GOVERNING TEACHER EDUCATION COLLEGES IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE GAUTENG PROVINCE

BY

M CROSS

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION

UNIVERSITY OF THE WITWATERSRAND, JOHANNESBURG, SOUTH AFRICA

PRIVATE BAG 3 WITS 2050

Tel: 27-11-716 5293

Fax: 27-11-339 3956

E-mail: 022CROSS@MENTOR.EDCM.WITS.AC.ZA

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ACRONYMS

CHE	Council on Higher Education
DET	Department of Education and Training
DOE	Department of Education
CHET	Centre for Higher Education Transformation
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution (strategy)
GDE	Gauteng Department of Education
HOD	Head of Department
INSET	In-service education and training
JCE	Johannesburg College of Education
MEC	Member of the Executive Council
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
PRESET	Pre-service education and training
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
SACE	South African Council for Educators
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SRC	Student Representative Council
TED	Transvaal Education Department

GOVERNING TEACHER EDUCATION COLLEGES IN SOUTH AFRICA: THE CASE OF THE GAUTENG PROVINCE[1]

The dogmas of the quiet past are inadequate for the stormy present. The occasion is piled high with difficulty and we must think anew and act anew. We must disenthral ourselves, and then we shall save our country (Lincoln).

M Cross
Department of Education
University of the Witwatersrand
Private Bag 3
Wits 2050
Tel: (011) 716 5293
Fax: (011) 339 3956
E-Mail: 022cross@mentor.edcm.wits.ac.za

1. Introduction

Governance of higher education is increasingly becoming one of the most provocative areas of inquiry in the field of educational policy. How institutions of higher education are governed, the structures and processes of decision-making and the distribution of power within and outside the institutions, have captured the interest of politicians, political scientists, sociologists, organisation theorists, and education practitioners. Out of this interest, a body of literature, rich in theory and description and extensive in the variety of topics and issues addressed, has emerged. There are however some limitations concerning this body of literature. First, most of this literature tends to privilege the universities and other institutions of higher education. The college sub-sector generally remains under researched. Second, the few items dealing with college governance tend to neglect teacher education colleges. They focus on community colleges or further education colleges. This study deals with the restructuring of governance of teacher education colleges in the Gauteng Province in South Africa. Although it draws on the relevant national and international literature, the main thrust of this study is in that it analytically privileges practitioners' discourses of governance which inform their current interpretations of governance policy and underpin their practices.

The study has three main dimensions. First, it scrutinises main governance discourses among the college leadership with focus on how college administrators (rectors, vice-rectors and heads of departments) understand the nature, purpose and styles of governance in teacher education. Second, it examines the emerging

1 I would like to thank the Association of African Universities whose funding made this study possible.

governance styles and governing structures as well as the main areas of contestation in current institutional and systemic governance. These include three levels of relationships: between state and institutions, college councils and college administration, institutional administration and college faculty, and institutional administration and students. Third, it explores the opportunities and limits that linkages or partnerships between colleges, the community, or other learning organisations, offer. These issues are discussed taking into consideration the continuities and discontinuities in the system as well as their significance to the on-going process of transformation in higher education. The study pursues the argument that, given the peculiarity of South Africa's teacher education colleges, if principles of governance of higher education are to be applied to these colleges, they must be **counter-balanced** [2] with contextual factors relative to the legacy of teacher education. Further, during the transition period more adapted strategies of governance are required for enhancing leadership capacity.

2. Methodology

The study started in early 1997 when there was a great deal of uncertainty about the future of the 109 teacher education colleges that existed in South Africa. Different options were being ventilated: closure, rationalisation, conversion into polytechnics, conversion into community colleges, integration into university faculties, and amalgamation or clustering, of existing colleges. The uncertainty remained until the release of the report of the Technical Committee on the Incorporation of Colleges of Education into Higher Education in December 1997. The process of rationalisation has been almost completed but most of the remaining teacher education colleges still do not know when the process of their integration into university faculties will begin. The study was conceptualised and planned on the assumption that these colleges will eventually become parts of university faculties.

The study targeted primarily individuals occupying leadership positions in the four colleges of education (administrators, faculty members and students) and government officials dealing with colleges in both national and Gaunteng departments of education. The aim was to map out their understandings of issues of college governance and how these understandings inform their practices in the colleges. Three main research strategies were adopted in the different phases of the study:

Phase One: study visits to the four campuses to have first hand experience about what is going on and the general climate on campus. Through direct observation and informal discussions with faculty members and students, the researcher was able to identify key

1. A term borrowed from Profesor Teichler Ulrich,a resource person for the AAU Research Working Group on Higher Education.

issues and targets for the study.

Phase two: in-depth interviews with college administrators, student and faculty members in leadership positions.

Phase Three: focus group discussion with a group comprising of members of the Committee of Colleges of Education Rectors of South Africa (CCERSA), HODs and student leaders in two colleges (Sebokeng and East Rand).

Phase Four: workshops with all stakeholders in teacher education (colleges of education, technikons and faculties of education, Staff Associations and the South African Council of Educators). Although these workshops (in total of 8 provincial workshops) were organised by the National Department of Education for discussion of the new teacher education policy, [3] they covered most of the issues addressed in the study.

The following lines of enquiry were addressed:

- Prevailing understandings of college governance
- Current state of college governance in SA
- Key issues in college governance
- Qualities of a college leader
- Styles and models of college governance
- Principles and values
- Governance structures (role, functions and powers)
- Nature, power and functions of council and senate
- The role of stakeholders (faculty, parents, students, administrators, etc)
- The role of national and provincial departments of education
- Linkages: college/college; college/other learning organisations; college/community.
- Quality control issues
- Policy making issues
- Capacity building
- Integration challenges

Apart from outlining the purpose of the project, the researcher was careful about setting clear parameters for the area of enquiry. In both the interviews and focus group discussion, the researcher made sure that “governance” and “college governance” is defined by the respondents themselves irrespective of the researchers’ own understanding of these terms. Given the discursive nature of the study, the meaning attributed to these terms within the institutions was of particular interest to the study. All interviews were tape-recorded and have been transcribed. Given the fact that the study deals with current and sensitive issues in the college restructuring, names are used only in those cases where agreement has

3 I was a member of the Technical Committee who developed this policy.

been obtained from the interviewees.

3. Overview of the current teacher education sector in Gauteng

The number of teacher education colleges inherited from apartheid is considerable. In 1995, there were 95 state and 5 private colleges in South Africa, which provided contact teacher education, and 8 state colleges and 3 private colleges, which provided distance education. In total, there were 109 teacher education colleges which catered for 150 380 students. These institutions are well distributed nationally. In the Gauteng province, there were 9 teacher education colleges of which 7 (Daveyton College, Katorus College, East Rand College, Transvaal College - Laudium, Transvaal College - Soshanguve, Soweto College and Sebokeng College) were historically black and 2 (Johannesburg College of Education and Onderwyskollege) historically white.

3.1. College restructuring in the Gauteng Province

Since 1995, two important processes have been set in motion. The first is the process of rationalisation that has reduced considerably the number of teacher education colleges.[4] Following the recommendations made by the Task Team on Rationalisation of Colleges of Education appointed by Mary Metcalfe, former Education Member of the Executive Council (M.E.C.) in the Gauteng Department of Education (GDE) in 1996, only four of the nine colleges will provide pre-service teacher education in Gauteng in the future. These include: the East Rand College of Education, Sebokeng College of Education, Johannesburg College of Education (JCE) and Onderwyskollege (N.K.P.). [5] The staff of the colleges that have closed have in some cases been accommodated in the colleges that remained. However, the possibility remains that the four sites may be reduced to three or even to two. [6]

The four colleges had to meet certain requirements. First, they had to satisfy G.D.E.'s requirements in terms of their geographic location. Second, they had to be large enough to be economically viable (with at least a student/lecturer ratio of 15:1). According to the new policy regulating higher education, student enrolment and type of courses offered are

4 The amalgamation and rationalisation of colleges has been defined as a provincial responsibility. College personnel remain provincial employees until their respective colleges are declared institutions of higher education. As such, decisions regarding the reduction of colleges to four and the respective labour relations implications were taken by the Gauteng Department of Education.

5 The Task Team recommended that colleges not selected for teacher education should be converted into Community Colleges.

6 Incorporating JCE with Wits: Implications and Implementation. A Report to the Vice-Chancellor and the Rector by the Joint Working Group to Investigate the Incorporation of the Johannesburg College of Education with the University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, May 1999, p.12.

central in determining the subsidy structure. Third, they had to have physical facilities sufficient to promote and sustain flexibility and a range of programmes to provide quality primary and secondary teachers in all specialist fields required in schools in Gauteng. Fourth, they had to have the necessary infrastructure for high quality teacher education. The four colleges could amalgamate with other colleges and recruit academic, administrative and support services staff for the existing college personnel in Gauteng to meet the requirements. [7]

The second process entailed the integration of the remaining teacher education colleges into higher education sector. The report of the National Commission on Higher Education stated that:

> South Africa's colleges of education, nursing and agriculture should be incorporated into existing universities and technikons as faculties or schools, or constituent parts thereof. College diploma and certificates programmes should become university/technikon diploma and certificate programmes, and college staff and students should become university/technikon staff and students. [8]

Details on integration were spelt out in a document sent to stakeholders by the national Departmet of Education: *The incorporation of colleges of education into the higher education sector: a framework for implementation*. Two routes were stated through which a college of education could enter the higher education sector: through a merger with a university or technikon or through recognition of a college of education as an institution of higher education, deemed to have met the criteria for this status, by the Minister of Education. The process of integration has been slow. However, JCE and N.K.P. have started negotiations for integration with the faculties of education of Wits University and Pretoria University respectively. There are indications that the East Rand College may merge with the School of Education of the Rand Afrikaans University. Since its early days, JCE in particular has been associated to Wits University through a "Scheme of Association" and franchise agreement in which components of university degrees (B Prim Ed) and diplomas are taught by college staff for the university. Wits University has always served on the governance structures of the college and university representatives have made a significant contribution to the academic development of courses at the college. Through this association, JCE has managed to improve the quality of its programmes and its institutional capacity in dealing with curriculum, and teaching and learning issues. Compared to the

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7 Proposals for the development and reconstruction of initial teacher education in Gauteng. Prepared for the M.E.C. for Education of Gauteng Province, Mrs Mary Metcalfe. Johannesburg October 1996, p.1.

