

CHAPTER 2

THE NATURE OF PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT

This chapter deals with participative management as a theoretical framework for the discussion of teacher participation in school management. Specifically, consideration is given to an explication of participative management, theories underlying participation, characteristics of participation, factors influencing participation and outcomes of participation. A summary then concludes the chapter.

2.1 DEFINITION OF PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT

The literature on participative management reveals that very little effort has been expended in conceptualising and operationalising the concept of participation. Hoy and Sousa (1984:320) assert that little consensus exists on the nature and meaning of participation while Bacharach et al. (1990:27) are of the opinion that researchers in participation appear to take for granted a set of assumptions about the nature of a construct which, in terms of definition, does not yet exist.

Recent trends, however, indicate attempts at remedying this situation by the uninitiated are still baffled but the plethora of concepts which are used to connote participation, for instance, shared-, consensus-, collaborative or participatory decision making, empowerment, decentralisation, joint management and school-based management. To find common ground for discussing and conducting research, it makes sense, therefore, to give a comprehensive explanation of the concept participative management.

2.1.1 The concept "participation"

The Oxford Pocket Dictionary defines participation as "to take part (in); be or become actively involved or share". This implies that participation must be explained in the context of another concept to which it is semantically bound by the word "in". Hence Conway (1984:19-20) speaks of participation as "sharing of two or more actors" in some matter, issue or action. Pashiardis (1994:15) also contends

that in a team management approach, two or more people work together on a management activity. Defining the matter, issue or action is by no means an easy task as the ensuing discussion shows.

2.1.2 The concepts "management" and "decision making"

Differentiating between management and decision making appears necessary in the present research because of the usage of school management instead of decision making. In the literature on participation, participative management and participative decision making are often used synonymously (see, for example, Chamley et al., 1992). Moreover, commentators using the decision framework tend to reduce management to decision making, for example, Bartunek (1980); Conway (1984); Conley (1989); Chapman (1988); Knoop (1985); Benson and Malone (1987). Decision making and management are, however, conceptually different.

Decision making is a process of determining a particular choice from a number of alternatives (Laws et al., 1992:68). A manager, like all other people, is constantly making decisions in the course of his work. Hence Van der Westhuizen, 1995a:40) maintains that decision making is regarded by various authors as the core of the manager's work. According to Laws et al. (1992:65) decision making forms the basis of all management functions and must be seen as a generic skill of managers. However, some commentators (for example, Griffin, 1990:8; Van der Westhuizen, 1995c:152) consider decision making to be a management task, specifically, an aspect of planning, while recognising it as being interwoven with the other management tasks.

While decision making is a matter of "choice", management involves "action". According to Van der Westhuizen (1995a:55), management consists of regulative actions executed by persons with authority in a specific field or area of regulation. Such management actions include planning, communicating, organising, motivating and controlling (Turney, 1992a:99). These regulative actions enable organisational members to carry out duties aimed at the realisation of predetermined goals. Thus, regulative actions are executed with respect to the operational tasks affecting specific fields or areas in an organisation.

Given the above arguments it may be concluded that decision making is involved in regulative actions as well as in the operational tasks which constitute the functioning of an organisation. Consequently, it appears reasonable to use the management actions as an overarching framework to classify decisions taken in the course of the functioning of an organisation. This implies that the participation of teachers in management activities and in carrying out operational duties (i.e. teaching) implicitly occurs in decision making as well. Thus, perspectives gleaned from the literature dealing with participative decision making and similar concepts are relevant to teacher participation in school management.

The explication of participative management further requires an examination of concepts which are associated and often used interchangeably with participation in order to answer adequately the question: what does participation in management constitute? This question is answered by discussing empowerment, delegation, consultation, influence, collective bargaining and representation as concepts commonly encountered in the participation debate. This discussion will also attempt to be inclusive of the concepts mentioned earlier (par. 2.1).

2.1.3 The concept "empowerment"

In the traditional bureaucratic system authority and decision making are vested in the hands of officials at a "central office" which ratifies decisions from school level (McWalters, 1992:9). In such cases, teachers are only occasionally involved in matters regarding the management of the school. Thus, teachers often complain about their powerlessness as they are told what and when to teach and test with virtually no input from themselves (Stimson & Applebaum, 1988:314). In the DET, for example, teachers were expected to follow a set work programme in the teaching of their subjects and no deviations were allowed.

Until recently, school governance in the RSA followed a centralised management system. In the DET, for example, teachers were not represented in the Management Council/Governing Body which dealt with school governance functions, inter alia, control of school funds, appointment and dismissal of teachers, disciplinary matters regarding both students and teachers, and control of school buildings and grounds (RSA, 1988: 1159). The situation where teachers are pessimistic about their power to influence schoolwide

policies (Midgley & Wood, 1993:251) may persist even under the new dispensation. Hallinger (1988:3) also confirms that, in comparison with principals, teachers are powerless to make important educational decisions, particularly those covering the school as a whole.

Empowerment is diametrically opposed to traditional informative management or centralised management. Its principles are in line with those of the Human Resource Management which is characterised by participative management (Van der Westhuizen & Theron, 1994:70).

Empowerment goes under different names but generally means moving away from a top-down approach to a bottom-up approach in school governance (Midgley & Wood, 1993:246). It implies a situation where teachers and administrators work together as peers and colleagues on major decisions in the school (Starratt, 1996:107).

According to Bolin (1989:81) to empower is to invest legally and formally with power or authority; to authorise or to licence. To empower teachers, therefore, means to give them the basic authority and power to practice their craft (Mertens & Yarger, 1988:35). Empowerment allows teachers to act as professionals and to be treated as professionals (Whitaker & Fowler, 1988:3-4; Walker & Roder, 1993:164). This consists of giving them final authority to take critical operational decisions (McGinley, 1992:1; McWalters, 1992:9). In this way, empowerment enables teachers to participate in decisions that directly affect their work, viz., student learning in the school (Short, 1994a:489; McWalters, 1992:9).

Empowerment does not, however, confine teacher decision making to instructional matters only. It also means involving them in a wide array of managerial duties and allows them to learn from others (De Wee, 1994:12). Empowered teachers act as leaders who take final decisions together with the principal rather than merely as people fulfilling an advisory or "assistant" role to the principal (Midgley & Wood, 1993:251). Empowerment enables them to make meaningful contributions to the greater organisation (Van der Westhuizen & Theron, 1994:70).

