Thus in June 1980, the state requested the Human Science Research Council (HSRC) to conduct an in-depth investigation into all facets of education embracing all population

groups in South Africa[115]. The result was the appointment of the De Lange Commission.

In terms of participation in decision-making, the request of the state to the De Lange Commission was couched in the following terms:

   a) *Guiding principles for a feasible education policy in South Africa in order to :*
      i) *allow for the realisation of the inhabitants potential.*
      ii) *promote economic growth in the South Africa.*
      iii) *improve the quality of life of all the inhabitants of the country.*
   b) *The organisation and control, structure and financing of education.*
   c) *Machinery for consultation and decision-making in education[116].*

The De Lange committee enunciated that,

> *The formal provision of education shall be the responsibility of the State, provided that the individual, parents and organised society shall have a shared responsibility, choice and voice in this matter[117].*

The committee further stated that changes in regard to the management of education was required in the constitution of South Africa.

In terms of its recommendations, the De Lange committee suggested that,

> *A three-tier system, with strong built in structures for participation, consultation and negotiation at each level be implemented, so that all concerned with education could have a say in influencing educational policy and practice[118].*

A brief exposition of the proposed Three-Tier system of the management of education follows :

In the first or central level, it was proposed that a single ministry of education, headed by one Minister, be established. The committee enunciated that the basic responsibility of the Minister of Education would be to determine macro-policy. Furthermore, the creation of a South African Council for Education (SACE), was recommended. This council was envisaged as a specialist advisory committee that would provide research based information to the Minister through an Education Service Centre[119].

A Second-level management in the form of regional educational authorities defined along geographical areas, was proposed. A Second-Level Council, representative of all the inhabitants of the area concerned, and a Second-Level Department of Education, headed by a director of education, were also proposed. The Second-Level Council would determine policy within the sphere of its operation, while the implementation of the policy would be undertaken by the Second-Level director of education and his department[120].

In the third or local level it was proposed that management at this level should be vested in school governing bodies. Their function would be to interpret the needs and wishes of the parents and the local community in the field of education, and to mediate between them and the professional staff of the school in establishing the character and ethos of the school. They would also take joint responsibility with the principal and teaching staff, subject to the broad guidelines laid down by the central and second level education authorities, and give due regard to specialist advice available[121], for the curriculum of the school. They would further, be involved in the appointment of teachers, in raising, administering, and allocating local school funds. The committee also proposed that

control and management at local level should provide for mechanisms that would ensure,

> *The greatest possible degree of autonomy for individual institutions, and freedom of parental choice in the selection of subject options for their children[122].*

Furthermore, the committee stated that, "the wishes of parents, teachers and communities should be considered[123].

The state responded to the recommendations of the De Lange Commission accordingly: Firstly, the committee's suggestion for the creation a single ministry of education was rejected. In essence, a single ministry of education implied instituting a policy of non-racialism; promoting a philosophy of uniformity, curriculum- wise and finance- wise, so that all people of South Africa had equal access and equal educational opportunities. The White Paper of 1981 confirmed the government's standpoint accordingly : "segregated, vertically segmented forms and systems of education were to continue, reinforced ...based on the concept of 'own affairs'[124]". Education was to be maintained firmly within the apartheid model. The state rejected the proposal relating to the creation of a single ministry of education because its notion of participation was premised on the idea that participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance should be extended on the basis of ascribed racial and ethnic differences.

Secondly, the main committee enunciated that formal education was to be the responsibility of the state and that parents were to have `a shared responsibility, choice and voice' in this matter of school governance. The state was in agreement with the

committee on this point. But it is significant to note that neither the committee nor the state took the initiative to clearly define how these vital concepts such as 'responsibility', 'choice' and 'voice', were to be understood in their practical application. Consequently even though the committee alluded to participation in decision-making and the state agreed to this in principle, neither attempted to precisely specify what 'responsibility', 'choice' and 'voice' meant in theory or practice.

Thirdly, it is noted that the state accepted the commission's recommendation that education policy should take community values into account and consequently "allowed full scope for self-determination for each population group[125]", in its New Constitution of 1983. In essence, the state's notion of participation seems to signal a shift about participation along lines of decentralisation of education. The state proceeded to implement its 'Own Affairs' and 'General Affairs' policy, as the means of extending the scope for greater participation in decision-making.

With the advent of the New Constitution of South Africa, Act 110 of 1983 and the subsequent institution of the Tri-cameral system, the administration of education for 'Coloureds', 'Indians' and 'Whites' came to be regarded as an 'Own Affairs' issue, each with its own separate Department of Education. The administration of education for black South Africans however, remained specifically a 'General Affairs' issue; dominated by white appointed committees, who were answerable primarily to the President. Black South Africans had no voice at the highest level of the administration and control of education, while at local level their influence was minimal, since the

Department of Education and Training dictated the content and the process of education to the heads of schools.

(iii) The Educational Renewal Strategy Discussion Document

In June 1991, the state published its draft of the Education Renewal Strategy Discussion Document, outlining its policy directions for education and training. The Education Renewal Strategy 'discussion document' was a report by a government appointed committee, under the chairmanship of Dr Johan Garbers, Director General of the Department of National Education. The final report was published in November 1991.

There were a number of major recommendations made in the Education Renewal Strategy discussion Document, but in terms of participation in decision-making, principles 2.3 and 2.5 have particular relevance to this mini-thesis.

Principle 2.3 reads :

> *It is recommended that the new education model provide for the existence of a central education authority as well as departments of education, possibly regionally based. The central authority must have the responsibility for policy on norms and standards in various crucial matters in education...provided that the principle of maximum devolution of power to the community or individual institution is upheld throughout*[126].

Principle 2.5 reads :

> *The new education model must provide for the sharing of responsibilities regarding education between political authorities at various levels and different stake-holders, parent communities and the organised teaching profession to ensure effective education for all learners*[127].

In terms of participation in decision-making, the Education Renewal Strategy discussion document proposed 'decentralisation' as the avenue for extending participation at school level. Decentralisation was intended to occur through the establishment of Management Councils. Management councils were to be established at all schools with the following decision-making and executive functions[128].

(i) Responsibility for provision and financing of services such as water and electricity, minor capital works and maintenance costs.

(ii) Use of school by other persons or organisations, at a tariff decided by the school.

(iii) Acquisition and accountable use of educational aids, media, stationery, text books etc.

(iv) The economic management of school hostels and transport schemes.

(v) Recommendations on the appointment of teachers to the establishment of the school and the appointment of persons other than teachers for extra-mural programmes.

(vi) Subvention of teachers salaries[129].

It is also specified that parents should be educated about their role on Management Councils and selected pupils should be given observer status.

