

CHANGES IN POWER AND AUTHORITY RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN
SCHOOLING SINCE 1976

BRIAN KENNETH WILLIAMS



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

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

7 December 1990

A B S T R A C T

CHANGES IN POWER AND AUTHORITY RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN
SCHOOLING SINCE 1976.

BRIAN KENNETH WILLIAMS

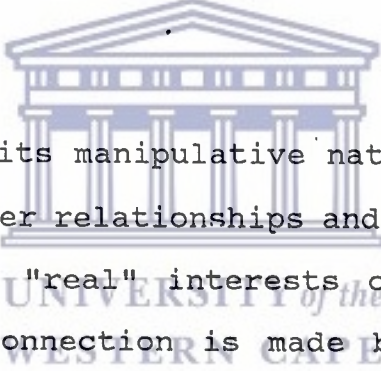
M.Ed. mini-thesis, Department of Philosophy of Education,
University of the Western Cape.



This mini-thesis examines the changed perceptions in the concepts of power and authority in South African schooling. In chapter 1 it is argued that relationships in South African schooling have traditionally been based on hierarchical structures and that because of increased learner-activity and learner-participation the leadership role of the teacher has repeatedly been challenged.

In chapter 2 the different theoretical contexts of the concepts of power and authority are sketched and it is argued that these concepts are socially and historically placed. Chapters 3 and 4 report on a number of interviews held with strategically placed people on their interpretations of changes in power and authority relations in schooling.

Chapter 5 critically analyzes their interpretations and it also argued that these interpretations reflect changed perceptions of power and authority in schooling. Chapter 6 argues for a concept of democracy which is based on participant attitudes. In chapter 7 an analysis is made of the compatibility of a concept of participatory democracy with relationships in schooling and it is argued that for South African schooling to be viable, it is necessary to introduce participatory democracy into that sphere. Chapter 8 discusses the concept of power by analyzing the manipulation of interests through social forces and institutional practices.



I argue that because of its manipulative nature, South African schooling is based on power relationships and that this kind of schooling is not in the "real" interests of the learner. In chapter 9 a necessary connection is made between rights and authority. It is argued that there has been a loss of legitimate authority in South African schooling because of the fact that the right of the teacher to hold authority is undemocratically based.

Chapter 10 argues for a fundamental distinction between power and authority on the grounds of "participant" and "detached" attitudes and also on the grounds of "real" and "subjective" interests. I also analyze the links between democracy and rights. In chapter 11 it is concluded that the changes in power and authority relationships are movements towards democratizing schooling in this country and also that these movements are interrelated to similar movements in the broader socio-political

sphere.



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

A B S T R A K

CHANGES IN POWER AND AUTHORITY RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLING SINCE 1976

BRIAN KENNETH WILLIAMS

M.Ed. mini-tesis, Departement Filosofie van die Opvoeding,
Universiteit van Wes Kaapland.

Hierdie mini-tesis ondersoek die veranderende konsepsies van mag en gesag in Suid-Afrikaanse skoling. In hoofstuk 1 word geargumenteer dat die verhoudings in Suid-Afrikaanse skoling tradisioneel op hiërargiese strukture berus en dat, as gevolg van toenemende leerlingaktiwiteit en leerlingdeelname, die leierskaprol van die onderwyser toenemend bevrage teken begin word.

In hoofstuk 2 word die verskillende teoretiese kontekste van die konsepte mag en gesag uitgespel en word daar geargumenteer dat hierdie konsepte sosiaal en histories geplaas is. Hoofstukke 3 en 4 doen verslag oor 'n aantal onderhoude wat met strategies-geplaasde persone gevoer is. Die onderhoude weerspieël hulle interpretasies van veranderende mag- en gesagsverhoudings in skoling.

Hoofstuk 5 maak 'n kritiese analise van hulle interpretasies en daar word ook geargumenteer dat hulle interpretasies refleksies van veranderende opvattinge van die konsepte van mag en gesag is. Hoofstuk 6 argumenteer vir 'n konsep van demokrasie wat op

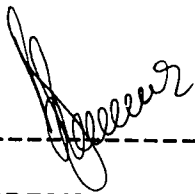
deelnemende gesindhede berus. In hoofstuk 7 word 'n analise van die versoenbaarheid van deelnemende demokrasie en verhoudings in skoling gemaak en word daar geargumenteer dat Suid-Afrikaanse skoling slegs werkbaar sal wees indien dit op deelnemende demokrasie berus. Hoofstuk 8 bespreek die konsep van mag deur 'n analise te maak van die manipulasie van belange deur sosiale magte en institusionele praktyke.

Ek argumenteer dat Suid-Afrikaanse skoling, as gevolg van die manipulerende aard daarvan, op magsverhoudings berus en dat hierdie soort skoling nie in die "ware" belang van die leerder is nie. In hoofstuk 9 word 'n konseptuele verbintenis tussen regte en gesag gemaak. Daar word geargumenteer dat daar 'n verlies aan legitieme gesag in Suid-Afrikaanse skoling is, omdat die regte waarop die onderwyser se gesag berus ondemokraties is.

Hoofstuk 10 argumenteer vir 'n fundamentele onderskeid tussen mag en gesag op grond van "deelnemende" en "nie-deelnemende" gesindhede, en ook op grond van "ware" en "subjektiewe" belange. Ek analiseer ook die verbintenis tussen demokrasie en regte. In hoofstuk 11 word daar tot die slotsom geraak dat die veranderinge in mags- en gesagsverhoudings bewegings is om skoling te demokratiseer en ook dat hierdie bewegings onlosmaaklik verbind is aan soortgelyke bewegings in die breë sosio-politiese sfeer.

D E C L A R A T I O N

I declare that Changes in Power and Authority Relations in South African Schooling since 1976 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 and quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by complete references.



BRIAN KENNETH WILLIAMS

07 DECEMBER 1990

DATE

C O N T E N T S

Abstracts ii

Declaration vi

SECTION I. INTRODUCTION

Chapter 1. Changed perceptions of power and authority relationships. 1

Chapter 2. The methods of research and the different theoretical contexts of the concepts of power and authority. 6

SECTION II. INTERVIEWS: INTERPRETATIONS OF CHANGES IN POWER AND AUTHORITY RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLING.

Chapter 3. Rationale for and nature of interviews. Interview sheet. 10

Chapter 4. Reports on interviews. Summary of data. 17

Chapter 5.	Evaluation of interviews in terms of the concepts of power and authority.	46
SECTION III. PARTICIPATION, DEMOCRACY AND SCHOOLING.		
Chapter 6.	Participant relationships and democracy. ..	50
Chapter 7.	Could schools be run as participatory democracies?	67
Chapter 8.	Power relationships in South African schooling.	77
Chapter 9.	Authority relationships and South African schooling.	88
Chapter 10.	Power and Authority.	102
SECTION IV.		
Chapter 11.	Conclusion.	109
Notes.	112
Bibliography.	115

SECTION I

INTRODUCTION

CHAPTER 1

CHANGED PERCEPTIONS OF POWER AND AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIPS

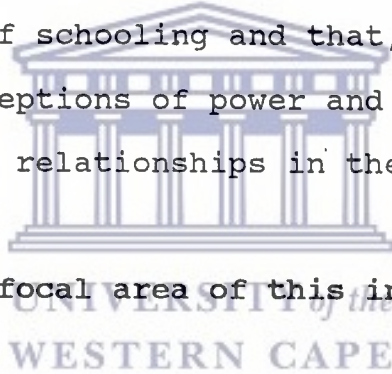
Relationships in South African schooling have traditionally been determined by a strictly hierarchical structure. Since 1976(1) the traditional leadership-role of the teacher has been repeatedly challenged. Concurrently with this there has been a marked increase in learner-activity and learner-participation on and off the schoolgrounds. This tension between traditional leadership, on the one hand, and increasing learner-participation, on the other, has contributed to serious disruptions and, at times, even total breakdowns in South African schooling programmes. These tensions and breakdowns have also drastically influenced perceptions of teachers and learners about power and authority relationships in schooling.

These changed perceptions of power and authority between teachers and learners have been accompanied by, and are interrelated with, changes in relationships between teachers and the education departments which employ them. Teachers traditionally thought of themselves (2) as state employees who had the task of teaching from prescribed syllabi and

textbooks. They perceived their success in terms of pass rates in formal tests and examinations. Inspection reports and individual promotion on the hierarchical ladder of the school also featured prominently in their perceptions of success. Since 1976 this perception of the role of the teacher has changed considerably. There has been a shift in emphasis from actual classroom teaching to the relationship between teaching practices and broader social and political practices. There has been a growing awareness of the interrelationship between actual classroom practices and socio-political practices. This growing awareness has not only altered the perception teachers had of themselves, but it has also caused serious tensions in the relationships between teachers and education departments. This, too, influenced the perceptions of power and authority relationships in South African schooling.

Any investigation into changing power and authority relationships in South African Schooling cannot fail to place those changes in the context of the broader socio-political sphere. The interrelationship between the breakdown in traditional power and authority relationships in schooling and resistance and struggle in the broader socio-political context must be emphasised. An important aspect of this investigation is to highlight that the effects of changed perceptions in power and authority are not only experienced inside schools, but also outside schools.

A further aspect of importance is in the analysis of whether breakdowns in schooling programmes contribute to the development of democratic relationships and democratic practices in schools. It has to be investigated whether such breakdowns are forms of rejection of power and authority, per se, or rejections of particular conceptions of power and authority. Are these breakdowns attempts at developing more democratic perceptions of power and authority or are they the precursors to anarchy in schools? Again, it must be emphasized that the effects of the breakdowns are not only confined to the sphere of schooling and that, in the longer term, these altered perceptions of power and authority in schooling will influence relationships in the broader society.



Central problem and the focal area of this investigation

The central problem of the investigation is to examine the changes in power and authority relationships in South African schooling and to analyse whether those changes in relationships are developments towards democratizing South African schooling. Part of this problem is to investigate whether changes in the sphere of schooling occurred in isolation of changes in the broader socio-political sphere.

In general focus, the investigation will be a theoretical (philosophical) and historical discussion of those issues around the tensions in the traditional leadership role in schools. A central aim will be to disarticulate the concepts

of power and authority from hierarchical and oppressive practices and structures and to rearticulate the concepts of power and authority in terms of democratic practices and structures. Conceptual connections between authority, participant attitudes and democracy will be examined. The notions of "real" interests and "subjective" interests are discussed and are used to make clear the distinctions between power and authority. A conceptual connection between power and detached attitudes is investigated, and Steven Lukes's (3) distinctions of the concept of power are used in an attempt to come to a clear understanding of the forms of manipulation associated with power. The investigation also reflects on the conceptual connection between authority and legitimate rights. I also briefly discuss teaching methods as well as curriculum and textbook contents to highlight the effects of those on traditional conceptions of power and authority. These methods and contents, however, are not principal focal concerns.

This investigation will not be confined to changes in any particular sector of South African schooling and an attempt is made to cover as broad as possible a spectrum. However, particular attention will be concentrated on high schools because of the drastic nature of changes in that sector.

In this chapter I have highlighted changed perceptions of power and authority relationships in South African schooling and, also, the possibility of those changed relationships

contributing to democratising practices and structures. The central thrust of this minithesis is to rearticulate those perceptions. Chapter 2 will focus on the method of research.



CHAPTER 2

THE METHODS OF RESEARCH AND THE DIFFERENT THEORETICAL CONTEXTS OF THE CONCEPTS OF POWER AND AUTHORITY

In Chapter 1 it was indicated that this investigation will be a theoretical and historical discussion of the issues around changing perceptions of power and authority in South African schooling. The method of investigation is not an empirical one, but it includes various interpretations, hypotheses, deductions, claims, etc. from the work of numerous authors. This is combined with a number of interviews held with strategically placed people who experienced these changing perceptions. Interviewees were chosen from and included, inter alia, members of the teaching profession, at both secondary and tertiary level, a former executive official in an education department, representatives from sports bodies, student organizations, churches and the parent community. Interviews were of the "free-style" type and interviewees were encouraged to speak freely on their perceptions of power and authority and of relationships in schooling. The perceptions of each interviewee are individually reported and these are also critically discussed.

The approach of this investigation is a philosophical-theoretical one and it places the concepts of power and authority in a particular historical context. Concepts like "power" and "authority" cannot be viewed in isolation from

this theoretical and historical context. In this an element of Interpretative theory is supported. According to this theoretical approach the concepts involved construct the field of research. In these terms concepts are part of the social world. Interpretative theorists offer "intentional" explanations. They explain human action in terms of the intentions guiding those actions. These intentions can only be understood by the social theorist if she empathises with those whose actions are explained. According to this the concepts of "power" and "authority" become part of the field of research. Conceptions of power and authority construct our conceptions of schooling practices. The authority of the teacher is constituted by the way in which her authority is conceptualized by those with whom she holds authority. The authority of the teacher is linked to the interpretations of her authority by, amongst others, her peers, the parents, learners and the broader socio-political sphere. The conceptualizations and interpretations of authority by peers, parents, learners and the socio-political sphere are linked to relationships in schooling. Power and authority relationships in schooling are not independent from the conceptualizations and interpretations thereof. It is along these lines that the interviews play an important role in this investigation. The interviews attempted to capture the actual conceptualizations and interpretations of the peers, parents, learners and the broader socio-political sphere. Their actual conceptualizations and interpretations of changes in power and authority relationships in schooling form an

important part of this investigation because they inform the attitudes to which relationships in schooling must be linked. The authority of the teacher is not independent from those with whom she holds authority.

In contrast with the Interpretative Theory, Positivist theories make a logical distinction between the concepts and the social world. These theories regard the concepts of power and authority as logically independent from the practices of schooling. A positivist theorist will argue for universal and time-less concepts of power and authority. An investigation into power and authority, in this case, is made by a technical expert who will argue for a concept which is not historically and socially placed. The authority of the teacher is independent from those with whom she holds that authority. In this the authority of the teacher is not linked to the interpretations of the peers, parents and learners. Her authority is determined by "neutral" and "scientific" laws which are independent from the above interpretations. Her authority is linked to laws which are determined by scientific experts. The teacher then becomes a technical expert in the field of schooling, with "neutral" authority. This conceptualization of authority, I will argue in this investigation, is one which allows for manipulation and subjugation. This conceptualization of authority is presently the reigning one for the administrators of South African schooling.

Critical theories accept the historical and social location of concepts, as argued for by Interpretivist theorists. Critical theories also argue that concepts cannot be logically independent from the social world they try to explain. However, these theories emphasize that the concepts are the products of particular historical developments. These theorists argue that the intentions guiding people's actions are influenced by particular historical developments. These historical developments, then, influence the particular conceptions people have of power and authority. As such, historical developments influence people's conceptions of schooling practices. Now the authority of the teacher is the result of particular historical developments in her society. Along these lines it can be argued that the traditional authority of the South African teacher is the result of particular historical developments in this country.

In short, my method of investigation is not an empirical one, and it accepts that the concepts of power and authority are historically and socially based. In chapter 1 the changing perceptions of power and authority, as well as the central problem and focal areas of the investigation were indicated. Chapter 2 briefly reflected on the methods of research and the different theoretical contexts of power and authority. In the next section I will report on the interviews in an attempt to highlight a number of actual conceptualizations and interpretations of power and authority relationships in schooling.