The power-sharing between the principal and teachers encapsulated in the above arguments encourages teachers to participate without making them feel manipulated (Stimson & Applebaum, 1988:314). The rationale underlying empowerment is that power can be shared because it is not zero sum in nature. Within the bounds of empowerment power tends to be horizontal in nature and cooperative and sharing in orientation. Sergiovanni (1993:17), conceptualising the school as a community, argues that professional and moral authority replaces personal power in leadership and this places teachers and principals in the roles of followers of shared values, commitments and ideals.

The concepts "school-based management", "site-based management" and "shared decision making" are often deemed to have the same meaning as empowerment (Walker & Roder, 1993:164). These concepts, however, give empowerment another dimension, viz., that of decentralisation (Lifton, 1994:16). Decentralisation denotes a system of dispersed authority in which the central office culture of final approval is replaced by a system in which teachers are given the final responsibility to make decisions about their school (McWalters, 1992:9). It attempts to move the decision making process from the central Education Department to the school (McKinley, 1992:1).

This is a system of school governance in which persons not traditionally involved in the decision making process are allowed to participate (Walker & Roder, 1993:160). According to the latest proposals in the White Paper on Education and Training (DE, 1995:70) the main stakeholders who should participate in school governance at the secondary schools are parents, teachers and students while at the primary school level only parents and teachers are included.

In a school the concepts of empowerment and decentralisation imply an arrangement in which school governance does not only include those who were traditionally involved viz., the Governing Body or Management Council which consisted of the principal and parents, but also those who have hitherto been excluded from school governance, viz., teachers and students. This suggests a situation where teachers and students share in decision making processes at the managerial level rather than at the operational level.

It may be concluded that participation and empowerment share the same meaning. The concepts of delegation, quality circles, influence, consultation and even collective bargaining which will be considered in the ensuing discussion must, therefore, be perceived as practical manifestations of empowerment within a basically bureaucratic structure.

2.1.4 The concept "delegation"

Often participation is deemed to have the same meaning as delegation. Hoy and Sousa (1984:321) characterise participation as the delegation of decisions from superiors to subordinates whereby the subordinate is free to make decisions without further consultation of the superior. However, Conway (1984:14) warns that participation must not be confused with or by delegation. What is the difference, then, between delegation and participation?

Van der Westhuizen (1995c:172) considers delegation to be a task whereby the educational manager entrusts duties to others and divides work meaningfully so as to ensure effective execution. This implies a separation of duties that are hierarchically determined and indeed, Van der Westhuizen (1995c:174) contends that delegation aims at freeing the educational manager so that he concentrates more on managing tasks and less on functionally executed tasks. In this sense, delegation is not participation because it restricts participation only to the operational aspects of the organisation.

Knoop (1985:5) describes participation as joint decision making whereby the manager listens to subordinates, works with them and takes part in their decision making, whereas delegating involves assignment of duties to a committee.

Conway (1984:19) maintains that if a subordinate participates in a decision-to-delegate, then participative decision making is present. This implies that participation means teachers take part in the process of delegating, making suggestions and giving advice as to who should perform which duty. The main difference lies therein that in delegation, the principal allocates duties alone while in participation, teachers take part in the action of allocating duties.

2.1.5 The concept "consultation"

Opportunities for participation are offered by managers through consultation with their subordinates. The Oxford Paperback Dictionary describes consultation as "to ask advice from": "to have regard for a person's feelings, interests, etc." This is in agreement with Nel and Van Rooyen's (1985:25) view that participation assumes that mutuality exists between management and workers to communicate, consult and advise each other as a matter of course. Consultation may be viewed then, as a situation where a person discusses, listens and considers opinions of others in order to arrive at an informed decision

Consultation appears to relate to the mode in which a principal may secure the participation of teachers. Consultation and exchange of opinions constantly take place in the school between principals and teachers either formally or informally, individually and in group-form. Teachers are also more likely to consult each other when sharing a grade, standard or subject. This often develops a spirit of cooperation and sharing which may foster friendly relationships beyond the confines of the school. Participation, in this sense, shows an affective side which differs from the impersonal relationships found in authoritarian settings

There appears, therefore, to be more consultation, and thus participation, in a school than meets the eye. Tokenism or mock participation occurs when the counsel or advice of the lower levels in the organisation is not reflected in the final outcome of the consultation session. Implementation of decisions thus becomes a necessary aspect of participation. This becomes clearer in the ensuing discussion of the concept of influence.

2.1.6 The concept "influence"

In the literature consulted participation is often conceptualised as the distribution of power or influence (see, for example, Chapman, 1988:40). As a result thereof participation is viewed in terms of a vertical dimension and a horizontal dimension

The vertical dimension of participation is bound to the hierarchical structure exhibited by most schools (Mosoge, 1993:20; Laws, 1992:186). Managing and

operational (technical) issues are also separated and earlier research, according to Rice and Schneider (1994:46), suggests that teachers express a desire to be involved in technical rather than managerial domains, the latter being considered to be the work of the higher echelons in schools. Conway (1984:12) views participation as involving two levels in an organisation - managers and subordinates. Hence participation is viewed as the "bottom-up" influence subordinates have on superiors' decisions (Bacharach et al., 1990:127).

The horizontal dimension appears to be derived from the notion of flattening the hierarchical structure of the school (Palardy, 1988:83). Secondary schools are said to have horizontal organisational structures with wider spans of control than primary schools (Laws, 1992:186). Such flat structures increase the likelihood of less supervision and more professionalism.

In this way participation is viewed as an interaction between teachers themselves rather than only between the principal and teachers (De Wee, 1994:11). This suggests that influence is multi-directional. The collaborative setting of participation encourages teachers to plan together, share ideas and seek help from others (Smith & Scott, 1990:16; Chapman, 1988:58; Maeroff, 1988:52). This results in an atmosphere of trust, cooperation, unity and transparency in which teachers increasingly engage in dialogue and discussion (Bolin, 1989:87) about curriculum and teaching affairs.

Like the concepts "power" and "consultation", influence seems to refer to the quality of participation but without which participation is deemed to be incomplete. Duttweiler (1989:10) contends that participation is valued when individuals or groups believe there is potential for real influence. According to Imber et al. (1990:218) an individual influences if, and only if, the decision would have been different had the individual not participated. Real influence refers to the quality of having an effect. Benson and Malone (1987:245) argue that research must be conducted on the teachers' influence rather than their involvement. For instance, teachers may attend meetings but be very low in influencing the decisions that are actually implemented. Involvement alone is not as meaningful as the level of perceived influence (Imber et al., 1990:217). As Ysseldyke et al (1981:160) say, attendance does not connote participation. Teachers can only see their participation as meaningful if such decisions are implemented. This requires

the principal to explain fully why a particular decision arrived at jointly could not be or was not implemented.