8 NCHE, *Discussion Document - A Framework for Transformation* (Pretoria, April 1996), p.60.

other three colleges, JCE represents at present a significant pocket of excellence with a dynamic leadership, effective governance, qualified staff or co-operative relationships with other institutions, and meaningful community outreach programmes.

4. Competing discourses of governance

Governance may be conceptualised as the ordering of decision-making processes and the distribution of power within and outside institutions. Governance encompasses the complex processes whereby policies are formulated, negotiated, refined, adopted and implemented.[9] Although governing institutions may require particular organisational structures, issues of governance relate not only to structure but also to people. There is more to organisations than formal structures. As one interviewee put it:

> The structures are not very important if there is no end goal in fact, or at least an end movement, you don't have to reach a finite goal. So governance is a means to an end and that end not being a fixed point but being a means to enable movement, to enable people to adapt, to enable people to take responsibility and accountability – things that, historically, colleges didn't have to do.[10]

As Masland has noted, "the classic elements of organisational design such as hierarchical structure, formalisation, rationality, and specialisation are important... but they do not fully explain organisational behaviour".[11] This depends to a large extent on organisational culture, which, in turn, depends on the people within it and around it. Increasingly, decisions are made through informal interaction among a group of peers and through collective action of the faculty as a whole where formal hierarchy plays little part.[12]

An organisation is healthy or not healthy, to the degree that the people in the system believe it is a responsive institution. When no effective governance exists, people tend to feel powerless about the overlays of structure, for they cannot find where decisions are finally made and cannot clearly determine their role in the institution. In this sense,

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9 See Jane Hofmeyr and Peter Buckland, "The governance of education in South Africa: historical and international perspectives on system change", A paper presented at the annual conference of the Southern African Comparative and History of Education Society held at Broederstroom, 20-30 October 1992.

10 Siza Shongwe, Interview , May 1998..

11 Andrew T Masland, "Organizational culture in the study of higher education", in Marvin W Peterson (ed.), *AHSE Reader on Organization and Governance in Higher Education* (Third Edition, Lexington: Ginn Press, 1983), p.70.

11 Burton R Clark, "Faculty organization and authority", in Marvin W Peterson (ed.), op cit, p.267.

governance is not just a matter of *structural conditioning* but a process of *educational interaction* and *negotiation* among interest groups.[13] In the South African case, the form and the content of this interaction and negotiation depend not only on the policy framework,[14] but mainly on the backgrounds of the role-players (stakeholders), and how they perceive and interpret their role in the governance process.

With reference to this framework, I asked the interviewees what they saw as key issues in college governance. The pressures posed by GEAR on institutions emerged on the top of the list: "The most important would be the whole issue of **efficiency** " Responses to GEAR (Growth, Employment and Redistribution) were very often linked to the ability to meet the challenges posed by the on-going process of transformation: "The really important thing is that there is a lot of **flexibility**, the **ability** for colleges and ministries and other authorities to actually respond quite quickly to changes." The following is seen as essential to meet these challenges:

A visionary leadership: " what I regard as very necessary is vision and leadership, the required know-how and the experience of everybody involved with teacher education; to elaborate on this I would say very broadly that the first and the most important thing here is that we should establish a **true tertiary character** of our colleges. As you know, most of our colleges are governed like schools " Or, " What I also regard as very important is the fact that there should also be a **true professional character** and the necessary academic foundation should also exist at a college of education."

Quality students and staff: "We need well qualified and experienced and competent staff at our colleges, that is to my mind the most important; then of course we also need dedicated students of outstanding or high quality."

Enabling structures: "In the times that we are at the moment we need governance structures which are innovative "

Authority and **accountability**: "The one would be that there are already clear lines of both authority and accountability, between the different levels."

Role of the community: "Community involvement at our colleges of education is also very

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12 These are key governance concepts developed by Margaret Archer. There is enough evidence to suggest that these concepts and also those concepts such as *political manipulation*, *internal initiation*, and *external transactions*, used by Archer at a macro level to explain the dynamics of systems change, can also be applied to the micro or institutional level of educational change. For details on these concepts see Jane Hofmeyr, "The application of Margaret Archer´s theory to South African education", mimeo, EDUPOL, 1991; P Buckland and Jane Hofmeyr, "The governance...," op cit; and M S Archer, *Social Origins of Educational Systems* (London: Sage, 1979).

14 In South Africa, only general principles are prescribed at the policy level.

important."

Implementation of Norms and Standards for Educators: "without pushing too far I think the implementation of professional development and, I guess, the licensing and re-licensing of teachers quality assurance issues will certainly depend on the type of governance and leadership we have in our colleges"

Other responses converged on issues such as "stakeholder representation", "community involvement", "degree of autonomy", "balance between democracy and effective management", and "grievance procedures and conflict resolution mechanisms." As Mohamed put it, stakeholder representation should include organisations "ranging right from the national ministry, provincial authorities, college faculty as well as the community, including workers at the college and parents." [15] While most of these issues fall within the general debate on governance, four important issues raised by respondents require particular attention, given their significance within South African college circumstances. These include the question of efficiency as a response to GEAR macro-economic framework, governance as mediation of conflict, the questions of accountability, and issues of leadership.

4.1. GEAR and Norms and Standards for Educators: implications for college governance

The vision and goals of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), which informed the proposals of the National Commission for Higher Education (NCHE), are to be achieved under GEAR macro-economic framework launched in 1997. GEAR demands greater fiscal discipline to minimise the budget, monetary restraint to reduce inflation, a social contract based on salary restraint to protect and create employment, and limits on public expenditure. It opens new opportunities and constraints to higher education institutions, including colleges of education. Under the circumstances, questions of rationalisation, quality, relevance, efficiency, effectiveness and educational performance become more pressing than ever. Cloete refers to these challenges as follows:

> It has for the first time led to institutions being thought off as "businesses". This has introduced a whole new language in higher education: "outsourcing, core business, scenarios, business units, contracting, etc". There is often a tension between efficiency in terms of saving money and the demands of knowledge and the mission of the institution.[16]

15 Interview with Haroon Mohamed, May 1998.

16 Nico Cloete, paper presented at the first national conference for Student Services practitioners, August 1998.

There is increasing realisation that, for institutions to meet these challenges successfully, they have to engage in a "whole new game": a paradigm shift. This is approached in different ways, from developing "a strong, visionary leadership", "changing the character of the academic corpus" to injecting "an entrepreneurial approach" to college work. In practice, institutional responses are twofold. Some respond to the challenges from a narrow technicist view as a matter of aligning their programmes to the new Norms and Standards for Educators. There is in some instances a sense of unpredictability, uncertainty, and overload or despondency. There seems to be however an increasing awareness among many faculty members that these challenges can only be dealt with more effectively from a holistic perspective with the necessary attention given to wider issues concerning institutional culture, particularly the style and modes of institutional governance.

4.2. Governance in a context of conflict

Concerns about the balance between democracy and effective management are informed by perceptions that traditional bureaucratic principles on which management practices were based cannot be replaced by democratic principles overnight. There is a need for a transitional period. Prevailing discourses are divided on how to address governance issues in this period. The reference to conflict resolution is very significant. Generally governance regulates the dynamics which ensure efficiency, effectiveness and quality in the delivery system. These issues may be the main focus of governance under normal circumstances or under conditions of institutional stability. In conflict-ridden institutions, which is the case of South African teacher education colleges, governance has a role to play in establishing conditions of stability. As such governance can also ensure that conflict within institutions is either eliminated or at least minimised. It is a process that mediates both internal conflicts between groups in colleges and external conflicts between colleges and the state. It encourages collaboration and the spirit of co-existence, and thus promotes the necessary stability for institutional efficiency, effectiveness and development.[17]

4.3. Putting accountability on the agenda

Against this background, it is not surprising that the emerging governance discourse in South Africa places particular emphasis on issues of social responsibility and accountability. College governors, in Western European countries with a higher degree of political stability and economic strength, tend to associate governance almost exclusively with questions of efficiency, effectiveness, resources and quality. Questions of democracy, legitimacy, institutional autonomy and accountability tend to receive little attention. These questions have however received particular attention in higher education in South Africa. This is because institutions of higher education in these countries have been dominated by

17 Kilemi Mwiria, *University Governance: Problems and Prospects in Anglophone Africa* (Nairobi: Bureau of Educational Research, August 1992), p.3.

a history of conflict, constant infringement of academic freedom and profound legitimacy and financial crises. Tensions and conflict permeate the relationship between government authorities, council members, students, administrators, and staff.[18] As such governance in South Africa has a central role in mediating conflict while creating the context in which issues of efficiency, effectiveness and quality can be addressed.