In relation to the expressed merits of the decentralisation policy with reference to education, Taylor (1990), lucidly spells out his perceptions of the state's agenda in these words: The 'right' wants decentralisation in order to entrench privilege and establish control[130]. On the subject of the administration and control of education, the Education Renewal Strategy document reveals that the real locus of authority in determining

curriculum still remained with the four white provincial arms of the Department of Education and Culture, House of Assembly. This move has serious implication for democratising the administration and control of education in a post-apartheid South Africa for it appears that the Department of National Education has been "quietly positioning itself to usurp central authority[131]. Thus power concerning decision-making about vital issues would still remain within its realm.

The most striking feature of the Education Renewal Strategy discussion document, with particular reference to participation in decision-making, is that the form of language used in the document appears to be similar to the expressed demands of the oppressed community. The implication is that the state seems to have appropriated the language of the oppressed people with regards to participation in decision-making, with the intention of appearing to be democratic by virtue of articulating notions of democracy. Such a move by the state was crucial in creating the illusion that concessions on all the key demands of the democratic movement had already been met.

KEY ISSUES AND THEMES RELATING TO THE STATE'S NOTION OF PARTICIPATION IN DECISION-MAKING

From the discussion relating to the Education and Training Act 90 of 1979; the De Lange Commission report of 1981 and the Educational Renewal Strategy Discussion Document of 1991, it is inferred that the state, in the 70's and 80's, had established strict central control over black education and was prepared to back up its administrative and bureaucratic controls with security actions, including detentions without trials,

particularly in those instances where resistance was felt to be threatening the system. In terms of participation in decision-making, the state's understanding of participation seemed to signal a shift it that it moved from total repression to decentralisation of education via the institution of the tri-cameral system of governance, where education came to be regarded as an 'Own Affairs' issue for so called 'Whites', 'Coloureds' and 'Indians'. But for Black South Africans, education continued to be a 'General Affairs' issue, in that the state continued to ensure that the reigns of power in the arena of educational decision-making were firmly in its hands. Thus this period clearly delineates a shift in the state's understanding of participation where participation now came to be equated to 'decentralisation' via the 'Own Affairs and General Affairs' policy. The notion of 'decentralisation' in turn came to be equated to the notion of 'diversity' amongst the various people of South Africa.

3.3.2 The Oppressed Community's Response

The Soweto schools uprising in 1976 was a landmark in South African educational history. It was not an isolated event. Coming in the wake of the 'Black Consciousness Movement and following upon a wave of massive industrial strikes by black workers, it signalled a fundamental challenge to apartheid education and gave rise to an era of resistance unparalleled in this country's troubled history.

The educational and political challenge for the thousands of black South African students, under the banner of the United Democratic Front, continued unabated during

the 1980's. Many locally based civic organisations introduced widespread industrial action, consumer boycotts, rent boycotts, and school stay-aways. In addition, a guerrilla war was conducted by the exiled African National Congress and the Pan African Congress. The demand was that education, along with other institutions of society; be transformed to bring the apartheid era to an end. The oppressed community at large pressed the regime for the following major changes with reference to education specifically:

a) The repeal of the Bantu Education Act;

b) The establishment of a single national Department of Education;

c) Equal per capita expenditures on the education of all children;

d) Equal school facilities;

e) Free and compulsory education for black children;

f) Equal salaries for teachers

g) Participation in educational decision-makings[132].

Despite massive government intervention in black schooling in the form of real and substantial injections of finance, black schools remained key sites of resistance to apartheid in general and apartheid education in particular. The continuous discontent in schools, expressed through large-scale boycotts especially in the non-Bantustan black schools, under the authority of the Department of Education and Training, escalated to unprecedented heights. By 1985, this rejection of the entire apartheid education system was evident and there was a demand for a new, non-racial, non-sexist, democratic, unitary system of education for all.

During the period 1976 through to the 1980's, the state responded in its characteristic manner to these widespread protests by embarking on large-scale detentions and brutality. Students were shot as well as detained daily. Consequently this produced a fraught learning environment with constant confrontation between student and teachers on the one hand, and the South African Police and the South African Defence Force on the other.

In August 1985 the Congress of South African Students, the largest umbrella student organisation, was banned and a state of emergency was subsequently declared. As a result of these wide-scale detentions and brutality, the Soweto Civic Association mandated the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee to arrange a meeting with the Department of Education and Training to discuss the grievances of the students and the community as a whole. It was in such a climate that in March 1986, the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), with its ideology of 'People's Education for People's Power', was born.

The National Education Crisis Committee subsequently came to be known as the National Education Co-ordinating Committee. The broad NECC movement is of importance for two significant reasons: Firstly, it had brought together community, political and educational leaders, trade unions, parents, students and teachers, thus creating a powerful negotiating force in the sphere of education. Secondly, the NECC movement moved towards a serious consideration of alternatives in education in the post-apartheid South Africa.

The concept 'People's Education for People's Power', embodied a new outlook on the nature and function of education in a post apartheid era and supplemented the battle for control of the streets with an ideological strategy for the control of education by the masses. It was argued by proponents of 'People's Education for People's Power' that the administration and control of education by the state was fundamentally authoritarian, unrepresentative and undemocratic, as crucial decisions were taken within the realm of the tri-cameral system which excluded blacks and in which bottom-line power, still remained with the White House of Assembly, specifically the National Party. Thus a range of new initiatives from the establishment of private or community schools, to the production of alternative learning materials, appeared. Furthermore, a cluster of alternative anti-apartheid teacher and student organisations emerged. According to Muller (1990),

> *The National Education Crisis Committee priorities represented a curious amalgam of struggles for conventional rights (such as demands for free textbooks) and more radical struggles such as that for student participation in school management[133].*

The concept of 'People's Education' and the whole notion of 'People's Education for People's Power' is crucial in illuminating how the notion of participation in decision-making was understood and articulated by the oppressed community. Adler (1985), asserts that,

> *The essence of People's Education reflects two major principles. The first is that education is a democratic process. ... The second overriding principle is that education of the people will no longer be decided by some who thinks they know what is best for others[134].*

In a keynote address to the people, at the Second National Consultative Conference, Sisulu (1986) claimed,

> *People's Education means education at the service of 'the People' as a whole, education that liberates, education that puts 'People' in command of their lives. Every initiative must come from 'the People' themselves, must be accountable to 'the People' and must advance the broad mass of students ... in effect this means taking over the schools, transforming them from institutions of oppression into zones of progress and People's Power[135].*

In his attempt to 'unpack' the notion of 'People's Education for People's Power', Molobi (1986), effectively summarises the essence of 'People's Education' accordingly,

> *The democratisation of education involving a cross-section of the community in decisions on the content and quality of education; the negation of apartheid in education by making education relevant to the democratic struggles of the people; the achievement of a high level of education for everyone; the development of a critical mind that becomes aware of the world; the bridging of the gap that exists between theoretical knowledge and practical life; and the closing of the chasm between mental and manual labour, with emphasis on worker education and the importance of production[136].*

Consequently, in terms of participation in decision-making, 'People's Education' and the whole notion of 'People's Education for People's Power' principally intended to emphasise grassroots participation, pertaining particularly to decisions about the content and quality of education, by students and youth groups and by civic and street committees. The central objective of the 'People's Education' movement appeared to have been to 'empower the people'. Thus the notion of 'People's Education for People's Power' was a process that attempted to "shift the balance of educational

power[137] ", beginning by establishing a people's authority in the place of the existing state authority.