Conley (1989:368) describes influence as the capacity to shape decisions through informal or non-authoritative means. However, exertion of influence through informal means does not describe participation well precisely because it does not guarantee implementation of decisions. In participation the informal influence structure changes significantly. The organisation sanctions the ability of members to influence its rules, policies and procedures, thereby legitimising the use of influence (Herrick, 1991, 128). Viewing participation as legitimate influence is important because it excludes unacceptable uses of power, especially in educational institutions, such as coercion, intimidation or manipulation by any of the organisational members involved.

Explicating participation in terms of influence appears to be crucial in understanding participative management.

2.1.7 The concepts "collective bargaining" and "representation"

Collective bargaining may be regarded as participation in so far as teachers or at least their representatives engage in negotiations with management with the aim of influencing decisions taken at higher levels. The participants are adversarial, procedures are formalised, third parties sometimes mediate the process and issues are wide, varied and of profound significance for the organisation (Keith & Girling, 1991:292-293).

Herrick (1991:29-30) distinguishes between two types of collective bargaining, viz.:

- **Distributive bargaining:**

It occurs when the interests of labour and management are in conflict and involves proposals, counterproposals and compromises.

Integrative bargaining:

It occurs when labour and management have a common concern and, ideally work together to define a problem, analyze it, gather and exchange information and agree on a solution.

Needless to say, in the latter case both parties are relaxed, the issues negotiable and manageable, while in the former case an atmosphere pregnant with animosity develops, often leading to teachers taking to the streets (Haller & Strike, 1986:252). Apparently the latter action arises from the realisation that empowerment is unlikely without political action (Bolin, 1989:82).

Although collective bargaining sometimes achieves the same objectives as participation, it is more concerned with general policy making in an Education Department, and indeed, bargaining occurs between union representatives and higher officials of the Department. Collective bargaining, therefore, appears to lie outside the context of the present research, since it seldom, if ever, occurs within a school.

The mode of collective bargaining, viz., representation, is, however, relevant to school management. The need for representation arises from the impossibility of engaging too large a group in any participation session or the impossibility of achieving active involvement of each and every teacher in all issues arising in a school. Representation is also necessary if a broad opinion is to be obtained.

The effectiveness of representation in participation is, however, questionable. Haller and Strike (1986:261) are of the opinion that representation actually decreases the participation of the general populace of teachers because only union representatives are involved. According to Obradovic (1985:60) this raises the question of whether the delegates represent group interests adequately enough. Thus, representation may foster alienation by creating a gap between expected and actual responsiveness of the representatives. In this way, representation deteriorates into the bureaucratisation which it attempts to reduce. Sometimes constituencies claim that the delegates do not represent them effectively (Williamson & Johnston, 1991:16).

2.1.8 Clarification of standpoint

The above discussion indicates that participative management possesses certain characteristics which differentiate it from other approaches to management. Its major characteristics may be summarised as follows.

- * Two or more organisational members work together on a management activity. Typically these members are representatives of important sub-systems in the organisation. In a school, such members variously include teachers, parents and students as well as members from the broader school community (par. 2.1.3).
- * Participative management may take various forms including **empowering** of teachers to act as professionals (par. 2.1.3), **delegating** duties to decide who performs which duty (par. 2.1.4), **consulting** members for sharing of ideas on how to work (par. 2.1.5), and **bargaining** on policy matters (par. 2.1.7).
- * In the interactive situations resulting from participation members exert **influence** on each other. Influence is multidirectional, formal yet independent of the formal positions and roles of members in an organisation (par. 2.1.6).
- * The interactive situation results in decisions which affect the execution of regulative and operational tasks which constitute the overall functioning of the organisation as it pursues its goals. In a school, involvement has a bearing on successful teaching and learning (par. 2.1.2).

From the above characteristics, a definition of participative management may be formulated as follows:

Participative management refers to a type of management whereby organisational members, regardless of their relative formal positions, are empowered to take final decisions and accept responsibility and

accountability concerning the regulative and operational tasks carried out in an organisation.

In the case of a school, participation means the involvement of principals, teachers, parents and students together with significant community members regarding issues, matters and actions relating to the functioning of the school

It is also clear that the viewpoint taken in this research appreciates that participation is a wide concept which has evolved through centuries as scholars and practitioners sought the best ways to arrive at efficient and effective organisations. Hence the next section deals with the ascendancy of participation and the theories underpinning it.

2.2 THEORETICAL FOUNDATIONS OF PARTICIPATIVE MANAGEMENT

2.2.1 Review of management theories

Participation is "an ancient tenet of management" (Conway, 1984:11), dating back to pre-Christ years. Evidence shows that delegation of authority, consultations and staff advice existed among Egyptians, Chinese and among Biblical personages like Moses long before Christ (Griffin, 1990:40-42). With the advent of the classical scientific management by Frederick Taylor at the turn of the century, participation of workers in management activities suffered a great set-back. A clear division of work among managers and workers, with managers doing planning and supervision and workers doing the execution, was introduced. This trend was further reinforced by the top-down management style expounded in Max Weber's theory of bureaucracy (Hoy & Miskel, 1991:105).

The human-relations movement of Mary Parker Follet, Elton Mayo and F.J. Roethlisberger emphasized the man-in-organisation approach (Van der Westhuizen, 1995b:72-73). This was clearly a radical departure from the strict structural approach which emphasized the organisation more than man. The neoclassical approach of the human-relations movement unequivocally stated that the answer to management problems lay in participative management (Reynolds, 1989:3)

The organisational-humanist movement of the 1960's and 1970's, headed by Douglas MacGregor, Rensis Likert and Chris Argyris, further advocated the humanizing of organizations. Specifically, these theorists advocated the participation of workers in decisions that affect them (Bolman & Deal, 1991:154). However, the democratic organisation advocated in this movement remained a theoretical construct. The concept of worker participation, soon turned sour Guthrie (1986:306), for instance, points out that the permissiveness and the laissez-faire ethos of this era, was undoubtedly accompanied by a downward spiral in academic standards.