The attitude of the governors towards the institution is also important. Governors should have a clear idea about the mission of the institution, definition of objectives, goals and targets. They should know the story that they are telling. As Ball puts it, colleges should set themselves criterion-referenced missions and not the usual norm-referenced missions which add up to nothing: "Simply saying that your college strives to be an excellent college of ... education, or an outstanding college of ... education, does not mean anything".[19] Very often, it is unformulated objectives and lack of will which bring colleges to their knees and not the usual lack of resources. Good governance leaves no room for what Silverman calls "organised anarchy", characterised by ambiguous goals, ambiguous participation and unclear outcomes.[20] Access to or the existence of suitable management information systems and monitoring systems is central to effective governance.

4.4. Leadership and governance

Leadership was identified as a critical factor for effective governance. As Lathrop has pointed out, whenever people become involved in a joint activity, a leadership structure develops. In any such situation, there is always an individual or group of individuals who will visualise, initiate, supervise or direct and those who will accept or act upon the initiative or direction of others. In the college context, leadership entails a process of influence by a leader upon followers to attain organisational goals of the college. Furthermore, it involves a transaction between two individuals or an individual and a group, wherein a leader is able to influence the follower while at the same time allowing him/her to be influenced. Mutual influence of leader and follower is key to effective leadership.[21] The discussion around

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18 See Akinade O Sanda, "Crises in Nigeria´s university system: A challenge to managements administrative capacity" and Kola Olugbade, in A O Sanda (ed.),*Understanding Higher Educational Administration in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Fact Finders International Ibadan, 1991), p.118.

19 Christopher Ball, "FE - For everyone?", in *Coombe Lodge Report*, 22(5), 1991, p.631.

20 Robert M Silverman, "Community college governance: Firsh or fowl?", Graduate Seminar Paper, University of California, Eric ED 244 653, p.1; and Edwin Hollander, "College and university leadership from a social psychological perspective: a transactional view", paper presented at the Invitational Colloquium on Leadership in Higher Education, sponsored by the Institutional Leadership Project, National Centre for Postsecondary Governance and Finance, Teacher´s College, Columbia University, May 7, 1987.

21 Janet Judith Lathrop, "Sharing leadership: the nature of relationships between presidents and chief academic officers in colleges and universities", Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the

leadership and governance with a focus group, produced interesting insights:

> "One would be an ability to work with people and to resolve crises, I think that's really important the trend in colleges at the moment is very much one of 'I'll make decisions and tell people what to do.' I think they need to be able to motivate people, college lecturers to take responsibility, to be involved in decision making." [22]

> "People who've got the courage to actually make decisions You must be prepared to make decisions, which are often quite unpopular decisions, and to be able to go with those. I think that if you try and reform any system you actually have to be prepared to take unpopular decisions and work through those. And I think the third one for me would be people who can think laterally. The ability to think outside of the norms, or be able to say things like - this is how our colleges should have always been. But is there anything here which is sacred, which has to be here? And be prepared to try and think of colleges right from the start and say we can scrap all of these things - the ability to completely reconceptualise the colleges."

> "Appropriate knowledge skills and attitudes for the responsibility. Efficiency, have initiative and the ability to be proactive, to be authoritative (different from being authoritarian), and yet be approachable as a person, democratic and fair." [23]

> "Well firstly I would say that he/she should have to maintain excellent human relations he/she should have the necessary know-how, knowledge and academic background, so that the person responsible could be in a position to give real professional guidance. I think that such a person should also have the relevant experience the managerial ability and experience of such a person is also very important." [24]

> "Somebody who has a vision, somebody who knows where he is taking the college to. It should be somebody who understands what is happening at the schools It should be someone who understands the needs of the community. Another quality would be knowing what the community needs, and of course

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requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, May 1990, p.1.

22 Siza Shongwe, Interview May 1998.

23 Haroon Mohamed, Interview May 1998.

24 Jan Haygens, Interview May 1998.

> being able to adjust to them, flexibility, and then of course the quality of leadership, being able to make decisions. You know leadership might not mean somebody who walks in front and the others follow. As the President has said you can also lead from the back. The forth point would be somebody who can allow other people to play the role to let other people develop. Let them become "us" "[25]

Thus for Shongwe a profile of a college with strong leadership is a college:

> That has got a particular ethos You're aware of it, you see it in what's written on the notice board. You see it in how people answer the telephone, and how they respond to outsiders, that kind of stuff. But that ethos part is very intimately connected with the rector.

Underpinning these accounts is the assumption that while rectors, vice-rectors and heads of departments, are leaders within colleges. The question is whether they exert their leadership role. If they do, their effects on their institution may be related to their relationship to the faculty and to whether they allow themselves to be influenced by one another in their work. No single inspired individual can accomplish what requires a concerted collective effort to achieve. Successful college leaders will be those who draw upon the resources of their followers and who create working environments where interdependence, team-building, collective decision-making and co-operation replace independence and competition.

5. The nature and purpose of teacher education colleges

One of the challenges facing college governors is the diverse understanding of the nature of the institution of teacher education college, which results in different and, very often, conflicting styles of governance. It is of utmost importance that anyone or any group that has responsibility for college governance (administration, faculty, staff, students or boards, including legislators, alumni and concerned citizens) have some knowledge of and respect for the nature, purpose, and process of the institution. Unfortunately, many people assume power and responsibility for governing colleges without knowledge of and respect for its basic nature and purposes. This is partly because college administrators in South Africa were usually appointed not on the basis of leadership qualities but on the basis of their ability to maintain status quo. As one interviewee emphasised, they had to do their job "without rocking the boat, without asking too many questions, without changing anything too much." [26]

Very often, the purposes of colleges of education are vaguely collapsed into educating and training of teachers. For colleges to operate effectively, there needs to be clarity about

25 Z A Ngwenya, Interview May 1998.
26 Siza Shongwe, Interview May 1998.

their mission and goals.[27] As Cohen and March have pointed out "although organisations can often be viewed as vehicles for solving well-defined problems and as structures within which conflict is resolved through bargaining, they are also sets of procedures through which *organisational participants arrive at an interpretation of what they are doing while doing it*.[28][My emphasis] Furthermore, college governors face the challenge emanating not only from the elusiveness of purposes, but also from the ambiguity of power they hold and the ambiguity of what is perceived as successful governance.[29]

Although the larger general purpose of teacher education institutions arise from the nature of higher education and may remain quite constant, specific aspects of it and the means of achieving them are dynamic and need constant review and study by the institutions. Depending on the context, they may focus on Preset or Inset or even integrate both elements.[30] Within the South African context, the specific goals of colleges of education may for example include: (i) the production of efficient classroom teachers for all levels of the education system; (ii) the development of the spirit of enquiry and productivity in teachers; (iii) providing adequate intellectual and professional background for teachers to enable them to adapt to a changing world; (iv) professional development in education; and (v) instilling in teachers commitment to the teaching profession. This is because under apartheid teachers became de-professionalised, inefficient, uncritical, and lacked adaptability and commitment to the teaching profession.

In general, teacher education colleges in South Africa have been associated with training conceptualised as the imparting of vocational skills as opposed to the academic function of advancement or production of knowledge, seen as a prerogative of university faculties. As such, they are seen as an extension of high schools. Haygens recalls the time where this attitude towards colleges of education was overtly expressed:

> As you know, you know most of our colleges are governed like schools and I'm not talking about the D.E.T ex-department alone that is also true of all the other departments of this country even in white education in the old white education, they referred to a college like N.K.P. in Pretoria as the "Three Lilies

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27 Earl V Pullas & Leslie Wilbur, *Principles and values for College and University Administration - Toward the Improvement of the Learning Environment* (New York: Philosophical Library, 1984),p.11.

28 Michael D Cohen & James G March,"The processes of choice", Marvin W Peterson (ed.), op cit, p.61.

29 M D Cohen and J G March, "Leadership in an organized anarchy", in Marvin W Peterson (ed.), op cit, p.238.

30 Akinade O Sanda, "Sustaining academic and managerial efficiency and effectiveness in polytechnics and colleges of education", in A O Sanda (ed.),*Understanding Higher Educational Administration in Nigeria* (Ibadan: Fact Finders International Ibadan, 1991), p.118.

> Primary School" not so long ago. Because they have on their coat of arms three lilies. It's astonishing when you deal with teacher education and you hear things like this. That in itself is an indication that it's regarded as an institution of low quality [31]

This has profound implications for the systems of governance. As Bensiman puts it:

> A high level of administrative control and a low level of professional authority are two characteristics of this kind of organisation. Conversely, in organisations dedicated primarily to the creation and application of knowledge, professional autonomy is high and administrative control is low. In knowledge-producing organisations, professional autonomy is higher because it is derived from expertise that is highly valued and scarce, and which therefore increases the prestige of the organisation possessing it.[32]

The view popular within university circles is that, if colleges of education in South Africa are to become institutions of higher education, they will have to embrace the two central purposes associated with higher education: to teach students and to advance human learning through production and dissemination of knowledge through research on educational issues of critical importance to the country. The advancement of learning does a very special work that in fact no other institution can do. This work involves two closely interrelated processes: (i) the imaginative transmission and contestation of old knowledge through what is broadly called teaching, and (ii) the constant search for new knowledge which is added to and integrated with the old knowledge and which thus enriches the process of education.[33]

A key aspect of the concept of higher education is that the process must include a dynamic relationship between teaching and research, the imparting and transformation of that already known or discovered and the constant search for new knowledge. The act of inquiry must be central and pervasive for all teaching in higher education. To separate the two is to seriously diminish both. The realisation of these processes require a necessary degree of autonomy, freedom and social responsibility, which must be granted to the actors or the intellectual community involved.[34] Put another way, colleges and universities serve their clients by hiring expertly trained professionals.[35] Professional employees, wherever they

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31 Jan Haygens, Interview May 1998.