3.4 ANALYSIS AND CRITIQUE OF THE PERIOD 1910-1991

In Chapter Three of this mini-thesis I have unravelled the state's notion of participation with reference to decision-making, as well as the oppressed community's response to the initiatives of the state. The analysis suggests that both the state and the oppressed community were in mutual agreement that participation in decision-making and greater community involvement was vital in terms of educational governance. Despite this apparent consensus between the state and the oppressed community in relation to participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, this chapter argues that the notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, is understood differently by both parties.

With particular reference to participation in decision-making in the arena of education, it is gleaned that an analysis of the period 1910 through to 1991 indicates that the state's notion of participation may be principally characterised by three distinct features which are identified accordingly:

- The establishment of School Committees and School Boards
- Culture and Participation
- Community and Participation

Each of these features, will be discussed in greater depth to establish to shift in perspective of the state's notion of participation, in the period 1910 through to 1991.

FEATURE 1: The establishment of School Committees and School Boards

The establishment of school committees and school boards by the state points to efforts to encourage community participation in decision-making, as these bodies were generally responsible for the instituting and controlling of school funds; for erecting school buildings; maintaining school grounds and school buildings; for the allocation, control and maintenance of school equipment; and so forth. But Hartshorne (1992), maintains that though school boards and school committees provided for a modicum of direct community involvement, they were not truly representative bodies, and in general they did not enjoy the confidence of either parents or teachers[138]. The majority of school boards and school committees were made up of members who were either incapable of carrying out the responsibilities entrusted to them, used powers of appointment for their own ends, or were dominated by the local inspector of education[139].

Of added importance is the point that the government's appointee dominated structures, may be perceived as its reluctance to concede control to parents. The fact that the state maintained an authoritarian stance towards school boards and school committees themselves, for they rarely listened to the suggestions of the committees and unseated members who did not tow the official line[140], suggests that the state did not have any notion of meaningful participation of black South Africans on its agenda.

Hyslop (1979), captures the essence of the position of school boards and school committees as instituted by the state accordingly:

> *In terms of participation in the administration and control of education,......school boards and school committees were designed to play an important role in the new Bantu education system. That system was aimed at the rapid expansion of black schooling on the cheapest basis possible. ... Through them the state could transfer much of the burden of financing education, and some of the burden of administering it, onto local committees*[141] .

Hyslop (1979), maintains that school boards and school committees were the means chosen not only to ideologically win parents allegiance to Bantu education but they were also engineered as a means to squeeze the black communities financially, in order to subsidise the kind of cheap mass education envisaged by the National Party[142] . Furthermore, participation in decision-making via the institutionalisation of school boards and school committees is negated by the fact that these school boards and school committees had very limited powers, as their influence was exercised in peripheral and relatively insignificant areas relating to school governance, in that the areas of decision-making that were exercised by school boards and school committees did not in any significant way influence the state's policy and philosophy underlying the education of black South Africans. Crucial issues such as the nature of the curriculum, the allocation of finances with reference to their children's education, and the decisions concerning the form the administration of their schools should take, was still the prerogative of the state.

It can therefore be argued that the objective of the state was to legitimise its rule by co-opting members of the oppressed community by extending their involvement in

decision-making via structures such as school boards, school committees and advisory boards of education. But the fact that school boards and school committees were not accountable to the parents of local students, ultimately undermined their legitimacy[143]. Furthermore, because of the role school boards and school committees played, they came to be resented by the community because they tended to be tyrannical in the exercise of their power[144]. Therefore school boards and school committees came to be challenged by the mass political movements of the time such as 'The African National Congress'.

In summary, the creation of advisory boards by the state has a tendency to suggest that the state was committed to devolving power to black South Africans in the sphere of education. But the fact that these advisory boards functioned only in an advisory capacity, and that the ultimate decision-making powers was still vested with the state, serves to indicate that the state's claim with regards to extending participation in decision-making, appears to be substantially weak. I argue that the creation of advisory boards, like school boards and advisory boards, was a strategy by the state to co-opt members from the black community and give them the illusion that they were involved in decision-making in the arena of their children's education. I further argue that through co-option, the state had hoped to maintain its control over black South Africans, create a buffer with collaborators and subsequently reduce black potential for resistance to state domination in South Africa.

FEATURE 2 : Culture and Participation

From the preceding discussion, I argue that the state's notion of participation in decision-making is conceptually linked to its underlying philosophy of separate development. In other words, the political philosophy exemplified in the era 1948 through to 1991 had crucial implications for the state's conception of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. This claim is supported by references to the various speeches articulated by the then Prime Minister, Dr H.F.Verwoerd.

It should be noted that Dr H.F.Verwoerd made it clear that as far as black education was concerned, it was his intention to preserve the status quo. He maintained that black people's consciousness had to be shaped to accept white domination and black subservience[145]. The prime objective of Bantu education according to Verwoerd, was to enable black South Africans to "stand with both feet in the reserves and have its roots in the spirit and being of Bantu society...The basis of the provision and organisation of education in a Bantu Community should, where possible, be the tribal organisation[146]".

The essence of the state's policy, with reference to the education of the oppressed black community specifically, is effectively captured in these words;

> *Bantu education does have a separate existence, therefore its content and method requires to be dictated by the needs of children brought up in a Bantu culture, endowed with a knowledge of a Bantu language and imbued with values, interest and behaviour patterns characteristic of the Bantu[147].*

On a superficial level these claims might appear to suggest that the state had the genuine interest of the black community at heart. The continued emphasis on the fact that the content and method utilised in the education of the black community required to be dictated by the needs of children brought up in a so called 'black culture', depicts this view. But Verwoerdian logic used notions such as 'separate culture' to justify its policy of separate development in education.

The categorisation of South Africans along rigid 'racial or cultural lines' was vitally important to the state as its educational policies and practices signify that they were both deeply intertwined. In a book prepared by the state and distributed in London, the government clearly enunciated and justified its separate education philosophy accordingly :

> *The school belongs to the community, serves the community, ... and is concerned with the welfare of the particular people it serves. From the earliest mission days it has been accepted that the diversity of the peoples of South Africa, with their various languages and cultures and their geographical dispersion, require schools specifically designed to serve these people according to their needs and circumstances*[148] .

Such a move had crucial implication for participation in decision-making because the state justified the establishment of separate departments of education as an opportunity to extend participation in decision-making to the various departments along racially segregated lines. The classification of South Africans along so called 'cultural groupings' as a means of introducing participation is extremely narrow, for 'culture' was perceived to be synonymous with racial classification. Morrow (1989), asserts that

such talk about 'cultural differences' was a form of rationalisation by the state, obscuring the iron fist of its oppression[149].