The decline of the organisational-humanist movement, especially its failure to translate theory into practice, gave rise to the resurgence of the modern version Weberian type of bureaucracy. Modernism, as the new approach came to be known, recognized the rights of an individual only insofar as one is treated in terms of the rights, responsibilities, rules and duties appropriate to one's status in the organisation (Clegg, 1990:5). The Tayloristic differentiation premised on a clear division of labour, once more came to the fore in the modernistic organisation

Developments since the 1980's indicate a contemporary approach which can only be identified as postmodernity (Clegg, 1990:180), due to its stark contrast with modernity. The highly successful Japanese management model appears to serve as a prototype of postmodernity though the phenomenon is global in nature (Clegg, 1990:180). Organisational dimensions of modernity include most features of participative management, for instance, diffusion, democracy, empowerment, collectivization, flexibility and trust (Clegg, 1990:203).

2.2.2 The bureaucratic model

The above review of management theories indicates the pervasiveness of the bureaucratic model as a framework for understanding the management of organizations. Clegg (1990:25) is of the opinion that bureaucratic ideals continue to prefigure the ground of much contemporary organisation analysis. In this regard, participative management is no exception. A brief discussion of the bureaucratic model, therefore, seems to be in order

The formal authority of administrators to delegate responsibilities, formulate rules and implement centralised control, planning and decision making (Conley, 1991:228) is the hallmark of the bureaucratic model. A multilevel hierarchical structure in which each lower position is under the supervision and control of a higher one is thus typical of most schools. It is only through such unity of command that the diverse educative activities can be effectively co-ordinated.

Furthermore, the various tasks and functions in a school require disciplined compliance to directives (Hoy & Miskel, 1991:105). Hence teachers are supervised by superiors whose task it is to ensure that teachers comply with decisions made higher up in the hierarchy (Conley, 1988:394). Uniformity of behaviour is further reinforced by rules and procedures which are indispensable for ensuring continuity of operation. According to Jaques (1991:57), this is a powerful tool for employing large numbers of people and yet preserve unambiguous accountability for the work they do.

The bureaucratic model, however, reveals the following serious flaws when applied to school management (Duttweiler, 1989:7-8; Hoy & Miskel, 1991:106-112; Orlosky et al., 1984:265-266):

- * Upward communication to superordinates is often poor since subordinates communicate only that type of information which will make them look good in the eyes of their superiors. The long chain of communication, the proverbial "red tape", causes distortion, filtration and delay of information.
- * Lack of correct information and decision making by one individual leads to poor decisions.
- * A school principal who controls all activities keeps his staff immature and decreases their sense of responsibility and thus retards their professional development by encouraging them to be passive, dependent and subordinate.

- Excessive reliance on rules leads to a good deal of organisational and operational rigidity whereas, the school, with non-routine problems often cropping up, requires flexibility and creativity.
- School principals who rely on formal authority only without the support of expert authority have to contend with the undermining of their authority by informal structures within the school
- The basic assumption of the bureaucratic structure that the superior possesses more technical expertise than his subordinates is a fallacy. Some teachers know more than their principals in certain fields.
- Principals who parcel out work, set objectives, monitor performance, follow-up and take corrective action, are not only overburdened with work but also ignore the abilities of school staff and this results in lowered motivation throughout the school.

Despite the above flaws, no other conceivable system can achieve the efficiency and orderliness which the bureaucratic system gives to an organisation. The bureaucratic model implies firstly, that participation would focus on productivity and efficiency and tend to give little importance to the well-being of the worker (Herrick, 1991:26). Participative management studies would, therefore, attempt to find a link between participation and productivity (cf Garten & Valentine, 1989:1; Schneider, 1984:25; Stein & King, 1992:26). Secondly, bureaucracy implies that participation is perceived as something given by managers (Conley et al., 1988:261) and is, thus, a unilateral management decision (Herrick, 1991:26).

However, Duttweiler (1989:7) asserts that the bureaucratic system is now an anachronism and must, therefore, be ameliorated to suit conditions within the school. While the school possesses some bureaucratic characteristic, it is far less rational in organisation, structure and functioning than is typically assumed. It appears managing people who manipulate symbols and manage other people, differs from managing people who manipulate and produce physical objects (Duttweiler, 1989:10). A school operates on continuous person to person interaction with members working together on projects and tasks, communicating

with each other and exchanging attitudes, norms, skills and interests (Mataboge, 1993:61). Thus school management requires a different set of perceptions and behaviours rather than a strict bureaucratic system.

2.2.3 The professional model

Unlike the bureaucratic model, the professional model appears to be more suitable to the management of a school precisely because the school is an organisation predominantly staffed by professionals.

The basic orientation of the professional model is the emphasis on technical expertise, an objective, impartial and impersonal approach and service to clients. In this respect it appears similar to the bureaucratic model. It differs, however, in that professionals are expected to act in the best interests of the clients, while bureaucrats are expected to act in the best interests of the organisation (Hoy & Miskel, 1991:144).

Unlike the bureaucratic model which finds its control in the hierarchical authority system, the professional's ultimate basis for consistency is his knowledge derived from specialised education and training. The performance of the professional is controlled by self-imposed standards, peer group surveillance and an internalised code of ethics (Hoy & Miskel, 1991:143). To work effectively and efficiently, the professional needs an environment which allows for autonomy, discretion and self-regulation.

Professionals in an organisation, for instance, a school or hospital, are unlike professionals in private practice. The maintenance of professional autonomy takes place in the face of organizationally defined constraints. Conley (1988:402) states that teachers are professionals who must cope with uncertainty and cannot simply be reduced to paper pushers while, at the same time, they cannot be left to operate as free agents. Academic freedom, according to Haller and Strike (1986:49), must recognise that schools are places created by parents and communities to transmit their values and what they deem to be appropriate and necessary skills to their children.

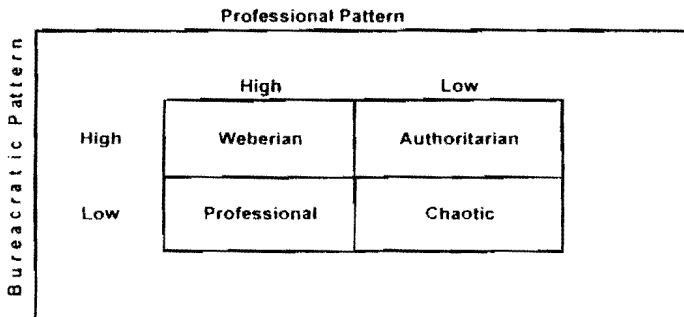
van der Westhuizen (1995a:24) describes management in education as 'a case of action in partnership between officials of the state and professional people'. In this way, the professional model fails to explain satisfactorily the type of management most suited for schools.