SECTION II

INTERVIEWS : INTERPRETATIONS OF THE CHANGES IN POWER AND AUTHORITY RELATIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLING

CHAPTER 3

RATIONALE FOR AND NATURE OF INTERVIEWS:

The central reason for doing these interviews was to come to a more concrete understanding of issues around recent changes in power and authority relationships in South African schooling. The effectiveness of the interviews, in my opinion, is increased by the fact that the interviewees were strategically placed. In my choice of interviewees I was circumspect in selecting representative voices from different groups involved with schooling. These voices, in a certain sense, did not speak only for themselves, but also explained the perspectives of certain groups and institutions in South African society. An interviewee was not only chosen on the grounds of being a student, parent, teacher or a minister, but rather on the grounds of his or her involvement with other school-related groups. A teacher would then be chosen on the grounds of her involvement with, for instance, a sports body and or teachers' organisation and such an opinion would reflect the opinions of other members within those groups.

Interviewees were chosen from a number of groups linked to the

field of schooling. They ranged from members of the teaching profession (at both secondary and tertiary level), a former executive official in an education department as well as representative voices from sports bodies, church-groupings and the parent community. I chose 11 such representative voices. Some of the interviewees could also be representative of more than one grouping - e.g. a teacher could also be an active member of a church or sportsbody. Some interviewees were from teacher-training institutions and some of them offered interesting reflections on the role of teacher-training in present day as well as in the post-Apartheid society.

The nature of the interviews:



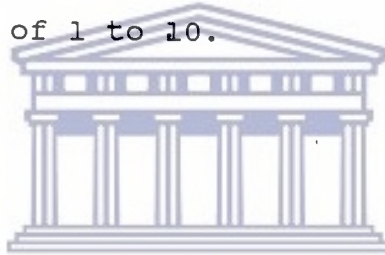
This section focuses on the kinds of questions asked as well as the rationale for those questions.

The interview is regarded as a "free-style"-type because questions were designed to encourage interviewees to speak freely on their perspectives on the changes in power and authority relationships in schooling. The interview-sheet was sub-divided into 3 sections. Section A dealt with the historical location of the interviewee; section B cited a number of illustrative examples of possible changes in power and authority relations and asked interviewees (a) whether there were other incidents they regarded as salient, and (b) to prioritize the incidents according to historical significance; section C probed the views and perspectives of

the interviewee on the changes in relationships.

Section A:

Here I established the historical position - i.e. position in relation to the sphere of schooling - in 1976, 1980, and 1987. I guarded against rigidly classifying interviewees into groups (e.g. teacher, pupil, church, parent) because of the overlapping that occurred. The interviewee also had to rate the significance of the changes in power and authority relationships on a scale of 1 to 10.



Section B:

Here 10 incidents signifying changes in power and authority relationships were provided. Each incident served as an example of a possible change in relationships - for instance, example 1 dealt with the refusal by some teachers in Cape Town schools to administer final examinations in 1985, which highlighted a change in relationships between teachers and administrative authorities.

These 10 incidents could be divided into 3 groups. One group of incidents signified action in the teacher and student component. A second group illustrated the reaction on the side of the administrative authorities. Police action and reaction is highlighted in the third group. Interviewees were also given the opportunity to add to the list of incidents.

These additional incidents also emphasized the significance of the changes in relationships. Interviewees were also expected to give reasons for the inclusion of extra incidents. They were then expected to choose and list 3 of the original incidents in order of importance.

Section C:

Here the perspectives of the interviewees on the changes in relationships were probed. Interviewees were encouraged to relate their views freely. They were also encouraged to offer their views on alternatives to present relationships in schooling.



I N T E R V I E W S H E E T

A. General Historical Location :

1. Age :
2. Sex :
3. Position in 1976 :
4. Position in 1980 :
5. Position in 1987 :
6. Do you think that there have been changes in the South African schooling system over the past decade?



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

7. Please rate your answer on a scale of 1-10.

Very definitely NO = 1

Very definitely YES = 10

B. PLEASE CHOOSE THREE OF THE FOLLOWING INCIDENTS ON THE GROUNDS OF THEIR SIGNIFICANCE FOR THE CHANGES IN POWER AND AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIPS.

1. 1985: Teachers refuse to administer examinations.
2. Uitenhage: Principal transferred because of pressure.
3. Bellville: Pupils refuse to be taught by "white" teachers.
4. Supreme Court: Teachers' Body seeking interdict against "Minister of Education"
5. 1985: Establishment of P.T.S.A.s.
6. 1976: Shooting of Hector Petersen.
7. 1987: Wynberg: Pupils sentenced to effective jail terms.
8. Misconduct charges against teachers in "crises" times.
9. Commemoration of dates: May 1, June 16 and 17.
10. Establishment of S.R.C.s.



C. QUESTION 1:

Please motivate your choice of incidents:

QUESTION 2:

State other incidents which in your opinion also influenced the changes in power and authority relationships.



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

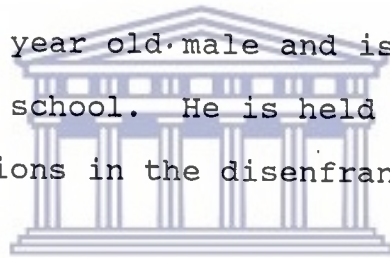
CHAPTER 4

REPORTS ON INTERVIEWS CONDUCTED IN 1987 AND 1988.

Reporting on the interviews will be done in the present tense as this allows the free use of quotations and also conveys the "tone" of interviews as effectively as possible.

Interview 1.

This interviewee is a 56 year old male and is principal of a prominent Cape Town high school. He is held in high esteem by many community organisations in the disenfranchised community of South Africa.



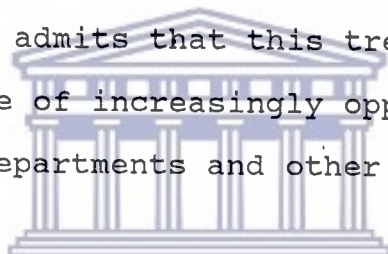
UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The interviewee states that he has experienced changes in power and authority relationships at his school over the period 1976 - 1986 and he also accepts that these changes could have occurred on a national scale. At the level of secondary schools he rates these changes at 7. He regards the transferral of teachers, misconduct charges and the establishment of student representative councils (no. 2,8 and 10 on the interview sheet) as significant indicators of changed relationships over the decade. He also notes changed attitudes to corporal punishment as another significant indicator.

The interviewee feels particularly strongly that an

educational institution should have its own philosophy. The philosophy of the headmaster would have a great influence on that of the school. He warns against rigidity on the side of the headmaster in the formulation of such a philosophy and asks for an openness to the ideas of the staff, parent community and, to an extent, those of pupils.

He recognises the growing trend in the allowing of students the right to participation in decision-making at schools. He also feels that this trend could only increase in intensity. However, the interviewee admits that this trend might temporarily slide because of increasingly oppressive measures applied from education departments and other state institutions.




UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

He also stresses that the headmaster of any school plays an important role in the success or failure of such repressive measures and says that the principal serves as the only officially recognised channel of communication between the department and the school. As such the principal could play a significant role in the harassment of teachers and pupils at schools. Authoritarianism, very prevalent in South African schooling, according to the interviewee, could thus be bolstered or curbed by the principal. He also states that "... if one protects your vested interest, one will not offend your masters ..." and that he "however, could live without a job, but not without a conscience ...".

On authoritarianism the interviewee reflects on corporal punishment. This, in his opinion affects the total structure of a school - it affects the power and authority relations in schools.

It is a form of force practised against pupils ... and though ... I have no evidence, I feel that the day is not far removed when students in general are going to act against this type of force.

Interview 2:



This interviewee is a 59 old male. He is an ex-Director of an education department. He agrees that the power and authority relations over the past decade have changed considerably. He qualifies this by dividing schools into rural and urban groups. With the latter he rates the changes at 8. Rural schools are rated at 5. Rates changes in primary schools at 2.

He regards the transferral of teachers, misconduct charges and the establishment of S.R.C.s (no. 2,8 and 10 on the interview sheet) as important indicators of the changes in power and authority relations. He also refers to party political interference in trying to analyze the reasons for changes in power and authority.

This interviewee is of opinion that the functioning of the education department has become much more difficult since the tri-cameral parliamentary system. He not only refers to the administrative running of such a department, but also to the policies thereof. As a chief administrative official he found it extremely difficult to match the policies of the politicians with the realities of the teaching situation. Reference is made to the transferral of personnel during 6 "unrest periods". In this specific case care should be taken, in the interviewee's opinion, in the transferring of principals of schools, lest it creates the impression that "pupils have 'power' in their boycotting actions". He also cautions against the "threats of misconduct", and recommends that such charges only be made in extreme cases and also with great circumspection.



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The interviewee also raises criticism against "new laws" (in the mid 1980s) on S.R.C.s. He mentions the necessity of organized student representation - especially at tertiary level. He, however, qualifies, and even questions, the principle of student participation in decision making at secondary and primary level. The interviewee now emphasizes that a "strong" principal (headmaster) will at all times be "in control" of such a representative body and that such bodies shall preferably be under the auspices of a teacher.

He sees a change in student demands over the past decade. These changes are evident in the slogans on placards and walls

at schools and other educational institutions. Student demands in 1976 centred around physical facilities. The lack of facilities are to be attributed - at least partly - to the old system of "church schools" and "state funded schools". These facilities improved by greater state spending on books, buildings and teacher salaries. He recognizes that since 1980 and 1981 and especially since 1985 (the date of inception of the tri-cameral parliament), demands became overtly political in nature - and thus also much more difficult to meet; from an administrative point of view.



Interview 3:

The interviewee is a 48 year old male. He is a high school principal in the Eastern Cape and is active in community organizations. He serves as an executive member of a teachers' body as well as of a prominent sports body. He had also - during 1984 student protests - been detained without trial.

The interviewee agrees that there have been changes in power and authority relationships, but immediately states certain reservations. He says that during certain phases in the decade a rating of up to 10 can be given to the changes. However, he now feels that the initiative has slipped from the hands of students and community organizations in the Eastern Province. He also states that one should recognize the changes

in relationships in relation to the pre-1976 era. The interviewee also states that the role of the Black Consciousness (B.C.) Movement and the South African Students Organisation (S.A.S.O.) in the pre-1976 era and students protests since 1976 has led to a new awareness from which there is no turning back.

This thing has its context ... you have no clear yes or no answer ... you may say 10 to 15 years from now that this was the crucial period ... perhaps we can say that the turning point in this whole thing ... a breakaway from a period of almost total repression between the sixties and seventies was your Black Consciousness Movement. ... and '76 following on that You have moved forward. Things will never be quite the same again because you've got a new level of consciousness ... but whether you can put things starkly in that yes/no type of thing categories... you don't know ...

1976 started merely as a reaction against Afrikaans and developed into a rejection of the entire system. '80 took it a step further and brought student organizations articulating anti-capitalist ideas and also associating with the burgeoning working class ... it is showing a development all the time ... those particular periods on a scale of 10 would range between 7 and 8 ..."

The interviewee regards the transferral of teachers (no. 2 on the interview sheet) as of particular importance for the Eastern Province and the country as a whole. In his opinion the transferral of a headmaster from a Senior Secondary school in Uitenhage was the result of the combined pressure from students, teachers, community organizations and trade unions.

that is a much more complex situation ... it does show the transfer of power more than anything else ... that situation is a unique incident in which through the combination of parents, teachers, students, trade unions ... made the department, in fact, not the department, but the entire state machinery, to break down. That was the first time in the history of your various ethnic education departments where transfers were challenged. That whole situation started because of Labour Party attempts to hit back at the South African Council on Sport (S.A.C.O.S.) They just got into the tri-cameral parliament and they were flexing their muscles.

About the transferral of three teachers in the Eastern Cape he states:

Alan Hendrickse very meekly had capitulated and said that he would reinstate them (3 teachers transferred) without any conditions. That particular incident illustrates the power shift

you're talking about. If that is put in its proper perspective then you can see that that was a direct challenge to the power of the tri-cameral parliament and they were found wanting ...

With reference to misconduct charges (no. 8 on the interview sheet) the interviewee again refers to the involvement of the Labour Party in several instances. His attitude on this "unfair" (interviewee's opinion) interference is to challenge and contest the education department (and the Labour Party) in court. He talks about an "aggressive attitude" towards the education department.

We've been actually adopting that sort of aggressive type of attitude ... the Julian Fick (an assumed name) incident ended in exactly the same way. I told them (the education department) that if they wanted me to answer questions, they must put it in writing and I'll go to my lawyer and we'll answer them in writing ... that's where that matter stopped ... in that respect there has been a permanent ... a definite switch An inspector can no longer come in here and say 'I'm investigating this...will you answer the following questions' ...chaps don't do that any more ...

With reference to charges of misconduct against teachers who refused to administer final examinations in 1985 (no. 1 on the

interview sheet) he says :

... the department is going to lose that (court) case also. I don't know why they're persisting with it - they're going to lose it Look at the reputation of the people involved - their record in education - they (the department) don't stand a chance ... but again, even those incidents illustrate the shift of power which you say ...because those were not purely decisions taken by those teachers. Again it was the parents and the teachers - there were meetings in Cape Town every day and parents became actively involved.



Interview 4:

The interviewee is a 18 year old male student at a Cape Town High School. He is an executive member of the S.R.C. at his school and also serves as a representative to regional (Western Cape) student organizations.

He agrees that there have been changes in power and authority relationships in the field of schooling, but then divides the extent of these changes into two different levels. He rates the changes at actual school level (or tertiary level) at approximately between 8 and 10, but recognizes minimal change at the level of parents and the community at large.

In Section B the refusal by teachers to administer the final examinations (no. 1 on the interview sheet) is a significant indicator of changes in power and authority relations.

Ek dink dat uit hierdie situasie het gekom ... dat die student, as sulks, nie alles meer aanvaar nie, sy oë het oopgegaan ... dit was nog nooit voorheen so dat studente geweier het om eksamen te skryf nie - "progressive students" het gesê tot hiertoe en nie verder nie; dit was 'n teken van "protest" teen die administrasie. Vir my is dit 'n groot stap vorentoe omdat dit 'n eerste stap vorentoe is om as't ware te baklei vir onse eiendom ...

With this he links misconduct charges against teachers (no. 8 on the interview sheet). He welcomes this "new attitude" and "renewed interest" amongst teachers in the "struggle". He talks about a new awareness amongst teachers of their "sufferings" under the education department.

Ek is bly dat hulle (onderwysers) uiteindelik besef het ... dat die administrasie hulle beheer as hulle nie hulle werk na hulle (die administrasie se) sin doen nie ... dat hulle ook maar net "puppets" is van die administrasie; ook maar net "puppets" is van die regering...Hoekom hulle (those teachers charged with misconduct) hof toe gesleep is, is omdat hulle net die waarheid gepraat het ... dat hulle geveg het ...

dat hulle afgewyk het van die akademiese rigting;
dat hulle die studente op 'n breë vlak ingelig het.
In my sienswyse is dit so dat as die onderwysers
daardie stelsel kan volg, die eindproduk 'n beter
student sal wees ...