FEATURE 3 : Community and Participation

With specific reference to community and participation in decision-making, Behr and Macmillan (1971), maintain that state policy had been dictated by the principle that since the school was an integral part of any community, the responsibility for establishing, maintaining and controlling schools, must rest with the community[150]. Hence for the state, the notion of participation in decision-making by the oppressed masses materialised in their building and maintaining new schools, as well as adopting greater responsibility in connection with the financing of their children's education.

The recommendations of the Eiselen Commission in terms of community participation in decision-making in the arena of education, appears to be riddled with contradictions. The point of the matter is that though the Eiselen Commission recommended the establishment of Bantu local authorities as a positive way to ensure the active participation of the black community in matters affecting the education of their children, the commission specified that the control of education by these local authorities should not take place until these black local governing bodies achieved the 'three fold test of cash, competence and consent[151]'. The implication in terms of participation by the community amounted to showing competence in the collection of school fees, reflecting capability of administering schools and ultimately being acceptable to the local community whom they were intending to serve. But such an arrangement as deciding

when black local bodies were ready to be allowed to take responsibility for the governance of their children's education remained a subjective issue.

On examining the recommendations of the Eiselen Commission, it is noted that greater participation in decision-making by the oppressed community was envisaged to occur fundamentally via the systematic creation of separate, racially structured departments of education. Thus, in its practical application, the state's policy of decentralising the control of education to the provinces, implied that the education of black South African was envisaged to be a separate issue to that of education for whites. Therefore the state's move towards provincial control has a tendency to suggest that this strategy was in line with its policy of broadening the arena of participation in decision-making in terms of school governance to include the community, because the control of education was being decentralised to the provinces and theoretically, this implied a greater degree of participation by 'more people'. But even within such a system of provincial control, participation in educational decision-making by the black community at large, was limited.

Verwoerd's strikingly blatant speeches regarding his intentions concerning the objective of education for black South Africans, together with the state's constantly expressed intention that 'the community must be involved in their children's education', has an aura of ambivalence. I proceed to argue that the objective of maintaining black subservience is paradoxical to the whole notion of participation in decision-making. While the notion of participation amongst participants alludes to 'equality in the exercise and control of power', 'subservience' connotes 'oppression and inequality'. I

argue that 'participation in decision-making' and 'education for subservience' each seek to satisfy diametrically opposed ends. Thus, because the underlying philosophy of the state's notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance signifies that it is conceptually linked with its political philosophy of separate development, the state's notion of participation in decision-making as far as community involvement is concerned, is inadequate.

I further argue that if participation in decision-making connotates equality in the exercise and control of decision-making power by the people, how can it logically be conceived that the subjugated or dominated group be an equal and willing participant in a system designed for its own oppression? In the light of this situation, I maintain that the state's expressed commitment to the principle of participation in decision-making by the black community at large, is contradictory to its philosophy of maintaining control over black South Africans. Thus in exploring the state's notion of participation and assessing the extent of its commitment to the principle of participation against the backdrop of the working definition, as explained in Chapter Two of this mini-thesis, I argue that the state's notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance is inadequate.

With reference to the oppressed community's response to the initiatives of the state in relation to participation in decision-making, it is inferred that for the oppressed community, participation in decision-making in the arena of education was perceived as a means of wrangling the control and administration of education from the state and

vesting it in the hands of the people, thus literally projecting the essence of 'POWER TO THE PEOPLE'. The words of Sisulu (1986), resound the passions of the people vigorously,

> *Every initiative must come from the People themselves, must be accountable to the People and must advance the broad mass of students ... in effect this means taking over the schools, transforming them from institutions of oppression into zones of progress and people's power[152] .*

Though the oppressed community has been aware that the content and process of education in the apartheid South Africa has been used as an instrument of oppression and domination, as a result of the historical legacies compounded by apartheid education, the oppressed community too, reflects inadequacy in its understanding of the notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. For the oppressed masses participation in decision-making, at its very basic level, has come to mean that the pendulum of power and control in the arena of educational decision-making is envisaged to swing from the state to the oppressed people themselves. The role of the state , as well as the role of other stake-holders in the arena of education have been somewhat overshadowed.

On examining the oppressed community's notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, four distinct patterns or identifiable strands emerge:

1) 1950's: Participation outside state control of education via the institutionalisation of night schools.

2) 1970's: Control within the state system of education.

3) 1980's: The transfer of power from one group to another via crude majoritarism, that is from the state to the people.

4) 1990's: Participation via a new centralised democratic state.

I have, thus far, traced both the state's and the oppressed community's notion of participation in decision-making in the period 1910 through to 1991. I have identified key features of their respective notions of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. I have argued that as both parties refuse to recognise the significance of the other, in the arena of decision-making in terms of school governance, both consequently negate the underlying principle of participation, which is, 'equality in the exercise and control of decision-making power'. Thus, tracing the evolution of state policy in relation to participation in decision-making and the oppressed community's response to state initiatives, with particular reference to the period 1910 through to 1991, this chapter concludes that both the state and the oppressed community need more careful and rigorous thought about their respective notions of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. The next chapter will provide a few pointers in this direction, though this is not the major focus of the study.

CHAPTER FOUR

REVISITING THE WORKING DEFINITION

OF PARTICIPATION

4.1 SYNTHESIS OF ANALYSIS

On the basis of my analysis and critique of the state's notion of participation in decision-making and the response of the oppressed community to the initiatives of the state in Chapter Three, I argue that:

1) There is consensus at the rhetorical level, between the state and the oppressed community that participation in decision-making is central to school governance.

2) The state appears to reflect certain weaknesses in its conceptualisation of participation in decision-making in that :

- Its philosophy pertaining to the maintenance of domination over black South Africans contradicts the definition of participation outlined in Chapter Two, which implies equality between participants in the exercise and control of decision-making power in the arena of school governance.

- 'Co-option' of particular members from the black community into bodies such as school boards, school committees and advisory boards, is perceived to be synonymous with the notion of 'participation', yet bodies such as school boards, school communities and advisory boards did not enjoy equality in the arena of decision-making with reference to school governance. The policies embarked upon by the state necessitated the maintenance of its domination.

- It refused to meaningfully recognise or accept the significance of the oppressed community in the process of decision-making in the arena of school governance in that it did not allow the community to be genuinely involved in essential decision-making.

3) The oppressed community too, appears to reflect certain weaknesses in its understanding of the notion of participation in decision-making in that:

- Despite its constant call for participation in the arena of school governance, the oppressed community has been unable to clearly articulate "Who are 'The People' that should be involved in decision-making?" or "How 'The People' are envisaged to participate in decision-making?"

- At its very basic level, participation has come to mean the transferral of power from one group to another via the principle of crude majoritarism. In essence, the pendulum of power and control in the arena of educational decision-making is envisaged to swing from the state to the oppressed people themselves. The role of the state, as well as the role of other stake-holders in the arena of education have been somewhat ignored.