32 Estella M Bensiman, "Selected aspects of governance: An ERIC review", *Community College Review*, 12(2), p.57.

33 Pullas & Wilbur, p.59.

34 Pullas & Wilbur, p.5.

35 Etzioni makes a distinction between professionals in non-professional organizations - where administration assumes a power hierarchy - and professionals in professional organizations such as

may work, demand *autonomy* in their work, have *divided loyalties* (to their peers, to their organisation, etc.,), and demand *peer evaluation* of their work.[36] In this sense, colleges of education as institutions of higher education comparable to universities will become professionalised organisations in which employees will demand a large measure of control over institutional decision making processes.

6. State, social responsibility and institutional autonomy

There are three major areas of tension in the structures and processes of college governance. The first is between the role of the national/provincial government vis-à-vis the college administration. Throughout the history, teacher education has been a provincial matter. The relationship between national and provincial government has been characterised by almost total devolution of control from national to provincial government. However, with the new political dispensation, the uncertainty about the division of responsibilities between the two levels of government, has resulted in serious disputes about 'who should decide about what's in this area.' In the process, colleges of education have been under bureaucratic control of provincial education departments. With few exceptions, they were run almost as extensions of these departments.

The second area concerns the role of the college council *vis-à-vis* the role of institutional administration. Another important area is the role of the college rector as 'chief-executive' and his/her staff and the role of the faculty in institutional governance. In higher education, throughout the world, the system of governance is a delicate balance among government, the administration, the faculty, staff, and the students. It is of utmost importance that each part of this balance understands its role and especially its limitations. Councils have legal responsibility for the institution and are responsible for its general policy to the public for whom the institution exists. Nearly all this power, especially as it applies to the educational processes of the institution, is delegated to the rector's office and then distributed to the different levels of decision making in the institution. This system of governance breaks down when any significant segment of the system seriously misconceives its role.

Although, autonomy, very often referred to as "room to manoeuvre" or "going your own way", is a constitutional right in higher education in South Africa, respondents are divided in their approaches to institutional autonomy. There are those who advocate local control with powers devolved to local council and senate. Protagonists of local control, represented

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colleges and universities - where the power hierarchy is diluted by the organization of knowledge (Amitai Etzioni, "Administrative and professional authority", in Marvin W Peterson, op cit, pp.28-35.

36 J Victor Baldridge et al, "Alternative models of governance in higher education", in Marvin E Peterson (ed.), *ASHE Reader on Organization and Governance in Higher Education* (Massachusetts: Ginn Press, 1986), 3rd Ed., p.13. See also Karl E. Weick, "Educational organizations as loosely coupled systems", Ibid.

mostly by faculty members from the historically white colleges – JCE and KNP – see institutional autonomy as a condition for addressing issues of quality, standards and excellence. They also advocate local control on the ground that the strength of the colleges is embodied in their diversity. As such it was suggested that colleges should be given autonomy in relation to the demands of their particular province, region and institution. The principle of autonomy should "filter through to things like curriculum choices, teaching methods, staffing, and so forth." Only issues such as setting the norms and standards, implementing the National Qualifications Framework, accreditation mechanisms, and national and provincial policy, should be left with the government. Very often this is interpreted as "freedom to do as we like" or "people must leave us alone".

This position is dismissed by members of the two historically disadvantaged institutions who would like to see more state involvement in college affairs. They challenge local control arguments as "pretentious cover-up for self-serving defence of the *status quo*" or as hypocritical or unrealistic in relation to the way in which the institution as a whole must be managed and financed. For them state control is necessitated by lack of capacity and as a way for addressing issues of equity and social justice in higher education.

The most popular position is however the one that advocates what I would call "negotiated autonomy", based on the assumption that there is no such thing as absolute autonomy where everything is under the sole control of the college or a college becomes "an island without a network of connection and articulation":

> I don't think anything should be under the sole control of the college. There is no indication an institution operating like this has entire autonomy. Universities that are autonomous institutions have to abide by certain rules about what a degree is. External examiners look at the standards I think that colleges need a lot more autonomy but you can never ask for entire autonomy because then you actually need to address the issue of quality and accountability as well. There needs to be a sort of dialectic relationship between colleges and other institutions." [37]

6.1. Authority and accountability

Sprunger et al make two distinctions concerning the concept of authority: *line authority* and *staff authority*. They define *line authority* as direct authority passed down the organisation from superior to subordinate, which gives the subordinate authority to make decisions, give orders and proceed with implementation.[38] It is a common pattern of authority within the military and in some conservative higher education institutions. It also characterises the

37 Z A Ngwenya, Interview, May 1998.

39 Sprunger Benjamin E et al, *Handbook for College Administration* (Washington, DC: Council for Advancement of Small Colleges, 1978). p.58.

relationship between the rector and the deans, who in turn have a line authority over their subordinates in the organisational structure. *Staff authority* includes the right to give orders or implement decisions. Individuals with *staff authority* give general assistance to line administrative personnel by providing services, ideas, schedules, advice, analysis of data, preparation of reports, and so forth.[39] In an institution of higher education, the institutional or formal power which goes with line authority is however negotiated with the personal and expert power which emanates from the display of knowledge or ability of each individual member of the college community.[40]

A major problem in college governance is the balance between authority and accountability. A common criticism is that administrators are reluctant to delegate decision making to the lowest administrative level. As Shongwe has indicated:

> Another set of values would be the appropriate allocation of powers and the definition of lines of accountability for the constituencies which impact on teacher education. What we are saying is that the values that you underpin - there needs to be appropriate, for example, power allocated to the rector, to the senate council, students, to the lecturers , national ministry, provincial ministry [41]

The tradition of shared governance and consensual decision making, which dichotomises authority between the faculty and the administrator (e.g. deans), makes it difficult to assign accountability. For example, a faculty committee can take a decision but the dean is held accountable. Trustees, rectors and all senior administrators need to be constantly aware of this dilemma. In the followings sections I shall examine these issues in more detail.

7. Institutional governance

Characterisations of styles and models of systemic and institutional governance of higher education institutions have been made with reference to three main criteria.[42] The first is the degree of centralisation of the organisational structure and the decision-making processes. The second is the professional autonomy and the participation of the faculty in the decision making. Related to these two criteria is also the distribution of power and authority at all levels of decision-making, particularly on matters concerning policy-making

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40 Ibid.

41 W D Brincloe and M T Coughlin, *Managing Organizations* (Encino: Glencoe Press, 1977), p.115.

41 Haron Mohamed, Interview, May 1998.

43 For details see J V Baldridge and Terence E Deal, *Governing Academic Organizations* (Berkeley: McCutchan Publishing Corporation, 1977), pp.2-25.

and policy execution.[43]

Against this framework, South African teacher education colleges come from a legacy of *bureaucratic governance* characterised by a hierarchical and racially divided vertical organisational structure, with clearly defined lines and levels of authority. Historically black colleges like the East Rand Colege of Education and Sebokeng College of Education were under the Department of Education and Training (DET) and historically white colleges (J.C.E. and N.K.P.) under the white Transvaal Education Department (TED). The curriculum and other institutional matters were prescribed by these departments. This centralised structure was also reflected at the level of institutional organisation and practice. The locus of power, authority and control was at the top of the administrative hierarchy, which removed some aspects of decision-making from any realistic possibility of faculty or student influence. The faculty and students were relegated to a secondary role in the process, and had minimal influence in the decision making.

Briefly, South African colleges of education under apartheid government were essentially characterised by the following: (i) a formal hierarchy; (ii) rigid channels of communication; (iii) bureaucratic authority relations with administrative positions carrying more weight and greater prestige than teaching positions; (iv) prescribed policies, curriculum, procedures and rules with the faculty having considerably less autonomy than the faculty in universities; (v) bureaucratic decision-making processes (e.g. decisions concerning the allocation of departmental resources, appointment, evaluation and promotion of faculty, were bureaucratically made by the administration without or with little participation of the faculty); (vi) low level of identification with the academic profession or academically oriented activities such as membership in disciplinary organisations, attendance of professional meetings, and critical research; and (vii) the lack of symbolic structures such as faculty senates, advisory committees, faculty representation in search committees in most colleges of education, which at least give the appearance of shared authority. Although, some colleges affiliated to university faculties like the Johannesburg College of Education have embraced practices typical of the university system and as such enjoyed a degree of autonomy, an overwhelming majority of them are rooted in the public school system

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44 Bensiman, op cit, p.55. See also Janet Judith Lathrop, "Sharing leadership: The nature of relationships between presidents and chief academic officers in colleges and universities", Dissertation submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of Doctor of Education, Teachers College, Columbia University, May 1990; Robert Birnbaum, "The Cybernetic University: Towards an integration of governance theories", Paper presented at the annual meeting of the American Educational Research Association, New Orleans, Louisiana, April 1988; E E Chafee & G William, *Collegiate Culture and Leadership Strategies* (New York: American Council on Education and Macmillan, 1988); M D Corson, *Governance of Colleges and Universities* (New York: McGraw-Hill, 1960); H Stroup, *Bureaucracy in Higher Education* (New York: The Free Press, 1966); P M Blau, *Exchange and Power in Social Life* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1964; J V Baldridge, *Power and Conflict in the University* (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1971; and D E Walker, *The Effective Administrator* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1979).