He sees in the establishment of S.R.C.s (no. 10 on the interview sheet) the realization of a long standing need for bodies representing student opinion. He also regards an S.R.C. as a necessity at any school. This necessity is born in the conservatism of high school principals as well as in the need for the distribution of information amongst the student body. This interviewee has also made me more sensitive to the issues of corporal punishment and school uniform. He says that S.R.C.s can serve in these needs as well.

In reference to the establishment of Parent-Teacher-Student Associations (no. 5 on the interview sheet) he says that this is a logical development. He says that these P.T.S.A.s will serve to counter the conservatism and ignorance amongst parents. He hopes that those parents who attend these meetings will hopefully spread the message of progressive organizations amongst their friends.

In addition to the list the interviewee identifies a growing awareness of injustices amongst white students in the South African society. He, however, feels that their parents apply

pressure on them to accept the status quo.

In section C the interviewee states that these changes are viewed in a positive light. He attributes his own awareness of societal ills to these changes. He regards his experiences in 1985 - and his refusal to write the final examinations in 1985 - as vitally important to his own development as a student and member of the South African society.

He finally sees 1985 as a watershed year from which there is no turning back. He sees in that same year the beginning of an era of critical thinking amongst students. He also detects changes in the attitudes of students towards other "cultural groups" in the country. In this he refers to "cross cultural mixing" at mass meetings of students.

Interview 5:

The interviewee is a student, 19 years of age, at a university in the Western Cape. He was the chairperson of the S.R.C. (1984 and 1985) at a Peninsula High School. He also served as student representative to regional student bodies in the Western Cape.

He is in agreement with the statement that changes in power and authority relations in schools have occurred and he then differentiates in his rating of those changes for urban and

rural high schools. Urban high schools are rated at 8 whilst rural high schools attain a figure of 6. He explains that even though the rating of 8 is very high the stage of "total change" (totale omwenteling) is still far off.

In section B the refusal to administer examinations (no. 1 on the interview sheet) is of significance to the interviewee.

Hier het onderwysers meer betrokke geraak by die "demands" van die leerlinge. Dit het aan die leerlinge bewys dat hulle nie alleen staan nie en dat onderwysers saam met hulle (leerlinge) simpatiseer. Onderwysers het veroorsaak dat hulle na die middelpunt van die "struggle" geskuif word en dat hulle nie meer in isolasie gesien word as mense wat nie omgee en net eenkant staan nie.

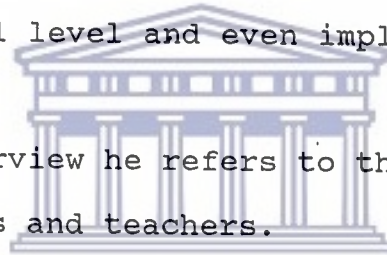
The establishment of P.T.S.A.s (no. 5 on the interview sheet) is second on his list.

Hier het die gemeenskap nou betrokke geraak by die skool ... en groter insae gehad in die sake van die skool. Dit het die ouers ingetrek by die "struggle" - wat baie belangrik is. Dit het mense verenig - leerlinge, onderwysers, ouers, ens. ...

He also regards the establishment of S.R.C.s (no. 10 on the interview sheet) as an important step. He regards this as a

development of student power, a development that led to students organizing themselves at school level. This led to a greater involvement in the "struggle" by students. Their involvement in community affairs and organizations and also the establishment of regional and national student bodies are of particular importance to the interviewee. He adds that the advent of student power at school level also had an effect on the community at large. Students now also more actively participated in progressive community organizations. Decisions taken at such meetings outside schools were, in turn, discussed at school level and even implemented there.

In section C of the interview he refers to the closer unity between students, parents and teachers.



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Voor 1985 ... in die progressiewe ontwikkeling van onderwysers, leerlinge en ouers ... was daar nie 'n eenheidsgevoel onder gemeenskap ten opsigte van daardie drie basisse nie. Toe kom 1985 ... geweld ... en juis grootliks as gevolg van die geweld ... het hierdie drie faksies nader aan mekaar beweeg ...

To the interviewee this led to the establishment of progressive teachers bodies, e.g. Western Cape Teachers Union (W.E.C.T.U.), parents joining P.T.S.A.s, and also the linking of local S.R.C.s into bodies such as the Congress of South African Students (C.O.S.A.S.) and its regional affiliates. The organization of protest action was then made easier and a

greater level of awareness of the intensity of the "struggle" in 1985 resulted. He also cautions against automatically accepting that "everybody attained this level of awareness". He is of the opinion that a great number of people still are ignorant of the intensity of the "struggle", and that these people refuse to adapt to the changes in schools. He regards the House of Representatives as an example of these ignorant people and states that their power base in schools is rapidly diminishing.

Soos wat hulle merk dat hulle magsbasis verswak, tree hulle harder op teenoor die skole, want waar mens nou kan sien die klagtes wat hulle gelê het teen onderwysers wat nie die 1985 eksamens wou administreer nie Leerlinge wat nou in hofsake betrokke is ... dit alles duidaarop dat hoe meer veranderinge plaasvind en hoe minder mag die administrasie het, hoe harder sal die administrasie optree (teenoor die skole).

He regards the changes in schools as inevitable, irrespective of whether one views those changes positively or negatively. He detects an improvement in student thinking in comparison to pre 1976 students. He refers to the impatience of students with the slow rate of movement towards a new South African society. This impatience leads to frustration amongst students, which in turn leads to violence. This, he feels, strengthens the need to organize effectively, in order

eventually to attain the rating of 10, which, to him, means total control over schools by students, teachers and parents. He, however, notes that their state of total control will only flow from a much stronger power base. This power base has to be established in the workplace by parents and workers. The interviewee regards the celebration of "freedom days" (cultural days), which are respected by students and workers, as a movement in the direction to establish that power base in the work place. In this he also refers to communal meetings of students and workers. He also adds the work done by community organizations such as South African Youth Congress (S.A.Y.C.O.), C.O.S.A.S. and Congress of South African Trade Unions (C.O.S.A.T.U.).



Interview 6:

The interviewee is a 19 year old female student at a university in Western Cape. She has been, and still is, very active in student political activity. She is an ex-pupil of a Cape Flats High school where she participated in the activities of the S.R.C.

The interviewee agrees that there have been changes in power and authority relationships in the field of schooling. She accepts that there had been drastic changes ("drastiese veranderinge") and gives a rating of approximately 7 to 8 at most Peninsula and Western Cape schools.

In section B the refusal to administer examinations (no. 1 on the interview sheet) is to her most significant of the changes over the past decade. In this refusal to administer examinations she reads one of the most concrete forms of support (by teachers) for the student cause. The link between students and teachers have through this been considerably strengthened. It also signalled, to the interviewee, the first real movement away from conservatism in ranks of teachers. It thus paved the way for the establishment of "progressive" teachers bodies, e.g. W.E.C.T.U.

The fact that teachers had to face the threats of sacking, transferrals and misconduct charges (no. 8 on the interview sheet) brought that component (teachers) closer to students and the rest of the community. This link between students, teachers and workers is also celebrated in national youth day; from there the importance of the dates June 16 and 17 (no. 9 on the interview sheet).

She finally states (in Section B) that the shooting of Hector Petersen signalled a new era in political activity and awareness of social injustices in South Africa. It in fact, has given new impetus to the freedom movement in this country.

In section C she refers to the closer unity between the components student, teacher and parent. This has led to the establishment of P.T.S.A.s. She also finds that an increasing number of students are becoming involved with the unemployment

problems in the Western Cape. She specifically refers to an anti-unemployment campaign by students of Bellville Youth Movement (B.Y.M.), an affiliate of S.A.Y.C.O.

The interviewee also regards the influence of regional and national student bodies as very important. These bodies not only influence local S.R.C. thinking, but also make students more aware of their important role in bringing about social changes. She thus stresses the importance of affiliation to these bodies.



Interview 7:

This interviewee is a 40 year old male lecturer at a university. He has been involved in teaching at a tertiary institution over the past decade. He presently holds an executive position in a teachers' organization.

The interviewee recognizes changes in the relationship between students and teachers since 1976. He typifies the relationship between students and teachers as one of authority ("magsverhouding"). He also, states that in the pre 1976 era respect in this relationship mainly, practically only, came from students. Since 1976 students have perceived teachers, principals, inspectors as an extension of state authority. The interviewee holds this as a popular, but not necessarily true, perception on the part of students. He stresses that

this perception seriously affected the position of the principal, especially since 1980. He saw very little support for student political activities in 1976 from the teacher component. This situation has changed remarkably since 1983 and 1984. The interviewee attributes the change from a neutral stance to one of active involvement to external factors. He regards the establishment of the United Democratic Front (U.D.F.) in 1983 as an important unifying factor in the causes of students, teachers, and parents. This led to much stronger opposition from a unified front. The establishment of the tri-cameral parliament in 1985, as well as issues around examinations in 1985 are also regarded as external factors which led to closer links between the three components.



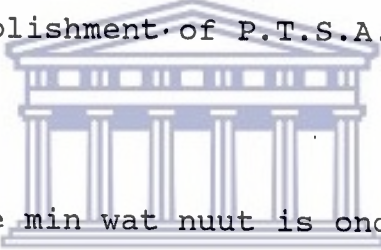
UNIVERSITY of the

He also recognizes development and progress in the nature of student activities since 1976 and he regards student activities in 1976, and to a certain extent also in 1980, as sloganism.

Daar is vir my duidelik 'n verandering. As jy na hulle denke, maar ook na hulle optrede kyk. Hulle het meer gesofistikeerd geraak ... ook wat die politiek betref ... dit is nie net Marx ... nie net 'n bolangse kennis nie ... slagspreuke aangryp nie ... maar daar is 'n duidelike kennis. Ook in die opposisie teen die staatsbeleid in die land was vir my ontwikkeling gewees.

In section B the interviewee regards the refusal to administer examinations (no. 1 on the interview sheet) as being a significant indicator of changes in power relationships between teachers and education departments. The misconduct charges brought against teachers (no. 8 on the interview sheet), as a reaction against the above refusal, is seen by the interviewee as an attempt by the state (in the form of the education department) to re-establish its power in that particular field.

He also regards the establishment of P.T.S.A.s as an important development.



Daar is eintlik baie min wat nuut is onder the son. Baie keer dink die studente hulle het byvoorbeeld die "struggle invent". Ek was lieflik verras om te sien dat in die vroeg vyftiger-jare daar P.T.S.A.s was, terwyl ons gedink het in 1985 dis 'n wonderlike idee. Dit bly eweneens belangrik, want sodra ouers betrokke raak, is dit belangrik.

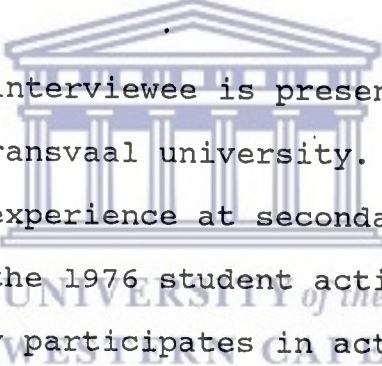
The shooting of Hector Petersen (no. 6 on the interview sheet) is also referred to as a catalyst for political activities and political development of students. He recognizes the symbolic importance of Hector Petersen and states that his name will be recorded in the history of the freedom movement.

In the recognition of May Day (no. 9 on the interview sheet)

the interviewee views the significance on a different level.

Dit is belangrik ... vir die eerste keer was die regering so ver geforseer om dit as May Day te erken. Dit is baie meer op die gebied van die "Trade Unions" vir die Regering ... en nie so baie die student nie...

Interview 8:



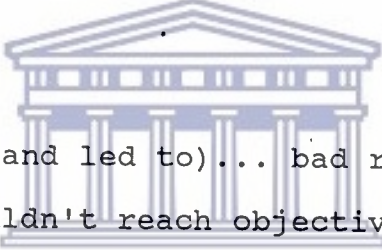
This 33 year old female interviewee is presently a full time Education student at a Transvaal university. She has more than ten years teaching experience at secondary school level. Her experience includes the 1976 student actions in Sebokeng and Soweto. She actively participates in activities of the National Education Crises Committee (N.E.C.C.) in these areas. She agrees that there have been changes in power and authority relationships in schools and gives a rating of 10 to those changes.

In section B the transferral of teachers (no. 2 on the interview sheet) is of significance. She highlights that in her region two types of transferrals took place : (i) certain principals asked to be transferred because they were unhappy at schools or were unable to meet the demands of their jobs; (ii) other teachers were transferred by education departments because of their involvement in student actions. She

sympathizes with the latter group.

It is correct for teachers to side with students under certain circumstances ...(in order to).... expose certain unfairnesses in education and society Student pressure has even at times led to the return of such (transferred) teachers

In addition to the list in Section B she adds the significance of Afrikaans as a medium of instruction in 1976 student actions.



It is important ...(and led to)... bad results because students couldn't reach objectives. This was due to negative attitudes (towards the Afrikaans issue) on the part of students and teachers.

She also raises corporal punishment as a possible cause for 1976 student actions. This, linked to Afrikaans, led to "riots" at schools where principals and teachers were insensitive to these issues.

In Section C the interviewee states that she regards the views and inputs of students as important. She regards the changes in power and authority relationships as progress. She accepts that students have a right to be heard and a right to have an influence in the running of schools. In the making of this principled statement she also holds a reservation about the

ways in which students exercise this right.

Discipline in the schools should however be better. Students should not try to run (control) the school alone ...

She accepts that students, teachers and parents have moved closer to one another since 1976.

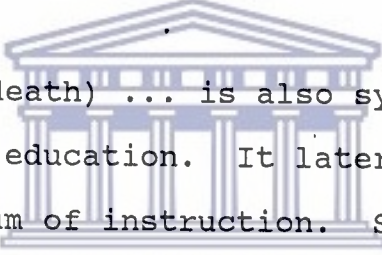
Old school committees were not enlightened. They never questioned the rules of the administration. They were out of feeling with students and teachers and they were not prepared to compromise... followed rules and were not flexible. They were not representative either, and very few (of their members) were involved... politically involved that is ...with P.T.S.A.s we have closer links ... they are politically inclined ... which is an improvement. Now 80% of parents are involved ...(a lot of them) are enlightened ... which shows the force of the N.E.C.C.

Interview 9:

The interviewee is a female part-time student at a Transvaal university. She is a teacher at a secondary school in Soweto. Her experience as teacher includes the 1976 student actions in

these townships. She is a founder member of the Soweto Parents Crises Committee (S.P.C.C.) and she also supports the N.E.C.C. She agrees that changes in power and authority relations is a form of progress and gives a rating of 6 out of 10.

In section B she regards the death of Hector Petersen (no. 6 on the interview sheet) as being of utmost importance. This led to a "revolution" in student behaviour and docile students had been changed into questioning students.




(Hector Petersen's death) ... is also symbolic for all inequalities in education. It later removed Afrikaans as a medium of instruction. Students (because of his death) wanted the whole system of education to be changed.

The "reforms" introduced by the government could not stem the tide of this "revolution". The bias of the De Lange Commission served as a further catalyst in student action. The government, according to the interviewee, tried to silence students with free stationary and textbooks. She also stresses the grave mistake (by the Commission) of ignoring compulsory education.