Thus, with specific reference to the working definition of participation in decision-making as established in Chapter Two of this mini-thesis, I maintain that both the state and the oppressed community reflect certain weaknesses in their respective understandings of participation in decision-making, principally because of their inability to recognise the need for each others involvement in the sphere of educational decision-making.

4.2 A CRITICAL RE-EXAMINATION OF THE WORKING DEFINITION OF PARTICIPATION

My fundamental criticism against the state in the context of this mini-thesis, has been that the state did not genuinely allow the oppressed community to be meaningfully involved in participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. Proceeding on the premise that the community forms a crucial component of school governance and therefore has a fundamental right to be meaningfully involved in the process of decision-making, my working definition as established in Chapter Two emphasised 'Equality in the exercise and control of decision-making power', in the arena of school governance.

As a result of the outcome of the study relating to my criticisms levied against both the state and the oppressed community with reference to their respective notions of participation; together with more extensive research and in-depth discussions about the subject of participation in decision-making, there emerged a strong need to re-examine my working definition of participation as established in Chapter Two. Therefore Chapter Four of this mini-thesis embarks on a critical re-examination of the working definition of participation with the central objective of determining how the established working definition of participation in decision-making translates into the mechanics of actual school governance.

The critical question that I now need to explore is whether the notion of 'equality in the exercise and control of decision-making power' in the arena of school governance is in

fact practical, in terms of its implications for school governance? It is at this point in my discussion, that my working definition of participation relating to 'equality in the exercise and control of decision-making', in the arena of school governance raises crucial considerations. I have selected three issues, that I deem to be fundamental in the context of my established working definition of participation, for discussion. These are identified as follows:

1) What exactly does the notion of equality in the exercise and control of decision-making mean, in the practical context of school governance?

2) Can decision-making be exercised 'equally'?

3) Who precisely, is to enjoy equality in the exercise and control of decision-making power?

Each of these issues will be discussed in greater depth.

1) What exactly does the notion of equality in the exercise and control of decision-making mean in the practical context of school governance?

This issue was sparked of in a debate that questioned the meaning of 'equality' in terms of exercising 'equal control' in the context of school governance. My dilemma surfaced in attempting to contextualise the notion of exercising 'equal control' in practical school governance. How does one actually institute 'equal control' or guarantee 'equal control' amongst the respective participants, in the arena of school governance? This dilemma sparked off the subsequent question.

2) Can decision-making be exercised 'equally'?

Does 'equally' imply that all participants have 'equal privilege' and / or 'equal opportunity'? Does 'equally' refer to the exercise of 'equal decision-making power'? Is it possible for 'decision-making power' to be shared equally? The reality is that decision-making is a process that is influenced by numerous factors, some of which are:

- The skill of decision-makers themselves;

- Their confidence relating to issues being discussed;

- Their ability to use language as a source of their power;

- Their personality;

- Their ability to read hidden agendas.

Therefore the notion of 'equal participants' in the process becomes an illusion because all people are not equal in their knowledge, experiences or skills.

3) Who precisely, is to enjoy equality in the exercise and control of decision-making power?

The call for democratic participation is popular. Everybody agrees that 'the people' have a right to be involved in the process of decision-making. But the practical question that rears its head is, 'Who exactly are the people that should be involved in the process of decision-making in the arena of school governance? Does it refer to representatives of the people? Does it refer to all the people? Is it practical for all of the people to be involved in the process of decision-making in the arena of school governance all of the time, given the reality of the size, nature and scope of the education system; time constraints and the added fact that people generally do have full time jobs? Thus the question of exactly who should be involved remains unresolved.

From the nature of the preceding questions it is gleaned that the notion of participation in decision-making is particularly complex and requires a much deeper analysis. In retrospect, it is argued that my working definition of participation as established in Chapter Two of this mini-thesis reflects certain weaknesses in that it has failed to take into account the complexity of the concept in the practical context of actual school governance. Furthermore, my added dilemma lies in the fact that there are no straight-forward or clear-cut solutions to the issues highlighted for discussion, but there are numerous possibilities.. The question is, where do we go from here?

The call for a radical change in the sphere of the administration and control of education even in the 1990's, reflects that the contestation about participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance is still very much an issue of controversy between the state and the oppressed community of South Africa. In the light of the fact that my working definition of participation in decision-making as established in Chapter Two introduces some practical problems in the actual mechanics of school governance, there clearly is a need to further refine and modify my working definition relating to participation in the arena of school governance.

4.3 NEGOTIATION AND ITS IMPLICATIONS FOR

PARTICIPATION

Margaret Archer, as cited by Lee (1990), undertook a major historical analysis of education systems in Denmark, France, Great Britain and Russia, from the earliest times

to the 1970's[153] and her findings have profound relevance for the proposition of further refining the notion of participation in the terrain of school governance. Archer, as quoted by Lee (1990) maintains that:

> ...*educational governance is rarely the practical realisation of any ideal form envisaged by a particular group. Most of the time, most of the forms educational governance takes are the political products of power struggles. They bear the marks of concession to allies and compromises with opponents*[154].

The core of Archer's analysis can be summarised accordingly: Education policies, structures, systems and changes in these, are not determined by objective socio-economic or political forces outside the educational domain nor by activities of educationists. Rather, they are the outcomes of power struggles between social groupings and the actions taken by individual people. From this conceptualisation of changes in education systems being the outcome of power struggles, Archer proceeds to argue that any changes in the sphere of education seldom starts in a system which fully accords with the ideal of any one of the social groupings contesting the field:

> ...*no single group can impose its definition of instruction in pure form and thus direct educational services towards its operations alone ... the conditions for successful competition become vastly more stringent whilst the scope for changes which can be negotiated, increases enormously. These two factors (i.e. inability to defeat competitors and an increasing number of negotiable issues) account for negotiation now prevailing as the most important process of educational change*[155].

If educational changes in the sphere of 'policies, structures or systems' happens as a result of 'power struggles' amongst contending groups; and if 'no single group can impose its ideal of how these changes are envisaged to occur in totality'; then

'negotiation' in the arena of education has significant implications for further refining my working definition of participation.

According to Pienaar and Spoelstra, 'negotiation' is defined as "a process of interaction between parties directed at reaching some form of agreement that will hold and that is based upon common interest; with the purpose of resolving conflict[156]". Fowler maintains that "Negotiation is a process of interaction by which two or more parties...who initially have different objectives, seek by the use of argument and persuasion to resolve their differences in order to achieve a mutually acceptable solution[157]". De Wet is of the opinion that "Negotiation is a process where parties with conflicting interests communicate by means of the judicious exchange of information in order to reach an agreement[158]." Thus essentially negotiation is viewed as a process of conflict resolution amongst participants in the process of arriving at decisions that are mutually acceptable.