(provincial matter) with its centralised style of governance.

With the decision to integrate colleges of education into higher education, these colleges are faced with the challenge of developing themselves into autonomous institutions responsible for their own academic and administrative affairs with greater faculty participation in decision making through faculty committees or senates. Despite the legacy of bureaucratic control and centralisation, colleges share a degree of scepticism towards immediate liberalisation and the granting of institutional autonomy. While they propose that teacher education colleges should be moved from provincial to national control to facilitate the process of integration into higher education, they demand more responsibility and proactivity from central government in college affairs. This was justified by a generalised perception that with few exceptions, colleges lacked capacity to deal with issues that under normal circumstances an institution of higher education would have to address. The legacy of control and dependency on provincial government also seems to be a factor in this regard. One interviewee put it as follows:

> I also think it's an issue of quality, if you want to really change something, that change must be centralised. The implementation, the administration of it could be localised, but government must be involved. But I think at the level of ideas there needs to be some sort of central control. And again I think that it's not right to see central control as necessarily undemocratic; whether it is democratic or undemocratic depends on the structures that you put in place.

During workshops held with all stakeholders on norms and standards, the readiness and preparedness of teacher education colleges to enter higher education was very often questioned. While faculties of education wanted "to be left alone" in the running of their affairs, colleges wanted a more prescriptive approach and demanded that the National Department of Education should set clear guidelines and standardise procedures for dealing with issues outlined above.[44] In one instance, a participant insisted that **"**National government should keep a check on how competent colleges are; what they are actually producing, and correct problems in the system."

This is in contrast with what is seen as the most important values that should underpin college governance framework in the future. There is consensus on the principle that the policy process should be consultative and participatory. To facilitate this process in the college there should be a framework for involvement of all stakeholders: "What we are saying is that there should be a consultative process and the consultative process should bring in the student sector, the parent sector, the community sectors so that the process that we are talking about ensures effective participation."[45] Ngenya stressed that "the provincial

44 Task Team on Norms and Standards, Summary Report of the Workshop held with teacher education providers, Pretoria, SATI, March 1998.
45 Haroon Mohamed, Interview, May 1998.

department should facilitate the process of making this consultation very participative."[46] Smilarly Shongwe gave particular emphasis to this aspect: "There should be an example of negotiation, participation, responsibility, accountability, transparency."[47] There are also concerns about how to deal with the legacy: "Colleges should promote as much as possible the redress of past imbalances in terms of race in terms of the very wealthy and poor and between man and female."[48]

8. Structures of governance

Important assumptions underlie the debate on structures of governance. First, the assumption that organisations and structures are established for people and not the people for organisations or structures.[49] Second, the assumption that while many factors affect the organisational structure - size of college, type of educational programme, students to be served, available resources and community expectations - it is important that the organising process whereby structures are established develops directly from the institution's mission, goals and objectives and its distinctive nature. In line with these assumptions, most colleges have two organisational structures: (ii) a policy-making structure and (i) a policy implementation structure.

The tradition of collegiality implies that academic policy issues progress 'from below' through a series of committees, subcommittees or task groups of the faculty, then to faculty governing bodies and ultimately to top administrators and council for approval. This process is conducted by the policy-making structure, which is a key part of the governance system. Once the policy has been approved, a downward organisational flow is responsible for implementation - the implementation structure. This poses a major challenge to the rector who must assume responsibility for the definition and implementation of an organising procedure.

8.1. Council versus college administration

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46 Z A Ngwenya, Sebokeng, Interview May 1998.

47 Siza Shongwe, Interview May 1998.

48 Haroon Mohamed, Interview May 1998.

50 Benjamin E Sprunger et al, *Handbook for College Administration* (Washington,DC: Council for Advancement of Small Colleges, 1978), p.49. The following references are also useful: Ian Waitt (ed.), *College Administration: A Handbook* (London: The National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, 1980); and Michael Locke, P Lanning, Keith Scribbins, David Triesman and Ian Waitt (ed.s), *College Administration: A Handbook* (Essex: National Association of Teachers in Further and Higher Education, 1988), 2nd ed.

The council was frequently referred to as a stakeholder forum including "all the immediate stakeholders (students, the working community at the college, faculty, government, business and industry)." [50] Concerns were expressed about the need to expand the present composition of college councils to make them more representative and legitimate and the need to extend their powers and functions. Generally the Council determines college policy whereas the rector is responsible for the general administration and management of the institution and for the execution of those policies set forth by the council. As Cleary has correctly pointed out, the dividing line between these two provinces is often unclear.[51] College administration is broadly responsible for administration, financial control, staff appointments and disciplinary issues.

The functions of the council comprise *inter alia*: (i) defining and reviewing the mission, goals, objectives and policies of the institution; (ii) monitoring the educational programme; (iii) deciding about the employment of the rector; (iv) developing institutional policy; (v) ensuring professional management of the college; (vi) managing financial resources and facilities; and (vii) monitoring and evaluating institutional performance.[52] Council members are in a position to see the overall institutional picture and to take the long view. However, the balance between the council and the college executive responsibilities and between the provincial government and the council have been areas of intense contestation.

Senates comprise essentially of faculty and students and those responsible for academic and professional issues. Only the two historically white colleges have senates. The other two colleges don't. While the need for establishing senates is widely shared, an important point to note is the contention that college senates should not be modelled on the traditional university model where a clear distinction is made between academic functions of the senate and the governance/administrative functions of the council. There needs to be a close relationship between these two dimensions. [53] Hope was placed on senates as the key to leading colleges into becoming genuine tertiary institutions: "So a senate to me will be part of the process... especially now that we are talking of trying to be autonomous or tertiary institutions, we must

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50 Stakeholder is a concept which has become very popular under the new political dispensation in South Africa. Stakeholders are defined as persons or groups with a common interest in a particular action, its consequences, and who are affected by it. All actors in an institutional context are potential or passive stakeholders. In education these include groups such as parents, students, education faculties, professional organizations and others. All these groups have an interest in setting the educational agenda and shaping the organizations, which are established to participate in the process of education provision. Their inclusion in the decision process is now widely accepted as an important method for increasing information for decision making and for increasing commitment to decisions once made.

52 Robert E Cleary, "Trustee-President authority relations", in Marvin W Peterson (ed.), op cit, p.219.

53 Graystone, op cit, p.566.

53 Haroon Mohamed, Interview May 1998.

have that look or that appearance." [54]

8.2. The role of the rectorate

While colleges seem to favour collegiality, this should not however compromise a more active role of the rector in providing leadership. College rectors, it was advocated, must have "strong ideas":

> I think to catalyse discussion you need a vision. College rectors need to produce a document and say - O ja! I can see what this means for me. I don't like this or I do like this. At least they got something to work with and it doesn't always have to come from the ministry. Or the ministry could say to all colleges: "Give us ideas." And then it would go into a process of consultation. I think that there needs to be consulting... I think there needs to be a consultative process. People need to own ideas at the end of the day, but there needs to be ideas to start with. You may see this as imposition but I don't see it as imposition." [55]

8.3. The administrative structure

There are two approaches to the constitution of an administrative structure in institutions of higher education. The first is a managerial approach which emphasises **problems of co-ordination and control of work activities** and is primarily concerned with efficient supervision or execution of tasks. The second places greater emphasis on **environmental relations and influences** than on internal relationships as determinants of administrative structure. According to this approach, organisations experience pressure to adapt their structure and behaviour to be consistent with the institutional environment in which they operate, and the availability of and access to resources. [56]

The organisational structure in institutions of higher education is traditionally departmentalised by function. A typical model would include academic affairs, student affairs/services, administrative and support services.[57] Despite its popularity, functional

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54 Mr Ramakgoshi for Transvaal College of education, Interview Juy 1998.

55 John Gultig, South African College of Distance Education and Task Team member, Norms and Standards for Teach Education in South Africa.

57 I borrow this distinction from Pamela S Tobert, "Institutional environments and resource dependence: sources of administrative structure in institutions of higher education", *Administrative Science Quarterly*, vol 30, March 1985, pp.1-13. For related approaches see Robert Birnbaum, "System arguments for diversity", in Marvin W Peterson (ed.), op cit, pp.345-357.

58 Generally, organisational charts - as guides to the organisational make-up - tend to show only the

departmentalisation has however the disadvantage of encouraging myopic view, with members of a department exaggerating the importance of their area in relation to the rest of the organisation. Very often the head of student services is not aware of the processes within the academic domain and vice-versa in spite of the fact that they both deal with learners.

8.4. Institutional administration vis-à-vis versus faculty

As already indicated, governance involves people working together to accomplish mutually beneficial goals and group objectives. A central element of governance is administration or management. All organisations have administrators or managers who are responsible for planning, organising, staffing, leading, controlling and developing. This entails a variety of tasks which include: (i) assuring that the purposes and ideals of the institution are pursued; (ii) maintaining a dynamic and flexible organisation that can respond to changing needs; (iii) generating, maintaining and controlling the necessary resources for higher education; (iv) ensuring that the expectations of the institution's constituencies are met; and (v) assuming responsibility for the assets of the organisation.[58] It is important to stress however that the responsibility for leadership resides not only with the rector but also with other administrators in an executive team.