In 1984 and 1985 there was practically a total stayaway ... (the slogan of) 'Liberation before Education' was important. This led to the launching of the S.P.C.C. in

1986 which asked pupils to return to schools. Also the N.E.C.C. was later formed ... a new slogan of 'Education for Liberation' was introduced. (In answer to this) the government introduced the state of emergency to oppress (popular opinion).

The interviewee sees a link between the refusal of students to be taught by white teachers (no. 3 on the interview sheet) and the refusal to administer examinations (no. 1 on the interview sheet). There is a symbolism locked in this refusal by students and teachers.



(These teachers) ... had no relationship with students, parents or teachers (colleagues). The Administration is mostly white. They draw up the curriculum, send it pre-packaged, do not consult the parents, students and teachers. In this they introduce what they feel to be right for the masses ... a culture that is dominant is from a white point of view ... they use the hidden curriculum. In this hidden curriculum the majority of students never reach the top ... it's done purposely ... in order to ensure cheap labour.

The relationship between student and teachers is also very significant to the interviewee. She feels that students have played an increasingly important role since 1980.

They (students) are no longer prepared to be tossed. The teachers are afraid of the system ... do not want to challenge the status quo... a minority of teachers are prepared to ...(challenge the status quo)...There is a distinction that most of this minority group is from university. Teachers from colleges and the ... (older teachers) ... are not prepared to show understanding or to change. Teachers are being bought with "perks" Children (students) have lost confidence and faith in teachers.

The relationships between parents and the school environment, according to the interviewee, also needs to change.



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Most parents are afraid of the school environment ... especially since 1976 ... and (even) worse since 1984 ... Parents don't understand the situation ... this is (sometimes) done on purpose (for fear of police action) ... parents need to get involved!

The interviewee finally refers to changes in students' demands and action. She regards the 1976 demands as physical. This could be met in 1977 with free textbooks and better schools. She says that even though certain changes were made in the direction of compulsory education after 1980, the direct political demands could not be met. In the light of this students became even more politicized and even more aware of

the inequalities in the system of education.

Interview 10:

This female interviewee is a very experienced sociologist and is presently lecturing at a university in Natal. She is also co-principal to a "private school" which offers to help students affected by "school boycotts" (student action). She is nationally recognized as a seasoned anti-apartheid campaigner and regularly appears on platforms of community organizations.

She agrees that power and authority relations in schools have changed over the past decade. She has, however, made me a lot more sensitive to different circumstances in Natal. She regards action by Natal students (both in 1976 and 1980) as being in reaction to developments in Transvaal, Western Province, Eastern Province and elsewhere in the country.

theirs were in reaction to killings and to the international furore over the killings. Students in Natal did not start to complain about the classroom issues. These issues were not instigatory factors - an investigation into classroom inequalities only followed on the killings (elsewhere in the country).

She regards the original demands by Natal students not as

political demands, but rather as demands vis. a. vis. white facilities. She sees the development of political demands only from 1984 and 1986 onward. She also has no doubts that the increasing politicization of students has influenced their demands.

Interview 11:

The interviewee is a male lecturer at a university in Natal. He teaches in the Sociology Department of the university. He also has vast experience of teaching at high schools around Durban and Pietermaritzburg, as well as at Colleges of Education in this region.

He agrees that there have been changes in power and authority relations over the past decade. He has made me more sensitive to corporal punishment, especially the abolition thereof and its ideological implications. He also raises issues about "movements" (shifts) within teachers' bodies in Natal and he is of the opinion that a need has arisen to accommodate progressive thinking teachers within existing structures.

S U M M A R Y O F I N T E R V I E W D A T A

INTERVIEWEE NO	SECTION A		SECTION B
	RATING		
	Urban	Rural	
1	7		2,8,10
2	8	5	2,8,10
3	10		2,8,1
4	8-10		1,8,10,5
5	8	6	1,5,10
6	7-8		1,8,6
7	No rating given		1,5,6,9
8	10	2	
9	6		6,3,1
10	No rating given		
11	No rating given		

Interviewees 10 and 11 did not refer specifically to the examples given in the interview sheet and they also did not rate the changes in power and authority relationships. These interviewees offered informal comments on the changing relationships.

CHAPTER 5

AN EVALUATION OF THE INTERVIEWS IN TERMS OF THE CONCEPTS OF POWER AND AUTHORITY

In the previous chapter I reported on a number of interviews held with strategically placed people. This chapter draws out of the interviews a number of issues around the changes in power and authority relationships and it will discuss the interpretation of these issues by the interviewees. This chapter is not an empirical report, but rather a discussion of these interpretations. I divide the discussion into three parts, viz. the right of participation by learners, parents and teachers; the interrelationship between schooling and the broader socio-political sphere and; the changing nature of demands by learners.


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

An important issue which is reflected in the interviews, is the right of parents, learners and teachers to participate in decision-making in the sphere of schooling. Interviewees interpreted the establishment of student representative councils (S.R.C.s) as important in the exercising of this right for learners. The establishment of parent-teacher-student associations (P.T.S.A.s) broadened the base of participation by including the parents and teachers.

Interviewees regarded the establishment of P.T.S.A.s as a reflection of the closer unity between parents, learners and teachers. This unity developed strongly since the middle of the eighties and it also led to the growth of regional and

national bodies for parents, learners and teachers in the form of, inter alia, the National Education Crises Committee (N.E.C.C.), South African National Student Council (S.A.N.S.C.O.) and Western Cape Student Council (W.E.C.S.C.O.).

It is also of particular significance that only one interviewee questioned the legitimacy of learner-participation in decision-making in schooling. This interviewee, a retired executive official of an education department, emphasized that an S.R.C. should preferably be under the auspices of a teacher. He also emphasized that breakdowns in schooling programmes can be curbed by a "strong" headmaster who at all times is "in control" of the S.R.C. These conflicting interpretations of how the right of participation can be exercised, reflect different conceptualizations of power and authority relationships in schooling and illustrate a contrast between democratic and autocratic structures. These interpretations reflect on the influence that parents and learners and, also, teachers have in the field of schooling. Such conflicts also reflect a conflation of the concepts of power and authority. A question which may arise is: "Does authority in the sphere of schooling exclude the participation in decision-making by students, parents and the rest of the community , or not?"

A further issue which is reflected in the interviews is the interrelationship between schooling and the broader socio-

political sphere. Interviewees referred to the fact that the combined pressure from parents, learners, teachers and other community organizations, including trade unions, influenced the relationships at schools. Interviewee no 3, is of the opinion that the transferral of a headmaster of a high school in the Eastern Cape was the result of such combined pressures.

The influence of the tri-cameral parliament on "Coloured" and "Indian" Education is also interpreted as an indication of this interrelationship between schooling and the socio-political sphere. The charging of teachers with misconduct (no. 8 on the interview sheet) is reflected, by interviewee no. 2, as undue interference by politicians in the sphere of schooling. The reinstatement of transferred teachers is viewed, by interviewee no. 3, as a direct challenge to the power of the tri-cameral parliament. This interrelationship between schooling and the broader socio-political sphere can also be interpreted as a reflection on power and authority relations in schooling. Questions which arise out of this interrelationship are: "Is the authority of the teacher influenced by socio-political factors?" and, "To what extent should politicians hold power over the sphere of schooling?"

The changing nature of the demands made by learners can also be regarded as changing perceptions of power and authority. Interviewees stated that original student demands, i.e. demands made in the late 1970s, focused on physical facilities at schools. These demands included, amongst others, the repair of school buildings, provision of text books and

laboratory facilities. Between 1980 and 1985 demands by learners shifted to overtly political issues. The growth of unity between parents, learners and teachers, especially in the period between 1980 and 1985, also led to the questioning of the legitimacy of the tri-cameral parliament. The control of the tri-cameral parliament over schooling also came into question. These changing demands by parents, learners and teachers are indicative of a growing awareness of the influence of the socio-political sphere on the relationships in schooling. This shift in emphasis from physical facilities to overtly political issues reflect changing interpretations of relationships in schooling. Parents, learners and teachers have started to conceptualize the concepts of power and authority differently. They have come to realise that power and authority relationships in schooling are not independent of the influence of the socio-political sphere.

The interviewees' interpretations of changing relationships in schooling reflect changing conceptualizations of power and authority in South Africa. These changing conceptualizations of power and authority necessitate a more rigorous and a more theoretical investigation of these concepts. It is only through a thorough and more detailed theoretical investigation that a closer understanding of these concepts can develop. In the next section I will make such a theoretical investigation into the changing conceptualizations of power and authority in South African schooling.

SECTION III

PARTICIPATION, DEMOCRACY AND SCHOOLING

CHAPTER 6

PARTICIPANT RELATIONSHIPS AND DEMOCRACY

In the previous section I reported on a number of interviews to highlight changing conceptualizations and interpretations of power and authority relationships in South African schooling. In this section an attempt is made to discuss those interpretations of changing relationships in a more theoretical manner.



In the field of education, it could be argued, the relationship between educator and educand, or between teacher and learner, is a very special one. The attitudes on which this relationship is based, are not only related to issues of power and authority, but they also influence our daily practices in the schools. In this chapter I am going to argue that this relationship between teacher and learner might be a democratic one, if it is based on, what Peter Strawson (1) calls "participant" attitudes.

I am going to start by giving a brief sketch of Strawson's arguments and will focus, firstly on his contrast between

"participant" and "detached" attitudes, and, secondly, on the fact that though these sets of attitudes are opposed to one another, they are not wholly exclusive of each other, but could both be present in one situation. I will then discuss four key aspects of these attitudes which could contribute to a clearer understanding of participant relationships. In the second section I am going to focus on Carole Pateman's (2) contrast between a "Contemporary theory of democracy" and a "Participatory theory of democracy". The third section argues for a connection between participant relationships and participatory democracy. The final section is a consideration of the idea of democratic relationships.

Strawson makes a broad distinction between "participant" and "detached" attitudes. The "attitude or range of attitudes of involvement or participation" (PS:9) is regarded as appropriate in relationships between human beings. "Detached" attitudes are regarded as appropriate between human beings and inanimate objects. It is possible, but generally inappropriate, for a human being to take up "detached" attitudes, or to suspend "participant" attitudes, towards other human beings. In a participant relationship it is appropriate to respond to the actions of other people with emotions of, for instance, gratitude, resentment, approval, condemnation, love and forgiveness. In fact, Strawson emphasizes that human beings attach great importance to these attitudes and intentions of other human beings. Personal feelings and reactions to other human beings depend largely on

such attitudes and intentions.

These attitudes can, however, be suspended on the grounds that, for instance, the other person had acted under strain or is morally immature, mentally ill and, in some way, could not be held fully responsible for her actions. In this case detached attitudes replace the participant attitude.

Ordinary inter-personal emotions or attitudes are now suspended and the other human being becomes an object for treatment, someone to be "managed or handled or cured or trained" and also "an object of social policy" (PS:9).

Similarly human beings or groups of human beings can willfully take up "detached" attitudes towards other human beings or groups of human beings. In this case a conscious decision is taken to manipulate or subjugate other human beings or groups.

However, though these attitudes are opposed to one another, they are not wholly exclusive of each other and they could both be present in one situation. Strawson recognizes that human behaviour is complex, and at times, even ambiguous, and that this makes the distinction between participant attitudes and detached attitudes difficult. In explaining this difficulty, he refers to the upbringing of young children and the practices of the psychoanalyst. He argues that in both cases neither kind of attitude could be adopted "in a pure or unqualified form" (PS:19) because young children and mentally ill adults are not fully capable of "holding... the full range

of human and moral attitudes" (PS:19). In a relationship with young children, or with mentally-ill adults there will be a constant fluctuation between "participant" attitudes and "detached" attitudes. Strawson emphasizes that the aim of such a relationship is to make the suspension of participant attitudes unnecessary or less necessary. The development or restoring of the agency of the child or patient is the object of this type of participant relationship. When the object of this type of participant relationship is attained then, "the suspension , or half-suspension", of participant attitudes is "no longer necessary or appropriate" (PS:20). In the following few paragraphs four key aspects of participant relationships are drawn out.

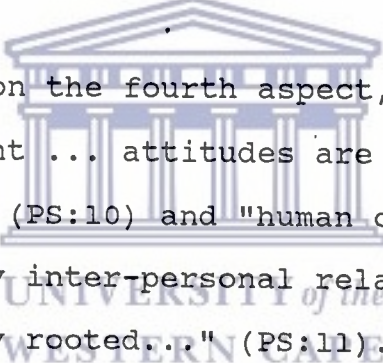
"Participant" attitudes, firstly, view human beings as agents. People are seen as centres of consciousness with their own needs, concerns and desires. A normal mature adult is an agent with the right to articulate her own interests and own projects. She is the final arbiter of her own welfare and can take decisions which effect her personally. Dignity and self-respect form central elements in the agency of the participant, and these elements cannot be compromised in her relationship with other participants. Participant relationships between morally responsible human beings are based on natural respect for the human dignity of the individual.

However, the individuality of the participant cannot be viewed

in isolation from societal and community influences on that participant. The agency of the participant does not mean individualism in a negative sense. In treating the agent as the final arbiter of her own welfare, and in insisting on her human dignity and self-respect, "participant" attitudes do not limit "the extent to which everything we think, desire, want or decide is governed by the conceptual schemes in terms of which we understand ourselves and our world"(3). The individual attitudes, emotions and decisions of the agent are interpretations and, to a certain extent, reflections of the acceptable attitudes, emotions and decisions of the community and society of which she is a member. The agent is an agent because she is a member of society. The society informs the agent, and vice versa. "Participant" attitudes are not the tools of the individual will, used to maximize individual gains, but they are much rather the bases of our interaction with other members of the human community. It is in this sense, then, that participant relationships contribute to the growth and development of communities.

The third aspect of participant relationships is that they are compatible with relationships of inequality. Strawson reminds us that no parent could contribute to the upbringing of small children if equality is a necessary feature of "participant" attitudes, and his reflections on the practices of the psychoanalyst also support this position. He accepts that in such relationships, where some participants are not fully capable of holding the full range of human and moral

attitudes, it is necessary to fluctuate between "participant" and "detached" attitudes. But, he argues, that the aim of such relationships is to restore or foster the agency of those participants. This, then, does not imply a disrespect for the agency of the participant, or a permanent shift to detached attitudes, but, much rather, reaffirms the maintenance of human dignity in such participant relationships. This aspect of possible inequality in participant relationships is, of course, of particular importance to relationships in schooling.(4)



Strawson, in reflecting on the fourth aspect, comments as follows: "the participant ... attitudes are essentially natural human reactions" (PS:10) and "human commitment to participation in ordinary inter-personal relationships is ... thorough going and deeply rooted..." (PS:11). In saying this, he not only questions the possibility of permanently detached attitudes between human beings, but he also links participant attitudes to morality. In this, there is also the implication that participant relationships could be about the welfare and in the interests of other people. Generally speaking, I think, he is correct in establishing a correlation between participant relationships and morality, but this view is not entirely uncomplicated. The following few brief comments will reflect my position.

Human behaviour, firstly, is complex and, at times, even ambiguous, and, as such, it is difficult to ascertain the

sincerity of such behaviour. Secondly, a clear distinction between participant and detached attitudes is not always easy.