From the above definitions it is deduced that negotiation has the following characteristics:

- it is a process;

- it arises from conflicting demands;

- two or more voluntary parties are involved;

- it is largely dependent on effective communication;

- and the objective is to reach agreement.

From the preceding characteristics it is inferred that the concept of 'negotiation' in the context of decision-making in education implies that there are no hard and fast rules pertaining to how schools may be governed more effectively, for such decisions are arrived at through the process of negotiation by the major stake-holders in the arena of education. I argue that the theory of negotiation in the sphere of school governance is particularly relevant in that implies that the notion of participation in decision-making is essentially a 'negotiated-venture' amongst the respective participants in the process.

Since participation in school governance still appears to be a seriously contested terrain between the state and the oppressed community, Archer's theory of negotiation may provide a possible way out in terms of further refining my established working definition of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. I argue that the education of a nation is a shared responsibility amongst teachers, students, the business community, politicians, and parents, and to accommodate the needs and conflicting interests of the various participants in the process, negotiation, with reference to decision-making in the arena of school governance, might be a workable proposition.

Though the notion of 'negotiation' might connotate consensus in terms of how decisions are arrived at; it must be noted that conflict and power struggles also form a significant part of the process of decision-making because stake-holders are likely to have different agendas that are bound to come into conflict with one another. But for negotiation to work, it is maintained that there requires to be a spirit of tolerance in terms of conflicting viewpoints; the right to independent judgement; the right to dissent; the

ability to recognise that one may be wrong and that no one person or party has a monopoly of the truth. Thus at its heart, negotiation is an attitude of the mind, a way of thinking and acting, a way of working and interacting with others in society. Consequently it is suggested that the theory of negotiation be further explored as a possibility for further refining the established working definition of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance.

In summary, Chapter Four of this mini-thesis identified some of the weaknesses of both the state and the oppressed community in terms of their respective understandings of the notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. As a result of the outcome of the analysis in Chapter Three, I was prompted to revisit my working definition in Chapter Four, to determine how the definition of 'equality in the exercise and control of decision-making' applied to the actual mechanics of school governance. The exercise proved fruitful in that practical problems surfaced and this subsequently resulted in the need to further refine my working definition of participation in decision. This chapter concluded with the idea that the theory of negotiation may be an appropriate option to further refine or modify my established working definition of participation and that future research needs to pursue the implications of negotiation for participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance.

CHAPTER FIVE

CONCLUSION

My fundamental objective in this mini-thesis was to attempt to understand how key role-players in the arena of school governance conceptualised the notion of participation in decision-making. My focal point of interest in this regard, was to examine how participation in decision-making was instituted in black South African secondary schools, in the period 1910 through to 1991.

In Chapter One of this study, I have argued that in the context of black South African education specifically, there have been two principle contenders for participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance, namely, 'the state' and 'the oppressed community'. Both groups were unanimous in their agreement that participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance is one of their central objectives in terms of administrating education, yet there exists a major conflict between them about how participation should be implemented in practice or what the notion implied.

My key contention in this mini-thesis has been that the crux of the conflict between the state and the oppressed community stems from their different understandings about what constitutes the notion of participation with reference to decision-making in the arena of school governance. My focal argument rests on the foundation that both the state and the oppressed community reflect certain weaknesses in their respective

understandings of the notion of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance.

In Chapter Two of this mini-thesis, I have explored the various understandings of the notion of participation and subsequently established a working definition of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. I have argued that the notion of participation might refer to any activity or process that requires individuals or groups the opportunity to be directly involved in some sort of activity, that implied an act of sharing among respective participants. I have further argued that 'direct involvement' exemplifies the spirit of equality amongst participants, consequently decisions that are arrived at in this manner are mutually acceptable to the respective participants in the process.

I have suggested that the knowledge and views of individuals immediately affected by the educational system are to be taken as essential ingredients for the formulation of educational policies and programmes. That is to say, the people directly affected by decisions taken in the sphere of educational planning and school governance have a right to be involved in making those decisions that significantly impact on their lives. I have argued that 'direct involvement' in the process, is what ultimately constitutes genuine participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. The crucial point made in Chapter Two was that every participant must enjoy equality in the exercise and control of decision-making power, in the sphere of school governance.

In Chapter Three of this mini-thesis, I have specifically investigated how the state conceptualised the notion of participation in terms of decision-making with reference to black South African schools. For this purpose, I have focused fundamentally on the examination of legislation pertaining to black education; the principles embodied in the reports of educational commissions, and official policy statements issued in this regard. Furthermore, I have examined the oppressed community's response to the state's initiatives and consequently unravelled the oppressed community's notion of participation in terms of school governance. The working definition of participation in decision-making as established in Chapter Two, was utilised to analyse and critique both the state's and the oppressed community's notions of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance.

After an in-depth analysis of the state's conception of participation in decision-making and the response of the oppressed community to the state's initiatives, Chapter Four of this mini-thesis concluded that the working definition of participation introduced particularly complex problems and that no clear-cut solutions could be proposed to the identified problems. As a result of this situation, I have suggested the possibility of further refining and modifying my working definition of participation in decision-making via the theory of negotiation in school governance. I willingly acknowledge that my brief discussion exemplifying how decision-making in the arena of school governance could possibly be a 'negotiated-venture' amongst interested stake-holders is subject to debate, but it must be noted that my intention was to suggest a possible refinement of the notion of participation in decision-making, rather than to provide a definitive notion of the concept.

Finally, I maintain that serious consideration must be dedicated to ascertaining what constitutes the essence of participation in decision-making in the arena of school governance. Since 'negotiation' connotates the working together of different groups that have a vested interest in education, I maintain that the theory of negotiation in school governance might make a good starting point for future research in this direction. I argue that the productive and effective education of any nation is only possible if all parties with vested interest in education have equal opportunity to negotiate decisions that will significantly affect the outcome of those decisions, and subsequently influence the progress of the nation as a whole.

In summary, the study has the following implications:

- It has deduced that the notion of participation in decision-making is a particularly complex issue and subsequently requires deeper consideration by the various role players in the arena of education.

- It maintains that despite the complexity of the notion of participation, all role players need to be involved in the process of decision-making in the arena of school governance. The mechanics of the process needs to be formulated by the participants involved in the process itself.

- It proposes that the theory of negotiation be explored by future researchers, as a possible option for transforming school governance in a democratic South Africa.

By way of conclusion, I maintain that the future of effective educational governance in South Africa will be determined by the willingness of various interest groups to work together to build one united South African nation.

NOTES

CHAPTER ONE:

[1] The National Education Policy Investigation project on Governance and

Administration concurs with this observation.

[2] C.Pateman   Participation and Democratic Theory, London: Cambridge University

Press, 1970, p 5.