2.2.4 The bureaucratic-professional model

The above discussion inevitably indicates that neither a strict bureaucratic nor a strict professional approach is suited for the management of schools. Maintaining an effective balance between the two models of school management (Conley, 1988:393) can only be achieved by combining them. Hoy and Miskel (1991:118) conceptualise the organisational structure of the school as a continuum with a bureaucratic pole on one end and a professional pole on the other end and as such derive four types of organisational structures which are diagrammatically shown below.

FIGURE 2.1

TYPOLGY OF SCHOOL ORGANISATION STRUCTURES (Hoy & Miskel, 1991:118)



A brief discussion of each structure follows.

- **Weberian structure:**

This is an ideal structure for participation because of high professionalisation and high bureaucratisation. Teachers exercise professional autonomy within acceptable bounds of bureaucratic control. The principal remains the initiator and ultimate controller through both expert and position authority while teachers receive due recognition for their specialised knowledge and expertise.

- **Authoritarian structure:**

This represents an autocratic principal with a top-down type of management style. The teacher is the proverbial "helping hand" or "assistant teacher". There is little participation since the assumption underlying this structure is that the most capable people are those at or near the top of the hierarchy while those at or near the bottom are generally less capable and, in many cases, unreliable (Palardy, 1988:82). Participation which occurs follows the line of assigning duties which are hierarchically determined. Teacher loyalty, and acceptance of and compliance with management decision is the end towards which participation is employed (Conley, 1991:229).

- **Professional structure:**

The pendulum here swings to more professionalisation and less bureaucratisation in that shared decision making, professional autonomy and less supervision are emphasized. The leader acts merely as an "equal" with no special authority (Lindelow et al., 1989:152). Participation in this structure aims at employee satisfaction, morale and workplace democracy as ends in themselves rather than as a means towards compliance (Conley, 1991:229). It appears such a structure is more akin to management of higher institutions of learning where there is strict departmentalisation rather than to school management.

- **Chaotic structure:**

The day-to-day operations of this structure are characterised by confusion and conflict because of lack of management direction and professional expertise

inconsistencies, contradictions and ineffectiveness result in pressure to move toward one of the other types of structures. Participation here is also inconsistent leading to dissatisfaction, back-stabbing and alienation.

In conclusion it may be said that the theoretical separation of bureaucratic and profession models is not functional in schools. It appears, then, that any discussion of participative management must take cognizance of both bureaucratisation and professionalisation of educational institutions. According to Conley (1991:228), research on participation is traditionally dominated by bureaucracy though recently a professional image of the school has become evident. Models which address this problem from a different perspective are the Japanese management model and Theory Z, which will now be discussed.

2.2.5 The Japanese management model

Instead of offering a characterisation of schools on the bureaucratic-professional continuum, the Japanese management model offers a more finely synthesised theory with a patently participative management approach at its core. Basically the Japanese management model reveals the following major characteristics (Aquila, 1982:92-95; Chandler, 1984:344-345): life-time employment, team building, principle of subtlety, semi-autonomous work groups and consensus form of decision making. Each of these major characteristics are briefly discussed below.

2.2.5.1 Life-time employment

The Japanese model is built around the concept of life-time employment which enhances team spirit and evokes employee commitment to the organisation by offering security of tenure (Aquila, 1982:94). This is in stark contrast to job-hopping which is so characteristic of some First World countries (Anderson & Anderson, 1982:19). In the RSA, the deteriorating economic situation has limited mobility of teachers and thus the tenure of most teachers has increased. Among the Blacks, teachers who had been employed in the private sector have rejoined teaching, ostensibly for the rest of their remaining life. It also appears that Black people in the RSA prefer staying in the same locality for years. Conditions in the RSA, therefore, appear to be conducive for participation because life-time employment forms the basis for a participative relationship between employers and employees.

2.2.5.2 Team building

The basic building block of the Japanese model is team work. An organisation operates as a "family unit" with semi-autonomous work groups of about 10 to 12 people in what has become known as the "Quality Circle". This fosters a sense of intimacy and communal responsibility for attaining objectives (Aquila, 1982:93). A manager, in this set-up, is often rewarded and respected for success as a team builder.

The affective side in this intimate work environment is not neglected. The Japanese manager works side by side with his subordinates and associates with workers to the extent of joining them for the "cocktail hours" (Aquila, 1983:181). This sort of intimacy is frowned upon in Western management styles though in the Japanese context, where respect for superiors is high, it is not comparable to familiarity.

2.2.5.3 Consensus form of decision making

A corollary of team building relates to decision making - typically, a consensual, participative one (Chandler, 1984:344). Organisational power is shared to provide decision making as near the point of action as possible when it is not inconsistent with larger goals (Chapey, 1983:395).

Underlying the participative nature of decision making is the premise that nothing of consequence occurs from individual effort. The strong egalitarian atmosphere encourages a cooperative rather than an adversarial relationship in the superior-subordinate dyad, so that all members share tasks and responsibility jointly. In recounting his experience Bergman (1992:50) found that building consensus means a willingness to accept a decision rather than total agreement.

Binedell (1988:6) mentions, for instance, that in 1987 alone, the Japanese company, Toyota, which employs 50 000 people, implemented 2,5 million suggestions out of the 3 million received from workers - an acceptance rate of 83,3%. Chapey (1983:396) warns against stereotyping Japanese management as Utopian, for Tek

Matsushita, of Motorola company, states that where suggestions from below are not forthcoming, recourse to top-down management is taken

2.2.5.4 Precept of subtlety

The precept of subtlety indicates the deep-rooted intimacy existing among the workers. Subtlety implies that some decisions may appear to have no basis of fact and therefore, cannot withstand the scrutiny of an outsider. Rather than relying on hierarchy and monitoring in directing and controlling behaviour, commitment and trust are emphasized (Chandler, 1984:344). The ultimate control in the Japanese model is embedded in the trust and commitment pervading the team approach. The "family" approach to work means that deviant behaviour is strongly reproached by norms, mores and precepts of the work ethic of the team.

2.2.5.5 Evaluation and conclusion

The discord of bureaucracy and professionalism finds harmony in the Japanese model more than in the bureaucratic-professional model. There can be no talk of bureaucracy nor of professionalism in the Japanese model precisely because both grow out of the organisational structure, culture and work ethic of members. This is fostered by slow promotion and thus a professional achieves his status because of the organisation instead of being absorbed with his professional status. It is an order that is not ordained from without, but one that is realised from within.

The Japanese model epitomises participative management because all its aspects are pervaded and buttressed by participation. In fact, the Japanese model indicates very clearly how participation should be practised in management, with modifications and adaptation to be congruent with the prevailing culture in the community where the organisation (i.e. school) operates.