Thirdly, schooling as a specific form of human practice, inherently entails involvement between unequal participants, and calls for conscious decisions on behalf of less developed, morally speaking, participants. This latter point is of particular importance because in our daily practices of schooling, we transform the pupil's view of herself, i.e. we transform her own conception of what is in her interests. However, my central thrust with these brief comments is not to disagree with Strawson's correlation between participant relationships and morality, but rather to reflect, in general on some complications which could develop out of such a correlation, and, in particular, on the importance of such complications in relationships in schooling.

Maybe it is time to reflect. I have up till now given a brief sketch of Strawson's participant and detached attitudes and, also, discussed four key aspects of participant relationships. To link up with what has just been said I am, in the following paragraphs, going to focus on Carole Pateman's contrast between a "Contemporary theory of democracy" and a "Participatory theory of democracy".

In describing the "Contemporary theory of democracy" Pateman (CP:13,14) makes the following claims: Firstly, in this theory "'democracy' refers to a political method or set of institutional arrangements at national level." Secondly, the

"democratic element" in this political method depends on the fact that "through elections... the majority ... exercise control over their leaders. Thirdly, "political equality" in this theory "refers to universal suffrage and to the existence of equality of access to channels of influence over leaders". Finally, "participation" in this theory "is participation in the choice of decision makers" and it has as its sole aim "the protection of the individual from arbitrary decisions by elected leaders and the protection of his private interests."

She also lays down a number of conditions which are necessary for the stability of this system of contemporary democracy. She argues, firstly, that the "level of participation by the majority should not rise much above the minimum necessary to keep the democratic method (electoral machinery) working", and, secondly, that a level of participation which is higher than this necessary minimum "weakens the consensus on the norms of the democratic method" . She argues, furthermore, that the stability of this democratic method could be ensured if the social training in this method takes place "inside existing, diverse, non-governmental authority structures" that are congruent with governmental structures (CP:13,14).

The theory of participatory democracy, following Pateman, "is built round the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another" (CP:42). The development of democratic attitudes and qualities in the individual, or social training for

democracy, depends on "maximum participation" in all spheres of society, and especially in the sphere of industry. The development of democratic attitudes and qualities "takes place through the process of participation itself" and the "major function of participation... is an educative one... (in) ... both the psychological aspect and the gaining of practice in democratic skills and procedures" (CP:42). This central assertion makes participatory democracy self-sustaining because the more people participate the better able they are to do so. Secondary hypotheses about participation are "that it has an integrative effect and that it aids the acceptance of collective decisions" (CP:43).

Pateman argues that a democratic society exists only when "all political systems have been democratised and socialization through participation can take place in all areas" (CP:43). She argues that "political systems" are more than merely "representative institutions at national level" (CP:42) and that they include "areas of participation additional to the national level" (CP:43). Participation in the sphere of industry is regarded as crucial.

Pateman contrasts contemporary and participatory democracy on every point of substance. "The Political" in the case of participatory democracy, is more than merely national or local government institutions, but includes all spheres of man's activities. "Political equality", for participatory democracy, is also very different from "equality of power in

determining the outcome of decisions" (CP:43) in all spheres. For Contemporary Theory "democracy" depends on the protection of individual interests while the justification for that in the participatory theory "rests primarily on the human results that accrue from the participatory process" (CP:43). I am now going to argue for a connection between participatory democracy and participant relationships.

In suggesting a connection between participant relationships and democracy I am going to focus on the four aspects, viz. the agency of people, the growth and development of communities, inequality in relationships, and , finally, morality.

The contemporary view, for Pateman, holds that democracy is primarily a form of government or a political system within which the rights of individuals are protected. This kind of conceptualization of democracy is appropriate with systems of government that require certain kinds of equalities, e.g. equality of speech, freedom of religion, equality in terms of the law, etc. For Contemporary Theory, participation, in the process of voting for representatives to local or national institutions, serves only to protect individual interests, i.e. protection of the individual against arbitrary decision-making by representatives and ensuring the equality of individuals in terms of universal suffrage. Democracy, in these terms, could be read as the protection of and respect for individuals within the political sphere.

For participatory democracy the protection of and respect for individuals are extended to spheres other than that of national and local political institutions. The quality of speech, freedom of religion and equality in terms of the law are extended to all spheres of man's activities. Political activity is not only participation in national and local representative institutions, but also in, for instance, the workplace, churches and unions. In fact, these workplaces, churches and unions became areas of political activity additional to those at national level. Democracy, in these terms, could be read as respect for the human dignity of persons in all spheres of activity.

In characterizing participant relationships I regard people as centres of consciousness with their own needs, concerns and desires. People are viewed as agents, with their own interests and own projects. A morally mature adult has the right to articulate her own interests and develop her own capacities. She is the final arbiter of her own welfare and can take decisions which affect her personally. Human dignity and self-respect form central elements of her agency which cannot be compromised in her relationships with other people. In maintaining this respect for the agency of all persons, I uphold a connection between participant relationships and democracy.

The second aspect on the grounds of which participant relationships and participatory democracy could be connected,

is the growth and development of communities. In arguing for a respect of the agency of the participant I emphasized that this does not mean individualism in a negative sense. I argued for an understanding which regards the agency or individuality of a person as the reflection of that person's interpretations of what is acceptable to her community. This suggests that the agency of a person is not merely reflective of individuality, but that it could inform the acceptable attitudes and behaviour of her community. It is in this interdependence of individual and community that the connection between participant relationships and participatory democracy becomes clear. Pateman, in fact, argues that the central assertion on which participatory democracy rests, is such an interdependence between individual and institutions (CP:42). She argues that political activity at a national level is insufficient and that socialization for democracy depends on maximum participation in all other spheres of man's activities. It is by participating in all other spheres that the individual attitudes and psychological qualities for democracy develop. These attitudes and qualities are the results of the interaction between individual and institutions during the process of participation. In this, participatory democracy requires maximum participation in decision-making at institutional level to develop the attitudes and qualities of the individual. This development in the individual, in turn, leads to growth and development in the institutions. This aspect of an inter-relationship between individual and institutional growth is not only a similarity between

participant relationships and participatory democracy, but it also contributes to the making public and establishing of moral sentiments in the participating group, i.e. it is about morally acceptable human behaviour.

But, respecting the agency of the individual entails more than mere equality in a relationship. I, also, extended the respect for agency to relationships of inequality. The respect for human dignity in a participant relationship can be maintained even if a participant is not fully capable of the full range of human capacities. Such relationships of inequality can include relationships between parents and small children as well as relationships between psychoanalysts and patients. These relationships are of particular importance to power and authority relationships in schooling. It is on these grounds of inequality in relationships that I suggest the connection between participant relationships and participatory democracy.

Participant relationships are appropriate with a conceptualization of democracy which includes more than equality in terms of voting for representatives to local and national government institutions. These relationships are appropriate in a conceptualization of democracy which does not place a central emphasis on political equality and voting procedures, but which regards democracy as compatible with both the growth of participant attitudes and the practice in democratic methods. The growth in attitudes for and practice

in democratic methods could take place in all spheres of man's activities and, particularly, in those spheres where relationships of inequality might exist. In including spheres where relationships of inequality could exist, the connection between participant relationships and participatory democracy could be of crucial importance for relationships in schooling. I do not suggest that participatory democracy excludes relationships of equality, but, much rather, that it is compatible with relationships of inequality. In this sense, then, I see another similarity between participant relationships and participatory democracy.

The previous discussion about the connection between participant relationships and participatory democracy provides us with some illuminating material for the consideration of the idea of democratic relationships.

A central aspect of the "Participatory theory of democracy" is the fact that being democratic entails a protection of and a respect for the human dignity of the individual at all levels of activity. Democratic relationships, in these terms, are relationships that are based on attitudes which protect and show respect for the human dignity of the individual. These democratic relationships, based on such attitudes, are possible in all spheres of human activity. These democratic relationships are possible in, amongst others, the workplace, churches and unions. Within these spheres of human activity, democratic relationships are based on attitudes that respect

the equality individuals. But in terms of participatory theory, democratic relationships respect and protect individual dignity at all levels of human activity, including those spheres where unequal relationships exist. Along these lines, then, democratic relationships are possible between parents and young children, as well as between teachers and learners. This possibility exists in unequal relationships because, even under such conditions, democratic relationships are based on attitudes which protect and show respect for the human dignity of the individual. "Participant" attitudes, I argued earlier, include this protection for the human dignity of the individual, "participant" attitudes view people as centres of consciousness with their own needs, concerns and desires. The dignity and self-respect of the individual are central elements in this respect of the agency. In this, "participant" attitudes show a respect for the equality of individuals. However, I have argued that this respect for the agency of the individual does not exclude relationships of inequality. In fact, it was argued that "participant" attitudes, in relationships of inequality, aim to restore or foster the agency of the individual. "Participant" attitudes, then, are also compatible with relationships of inequality. It is in their mutual respect for the equality of the individual and, also, in their mutual compatibility with relationships of inequality that I see a link between democratic relationships and participant attitudes.

A further link between democratic relationships and

"participant" attitudes is found in their mutual contribution to the growth and development of communities. I emphasized earlier that the respect for the agency of the individual does not mean individualism in a negative sense. The agency of a person, or the individuality of that person, is a reflection of that person's interpretations of what is acceptable to her community. This understanding of the agency depends on an interrelationship between the individual and her community. The "Participatory theory of democracy", in turn, rests on the central assertion that there is an interdependence between the individual and the institutions of society. According to this central assertion the attitudes and qualities that are necessary for democratic relationships, develop out of the participation of the individual in those institutions. Democratic relationships, then, are, relationships that develop out of an interaction between individual and society, and on these grounds that I claim a further link between these relationships and "participant" attitudes.

In this chapter I have suggested that the nature of our relationships is influenced and determined by the attitudes on which those relationships are based. I have argued that our daily practices and our interactions with fellow human beings are influenced by such attitudes, and that these attitudes are related to issues of power and authority. The central thrust of my argument was that if relationships are based on "participant" attitudes, then those relationships can be democratic in nature. In fact, I claimed that democratic

relationships are based on "participant" attitudes. Chapter 7 will discuss the compatibility between democratic relationships and relationships in schooling.



CHAPTER 7

COULD SCHOOLS BE RUN AS PARTICIPATORY DEMOCRACIES?

As we saw in the previous chapter, it became apparent that the nature of a relationship is influenced and determined by the attitudes on which those relationships are based. This, in a logical way, brings me to focus on the possibility of "participant" attitudes underlying relationships of inequality.

I have already suggested that participant relationships are compatible with a relationship of inequality, such as one between teacher and learner. I now want to argue that not only is it possible to introduce participatory democracy into the sphere of schooling, but that it is necessary to do so for South African schooling to be viable. My suggestion is that it is only by doing this, that authority relationships in South African Schooling could be democratized.

I start by making an analyses of the arguments put forward by Francis Dunlop (1). I examine, firstly his assertion that moral and value education can only be achieved in a hierarchical situation and, secondly, his claim that the success of participatory democracy depends on a pre-existent moral culture (FD:44). I then argue for a concept of participatory democracy which regards learners as agents and which emphasizes the educative function of democratic practices. It is, finally, argued that schools are not a-

political, that schools cannot function independently of the society in which they exist, and that South African schooling can only be viable if it includes practices of participatory democracy.

Dunlop on democratic schooling:

The central thrust in Dunlop's (FD:46) argument is that

the genuinely democratic school is actually anti-educational, because only in a Community where the teachers stand 'over' the pupils (in a hierarchical sense) rather than 'on a level with' them (as is necessarily the case in a democratically run organization) can the most fundamentally educational ends of the school, especially as regards moral and other value education, be achieved.

He accepts that pupils do not have the same rights, in the sphere of schooling, as teachers; that a natural inequality exists between teachers and taught. Pupils need to trust their teachers "beyond all reason" (FD:52). Essential to education "is a kind of obedient submission" (FD:53) on the part of the taught. Dunlop argues that pupils, at best, should "only really be allowed to 'play at' democracy under the watchful eyes of the teaching staff" (FD:53).

In essence, in Dunlop's view, schooling requires predominantly

gemeinschaftlich relations. Schools have a "natural" (given) hierarchical order which is based on customs, traditions and natural ties. Pupils are perceived of as "members of a group" (FD:48), with less emphasis on their individuality. Pupils occupy a unique place in this community. Decision-making in such schools rests mainly, practically solely, with teachers. Dunlop challenges the assumption, made by Scrimshaw, that rationally-planned groupings, gesselschaften, are the only legitimate forms of human groupings. He also challenges the claim that schools must be run on a gesellschaft-basis. To Dunlop this kind of schooling is actually anti-educational (FD:48,49).

A second aspect in Dunlop's argument is his claim that the success of democracy depends on a pre-existent, "moral culture". Dunlop, in his comments on Bridges's paper, states that "a democratic constitution has a fair chance of succeeding" if a "society contains a sufficient number of people who are, by and large, reasonable, peaceable, orderly and truthful" (FD:44). He denies that democracy inherently contains and fosters this moral culture. The moral culture, or virtues of democracy, are not the results or products of the process of democracy, but it must be pre-existent of such processes. This moral culture, in Dunlop's terms, must be developed and "fostered by church, family and (authoritarian) school" (FD:46). In this he argues that no a-priori reason exists for the introduction of democracy into schools and that schools merely transmit the moral culture which is necessary

for the success of the democratic practices on which government of a country can be based.

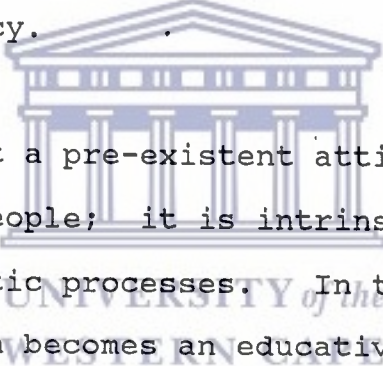
Central to Dunlop's argument is the conceptual tension between democratic relationships and relationships in schooling. Relationships in schooling have an inherent inequality because no person, or teacher, can contribute to another person's, or learner's, education unless she has deeper insight or understanding than the other. Democratic relationships, for Dunlop, are relationships between equals, and they are "for certain purposes, notably the government of the country as a whole" and depend "on a democratic constitution" which includes "respect for the liberty and other rights of ... fellow men and women" (FD:44).

Now again, to reflect on democratic relationships. In the previous chapter it was argued that democratic relationships respect the agency of people and that such relationships are not necessarily relationships of equality. Democratic relationships, in fact, are compatible with relationships of inequality. I also argued that democratic relationships contribute to the growth of communities and that these relationships are, as such, about the welfare of other people, i.e. they are essentially moral. If this is related to schooling, then the unequal nature of the relationship between teacher and learner does not exclude the possibility of democracy. If relationships in schooling are regarded as democratic, the teacher must view the learner as an agent, as

a person in her own right. The learner must be seen as being capable of articulating her own interests and projects. The dignity and self-respect of the learner must not be compromised in the relationship with the teacher and the contribution made by the teacher in the development of the learner should not mean a disrespect for the agency of the latter. The aim of this relationship should be to foster and nurture the agency of the learner. In this, human dignity and mutual respect is maintained in the relationship between teacher and learner, irrespective of the fact that the learner is not at all times fully capable of holding the full range of human and moral attitudes. The learner now becomes more than a mere instrument in the hands of the teacher, more than merely a patient who "with obedient submission" accepts and trusts the teacher "beyond all reason". The relationship between teacher and learner then is about the welfare of and in the interests of the learner, i.e. it contributes to the growth of moral sentiments and acceptable human behaviour. It is on these grounds that I disagree with Dunlop's necessary connection between democracy and equality, and that I suggest that democratic relationships are compatible with relationships in schooling.