[3] It should of course be noted that 'the state' itself is not a homogeneous grouping but

in the context of this mini-thesis, it refers to those who control the apparatus of

government and who express these purposes in terms of policy, systems,

implementation and action. Thus for the purposes of this mini-thesis 'the state'

is to be understood as the ruling party or the government in power in South

Africa, prior to the April 1994 elections.

[4] It must be acknowledged that the notion of 'the oppressed community' is not a

homogeneous group of people, but in the context of this mini-thesis, this

concept is used to refer to the vast majority of South African people that have

been politically disenfranchised, socially and economically exploited and that

have been subjected to complete dehumanization because they had been

classified as 'black citizens' in terms of South African laws.

[5] K.Hartshorne   Crisis and Challenge: Black Education 1910-1990, Cape Town:

Oxford University Press, 1992, p 19.

[6] Kallaway, Hyslop, Berman, and O'Connell are some of the many authors that argue

that one important element that ignited the culture of protest in the majority of

black South African schools was the lack of democratic participation.

[7] B.Hirson Year of Fire, Year of Ash, London: Zed Press, 1979, p 6.

[8] In terms of this minithesis, the notion of 'student power' is to be understood as the force generated by students as a unified mass, which was utilized as their tool of resistance against the state. This 'power' exercised by students was often viewed as 'negative' because the underlying intention of students was to damage and destroy anyone or anything that was perceived to be operating against the interest of the struggle.

[9] T.Kulati 'An examination of the historical evolution of the notion of community participation in South Africa', NEPI Working Paper, University of Western Cape: EPU, 1992, p 2.

[10] H.Perry 'Administration and control of schools : The demands and principles of the progressive education movement', NEPI Working Paper, University of Western Cape, 1992, p 1.

[11] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 19.

[12] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 19.

[13] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 19.

[14] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 19.

[15] H.Giliomee and L.Schlemmer From Apartheid to Nation-Building, Cape Town: Oxford University Press, 1989, p 11.

[16] E.Mphahlele 'Foreword', in Education for Affirmation, Conference Papers, Johannesburg: Skotville Publishers, 1988, p vii.

[17] Giliomee and Schlemmer (1989), op cit, p 162.

[18] Draft report of the Committee to review the Organisation, Governance and Funding of Schools, Pretoria: Department of Education, August 1995.

CHAPTER TWO:

[19] J.R.Lucas Democracy and Participation, Harmondsworth: Penguin Publishers, 1976, p 1.

[20] A.H.Smith and J.L.N.O'Loughlin Odhams Dictionary of the English Language, London: Odhams Press Limited, 1960, p 766.

[21] C.B.Macpherson The Real World of Democracy, New York: Oxford University Press, 1966, p 13.

[22] S.Verba et al. Participation and Political Equality, London: The University of Chicago Press, 1987, p 74.

[23] B.Groombridge 'Adult education and political participation : self-critical notes from Britain', in Convergence, Vol.XIV, No.1, 1981, p 46.

[24] P.White Beyond Domination: An Essay in the Political Philosophy of Education, London: Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1983, p 13.

[25] International Encyclopaedia of Education, vol 7, New York: Peragamon Press, 1985, p 3790.

[26] Ibid, p 3790.

[27] Ibid, p 3791.

[28] N.Adams Secondary School Management Today, Great Britain: Century Hutchinson Ltd., 1987, p 170.

[29] Ibid, p 170.

[30] C.Pateman Participation and Democratic Theory, London: Cambridge University Press, 1970, pp 70-71.

[31] Ibid, pp 70-71.

[32] White (1983), op cit, p 13.

[33] White (1983), op cit, p 13.

[34] Cabral as quoted by S. Mkhatshwa, Keynote Address delivered at the first National consultative Conference on the Crisis in Education, Johannesburg: University of Witwatersrand, 1985, p 9.

[35] B.Fay 'The future development of a critical social science', in Social Theory And Political Practice, London: Allen and Unwin, 1975, pp 105-107.

[36] M.Gittell Participants and Participation: A Study of School Policy in New York City, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1967, p 4.

[37] Ibid, p 6.

[38] Oosthuizen et al Aspects of Educational Law for Educational Management, Pretoria: van Schaik Publishers, 1994, p 139.

[39] S.R.Arnstein 'Eight rungs on the ladder of citizen participation', in Citizen Participation: Effecting Community Change, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971, p 74.

[40] E.S.Cahn and J.C.Cahn 'Maximum feasible participation : A general overview', in Citizen Participation: Effecting Community Change, New York: Praeger Publishers, 1971, p 39.

[41] White (1983), op cit, p 13.

[42] White (1983), op cit, p 17.

CHAPTER THREE

43   At the outset it must be clarified that documented information pertaining to state

policy with reference to black education, during the period 1910 through to

1947, has been given limited and cursory attention by researchers in this field.

Therefore it must be noted that I am fully conscious of the fact that my analysis

of phase1 might be perceived to have a tendency to be somewhat generalised.

44   The period 1910 has been selected as a significant starting point for this research

study because the year 1910 marks the formalisation of state initiatives with

respect to black education.

45   The period 1948 marks a distinct shift in state policy pertaining to black education as

the National Party came to power, consequently 1948 is perceived to be an

appropriate point to introduce Phase 2 of my discussion.

46   The period 1976 is deemed a crucial point to introduce the third phase of my

discussion as student protest to apartheid in general and apartheid education in

particular set the stage for ultimate transition in South Africa with the institution

of democracy in April 1994.

47   The key consideration of this mini-thesis concerns the historical genesis of

participation as it relates to decision-making, in terms of school governance.

Therefore in attempting to analyse state policy, as well as the oppressed

community's response, I will consciously zone into those aspects of the various

acts, ordinances and regulations that relate directly to participation in decision-

making in terms of school governance.

48   Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 24.

[49] P.Christie The Right to Learn: The Struggle for Education in South Africa, Cape Town: Ravan Press Ltd., 1985, p 65.

[50] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 24.

[51] A.L.Behr Education in South Africa, Origins, Issues and Trends: 1652-1988, Pretoria: Academia Ltd., 1988, p 29.

[52] R.H.Davis 'The administration and financing of African education in South Africa 1910-1953', in Apartheid and Education, P.Kallaway (ed.), Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1984, p 128.

[53] Province of Natal Report of the Education Commission 1937, Pietermaritzburg, 1938, p 92.

[54] Davis (1984), op cit, p 131.

[55] Davis (1984), op cit, p 131.

[56] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 7.

[57] B.Rose and R.Tunmer Documents in South African Education, Johannesburg: A.D.Donker Publishers, 1975, p 237.

[58] Behr (1989), op cit, p 29.

[59] Hartshorne(1992), op cit, p 29.

[60] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 30.

[61] A.L.Behr and R.G.Macmillan Education in South Africa, Pretoria: van Schaik Ltd. Publishers, 1971, p 392.

[62] T.Kulati 'An examination of the historical evolution of the community participation in education in South Africa', unpublished paper, NEPI research project, 1992, p 4.

[63] Ibid, p 5.