In teacher education colleges, where the bureaucracy is much smaller than in other public sectors and in business, administrative functions are performed by people with strong involvement in academic work: rector, vice- rectors, senior heads of department and, heads of department. The college administrator as a manager has often to perform the five functions. Most importantly, besides many other executive functions such as control and management functions, the college administrator, particularly the rector, has representational, communication, and interpretation functions that focus on the value of a college. These are functions that cannot be easily delegated to others.[59]

College administrators in South Africa operate currently under one of the most difficult environments to bring about effective institutional management and leadership: uncertainty about the future of colleges and their staff who face retrenchment or redeployment;

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formal structure of distribution of responsibility, authority and communication relationships. The informal channels of communication that are important for understanding the dynamics of governance are missed.

59 Sprunger et al, p.4. See also Sharon A McDade, *Enhancing Skills through Professional Development Programmes* (Washington, DC: Association for the Study of Higher Education, 1987), pp.11-18.

60 Joseph F Kauffman, "The college presidency - yesterday and today", in Marvin W Peterson, op cit, p.229; and Joseph F Kauffman, *At the Pleasure of the Board: the Service of the College and University President"* (American Council on Education: 1980).

changing needs and demands of students, faculty, fellow administrators, and the public; increasing financial and material constraints; and increasing disinterest in and disregard for the teaching profession. Most importantly, college administrators are frequently caught in the uncomfortable position of being held accountable for programmes and resources while the authority for policy formation and decision making is vested with others. This is aggravated by the fact that at present the functions of provincial and national governments in the college sector remain undefined.

I focussed my study on stakeholder perceptions about the role of college rectors and heads of departments. The following accounts were made about the role of the rector: (i) “their role should be a more representative and accountable one”; (ii) “a secondary role, which is quite important - is their ability to build capacity within the institution”; (iii) “the rector is involved in all aspects of governance and particularly in a leadership role”; “not merely carrying out policy; but also initiating policy inspiring; (iv) “not only having ideas, but setting the tone by creating structures, creating an ethos which encourages people to participate and in that way I think he will be singled out as a leader”; (v) “the rectors should lead development of colleges and should play a leading role in initiating changes in colleges (they should take risks) in enabling people to make changes, and supporting people to make changes.”

Most of the respondents highlighted the tension between administrative functions and academic functions of the college leadership. With the increasing demands made of college rectors to participate in policy related issues, they have become detached from the daily operations of the institution and its primary activity, education. They are primarily concerned with provincial or national policy issues, reporting on various issues, budget, institutional planning and development, governmental relations, collective bargaining, and other activities. With the pressures of transformation, they have become ‘bureaucrats’ rather than educators or scholars, more concerned with the operations of the institution than with its substance.[60] The following account is quiet revealing:

> If I were the minister of education, I would say to the rector that the main thing is for you to make sure that every year certain number of competent not just qualified but competent teachers come out. And: you must be able to tell me how you are achieving that. Secondly, to always be able to tell me: What have you done, how have you changed your college in order to achieve that? And how are you ensuring that you've got the best lecturers there? How you're ensuring that they are improving in their particular lecturing? I think that their responsibility is to make sure that the product that comes out is of good quality and the organisation itself is running in a sort of harmonious pro-active way.

Concerning headship, there seems to be consensus about the need for “flattening of the

60 Shongwe in particular drew attention to the fact that as a ntional trend: the bureaucracy is not getting lean and mean. It's getting fat and very big. And still no clarification of what those roles should be.”

authority structure" so that college heads of departments are not privileged at the expense of the faculty. Colleges are however divided in their views about the nature and functions of the headship position. Some respondents proposed that heads of departments (HODs) should be appointed/elected on a temporary basis on the basis of their competence, so that headship "doesn't become a fixed appointment but part of everyone's responsibility which they all take turns on."[61] Further, administration or management should not be the only career progression path:

> One of the biggest problems at colleges and schools is that they only reach promotion into management. There should be promotion into curriculum development or innovation. We need to find some parallel route within colleges where good lecturers don't get taken out of lecturing and curriculum development and put into management. [62]

Other respondents were of the opinion that HODs should not only be involved in the administration of their departments but also play a role in academic matters and in senate.

> They should represent staff views on senate and council when necessary. They should have representation on governance structures, which deal with course content, assessment procedures, lecturing methods, boards of examination and analysis of results. They should form links with other colleges and learning institutions. And I think they must be accountable to their immediate staff [faculty] constituency.

8.5. Faculty participation in college governance

There are three major distinctions that can be made concerning the role of the faculty in college governance: (i) advisory when faculty members have input to groups or persons who make the decision and (ii) consultative when faculty members and administrators are both on a collegial group which makes the decision by vote or consensus. Decision-making when a group of faculty members make the decision. Decisions range from issues such as faculty involvement in retrenchment, administrative appointments, curriculum decisions, campus climate issues, campus budget decisions and long-range planning. How much faculty involvement there should be on these matters depends upon the decisions to be made.

If the faculty can be defined as the teaching staff, then expressing the voice of the faculty in

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61 Shongwe. He added the following: I really don't understand, I mean for example you would have the head of English, the head of Afrikaans, head of Zulu, then you would have a senior head of department languages. And what decisions they make - I don't know - and what responsibilities they have - I don't know - all it says to me and also incidently it created another vice - rector post.

62 John Gultig, Interview November 1997.

a large institution such as a college becomes a matter of getting appropriate representation through a regularly established council, senate, forum or committee. The habit of going outside or bypassing these regular governance structures and setting up *ad hoc* structures very often results in weakening the voice of the faculty. To operate effectively, the faculty requires the necessary academic freedom in curriculum, methods of instruction and research, assessment, and quality control. However, joint efforts between administration and faculty are encouraged to guarantee "checks and balances" and change the ethos regulating the practices of both the faculty and the administration. The study revealed important insights about faculty participation in college governance:

- While there is considerable desire to involve college faculty in all levels of decision-making, and faculty representation in staff and professional associations, policy-making bodies, the degree of participation in this process is bound up with issues of capacity, experience, commitment and dedication. Issues such as lack of capacity and the need for capacity building dominated the interviews, focus groups and the workshops held with stakeholders. Pleas were made for government to address this issue in systematic manner.

- There is a widespread opinion that faculty members on the divisional or departmental levels should have major control over selection of the head. Suggestions pointed to the system of rotating division heads of department: ". I think what you could do is what universities have moved towards, to have for example two year HOD's, Heads of department elected for only two years who will then step down, while somebody else moves to that position."

8.6. Students and governance

Students are the most important clients that colleges have and a crucial part of the academic community. They must feel that they own the college. They form an important part of the governance process of the college. College leaders must overcome their natural adult prejudices and fears and learn to respect the special strengths and abilities of youth. Pullas and Wilbur put it beautifully: "In achieving this respect one must avoid two extremes: the old view that basically youth is inevitably irresponsible and bent upon no good; the equally foolish notion that youth is the repository of a pristine, unspoiled wisdom not to be thwarted." The truth, they argue, lies somewhere between these two extremes; its use depends much upon mutual respect.[63] In South Africa, the role played by youth in the struggle against apartheid has established a privileged status to students in governance structures. It has become almost a cliché to hear people say that students must be involved in the decision making processes.

65 Pullas and Wilbur, p.30.

However, there is no ideal model of academic governance in this regard. Some administrators prefer to have close contact with representatives of the student body, though very often these tend to represent a narrow segment of the students. It is increasingly becoming accepted by both the students and the administrators that a direct meeting with students in larger groups with the rector or dean or head of department on a regularly scheduled basis is much more productive than having student representatives in committees, senate or councils, however democratic it may seem. Students in these structures tend to become defensive, alienated or passive. There is strong argument that student participation can be a crucial part of the education process at all levels of higher education. [64] Particularly in teacher education, student participation in college governance is not only useful to the institution but has also some bearing on the processes of school governance in which college graduates will be involved.[65]

It was stressed however that students are temporary users of the institution. What has to be worked out very carefully is different levels of authority and different areas of authority. This should include defining certain areas where students could have an enormous amount of say. Most colleges have been offering representation to student representatives on the council. Controversy remains however about the extent of student involvement in senate though some respondents were firm about student involvement in curriculum choices and monitoring of student programmes.

> We now have a situation where, and this is the perception in the field, that students seem to be demanding more powers than they should actually have. Part of the problem for this seems to be that we have always said that students should participate in all decision making process of the college. But this seems to be easier said than done: I'm saying we usually say students should participate in all decisions of the college. But when one looks at it closely it's not as simple as we think. In a sense that, for example, there are decisions that don't require student involvement. At least that is the view in the field. For example when a staff member is being disciplined, you cannot ask students to come and sit in that disciplinary hearing. Or if you do, there are consequences concerning the relationship between those students and that staff member. And those are consequences for the learning and teaching situation in the classroom.[66]

9. The role of partnerships in college governance

64 A point was made that students should be in a position to manage their own budget, whether that is money allocated to them by the college, or whether it's coming from the students themselves.
Pullas and Wilbur, p.31.

66 Jan Haygens, Interview May 1998.

Beder makes the point that in recent years the rhetoric of institutional development has been replete with exhortations to co-operate "as if co-operation were a virtue in itself, an axiomatic social good".[67] The question here implicit is this: why do institutions co-operate? Educational institutions co-operate because through co-operation they can achieve vital ends that they cannot achieve in other ways. In this sense, co-operation is the process of working with other institutions and individuals to achieve mutual benefits.