In discussing participatory democracy, in the previous chapter, I argued that it rests on the central assertion that individuals and their institutions cannot be considered in isolation from one another, and that the development of democratic qualities and attitudes in individuals, or the

social training for democracy, depends on the participation of the individual in the decision-making processes of institutions. Participation in democratic processes develops those attitudes and qualities which are essential to the processes of democracy and this participation takes place not only in national and local government institutions, but in all institutions of society. In this, all institutions become "political systems" within which these attitudes and qualities are developed. Schools, churches and families become "political systems" in which participation cultivates the moral culture of democracy.



This moral culture is not a pre-existent attitude or quality, not a natural given in people; it is intrinsically linked to participation in democratic processes. In this, the major function of participation becomes an educative one. It is educative in the very widest sense, i.e. educative in both the psychological and practical senses. If this is related to schooling, then the development towards a democratic "moral culture" in learners depends on their degree of participation in democratic processes. The development of democratic attitudes and qualities in learners hinges on the introduction of participatory democracy in schooling. Let me add, I do not argue for equality in the relationship between teacher and learner, but for the development of the moral culture through the educative processes of participation. My disagreement with Dunlop, therefore, is not on the grounds of the inequality of relationships in schooling, but on the grounds

of his claim that the introduction of participatory democracy into schooling cannot foster the growth of a moral culture for democracy, i.e. that the fostering and growth of the democratic culture is logically separate from the processes of democracy.

The central thrust of my argument, hitherto, is two-fold. It is, firstly argued that the unequal nature of the relationship between learner and teacher does not mean that this relationship is incompatible with the practices of democracy, and, secondly, that the introduction of participatory democracy into schooling can foster the growth of democratic attitudes and qualities.

Up till now I have dealt with schooling in very abstract and general terms. This brings me to another important aspect of this thesis, namely the idea of introducing participatory democracy into South African schooling.

Dunlop's framework of schooling argues for the "natural authority" of the teacher and that depends on a "obedient submission" on the part of the learner. In this framework he accepts a natural and an inherent good in the aims and objectives of schooling. His framework assumes that all schooling is naturally benevolent, and it does not fully acknowledge that schooling is non-neutral and is never a-political. Schooling can be an instrument in the hands of the ruling hegemony and it never takes place outside the

sphere of politics. Dunlop's framework does not acknowledge that the interrelationship between schooling and the community is influenced by the accountability of local and national institutions. The morals and values made public and established by schooling, i.e. those factors which influence the developments of the moral culture, are closely tied up with the ideology of the ruling hegemony. In fact, my suggestion is that in terms of Dunlop's framework of "authoritarian" schooling, subjugation and manipulation of the learner can be the order of the day, if the moral culture made public and established by schooling shows a disrespect for the agency of the learner. It is because of this burden that his "authoritarian" framework of schooling cannot explain the breakdown of the "natural authority" of teachers in South African schooling. He cannot give an account of the distrust between learner and teacher and he cannot explain the lack of "obedient submission" on the part of the learner. He cannot explain why, in the words of interviewee no 9, "teachers had no relationship with student(s), (and) parent(s)" and why "students lost confidence and faith in teachers."

In this country the morals and values that are made public and established by Christian National and Bantu Education, are closely tied up with the ideology of Apartheid. This "moral culture" shows no respect for the agency of the learner and it does not develop the values of being reasonable, peaceable, orderly and truthful. South African schooling makes public and establishes a "moral culture" which is based on racism and

economic exploitation. Schooling has a hidden agenda of subjugation and manipulation. It has as its objective the political and economic control by a small minority. It is in the light of this that I suggest that the introduction of participatory practices, with their inherent educative function, will contribute to and develop an understanding and insight with learners and teachers, of the interrelationship between schooling and community, and also how this interrelationship is influenced by the accountability of government institutions. Along these lines a number of interviewees regarded the establishment of S.R.C.s and P.T.S.A.s as positive moves toward such participation. They argue strongly for the principle of participation by teachers, learners and parents. In fact, in the words of interviewee no. 8 : "... with P.T.S.A.s we have closer links... (between schooling and community)... which is an improvement... (because) ... now 80% of parents are involved...". It is against the backdrop of this kind of understanding that schooling can positively contribute to the development of a critical approach to the existing "moral culture".

This can lead to an understanding, with both teacher and learner, of what is in their interests. It can lead to the development of a new "moral culture" which respects the agency of teachers and learners, and which is based on values of being reasonable, peaceable, orderly and truthful. By introducing participatory democracy (as was spelt out in the previous chapter) into South African schooling, the forming of

democratic qualities and attitudes in learners can become a central objective. In effect, it is only through this that the trust between teacher and learner can be restored; that the motives and intentions of teachers can be respected; and that the problem of periodic breakdowns in schooling programmes can be realistically addressed.

In this chapter I have argued for the compatibility between participatory democracy and relationships in schooling. I have also argued that it is only by doing this that South African schooling can be viable. In the next chapter I shall argue that contemporary South African schooling is based on power relationships and that such relationships do not encourage democratic participation.



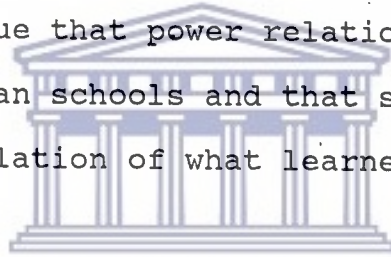
UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER 8

POWER RELATIONSHIPS IN SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLING

Introduction

In the previous chapter it was argued that the introduction of participatory democracy in the sphere of schooling is possible and, that for South African schooling to be viable, it is indeed necessary. In this chapter an analysis is made of Steven Lukes's distinctions (1) of power. In terms of this analysis of power, I argue that power relationships are prevalent in South African schools and that such relationships contribute to the manipulation of what learners believe to be in their interests.



UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

Lukes argues for a definition of power which he claims is radical in both theoretical and political senses. His arguments begin from relations of actual and overt conflict, from behaviourism, and develop into less visible dimensions of power which operate through collective societal forces.

His first discussions deal with what he calls a "One-dimensional view" of power, and which can be used to understand situations of actual and overt conflict. The typical arena is the battlefield, boardroom, parliament, law court or public meeting. He typifies this as a behavioral view of power. In this he quotes Dahl's interpretation that "A has power over B to the extent that he can get B to do

something that B would not otherwise do." (2) This "One-dimensional view" focuses on the study of concrete, observable behaviour and involves the studying of decision-making as a central task.

Lukes's second focus on power relations is called the Two-Dimensional View. In this A extends his power over B if A can prevent B's challenge to that power from surfacing. Here Lukes quotes Bachrach and Baratz:

Power is also exercised when A devotes his energies to creating or reinforcing social and political values and institutional practices that limit the scope of the political process to public consideration of only those issues which are comparatively innocuous to A. (3)

In this two-dimensional view reference is made to a relationship between A and B whereby A secures B's compliance. This compliance could be secured by coercion, force and influence. In short, A secures power over B by manipulative as well as by non-manipulative means (4).

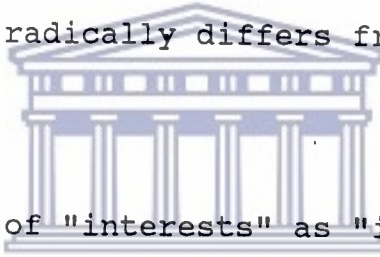
The central point of difference between the "One-dimensional view" and the "Two-dimensional view" lies in the overt decision-making with the former and decision-making versus non-decision-making with the latter. With the latter view-of-power Lukes identifies and addresses not only the real

overt issues, but also the potential ones. It deals with observable conflict; both overt and covert.

The central focus with these views-of-power, irrespective of differences between them, remains that A could manipulate and influence the relationship with B to her (A's) advantage. Central to this kind of manipulation and influence is the fact that A could use force and coercion to make B do something that he would not normally do.

In Lukes's "Three dimensional-view" of power he argues against the other two views of power on several grounds. Firstly, the other two views concentrate on individuals or groups and ignore the influence of structures. Those views are misleading because they see decision-making as "choices consciously and intentionally made by individuals between alternatives". They, according to Lukes, forget about the "bias of the system" which is "not sustained by a series of individually chosen acts, but... by the socially structured and culturally patterned behaviour of groups, and practices of institutions..." (SL:21,22). He feels that the "One-" and "Two-dimensional view" of power do not fully recognise the influence of structures and the practices of institutions on the will of the individual. Lukes, secondly, disagrees with the other two views on their close association of power with actual and observable conflict. He states that power is more than merely A getting B to what B would not want to do, but that it also includes the dimension of A "influencing, shaping

or determining.." Bs "... thoughts and desires" (SL:23). By doing this, Lukes argues, A actually exercises power by preventing conflict from arising. Lukes, thirdly states that the absence of grievance does not necessarily equal consensus, but that it includes the possibility of false or manipulated consensus. This false or manipulated consensus stems from A's ability, on individual and institutional level, to manipulate and control B by shaping his desires and wants, i.e. by shaping what B believes to be in his interests. It is by introducing this concept of "interests" that Lukes's "Three-dimensional view" radically differs from the other two views of power.



Lukes regards the notion of "interests" as "irreducibly evaluative" and states that this notion is about "the making of normative judgements of a moral and political character." He argues that "different conceptions of what interests are, are associated with different moral and political positions" and that the wants and needs of men are linked to these conceptions. He argues that the "One-dimensional view" relates the interests of men "to what they actually want or prefer", while the two-dimensional view "also relates their interests to what they want and prefer, but allows that this may be revealed in more indirect and sub-political ways", i.e. their wants or needs can be concealed or submerged. In the "Three-dimensional view", Lukes maintains "that men's wants may themselves be a product of a system which works against their interests". He now relates interests "to what they

would want and prefer, were they able to make the choice". It is in this that Lukes makes a distinction between "subjective interests" and "real interests" (SL:34,35). He sees a contradiction between the interests of those who exercise power and the real interests of those who are excluded. In the relationship between A and B there is a contradiction between the interests of A and the "real interests" of B. In this, B may not "be conscious of their (real) interests" or may not even express those interests. In fact, B can even relate his wants and preferences, in terms of the interests of A. In doing so, B relates his wants and preferences to "subjective interests", or to what he believes to be in his interests. These beliefs of B might, however, be mistaken and they might be the results of A's control over social forces and institutional practices. These beliefs might be based on "subjective" interest that are induced by a system which works against B's "real" interests. In terms of those subjective interests the normative judgements of a moral and political character made by B are manipulated to be in the interests of A. The wants and preferences of B are shaped by social forces and institutional practices to suit the interests of A. Lukes maintains that B may not even realise that his existing wants and preferences are not in his real interests. But, it is also possible for "subjective" and "real" interest to be identical. That which B believes to be in his interest, can in fact be correct. There need not necessarily be a contradiction between the interests of A and the "real" interests of B. However, according to Lukes, "subjective" and "real" interests

can only be identical if B's recognition of what is in his interests is independent of A's power. Lukes argues that B's recognition of his "real" interests is ultimately up to himself and that it depends on his exercising of choice. In following this argument through Lukes maintains that the exercising of choice must take place under conditions of democratic participation (5). B can only recognise his "real interests", i.e. express his "real" wants and preferences, under conditions of democratic participation. The relationship of power between A and B can only end if the social forces and institutional practices are democratised. B's real interests are the products of a system of democratic participation. If "real" normative judgements of a moral and political character are made by B, then those are dependent on his democratic participation in societal institutions.

UNIVERSITY OF
WESTERN CAPE

In essence, Lukes' "Three-dimensional view" of power emphasizes that the interests of people are influenced by social forces and institutional practices, and that the wants and preferences of people are related to those interests. This view maintains that these social forces and institutional practices either manipulate people's own perception of their interests or contribute to the establishment of their real interests. Lukes argues that people's becoming aware of their real interests is dependent on their exercising of choice under conditions of democratic participation, and he claims that without such democratic participation in institutional practices the real interests of people can never

be established.

Up till now I have focused on the distinctions made by Steven Lukes between the "One-", "Two-" and "Three-dimensional view" of power. In the following few paragraphs I discuss three aspects of South African schooling, viz, first, schooling is linked to undemocratic political practices, second the hierarchical nature of schools, and, third, the accreditation of particular kinds of syllabi and textbooks. My argument is that South African schooling does not encourage the exercise of choice under conditions of democratic participation and that these institutions are based on power relationships.

South African schooling is subdivided into 17 education departments. This subdivision is done along racial and ethnic lines and these departments, prior to 1985, were either under the control of the central or provincial government or of the various homeland governments. Since 1985, control over some education departments has become the responsibility of the tri-cameral parliament. "Coloured education" has become the responsibility of the House of Representatives, through the Department of Education and Culture. The House of Delegates, for "Indians", assumed responsibility for "Indian education", while education for Whites fell under the auspices of the central government. Black schools, outside homeland territories, became the responsibility of the Department of Education and Training which is linked to the central government. The tri-cameral parliament is, in itself,

subdivided along racial lines, with representatives from a particular "race" group being elected to a house of parliament for members of that race group only. This system of government is not only based on racism, but it also excludes the majority of South Africans from the parliamentary processes. In this, the tri-cameral parliament, is not accountable to the majority of the South African population. By linking education departments to such an undemocratic political system a contradiction develops between the interests of those in power (the administrators) and the "real" interests of those (teachers and learners) who are excluded. These education departments are also not accountable to those communities their schools serve, and their functioning necessarily depends on manipulative, coercive and forceful methods. As such the functioning of these education departments and also of schools under their jurisdiction, depends on power relationships. Along these lines interviewees constantly referred to the use of increasing oppressive measures by education departments during crises times. Interviewee no.3 argues that the transfer of a headmaster and three "progressive" teachers in the Eastern Cape is indicative of such power relations. He also talks about the resultant "aggressive attitude" which developed toward the education department, and the challenging of this kind of power in the Supreme Court by teachers.

The second feature of South African schooling I want to discuss, is its hierarchical nature. Schooling functions

according to strict rules and regulations, and unquestioning adherence to the instructions and directives of departmental officials is demanded. This hierarchical system allows for very little or no democratic participation by teachers in the decision-making processes. Teachers must obey and execute instructions and directives from their seniors, e.g. heads of department, deputy principals, principals, inspectors, and they are not consulted in the decision-making processes. Learners, in turn, are also not allowed democratic participation in the decision-making which affects them. They are supposed to follow orders and instructions unquestioningly. The lack of democratic participation in such an hierarchical system makes power relationships prevalent in South African schooling. In terms of Lukes's argument, this lack of democratic participation protects the interests of the education department. The rules and regulations, on which the hierarchy is based, is in the interests of those who hold power, i.e. the education department. The demand for unquestioning adherence to such rules and regulations allows for the manipulation of the "real" interests of teachers and learners.