As indicated above (cf. par. 2.2.5.1), life-time employment or at least long-term employment already exists in the education for Blacks. This situation heightens the possibility of successful utilisation of the attendant concepts of team building and consensus form of decision making. For instance, committees which already exist in schools may increase permanency of members thereby increasing trust and

intimacy which prelude the successful implementation of a consensus-form decision making

Certain factors, however, militate against the wholesale adoption of the Japanese management model. Although operational decisions are taken at school level in the RSA, policy decisions are highly centralised with the result that principals, schooled in authoritarian modes of management, may find it difficult to devolve authority to teachers. This problem is compounded by nascent unionisation of teachers which polarises relationships between teachers and principals and, in some cases, sows distrust and has the effect of marginalising principals and Heads of Department (cf. par. 2.3.1). There is, however, promise that the situation may change once the democratisation of schools takes effect under an ANC-government (cf. ANC, 1994:5).

Furthermore, if one accepts the assertion that the Japanese model derives its success from the particular traits and characteristics of the Japanese, such as industriousness and ambition, family and group orientation, respect for order, authority and tradition (Anderson & Anderson, 1982:16), then one must heed Aquila's (1982:91-92) warning against wholesale adoption of Japanese practices. The appropriateness of applying business practices and techniques in education is also questionable, more so because in the Japanese education system extensive teacher involvement is not so effective (Mataboge, 1993:71).

Inherent in the Japanese model are two flaws which may prove counterproductive in the long run. Firstly, Clegg (1990:200) notes with concern that the benefits of Japanese practices are limited to employees within the core labour market. This has the tendency of marginalising other workers. In terms of participation this tendency would lead to the formation of a clique in the school which may limit participation in the same way that collective bargaining and representation do (cf. par. 2.1.7). Secondly, it appears the Japanese workers show a low level of job satisfaction though the reasons for this are hard to find. This suggests the exercise of caution in ascribing too much superiority to Japanese practices over other management techniques (Clegg, 1990:201).

In view of the above misgivings concerning the Japanese model, attempts, in the form of Theory Z, have been made to present a more universalistic approach modifying the Japanese management practices. Attention will now be focused on Theory Z

2.2.6 Theory Z management

Theory Z management was developed by William G. Ouchi (1981) as a response to the need of adapting Japanese management practices for implementation in American businesses. It is based on the assumption that while societal and cultural differences exist between America and Japan, American firms can effectively combine home-grown and foreign management strategies (George, 1984:177). The adaptation of Japanese management in America opens up the possibility of further adapting such strategies in other parts of the world as well. Moreover, it opens up the possibility of adapting Theory Z management for application in education as demonstrated by commentators such as Chandler (1984), George (1984), Aquila (1982, 1983) and Miller and Sparks (1984).

Long-term employment constitutes one of the major tenets of Theory Z (George, 1984:77). Clearly, in a situation where job-hopping is common practice, an organisation can commit itself to long-term employment instead of the life-time employment offered by Japanese firms. It is due mainly to long-term employment that a stable egalitarian social situation involving trust and close personal relationships will emerge. It is in such circumstances that the workforce in a school may socialise together after work and even take vacations together (Anderson & Anderson, 1982:18). By organising company-promoted activities, the organisation encourages employees to learn about each others' families, hobbies and interests (Miller & Sparks, 1984:48).

The development of close personal relationships is incorporated in the tenet of holistic concern for employees (Chandler, 1984:344). The teacher is considered to be a person on and off work, not half-machine during work hours and half-human after work (George, 1984:78). A close relationship between a principal and teachers is hard to imagine because intimacy and familiarity are considered in most cultures as inappropriate school behaviours (Aquila, 1983:93). Broad concern for teachers as human beings need not degenerate into familiarity. The principal is expected to

regulate his relationship with teachers by maintaining his ceremonial role, attending formal family occasions of teachers and carefully using his discretion to leave proceedings at an appropriate time. A principal who thinks he is welcome throughout a teachers' party is the only one who thinks so. Furthermore, concern for the teacher involves developing an individual personal growth plan for each teacher's career, for instance, improvement of qualifications or specific skills (Aquila, 1983:184)

Like the Japanese management, Theory Z also upholds the principle of consensual, participatory decision-making (Chandler, 1984:344). Regular and continuing involvement, in appropriate ways, of all persons in the decisions that determine the course of life in the school is the hallmark of Theory Z-schools (George, 1984:79). Consensual decision-making comes hard in any organisation and, therefore, Anderson and Anderson (1982:20) suggests that teachers should be taught to decide responsibly and to accept the rewards and penalties associated with decisions.

The major tenets of Theory Z discussed so far are based on and occur within a culture of teamwork. The utilisation of small semi-autonomous groups, similarly found in the Japanese model, constitutes the *modus operandi* in Theory Z organisations (Aquila, 1982:93). Grade levels in primary schools and departmentally structured groups in secondary schools form the basis upon which teamwork may be established. Through proper training in interpersonal and leadership skills a team or family concept could emerge to counteract the present isolation of teachers which is only broken in times of conflict or of joint threat (Aquila, 1983:183).

Whereas control and sanction in Japanese teams rests primarily on implicit control measures (Chandler, 1984:344), Theory Z teams are controlled by a written set of objectives and procedures that guide the actions of the group (George, 1984:78). The development and maintenance of a well-articulated school mission is, therefore, an important aspect of a Theory Z school. The value of a focused approach, such as a particular instructional style or emphasis on academic achievement, lies therein that teachers, pupils and parents know what to expect from the particular school (Aquila, 1983:184). The principal is expected to exercise strong leadership to focus the attention of various teams on the school mission

and in this way, achieve school effectiveness by uniting all school members around common beliefs concerning student outcomes.

While it is accepted that Theory Z principles are positively related to school effectiveness (George, 1984:78), it is equally important to accept that successful implementation of these principles requires time, patience and effort in terms of providing school personnel with relevant training in areas such as interpersonal skills, joint decision making, teamwork and management by objectives (Anderson & Anderson, 1982:22). Another important factor to consider is that the success of Theory Z apparently rests on the concept of smallness (Aquila, 1983:184), whereby organisations expand, not through acquisitions but through subcontracting and networking (Clegg, 1990:181). This appears impossible in countries such as the RSA where large schools, in the order of over 1 200 students, are presently the norm

Miller and Sparks (1984:50-51) are optimistic that schools can easily adopt Z-principles because

- long-term employment can hopefully be assured once student populations are stabilised;
- slow evaluation and promotion are already in place in schools;
- academic freedom supports informal control and individual responsibility;
- a moderately specialised career path and explicit formalised measures are inherent in the educational bureaucracy;
- some schools already use the team approach in the faculties and extra-curricular activities;
- some schools are already rich in certain cultures which can be articulated as the school's philosophy and goals.