Beder also develops principles central to interinstitutional co-operation. These include *mutuality* or *reciprocity*, *system openness*, *trust and commitment*, and *structure*.[68] The basis for establishing co-operative relationships is, first of all, mutual, reciprocal benefit. If one or both parts fail to benefit, the relationship will certainly crumble. For Archer the degree of openness of the political centre determines the nature of the compromises entered into in systems change.[69] For Beder all organisations establish boundaries which are more or less permeable. Open organisations relax their boundaries to permit as much input as possible, which facilitates co-operation. The same way an atmosphere of genuine trust and commitment must prevail for substantial collaboration to occur.[70] Collaboration to be effective may also require suitable organisational structures. These should be highly fluid, flexible and compatible.

Current higher education policy posed a dilemma to colleges of education: either (i) to enter into associations with a university faculty (e.g. JCE and Wits), which may ultimately result in total integration into the faculty; (ii) to retain their teacher education college identity but as higher education institutions (if they meet the requirements for such status); (iii) to maintain a distinctive identity as multipurpose institutions or community colleges. The first option provides co-operative mechanisms whereby the colleges receive support that is both conceptual (training, guidance), logistical (documentation resources, information management and research) as well as quality control and certification.[71] The university oversees the academic affairs of the colleges, particularly issues of curriculum and accreditation, whilst the government remains in charge of the administrative issues, until the colleges are completely integrated into universities. These interinstitutional relationships can be formal and informal, of single and general purpose, voluntary or statutory, local or regional, nation-wide and international.

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69 Hal Beder (ed.), *Realizing the Potential of Interorganizational Cooperation* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1984), p.5.

70 See Hal Beder, "Principles for successful collaboration", in Hal Beder (ed.), op cit, pp.85-90.

71 See Hofmeyr and Buckland, op cit, p.11.

72 Beder, p.87.

73 Aletta Grisay & Lars Mählck, *The Quality of Education in Developing Countries: A Review of some Research Studies and Policy Documents* (UNESCO: IIEP, 1991, pp.73-74.

Linkages and partnerships are not a new phenomenon in South African teacher education. As already pointed out, many collaborative links have been developed between some colleges and universities and between these institutions and their counterparts overseas. However, emphasis seems to have been placed more on vertical collaborative arrangements (e.g. universities and colleges or technikons with colleges) rather than on horizontal linkages (e.g. colleges and colleges).

Vertical links have also been forged between colleges and schools. However there are some doubts as to whether these linkages go beyond the need felt by teacher education institutions to use schools as sites for teaching practice. These linkages still reflect the legacy of apartheid, which has not made it easy for students of one race to teach at schools historically reserved to another race. Recently some universities have made efforts towards developing national collaborative arrangements with other universities. However, despite the pressure for rationalisation and the need to maximise the use of shrinking resources, these linkages have not been replicated at the college/college level. The lack of horizontal linkages leads to a wastage and under-utilisation of resources, duplication of programmes and unhealthy competition between institutions. College to college collaboration could certainly offer a range of opportunities. Shongwe exemplifies some of these as follows:

> I would go so far as cross-teaching getting more rational offering of resources there are three different colleges that run courses that look remarkably similar, very often to quite small classes. I think that's silly. All three institutions are quite small institutions and I think that if they work together, then I could take charge of a particular area where I had expertise and teach it to all three colleges and like-wise. And I think what you then do is ... because people are working in the areas of their expertise, you get a quality course and secondly, you get that course delivered relatively cheaply because you are dealing with larger groups of people. [72]

10.1. College vis-à-vis surrounding community

A common thread throughout all responses was the idea that colleges clearly should be opened and used by communities. It was stressed that "it's just a straight waste of resources not to do it." The community was generally defined as the surrounding educational community made up of parents, labour and business, some of whom are employees of the college, teachers and members of schools and community-based organisations. The forms that the relationship between the college and the surrounding community could take include: (i) full representation of parents, in Senate and Council; [73] (ii) sharing of ideas through this

72 John Gultig, Interview, November 1997.

73 le Roux also made the following important remark: I would say that the community should be fully engaged particularly at the council level. Now, the College Council level, where you could be with people

interaction to inspire outreach programmes expected from the college; (iii) having a say in curriculum issues at least by "way of immediate contact with the kind of thinking that is going on"; (iv) providing the colleges with support in terms of finance, resources, human support or manual support; and (v) letting the community use school facilities. It was also suggested that the community can help colleges change the way they think about themselves: "as compared to the very communities in which they are located they are by far better resourced." [74] One participant responded to the pessimism expressed about the involvement of the community in curriculum with the following: "the curriculum is a bit far fledged but you will be surprised at the amount of influence their work has on curriculum implementation; our view is that it should not be excluded." Generally, there is no significant support and enthusiasm about community involvement in curriculum development, which also reflects the apartheid legacy.

There are however areas which have become a matter a controversy. First, the fact that under apartheid the community was defined in terms of race or ethnicity has not yet been resolved. Historically Afrikaans-speaking colleges tend to restrict their loyalties to the Afrikaner community. These loyalties also apply to historically English or historically black colleges in regard to their historically defined communities.[75]

However, the possibility for and nature of partnership between the college and the community is a context-bound issue that cannot be generalised. For example, in historically white colleges surrounded by wealthy suburban communities, the community has played a major role in compensating for the shrinking government funding. Andre Le Roux, Director of Teacher Education and Higher Education Colleges, recalls the time when he was a college rector as follows:

> Well, in my own college we had annually up to forty thousand people using the facilities, so there were enormous outreach programmes, where we always stated that the college was a community facility and we had one of the vice-rectors who spent most of his time making arrangements with the community to use the institution. They used the sporting facilities, they used the teaching facilities, used the libraries. They organised several courses on the college campus and every week we had 1600 black children who came in for teaching purposes. So college students did the teaching every weekend and sometimes during the week when they were free to actually do it. They had a group of staff

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including business and labour,because ultimately , what you're doing is you're preparing teachers who are going to teach pupils who are going to be part of the labour force and the sorry I think the ... So what you're going to do there is you're going to feel sure that you've got people in the business and industrial world who are able to indicate to colleges of education where people are ultimately going to go. So they are not necessarily the predominant players but they are significant player (Andre le Roux, Interview March 1998).

74 Haroon Mohamed, Interview May 1998.

75 Interview with Haroom Mohamed, May 1998.

> who were there to support them. So we had a very great involvement of the community.

Ngenya gave a contrasting scenario concerning his experience with community involvement in the township of Sebokeng:

> Community involvement, yes. What I would be cautious about is to allow the community to use college facilities Our communities have not reached the stage where they can take care of facilities. Although I may be too harsh, in my community, a telephone booth, a newly installed telephone booth, does not last a week. We offered our stadium to the community, now we have these sprinklers broken. They started driving cars and damaged the whole system.[76]

An interesting aspect emerging from the focus group discussion was the idea of "managing community involvement". For Jan Haygens for example, the community has to be managed "to know how far it has to get involved." If the college is training teachers, he argued, " the community should be able to tell us what teachers they want"; it should not go to the extent of telling us what type of lecturers to employ, what to do in class and all that."

10.2. Colleges vis-à-vis schools

College-school relationship was well characterised by one of the respondents as a two-way learning process:

> It is a two-way learning aspect and if you're a college lecturer, you characterise yourself as a learner, then it would be made an awful lot easier to interact with schools. But at the moment you can't characterise yourself as a learner because you are a "knower" of everything. Therefore that colours how you interact with schools. [77]

The key levels of co-operation identified in college-school relationship involve: (i) material production; (ii) in-service courses for teacher school management and for supervisory officials; (iii) intensive internships at school as part of pre-teacher training courses; (iv) teacher mentoring for student teachers; and (v) research. The idea of establishing "teaching schools" comparable to teaching hospitals in university education to be used as training grounds for student teachers was highly advocated.

Some preferred representation via the organised teaching profession on council, senate, curriculum committees, discipline committees - all of the committees related to schools.

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76 Z A Ngwenya, Interbview, May 1998.

77 Siza Shongwe, Interview, May 1998.

Colleges could also be involved in the activities of the organised teaching profession, especially through practical teaching because all the students have to go out into the schools. There must be a working relationship between the school and the college.

> Now in my own college we used to have an annual conference of all the schools that were involved in practice teaching. It became an annual event and then we used to make it a social occasion too; we would have speakers on issues relating to practice teaching, how we could inter-relate. Then we would have lunch together and lots of drinks together and that sort of thing. But we also elected members of the schools who were involved in the teaching practice onto various committees on senate, like the organisation of practice teaching. We focussed on schoolteachers and principals who were particularly engaged in practice teaching because we had a natural link with them.[78]

10. Governance quality control procedures

In colleges like JCE strategies have been developed to ensure quality and efficiency in governance and service delivery. While there has been reluctance in instituting formal monitoring procedures, increasingly, more objective appraisals are being produced by internal auditing arrangements, on staff development, managing teaching and learning, equipment and resources, and recording of student progress. Generally, peers monitor each other's work, and, through evaluation mechanisms, students monitor the performance of faculty, administration and staff. This is not however the case in the majority of colleges, provincially and nationally. Recently, the national Education Department has issued guidelines on quality assurance to be implemented by the colleges in the interim until a new quality policy is put in place by the Higher Education Council (HEC). For the colleges' point of view, for quality issues to be addressed effectively, capacity issues must be dealt with systematically.

11. Improving governance capacity: Common strategies

Growing concerns with the evaluation of system of governance and administrative effectiveness have led to an interest in capacity building or improvement of governance capacity in higher education in South Africa. The real question is knowing what to develop, how to develop it, and how to assess what was developed. During the study, several strategies were identified, directed at ensuring enhanced competence in the various areas of college activity: in-house educational programmes which may take the form of seminars, workshops, conferences offered at the workplace; secondments, and attachments of experienced university faculty to colleges of education; in-service training, on the job training to broaden staff outlook and knowledge on subject matter, enhance their capacity

78 Haroon Mohamed, Interview May 1998.

and ensure higher level of efficiency and effectiveness in colleges.