Thirdly, the hierarchical nature of South African schooling, as well as the centralised control exercised by education departments, ensures the accreditation of particular kinds of syllabi and textbooks. Interviewee no.9 comments on this as follows: "They (the administration) draw up the curriculum, send it pre-packaged, do not consult the parents, students and

teachers (and) introduce what they feel to be right... They use a hidden curriculum". This "hidden curriculum" is reflected, for instance, in some Geography textbooks which subdivide the South African population, and also that of other countries on this continent, into various "races". Great emphasis is placed on the contribution of each of these races to the economic development of the country. This, usually, depicts control over the economy by Whites. In such textbooks the "primitive", subsistence farming methods used by Black farmers are also highlighted. These primitive methods are then attributed to the lack of education of such Black farmers, and also to their failure to understand and implement new technological farming methods. This is then contrasted with the successes of modern, market-oriented farming methods used by White farmers. These textbooks do not place such imbalances in historical and economic context. Racial segregation and the bias of a White dominated economic system are not discussed as factors which influence these imbalances. The effects of Colonialism on educational opportunities are also not explained by the authors of such textbooks. In omitting to discuss such factors the authors of these textbooks can contribute to an ethos of racial superiority and the growth of sectarian interests. The wants and preferences of learners, and teachers, can be manipulated and influenced in this way. In short, this can contribute to the manipulation of the interests of learners, and even teachers. This manipulation of interests can only be operative under power relationships in South African schooling, i.e. under

conditions where democratic participation is actively discouraged.

On the grounds of the above three aspects, I suggest that South African schooling does not encourage the exercise of choice under conditions of democratic participation, and that power relationships are prevalent in South African schooling. I also argue that South African schooling is not in the "real" interests of teachers and learners and that those "real" interests are consciously and willfully manipulated by schooling practices. South African schooling consciously and willfully discourages the development of democratic attitudes and qualities among teachers, learners and parents. In this, schooling does not foster and encourage the making of "real" normative judgements of a moral and political character, i.e. the making of judgements that encourage democratic participation.

In the next chapter I discuss authority relationships in South African schooling and I argue that the loss of legitimate authority is the result of the rejection of an undemocratic form of government.

CHAPTER 9

AUTHORITY RELATIONSHIPS AND SOUTH AFRICAN SCHOOLING

Introduction

In the previous chapter I discussed a number of aspects of South African schooling. I argued that South African schooling is based on power relationships and that it does not represent the real interests of teachers and learners. In this chapter I will provide an analysis of authority relationships in South African schooling and argue that there has been a loss of legitimate authority in this sphere. This chapter starts with an exposition of the important distinction made by R.S. Peters (1), between authority and power. I will also analyse his distinction between de jure and de facto authority, as well as, the differences between "in" and "an" authority. In the second section of this chapter the loss of legitimate authority in South African schooling is discussed. It is argued that the loss of legitimate authority in schooling is the result of a rejection of the undemocratic form of government.

Peters on authority:

Peters makes a fundamental distinction between power and authority. This distinction is based on the notion of "rights". He makes a necessary connection between authority and rights by stating that a "person in authority has a right

to make decisions, issue pronouncements, give commands and... perform ... symbolic acts" (RP:1967:92). For Peters, to have authority, means to have the right to get another person to do something by means of "giving orders to him, by making pronouncements and decisions" (RP:1967:92). The central function of authority "in the analysis of a social situation is to stress ... ways of regulating behaviour by certain types of utterances in contrast to other ways of regulating behaviour" (RP:1967:92). It is in contrasting these ways of regulating behaviour that Peters's distinction between power and authority becomes clear. He states that power "basically denotes ways in which an individual subjects others to his will by means of physical coercion ... psychological coercion... forms of sanctions and rewards ... or personal influence..." (2). The ways of regulating behaviour underlying the concept of power include a recourse to force, incentives and propaganda. These ways, i.e. with the concept of power, also, are "ultimately bound up with issuing pronouncements, making decisions and giving commands" (RP:1967:93) but, in contrast with the concept of authority, these pronouncements, decisions and commands are not based on rights. The ways of regulating behaviour with the concept of authority presupposes a normative order, i.e. a system of rules and the idea that there are correct and incorrect ways of doing things. With the concept of authority there is an "appeal to an impersonal normative order or value system which regulates behaviour..." (RP:1972:238).

In short, if A claims to have authority with B, then she claims to have certain rights to control B's behaviour. This includes rights to arbitrate in disputes and rights to decide what is correct or incorrect. These rights to regulate B's behaviour pre-suppose the existence of "rules", and the following of those rules, as well as the right for someone to determine what those rules are. In contrast, if A claims to have power over B, then she claims to control B's behaviour by means of, inter alia, coercion, force, incentives and propaganda in terms of the concept of power, then, A subjects B to her will and the notion of rights does not feature.

The notion of "in authority" is distinguished from that of "an authority". "In authority" refers to authority in the sphere of social control. A person is "in authority" on grounds of the legitimacy of the presupposed system of rules. The rugby referee is "in authority" on grounds of the acceptance of the legitimacy of the rules of the game. The rules of the game of rugby place the referee "in authority" and under such rules the referee has the right to issue certain commands to the players.

The phrase "an authority" refers to authority in the sphere of knowledge. This notion, for Peters, is closely linked to success, competency and training. A man's personal history and his personal achievements in a particular sphere of knowledge make him "an authority" in that sphere of knowledge. A man is "an authority" on drama if he has a history of

success and particular achievements in the sphere of drama. This man, then, has the right to make certain pronouncements on drama. Authority in the sphere of knowledge, according to Peters, is always provisional because whether something is right or true, ultimately does not depend on whether a person says it is right or true.

The de jure notion of authority is also called "formal authority", by Peters. A person who claims de jure authority, has the right to make pronouncements and issue commands because her actions have been authorized. This authorizing of her actions is akin "to commissioning or giving a warrant" (RP:1967:85) to her to make pronouncements and to issue commands. In terms of the notion of de jure authority "legal force or formal approval" (RP:1967:85) is given to the person to make pronouncements and issue commands.

De facto authority is also called "actual authority". In quoting de Jouvenel (RP:1967:84), Peters refers to this notion as the "ability of a man to get his proposals accepted". This ability depends on the personal or practical influence that a person has on the behaviour of other people. This notion of de facto authority refers to the ability of a person effectively to exercise authority, i.e. effectively to influence the behaviour of other people. This effective exercise of authority can be in the spheres of both "in authority" and "an authority". People who exercise authority de facto can do so because of "the deference paid to their

office or status" (RP:1967:89) or because of outstanding personal characteristics. According to Peters, there is often a mixture of both of the above. He states that "there is subtle interweaving of these institutional and personal conditions for the exercise of authority de facto (RP:1967:89).

Peters also discusses the distinction, made by Max Weber, between three types of authority, viz traditional, legal-rational and charismatic authority. These distinctions are made on the "grounds of entitlement", or the "legitimacy" of each of these notions of authority. "Traditional authority" rests on an established belief in the sanctity of immemorial traditions and the legitimacy of the status of those existing authority under them". The traditional ruler was a "status figure to whom total deference was due" (RP:1972:242). In the case of "legal-rational authority" the claim to legitimacy rests on "a belief in the 'legality' of patterns of normative rules and the right of those elevated to authority under such rules to issue commands" (RP:1967:86). In this notion of authority reference is made to competency in a particular sphere, e.g. the rugby referee.


"Charismatic authority" rests "on devotion to the specific and exceptional sanctity, heroism or exemplary character of an individual person, and of the normative patterns or order revealed or ordained by him" (RP:1967:87). Jesus and Napoleon are used as examples of this notion of authority.

Peters is of the opinion that such people do not have exceptional or mysterious power, but they are simply very good at exercising authority, i.e. they have good de facto authority.

The "legitimacy" of each of the above notions of authority, i.e. traditional, legal-rational and charismatic, is, according to Peters, a form of justification for that authority. With the crumbling of "traditional authority" a necessity developed for the rational justification of authority. The rational justification for "in authority" is different from the rational justification for "an authority". The rational case for authority in the social sphere is different from the rational case for authority in the sphere of knowledge. The justification of authority in the social sphere depends on the reasons given for interfering with the freedom of people, i.e. reasons for not allowing people to do what they want to do, or behave in the way that they want to. Peters argues that in a situation of total freedom a "paradox of freedom" can develop, i.e. that "too much freedom leads to too little". In a situation where there are no rules, or no authority, "the strong will impose arbitrary constraints on the weak". The justification for authority in the social sphere, then, depends on the protection of the individual from arbitrary constraints being placed on their freedom. On the other hand, the case for authority in the sphere of knowledge, according to Peters, is much weaker. In terms of his argument authority in this sphere is, at best, a provisional

expedient. However, no man can have all knowledge and he needs to depend on authorities in this sphere. Peters also contends that that knowledge can only be developed and passed on if institutions, manned by the appropriate authorities, are developed for this purpose.

Briefly, then, Peters makes a fundamental distinction between "power" and "authority" on the grounds of the notion of "rights"; and he distinguishes between authority in the sphere of social control and authority in the sphere of knowledge, and between de jure or "formal" and de facto or "actual" authority.



If his account of authority is reflected on schooling, then a number of implications become clear. The teacher has a dual role: she is "in authority" by virtue of the legitimation of her role in society and, also, "an authority" by virtue of the knowledge that she has. She is a de jure authority, i.e. she is placed "in authority" on the grounds that she has established herself as "an authority" on the knowledge and methodology in the practice of schooling. In the next few paragraphs I will discuss the authority of teachers in South African schooling. This discussion will focus on the following questions: firstly, "What kind of contents and methodology underlie the 'an authority' role of the teacher?" and, secondly, "what kinds of social relations and political practices legitimize the 'in authority' role of the teacher?" These questions, however, are not entirely separate from each

other. The "in authority" role of the teacher depends on her being "an authority". Her authority in the social sphere is dependent on her authority in the sphere of knowledge. Her certification, as "an authority", in turn, is also not separate from her being placed "in authority". In short, these questions are interrelated and not entirely separate from each other.

Firstly, then, the teacher's "an authority" is concerned with her expertise and competency in the sphere of knowledge. The teacher is "an authority" and, as such, she has the right to make pronouncements in the sphere of knowledge. She is "an authority" on the contents of syllabi and textbooks and can make pronouncements on such contents. The learner does not have the same expertise and competency as the teacher. Also, the kind of pronouncements made by the teacher, cannot be separated from the contents on which she is an authority. Her right to be "an authority" is linked to the nature of the contents of the syllabi and textbooks. In the previous chapter I argued that the contents of syllabi and textbooks in South African Schooling are subject to strict centralized control by education departments. I argued that these syllabi and textbooks have as their objective the manipulation of the wants and preferences of the learner. It was argued that the interests of the learner can be manipulated by the contents of syllabi and textbooks used in South African schooling. The interests of learners can be manipulated by the strong undertones of racism and ethnicity in these textbooks and

syllabi. The failure to discuss, in perspective, the influence of racial segregation on the economic development of South Africa forms part of this manipulation. The influence of Colonialism on the availability of educational opportunities served as a further example. It can also be argued that this kind of contents encourages a particular kind of methodology in South African schooling. This methodology depends, largely, on rote-learning and repetition and it does not encourage critical thinking with the learner. This methodology also, includes strict disciplinary measures. Corporal punishment, a common practice in South African schooling, is an example of such measures. These methods of learning and measures of discipline can manipulate the attitudes of learners. This is described by interviewee no.9 as the "hidden curriculum" which can manipulate the wants and preferences of the learner, i.e. it can manipulate his interests. In short, it can be argued that the contents of syllabi and textbooks, as well as the methods used in South African schooling, manipulate the interests of the learner. And, if, the authority of the teacher depends on the nature of such contents and methods, then the legitimacy of the teacher as "an authority" can be questioned. If the authority of the teacher depends on such a "hidden curriculum", then her authority can be questioned. If, also, as we argued above, the teacher's "in authority" role is dependent on her being "an authority", then it could be argued that the legitimacy of the teacher being "in authority" can also be questioned. But, in order to analyse the legitimacy of the teacher as "in

authority", I also need to answer the second question.

The notion of "in authority" refers to authority in the social sphere. The teacher is "in authority" by virtue of the legitimation of her role by society. She is placed "in authority" by the society, i.e. she has the right to issue commands by virtue of her legitimation by society. Also, her right to make commands is influenced by the kind of society which legitimated her. Her right to be "in authority" is linked to the nature of the social and political practices of that society. The right of the South African teacher to be "in authority" is, then, influenced by the nature of social and political life in this society.

In the previous chapter, I focused on racism and ethnicity in the sphere of schooling. Maybe, it is now necessary to focus on how these aspects influence political practices in the country. The tri-cameral parliament and the homelands policy are the most dominating aspects of South African political life. The three-chamber parliamentary system extended the vote to "Coloureds" and "Indians", alongside with Whites, while the political participation of Blacks is accommodated by homelands and "independent states". The divisions between the three houses in the tri-cameral parliament is along racial lines and the various homelands and independent states are divided on the grounds of ethnicity. Registered voters from a particular race or ethnic group can elect representatives, from their "own" race

or ethnic group, to a forum where the affairs pertaining to their "own" group are discussed. In this way democratic political participation and accountability is ensured for each race or ethnic group, or so the propagandists of Apartheid argue. Their arguments for democratic participation and accountability, however, accept that the underlying principle on which people are grouped is correct, and, also, that this principle is acceptable to the majority of South Africans. Such arguments for democratic participation and accountability can only be valid, in my opinion, if all the people could freely participate in this process of grouping. The question is: Can people influence or change this process of grouping? If not, then such arguments for democracy, on racial and ethnic bases, cannot be valid.



It is on the grounds of the inability of people to change this process of grouping that I suggest that this kind of political participation is undemocratic. Other aspects which contribute to the undemocratic nature of South African political life are, inter alia: Whites have veto-rights in the parliamentary process, i.e. they, with constitutional protection, outnumber the "Coloureds" and "Indians" in the parliamentary processes. Homelands and "independent states" cover only approximately 13% of the total country and are supposed to house more than 70% of the total population; this 13% of the country has been demarcated by Whites and it does not include the economically rich areas of the country. In short, the tri-cameral parliament and the homelands policy,

which dominate South African political life are based on racism and ethnicity, and are totally undemocratic. It is on the grounds that South African political life is undemocratic, that my argument against the legitimacy of the teacher being "in authority" is based. The right of the South African teacher to be "in authority" is questioned on grounds of the fact that the political life is undemocratic.

Briefly, up till now I have argued that the teacher's "in authority" role is dependent on her being "an authority" and that her certification as "an authority" is also not separate from her being placed "in authority". It was then argued that the legitimacy of the teacher as "an authority" in South African schooling can be questioned on the grounds of the manipulation of the interests of the learner through the contents of syllabi and textbooks. The undemocratic nature of South African political life also led to the questioning of the legitimation of the teacher in the social sphere, i.e. the teacher as "in authority".

It is now necessary to briefly focus on de jure authority in South African schooling. This notion of authority, according to Peters, "presupposes a system of rules which determine who may legitimately take certain types of decision ..."