These authors (1984:51) argue that schools, however, need to strengthen a holistic concern for staff and students, and increase the use of consensual decision-making.

In conclusion it is worth noting that participative management forms the foundation on which Theory Z rests. Perspectives gained from Theory Z appear relevant in any study of participative management in schools. Principals must be willing to model a management style which is essentially democratic and holistic (George, 1984:81) if participative management is to succeed in schools

2.2.7 Democratic theory

The concept of democracy is not only fashionable in contemporary society but it has also acquired a strong normative flavour as an expression of right, justice and equity. Every country or organisation appears unwilling to describe itself as anything other than democratic (Renwick & Swinburne, 1982:124, Esterhuyse, 1994:2). In the course of time, however, it appears that every country, organisation or institution claiming to be democratic, has developed its own particular meaning for the word. Three major views of democracy emerge, viz., direct democracy, liberal democracy and proletarian democracy (cf. Renwick & Swinburne, 1982:124-143).

A brief examination of these views appears to be in order

2.2.7.1 Direct democracy

The word democracy is a derivative of two Greek words which translate roughly into "people's power", this being a form of government in which all citizens participate in government rather than delegating the task of ruling to somebody else (Renwick & Swinburne, 1982:124-125). This represents direct democracy in that all citizens participate in government as equals thereby exercising their rights and catering for their interests, as opposed to an authoritarian system in which the state acts in the interests of and for citizens (De Beer, 1994:127).

This concept of democracy, though appearing so ideal, has limitations. Graham (1986:16) notes that direct influence over decisions by everybody may be possible in limited contexts such as the family or committee but proves to be cumbersome and ineffective in larger contexts. In large nation states direct democracy deteriorates rapidly into "mobocracy" or "mob rule" (Renwick & Swinburne,

1982:125). Poole (1988:3) would describe it as "mass participation of people in government".

Obviously the participation of masses militates against the orderly and effective rule mainly because of logistics and also because the very masses may have no time for politics. Thus, Graham (1986:16) concludes that time, size and complexity of modern nation states render direct participation impossible. The above problems may be resolved by representation either through liberal or through proletarian democracies

2.2.7.2 Liberal democracy

In liberal democracy the people, divided into constituencies, elect representatives to rule on their behalf, on the basis that such representatives share salient characteristics with them to represent their interests adequately (Graham, 1986:16-17; Naude, 1994:120). The participation of the masses is limited to voting for representatives (Herrick, 1991:28) though they may exert influence on decision making in various other ways. The fact that the electorate can throw out the ruling party at the next opportunity, ensures that representatives remain responsive to the interests of their constituents (Renwick & Swinburne, 1982:130).

By assuring individual rights and basic freedoms of speech, assembly and press, liberal democracy subscribes to the principle of equality. These rights guarantee participation and can also serve as mechanisms for changing policies in the period between elections (Esterhuysen, 1994:5). These rights and freedoms are guaranteed by way of a declaration of human rights incorporated in the constitution (Schroenn, 1994:33). Consequently, liberal democracy appears to compensate adequately for the loss of direct representation while simultaneously ensuring effective government.

There is, however, a dissenting view to liberal democracy. The fact that representatives compete for the electors' votes, suggests that representatives, and not the masses, are originators of policy. Esterhuysen (1994:4) asserts that democracy involves balancing the functions of representation, i.e. representatives as spokespersons of constituencies, and trusteeship, i.e. representatives as people who decide in the interests of the country. This raises the question of whether

representatives do in fact express the people's will. A danger also exists here that unscrupulous and untoward practices may be entrenched before the next round of elections. These limitations of liberal democracy may possibly be rectified in proletarian democracy

2.2.7.3 Proletarian democracy

A proletarian democracy also uses representation in its government. It refers to a situation in which the government is in the hands of the proletarians or workers. As opposed to liberal democracy which limits state intervention in civic society, proletarian democracy is based on the principles of social democracy whereby the state expands its influence and power in civic society (Esterhuyse, 1994:6).

As a rule there is only one political party from which workers elect their representatives. In fact, this party is virtually synonymous with the government (Renwick & Swinburne, 1982:136) because it represents the majority and rules in their interest; it is the embodiment of the will of the masses. Participation of the masses in the political process occurs through a system called democratic centralism or, more simply, consultative democracy (cf. Harber, 1993:292).

In consultative democracy policy emanates from grassroots levels and flows upwards to party leaders. From these ideas, the party leaders formulate policies which are passed down to lower-levels for comment. Then the party leaders amend the policies in the light of the latest lower-level proposals. A final policy is decided by the party leaders and then passed down for implementation (Renwick & Swinburne, 1982:136).

The participation principle underpinning consultative democracy appears sound in terms of regular contact between representatives and their constituent. Consultations occur on a regular basis instead of once during electioneering. Since policies emerge from the bottom it may be expected that all of the party and people will adhere to it (Renwick & Swinburne, 1982:136).

A few problems may, however, arise in implementing the ideals of consultative democracy. There is reason to believe that party leaders may inhibit or discourage

lower-level officials from questioning final policy decisions. De Wee (1994:11) points out that in Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union democratic centralism resulted in "unprecedented authoritarianism". The one-party arrangement, where dissident views are seldom tolerated, discourages criticism. Indeed, since the party represents the wishes of the masses, criticism of the party amounts to attacking the masses.

On the other side of the coin, if consultative democracy is applied in its pure form, the role of representatives or government is reduced to that of delegates, who cannot take decisions on behalf of their constituents. Nupen (1990:43) asserts that in such cases, delegates may evade their responsibilities of leadership and guidance. Of great importance is the duty of representatives to give feedback to their constituencies regarding decisions and new policy directions from representative bodies. Bottom-up influence may well incapacitate the emergence of new directions and advanced policies especially in situations where the majority of the people are illiterate.

2.2.7.4 Implications of democracy in schools

Political and educational considerations appear to justify the application of democratic principles in schools respectively with regard to participation of interest groups in school management and the content and methods of teaching. Donaldson (1990:609) asserts that the involvement of parents and teachers in school management and financing is supported by persuasive international evidence. Similarly, Binedell (1988) and McGurk (1990) perceive the need to devolve control and responsibility to regional and local school bodies (cf. par. 2.1.3).