[64] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 79.

[65] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 82.

[66] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 81.

[67] A.Bird 'The adult night school movements for blacks on the Witwatersrand 1920-1980', in P.Kallaway (ed) Apartheid and Education, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984, p 198.

[68] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 84.

[69] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 84.

[70] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 85.

[71] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 87.

[72] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 87.

[73] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 87.

[74] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 266.

[75] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 266.

[76] A.L.Behr Education in South Africa Origins, Issues and Trends: 1652-1988, Pretoria: Academia Ltd., 1988, p 33.

[77] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 33.

[78] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 33.

[79] A.L.Behr and R.G.Macmillan Education in South Africa, Pretoria: van Schaik Ltd., Publishers, 1971, p 397.

[80] Ibid, p 397.

[81] Ibid, p 397.

[82] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 126.

[83] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 126.

[84] Behr and Macmillan (1971), op cit, p 399.

[85] M.Horrell A Decade of Bantu Education, Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1964, p 45.

[86] Behr and Macmillan (1971), op cit, p 407.

[87] Behr and Macmillan (1971), op cit, p 407.

[88] J.Butler; R.I.Rotberg and J.Adams The Black Homelands of South Africa.
Berkeley: University of Califonia Press, 1977, p 30.

[89] E.G.Malherbe Education in South Africa, Vol.2, 1923 - 1973, Cape Town: Juta
Ltd., 1976, p 548.

[90] A.L.Behr Education in South Africa Origins, Issues and Trends: 1652-1988,
Pretoria: Academia Ltd., 1988, p 45.

[91] Ibid, p 45.

[92] Ibid, p 45.

[93] Behr and Macmillan (1971), op cit, p 397.

[94] Y.Sayed Educational Policy Developments in South Africa 1990-1994, Ph.D.
Thesis, University of Bristol, 1995, p 224.

[95] M.Horrell A Decade of Bantu Education, Johannesburg: SAIRR, 1964, p 86.

[96] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 96.

[97] T.Lodge 'The Parents' school Boycott: Eastern Cape a nd East Rand Townships,
1955', in P.Kallaway (ed.) Apartheid and Education, Johannesburg: Ravan
Press, 1984, p 271.

[98] Ibid, p 271.

[99] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 96.

[100] J.Davies 'Capital, state and educational reform in South Africa', in P.Kallaway (ed.) Apartheid and Education, Johannesburg: Ravan Press, 1984, p 350.

[101] Ibid, p 351.

[102] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 150.

[103] Davis (1984), op cit, p 341.

[104] Republic of South Africa Government Gazette, No. 6539, Education and Training Act No.90 of 1979, Cape Town: 29 June 1979, pp 2-48.

[105] Ibid, p 6.

[106] Ibid, p 6.

[107] Ibid, p 10.

[108] These calls came from many sources, including the private sector, perhaps most clearly and forcefully at a conference organised by the 1820 Foundation at Grahamstown, from the 3-7 July 1978.

[109] The 1961 Education Panel: Education for South Africa (First Report), Johannesburg: Witwatersrand University Press, 1963.

[110] SPRO-CAS 'Education Beyond Apartheid', Report of the Education Commission of the Study Project on Christianity in Apartheid Society, Johannesburg: 1977, p 26.

[111] Typical of such statements was that of Mr Gavin Relly of the Anglo American Corporation at the Annual Congress of the Association of Chambers of Commerce in Bloemfontein, October 1979 as quoted by K.Hartshorne in Crisis and Challenge, Black Education 1910-1990, p 150.

[112] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 150.

[113] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 151.

[114] Report of the inquiry into the riots at Soweto and Elsewhere from 16 June 1976 to 28 February 1977 (The Cillie Commission) RP 55/1980. SAIRR: Survey of Race Relations, 1980, pp 501-519.

[115] For the purposes of this mini-thesis, guidelines b and c have particular relevance as it relates to the issue of participation in decision-making in education.

[116] A.L.Behr Education in South Africa Origins, Issues and Trends : 1652-1988, Pretoria: Academia Ltd., 1988, p 38.

[117] Ibid, p 39.

[118] Ibid, p 54.

[119] Ibid, p 54.

[120] Ibid, p 55.

[121] Ibid, p 55.

[122] Ibid, p 55.

[123] Ibid, p 55.

[124] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 180.

[125] Behr (1989), op cit, p 58.

[126] Department of National Education, Educational Renewal Strategy: Discussion Document, p 22.

[127] Ibid, p 25.

[128] N.Taylor 'The educational renewal strategy: An agenda for negotiations', p 9.

[129] Ibid, p 9.

[130] Ibid, p 10.

[131] N.Taylor, and P.Metula, 'Shifting Relations of Authority : Public Administration and Curriculum Policy in South Africa', p 21.

[132] Davies (1984), op cit, p 346.

[133] J.Muller 'People's Education and the National Education Crisis Committee', South African Review No. 4, p 19.

[134] D.Adler 'The South African Economy after Apartheid', Conference paper, University of York: Centre for Southern African Studies, 1986, p 1.

[135] Z.Sisulu 'People's Education for People's Power', Transformations 1, p 110.

[136] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 344.

[137] I.Obery 'People's Education : Creating a democratic future', Work in Progress. No. 42, p 8.

[138] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 289.

[139] Hartshorne (1992), op cit, p 289.

[140] Hyslop (1978), op cit, p 1.

[141] Hyslop (1978), op cit, p 1.

[142] Hyslop (1978), op cit, p 3.

[143] Hyslop (1978), op cit, p 5.

[144] Hyslop (1978), op cit, p 5.

[145] Maree (1984), op cit, p 149.

[146] Molteno (1984), op cit, p 93.

[147] Behr and Macmillan (1971), op cit, p 399.

[148] Government publication   Stepping into the future. Pretoria: Erudita Publications, 1976, p 77.

[149] W.Morrow   'The voice of the people?', in Chains of Thought, Johannesburg:: Southern Book Publishers Ltd., 1989, p 13.

[150] Behr and Macmillan (1971), op cit, p 397.

[151] Behr and Macmillan (1971), op cit, p 397.

[152] Z.Sisulu   'People's Education for People's Power', Transformations 1, p 110.

CHAPTER FOUR:

[153] R. Lee   'No Coups d'Etat: Education Policy Change in the 1990's', in Policy, Issues and Actors, Johannesburg: University of the Witwatersrand, 1990, p 2.

[154] Ibid, p 2.

[155] Ibid, p 3.

[156] Pienaar and Spoelstra, as cited by B.R.Grobler in 'Negotiating Process and Skills', Rand Afrikaans University Monograph, 1995, p 1.

[157] Fowler, as cited by B.R.Grobler in 'Negotiating Process and Skills', Rand Afrikaans University Monograph, 1995, p 1.

[158] De Wet, as cited by B.R.Grobler in 'Negotiating Process and Skills', Rand Afrikaans University Monograph, 1995, p 1.

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