Professional development programmes (including both management and leadership development) have become the most effective way of improving governance capacity.[79] The responsibilities and the continually changing conditions of college governance make it necessary for the college administrators themselves to engage in an ongoing process of professional development. Many academic administrators begin their career as faculty members and the department headship is their common entry into academic administration. They follow a path from professor to department head, to dean, to deputy rector, and eventually to rector. Career ladders to senior positions for non-academic areas are more vague and contain greater variety. Unfortunately, programmes co-ordinated by the Centre for Higher Education Transformation in this regard are targeted only to universities; technikons and colleges have been excluded. Although the uses and benefits of professional development may vary from context to context, they do provide the context for new ideas, stimulation, contacts and networking, access to materials, team building, time for reflection and thought, increased promotability, identification of new leaders, experience enhancement, improved specialisation or broadened perspectives, learning renewal, and increased self-confidence. A common feature however is that effectiveness in governance, particularly the decision-making, is seldom part of a systematic professional development programme in the college sector.

Where some efforts have been undertaken towards professional development, participants, it was alleged, are already showing signs of “workshop fatigue”:

> Look, we are all invited to attend workshops, we get there and have a shock treatment and that’s it: no follow-up, no any kind of support after the workshops. As a result the whole thing dies slowly. Workshops may be necessary but not this way Let me tell you what it shouldn't be; it shouldn’t be two week courses where people are rushed into and then put back in.

Shongwe who made this point, emphasised that:

> When you are managing something it's a hands-on affair and I think that the only way you are going to make good managers is by constant support and feedback. So you might take them away for a week where you got a whole lot of ideas but then you need sustained work with those people to build up a structure The second thing is that no amount of good management skills is going to be possible if you've got the wrong structure. If you've got structures that are heavily bureaucratic where people are forced to spend most of their

81 For reference see Scott Heller, "Guidelines for new college presidents getting started is no simple matter", *Chronicle of Higher Education* 27 June 1984, pp.15-18; Charles F Fisher, The evaluation and development of college and university administrators", in *ERIC-Higher Education Research* (San Francisco: Jossey-Bass, 1977), ERIC ED139363.5; and McDade, op cit.

> time sifting papers. So there must be a restructuring of management and has to be far cleaner and far easier and far more dynamic. I know a lot of college principles, they spend all their time in meetings or up in Pretoria or shifting paper around. If you are going to make your manager into your administrator like that or secretary, you are not going to get any leadership. So you need to find a structure where leadership is possible, where there is quite a dynamic relationship on different levels, it needs to be much cleaner. [80]

Priority was given to training programmes in skills that will enable college administrators to deal with their daily challenges (e.g. change management, conflict management, decision making, problem solving and budgeting). They could also focus on democracy, the nature of democracy, enabling structures that promote democracy, procedures to facilitate democratic processes to challenge idealised views of democracy. This could also include for example programmes aimed at clarifying the roles, functions and responsibilities of college management and the administration. For this purpose, the programmes have to focus on college context:

> I can't emphasise that enough, one of the worst thing that is happening in colleges at the moment is how rectors are being left dry. There's no back up from the department even in a decision that they half-heartedly make because they don't know if they've got the authority to do it or not.

Interestingly, capacity building programmes were also to include students, particularly student leaders. The Student Representative Councils (SRCs) in particular need clarity about their job – " whether it is about negotiating, whether they are just messengers, whether they are mediators, none of that is clear." [81] It was stressed that students need absolute clarity about that kind of job and what student representation means.

12. "Getting rid of dead wood and growing our own timber"

This phrase translates in summary how transformation under the Employment Equity Act is being approached. It refers to the strategies for developing or attracting new staff/faculty into institutions while replacing the "old guard" to address gender and race imbalances within the faculty. The Act actively institutionalises the policy of affirmative action. There are at least three levels in which affirmative action has been approached in the college sector: (i) redress of gender and race imbalances in staffing and student body; (ii) institutional strategies to guaranteeing sustainable access or coping skills for disadvantaged students; and (iii) representivity of staff and students at all levels of college administration.

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80 Siza Shongwe, Interview May 1998.

81 Siza Shongwe, Interview May 1998.

Students and faculty argue that administrators should make the policy of affirmative action a publicly stated personal and institutional priority and commitment. Second, they suggested that administrators should make recruitment of disadvantaged groups a job requirement for subordinates and successful accomplishment of this goal an important part of performance evaluation and salary review. Third, they also suggested that administrators should make themselves aware of current research on affirmative action and its potential impact on the policies and practices of their institution. Fourth, administrators should support the mentoring of promising disadvantaged members and be prepared to demonstrate willingness to sponsor and advance someone "quite different from themselves." Fifth, there were also suggestions about the need to transform and educate the members of college councils about the importance of affirmative action and employment equity in the institutions that they govern.

The term "dead wood" was frequently used to refer to the old administrators and faculty members who seem to be unable to adjust to the new educational context. The Employment Equity Act was referred to as providing an effective policy basis for replacing these individuals with young and more dynamic scholars. For this purpose, institutions need "to grow their own timber" or develop new faculty through staff development programmes.

13. Conclusions and emerging trends

In essence, teacher education colleges, as institutions of higher education, represent communities or groups of scholars, which we call colleges, organised and maintained to achieve certain purposes. Such communities must be governed in such a way as to provide a degree of freedom, flexibility and variety with a maximum amount of order, accountability and responsibility. The employer-employee relationship is not appropriate for an academic community. Although more standardised than many other institutions of higher education, teacher education colleges are fundamentally different from business, military, and governmental organisations that influence, indeed almost dominate, modern thought and behaviour. Faculty members do not work for the college; they are the college, responsible members of a self-governing community whose relative autonomy is crucial to the nature and process of higher education.

This perspective, highly shared by most participants in this study, points to the following characteristics of effective college governance: (i) strong leadership, particularly among college administrators; (ii) strong internal organisational structures, sensitive to the needs of stakeholders; (iii) formal and informal dialogue between the various groups within colleges; (iv) effective flow of information; (v) co-operative relations at internal and inter-institutional levels as well as between government officials and members of the college community; (vi) no interference with the **legally allowed** level of college autonomy; (vii) accountability on the part of colleges to government and the wider society; and (viii) partnership with the schools. Democratically elected student and staff representation should be ensured, and those elected should be represented at all levels of college governance.

Although under normal circumstances or under conditions of stability, efficiency, effectiveness and quality in the delivery system may be the main focus of college governance, in conflict-ridden institutions - which is the case of South African colleges - governance has a major role to play in establishing the conditions of stability which facilitate improvements in the delivery system. As such governance can also be seen as a process which mediates both internal conflicts between groups in colleges and external conflicts between colleges, stakeholders and the state, and thus establishes institutional stability.

Partnerships with universities and other learning organisations have proved fruitful to colleges. Where these did take place, important efforts have been successfully undertaken in addressing teaching, quality control and certification issues. These efforts have resulted in the increasing professionalisation of college faculty, which, as a result, is increasingly becoming a graduate community of scholars and claiming, as its partners at the university, a greater degree of autonomy.

A very important principle in college governance is that the purposes, processes and goals of the institution are not taken for granted. They are stated clearly and convincingly to all constituencies and segments of the institution: faculty, students, board, alumni, staff, patrons and the various publics the institution serves. The lack of clear definition of purposes opens room to petty purposes, cross-purpose and even confusion, which can lead the institution to drift and flounder. This does not mean that what organisations set themselves to do is pre-defined and final.

The diverse understanding of the nature of teacher education colleges has resulted very often in different and conflicting styles of governance, which defeat the purpose of these institutions. It is of utmost importance that those entrusted in running teacher education colleges develop respect and knowledge of the nature, purpose and process of these institutions, The ability of any college to pursue these goals effectively depends primarily upon the nature and quality of its governance.

For effective college governance, all stakeholders should be represented and heard: the parents, the administration, the faculty, the patrons or council members, the students, the staff and alumni, labour and business. The key principle is co-operation and deep trust based upon a growing knowledge of the nature and importance of their mission. The faculty are the essence of the college. Faculty members must have central place in governance; a place they earn by virtue of what they are as agents of a learning organisation and as highly trained people of purpose, dedication, and integrity. Colleges of education must gain and hold the confidence and basic respect of the larger supporting community. The academic community must not be separated from the general supporting community, to which they are accountable. Colleges must get inspiration from the surrounding community to be able to provide the best possible educational experience to their students.

The debate on affirmative action has unfolded around issues such as the need to redress gender, race, region and ethnic imbalances in access to educational opportunities, institutional strategies to guarantee sustainable access or coping skills to disadvantaged students; and representivity of staff at all levels of college administration. Everything indicates however that, for the policy of affirmative action to succeed, it must be integrated into the wider institutional policy and include systematic planning and performance reviews.

The process of integration should realistically be taken as a long-term goal, which will require a transitional and adjustment period before it is achieved. Integration as a process involves a complexity of issues. There are logistical and physical issues such as the sharing of space and resources, including staff. These would require a careful planning and, in many cases, policies of rationalisation. There are also more qualitative issues such as the development of a suitable academic culture and scholarship which is lacking in many college staff, curriculum development, academic support for both students and staff, and institutional capacity to cope with the new challenges. This is a long and uneven process, which may take many years to complete.

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