(RP:1967:85). This system of rules authorizes the actions of a person. These actions are commissioned and licensed or, according to Peters, are given "legal force or formal approval" (RP:1967:85). If this is reflected on South

African schooling, the teacher is commissioned and licensed. She is given legal force and formal approval to make pronouncements and give commands. Her de jure authority is legitimised by society and she is placed "in authority", i.e. has the right to give commands, on the grounds of being "an authority". However, in terms of South African schooling, the system of rules which legitimises her authority is being questioned. The system of rules which legitimises her role as "an authority" is based on the manipulation of the interests of the learner and those rules which place her "in authority" are undemocratically based. The legitimacy of the legal force and of the formal approval are questioned. The legitimacy of her right to make pronouncements and to issue commands is questioned. It is a rejection of this legitimacy, a rejection of the system of rules which give legal force and formal approval, which has led to the loss of authority in South African schooling. This rejection of legitimacy of the authority in schooling is the result of the rejection of the undemocratic form of government.

In Chapter 8 I argued for a concept of power which recognises the influence of institutions on the interests, i.e. on the wants and preferences, of learners. In this chapter an argument is made for a concept of authority which is based on rights. But "rights" are established in particular political structures, and to the extent that those structures are not legitimate, the "rights" cannot be established. Thus, in an illegitimate political structure, the de jure authority of

teachers is in doubt. In the next chapter the relationships between the concept of authority and that of power are discussed.



CHAPTER 10

POWER AND AUTHORITY

In the previous two chapters I have analysed relationships in South African schooling in terms of a concept of power and a concept of authority. This chapter explores the relationships between these two concepts. I argue, for a fundamental distinction between power and authority by contrasting them, firstly, in terms of "participant" and "detached" relationships and, secondly, by comparing them on the grounds of, what Steven Lukes calls, "subjective" and "real" interests. The distinction between power and authority is, thirdly made on the grounds of the notion of "rights". Fourthly, I will discuss the relationship between democracy and rights.


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

In chapter 6 it was argued, following Peter Strawson, that "participant" attitudes are appropriate in relationships between human beings. In this argument four aspects of participant attitudes were highlighted, viz respect for the agency of the participants, compatibility with relationships of inequality, growth of communities and, morality. On the grounds of these aspects it was argued that participant attitudes are appropriate in democratic relationships. In analysing the arguments of R.S. Peters, in chapter 9, a necessary connection was made between authority and rights. This connection presupposed a normative order, i.e. a system of rules and the idea that there are correct and incorrect

ways of proceeding. I argued further that the legitimacy of those rights, i.e. the legitimacy of the authority, depends on a system of rules which is democratically based. In terms of this argument a link can be established between authority and democracy. It is through this link between authority and democracy that the compatibility between authority and "participant" attitudes develops. In short, "participant" attitudes are appropriate in democratic relationships, and, on those grounds, they are also compatible with the concept of authority.

"Participant" attitudes can, however, also be suspended. Following the argument in Chapter 6 again, this suspension of participant attitudes can be based on the grounds that the participant cannot be held morally responsible for his actions. This is appropriate in relationship with, for instance, young children and the mentally ill. Such relationships can temporarily be founded on detached attitudes. The taking up of detached attitudes, under these conditions, is compatible with democratic relationships because they have as their purpose the growth or the fostering of the agency of the child or patient. They aim at eventually making the suspension of participant attitudes unnecessary. "Detached" attitudes, however, can also be taken up wilfully to manipulate and subjugate people. Under these conditions people, or groups of people, are managed as objects of social policy. This shows a disrespect for the agency of the individual or the group and on these grounds

"detached" attitudes are inappropriate with democratic relationships. In analysing power relationships in South African schooling, in chapter 8, I used a framework which argued for the recognition of power through the manipulation of and control over social forces and institutional practices. In terms of this framework, Steven Lukes argues that power can be exercised by manipulating the wants and preferences of people through control over social forces and institutional practices. This argues that the manipulation of interests can take place through such forces and practices. It is in this common element of manipulation that I see a link between the concept of power and "detached" attitudes.

I have up till now argued for a fundamental distinction between the concept of authority and the concept of power. In terms of this argument the concept of authority can be linked to "participant" attitudes, which are the essence of democratic relationships. Also, the concept of power can be linked to "detached" attitudes, which, in turn, are in conflict with democratic relationships. In contrasting the concepts of authority and power in this manner, reference was made to the manipulation of the interests, wants and preferences of people. The following few paragraphs will focus on a contrast between authority and power in terms of "subjective" and "real" interests.

Lukes, according to the argument in Chapter 8, states that the notion of "interests" is about the making of normative

judgements of a moral and political kind. He argues that different concepts of what interests are, are associated with different moral and political positions. In following this argument through he, in the "Three-dimensional view", recognises that the interests of people are influenced by social forces and institutional practices. Lukes makes a distinction between the interests of those who exercise power and the "real" interests of those who are excluded. In this distinction he develops the concepts of "subjective" and "real" interests. Lukes argues that the "real" interests of people can only be recognised through the exercising of choice under conditions of democratic participation. "Real" interests are the products of social forces and institutional practices that are based on democratic participation. In terms of this, the wants and preferences of people are related to the interests they would have under conditions of choice. "Subjective" interests are what people believe to be in their interests. This belief might be correct, i.e. it might be that their "subjective" and "real" interests correspond. However, this belief might also be mistaken. In this case people relate their wants and preferences in terms of interests that are induced by manipulative social forces and institutional practices. The interests of people are then the result of social forces and institutional practices which do not allow for democratic participation. I have argued that the concept of authority can be linked to "participant" attitudes, which are the essence of democratic relationships. In terms of this, it could be argued further that the concept of authority

is linked with social forces and institutional practices which are based on democratic participation, and that, as such, it contributes to the recognition and the development of the "real" interests of people. It was also argued earlier that the concept of power can be linked to "detached" attitudes, which, in turn, are based on manipulation and which are inappropriate in democratic relationships. In those terms, it could also be argued that the concept of power fosters the manipulation of the wants and preferences of people. Under such conditions the wants and preferences of people are related to manipulated interests..What people now believe to be in their interests, i.e. their "subjective" interests, might not correspond with their "real" interests. It is in this sense then that power relations correspond with "subjective" interests.


UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

The third distinction between power and authority is made clear by the argument of R.S. Peters. In terms of this argument, already referred to in Chapter 9, a conceptual difference is made between power and authority in terms of the notion of "rights". Authority, according to Peters, is linked to the right to regulate behaviour by means of pronouncements and commands. He argues that if A holds authority over B, then A has the legitimate right to regulate the behaviour of B through pronouncements and commands. These rights to regulate behaviour are established in particular political structures. The legitimacy of these rights depends on the extent to which those political structures allow for democratic participation.

The legitimacy of A's authority over B then depends on the democratic nature of those political structures. These ways of regulating behaviour can be contrasted with the ways of regulating behaviour through power. In the case of power the ways of regulating behaviour include a recourse to, *inter alia*, force, incentives, manipulation and propaganda. These ways are based on various forms of coercion and sanctioning. Under these conditions, A no longer holds the right to change B's behaviour. Such conditions of power are associated with political structures which do not allow for democratic participation. The central claim, made by Peters, is that authority is based on legitimate rights to regulate behaviour in democratic political structures, while power subjects people to the will of those who hold it through their control over undemocratic political structures.

UNIVERSITY of the
WESTERN CAPE

I have earlier argued for a distinction between authority and power by contrasting them in terms of "participant" and "detached" attitudes. It was argued that the concept of authority is compatible with "participant" attitudes and that, on the grounds of this compatibility, authority is also appropriate in democratic relationships.

A further distinction was made between authority and power in terms of the notion of "rights". Authority was linked to the legitimate right to regulate behaviour, given that that right is established in political structures which allow for democratic participation.

It can, now, also be argued that if authority is appropriate in democratic relationships, and if authority is linked to the notion of legitimate rights which are established in political structures which allow for democratic participation, then the notion of legitimate rights is appropriate in democratic relationships. In terms of this link such legitimate rights are compatible with "participant" attitudes. If the authority relationship between A and B is based on such legitimate rights then such a relationship will respect the agency of the participants. These legitimate rights will be appropriate with relationships of inequality. Such legitimate rights can also contribute to the growth of communities and the establishment of moral behaviour.



This chapter, firstly, explored the relationships between the concept of authority and the concept of power and it was argued that a fundamental distinction could be made between these two concepts. It, secondly, also discussed the relationship between the notion of legitimate rights and the concept of democracy and it was argued that this notion could be appropriate in democratic relationships. In chapter 11 it will be argued that the changes in power and authority relationships are movements toward democratizing South African schooling and also that these movements are interrelated to similar movements in the broader socio-political sphere.

SECTION IV

CHAPTER 11

CONCLUSION

In the introduction I stated that the central problem of this investigation is an examination of changes in power and authority relationships in South African schooling and also an analysis of whether those changes in relationships are developments towards democratizing South African schooling.

Chapter 1 reflected on changed perceptions in power and authority relationships and also on some of the focal areas of the investigation. In Chapter 2 the concepts of power and authority were placed in various theoretical contexts.

Section II reported on a number of interviews held with strategically placed people. These reports attempted to capture the interpretations of the interviewees on changed power and authority relationships in schooling.

In chapters 6 and 7 the relationships between participant attitudes, democracy and schooling were discussed. It was argued that democratic relationships are compatible with relationships of inequality. In chapter 8 I argued that South African schooling is based on power relationships. The loss of legitimate authority in South African schooling is referred

to in chapter 9. In Chapter 10 I argued for a fundamental distinction between the concepts of power and authority, and also established a link between democratic relationships and rights.

The central focus of this investigation was to disarticulate the concepts of power and authority from hierarchical and oppressive practices and structures and to rearticulate those concepts in terms of democratic practices and structures. I suggested, throughout this investigation, that relationships in traditional South African schooling were based on concepts of power which were articulated in terms of hierarchical, manipulative, oppressive and undemocratic practices and structures. My central claim about the changes in power and authority relationships in South African schooling is that these changes are the beginnings of a process of disarticulation from such hierarchical, manipulative, oppressive and undemocratic practices and structures. I also emphasize that this process of disarticulation is a movement towards democratizing schooling practices and structures. Another important aspect of this process of disarticulation is that these changes in relationships in schooling, are interrelated with attempts to democratize those practices and structures in a broader socio-political context. I strongly hold that unless those attempts in the broader socio-political context are successful, the democratizing of schooling practices and structures can never be attained.


Central issues which remain untouched in this investigation are, *inter alia*, the effects of bureaucracy on power and authority relationships and whether these changes in relationships have fundamentally changed the nature of the traditional structures.

This investigation is an attempt to offer a clearer understanding of changes in power and relationships in South African schooling. The investigation is also aimed at making a contribution to ongoing debates around the process of democratizing schooling in this country.




N O T E S.

Chapter 1.

1. This is regarded as a salient date on the grounds that since 1976 the breakdowns in South African schooling programmes have occurred not only on a large scale, but also on an national basis. I do not claim that there have been no challenges to the traditional authority relationships before this date.
2. Again, I do not claim that all teachers have at all times thought along these lines, but I do suggest that this was a dominant kind of perception.
3. Lukes, Steven  Power: A Radical View, London, Macmillan Press, 1974.

Chapter 6.

1. Strawson, Peter  "Freedom and Resentment" in Freedom and Resentment and other essays, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1973. Further references to Strawson will be indicated in the text by PS, followed by page numbers, e.g. (PS:33,34).
2. Pateman, Carole Participation and Democratic Theory, London, Cambridge University Press, 1970. Further references to Pateman will be indicated in the text by CP, followed by page numbers.
3. Morrow, Wally "Participating in Education", in Chains of Thought, Johannesburg,

Southern Books, 1989, p.109.
Further references to Morrow
will be indicated by WM,
followed by page numbers.

4. Relationships in schooling inherently imply that some participants understand or know more than other participants. Furthermore, no schooling could proceed without active engagement, between teacher and learner, i.e. without participation in relationships in schooling. But, this is the focus of Chapter 7.

Chapter 7.

1. Dunlop, Francis

"On the Democratic Organisation
of schools", Cambridge Journal
of Education, Vol. 9, 1979.

Further references to Dunlop
will be indicated in the text by
FD, followed by page numbers.

Chapter 8.

1. Lukes, Steven

Power, A Radical View, London,
Macmillan Press, 1974. Further
references to Lukes are
indicated in the text by SL,
followed by page numbers.

2. Dale, Robert

"The Concept of Power",
Behavioural Science, no. 2,
1957, in (SL:11,12)

3. Bachrach, P
and Baratz, M

Power and Poverty: Theory and
Practice, in (SL:16).

4. Hollis, Martin

Models of Man, Cambridge

5. This exercising of choice through democratic participation, according to Lukes, is not only dependant on A's power, but it also takes place under conditions of relative autonomy (SL:33).

Chapter 9.

1. Peters Richard

"Authority" in Quentin, Anthony (Ed.), Political Theory, Oxford, Oxford University Press, 1967.

Further references to this article by Peters will be indicated in the text by RP, followed by 1967, followed by page numbers, e.g. (RP:1967:30).

2.

Ethics and Education, London, George Allen and Unwin, 1972, p.238. Further references to this publication by Peters will be indicated in the text by RP, followed by 1972, followed by page numbers.

B I B L I O G R A P H Y

- Alexander, Neville "Restoring the status of teachers in the community.", Unpublished paper, 1979.
- Allbrow, Martin Bureaucracy, London, Pall Mall Press, 1970.
- Bobbio, Noberto The Future of Democracy, Cambridge, Polity Press, 1987.
- Carter, April Authority and Democracy, London, Routledge and Kegan Paul, 1979.
- Dunlop, Francis "On the democratic organisation of schools.", Cambridge Journal of Education, Vol. 9, 1979.
- Giroux, Henry Schooling and the Struggle for Public Life, Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1986.
- Hollis, Martin Models of Man, London, Cambridge University Press, 1977.
- Kallaway, Peter (ed.) Apartheid and Education, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1986.
- Kane-Berman, John Soweto: Black Revolt, White Reaction, Johannesburg, Ravan Press, 1979.
- Lukes, Steven Power: A Radical View, London, Macmillan Press, 1974.
- Molteno, Frank School boycotts in the Western

Masters thesis, University of
Cape Town, 1985.

Morrow, Wally

"Democratic schooling and the
Continental nuisance", in Chains
of Thought, Johannesburg,
Southern Books, 1989.

"Participating in Education" in
Chains of Thought,
Johannesburg, Southern Books,
1989.

Pateman, Carole

Participation and Democratic
Theory, London, Cambridge
University Press, 1970.

Peters, Richard

"Authority" in Quentin Anthony
(ed.), Political Theory, Oxford,
Oxford University Press, 1967.

Authority, Responsibility and
Education, London, George Allen
and Unwin, 1973.

Education and the Education of
Teachers, London, Routledge and
Kegan Paul, 1977.

Ethics and Education, London,
George Allen and Unwin, 1972.

Sayed, Yusuf, et.al.

"Authority and Emancipation in
South African schooling",
Unpublished paper, University of
the Western Cape, 1990.

Strawson, Peter

"Freedom and Resentment" in
Freedom and Resentment and Other

117

Essays, Oxford, Oxford
University Press, 1973.



UNIVERSITY *of the*
WESTERN CAPE