The various views of democracy clearly indicate that direct democracy, whereby each member is able to voice his concerns, is suitable in limited contexts, e.g. a school. Barnard (1995:421-424) identifies two main interest groups in education, viz., educationally qualified structures which include teachers, parents and pupils and educationally concerned structures which encompass industry, government sector, and the community at large. Given the large size of each interest group, direct democracy is a non-starter. The only viable alternative is, therefore, a hybrid use of direct democracy and representative democracy.

There appears to be adequate reason to eliminate the educationally-qualified structures from further discussion as they exercise indirect participation by electing politicians who deal, *inter alia*, with educational policy. Since in the RSA statutory provisions already cater for parent representation in school management via management councils, control councils and school committees (Barnard, 1995:425), it appears reasonable to focus attention on teacher and student representation only.

Teachers, as the basic production unit and as professionals in the education system, have a vested interest in the effective functioning of their schools. The neglect of teachers in the great debates on education and their exclusion from school governance, often results in teachers resorting to militant unionism as the only option to make their voices heard.

Although the non-statutory parent-teacher association provides a link between the school staff and parents (Barnard, 1995:429), and thus encourages teacher participation in school management, its terms of reference are limited mostly to fundraising activities. Thus, in a democratic order at school level, teacher participation would take the form of a pyramidal system with direct democracy at the base, i.e., a general staff meeting, and delegate democracy at every level above that, i.e., representation in the governing council (cf. Herrick, 1991:28). Further to this, in the operational aspect, teachers should form teams or committees according to subjects, grades and standards taught and extra curricular activities. The head in each section would then serve in the school's top management.

At higher levels in the education system, democracy is manifested by the existence of teacher associations which provide opportunities for individual teachers to participate in educational policy issues through their representatives (Barnard, 1995:428). A statutory recognition of a teachers' association empowers teachers to participate legitimately in the education system and thus forms an important aspect of effective teacher participation (cf. par. 3.4.3).

While the participation of teachers and parents in the education system is generally accepted, the same cannot be said concerning student participation. The

popular demand for representation of students in school governance through the Student Representative Council (SRC) and the Parent Teacher Student Association (PTSA) (Morrow, 1988:248) receives little support even though it appears justifiable on the grounds of the equality principle. Harber (1993:290) maintains that support for student participation is unusual even in countries that term themselves democratic with the exception of Denmark, Tanzania and Mozambique.

The major reason for this apparent negation of the equality principle is embedded in the conceptual tension between democratic principles and educative teaching (De Vries, 1993:7). According to Morrow (1988:252) educative relationships are not equal in that no person can educate another unless he knows something which the other person does not know. Thus, to argue that learners should control their own education is misleading (Morrow, 1988:253).

The above argument does not mean, however, that the learner is passive in the pedagogical situation. The democratic principle implies that the learner should be actively involved in communicative skills such as debating and negotiation, and that opportunities must be provided in various subjects to develop his critical thinking, problem solving skills, organisation and running of committees as well as leadership (Schroenn, 1994:34). While democratic rights and democratic demands of students need to be addressed, it is of cardinal importance to balance these rights and demands against democratic responsibilities and obligations (Retief, 1994:147).

The position of the student as a learner and a child affects his role in school management. Referring to Tanzanian school councils (a representative body consisting of students and teachers), Harber (1993:291) points to the advisory role played by this body in school management and its concern mainly with student affairs. From the list of its functions it may be deduced that this body, while providing students with opportunities to practise democracy, serves also to assist the principal and staff in creating an environment conducive to effective teaching and learning, for example, (Harber, 1993:291):

- to look after student discipline;
- to discuss and give suggestions on the school regulations,

- to arouse students' interest in decision making;
- to be the centre for learning leadership among students in developing the school.

Harber (1993:292) concludes that this system of participation may be termed consultative democracy whereby students discuss and influence school policy while the principal retains a final veto. It is interesting to note that both in the pedagogical situation and school management, students do not encroach into the areas of teachers and the principal respectively.

It remains to be said, however, that democratisation of schools and education is advocated only when it furthers educational aims and not because it satisfies certain political and social ends (De Vries, 1993:8). Democratisation of schools in the RSA has unfortunately achieved political rather than educational aims in that students were highly politicised while the process of education, its buildings and structures were destroyed, leading to the problem of marginalised youth (Retief, 1994:141; Teleki, 1994:34).

Schlechty (1993:21) asserts that the worth of democratic decisions should be judged on effectiveness, i.e., decisions which produce intended results, and ethical defensibility, i.e., consistency with the beliefs and values upheld by the community. It is in this same vein that Rizvi (1990:5) considers self education, self reliance, critical sense and sound judgement as important aspects of the efficiency of democratic decisions.

2.2.8 Concluding remarks

There are several major ideas on participative management which emerge from the theories discussed in this section. It appears also that these ideas are closely interwoven to form a comprehensive whole on participation in school management as different from political and industrial participation.

The main feature of participative management is the retention of a hierarchical authority structure which is essential for the attainment of efficiency and effectiveness (cf. par. 2.2.2). This is underwritten by the admission that in schools

professionals work within the constraints of a bureaucracy (cf. par. 2.2.4). In such a structure control is neither strictly bureaucratic nor professional but is exercised through the commitment of members to the teamwork ethic and a strong sense of sharing common norms and values (cf. par. 2.2.5.4). The involvement of parents, pupils and teachers must also be seen in the light of advancing educational aims which are embedded in the community's values and beliefs (cf. par. 2.2.7.3).

It is also clear, that participation is wide and varied and thus, the theories advanced in this section must never be taken as the last word on participative management. Theories such as the Scanlon Plan, Systems Theory, the Sociotechnical Theory and Design Theory (Herrick, 1991:32-34) may only be left out on the understanding that they appear to be more inclined to the industrial set up than to the school. Moreover, since these theories are concerned with integrating human needs and organisational goals, it may reasonably be assumed that their principles are covered in the few discussed in this section. Additionally, leadership, motivation and role theories are relevant to participation, but because they specifically deal with the principal's management task, their principles will serve to inform the discussion on participation in action (Chapter 3).

It remains to be said, in conclusion, that participation is not just a passing fancy but an enduring phenomenon deeply rooted in human nature and is probably a basic human drive. It deserves further unravelling. The next section, then, deals with characteristics of participation.

2.3 CHARACTERISTICS OF PARTICIPATION

The literature reveals several characteristics of participation, viz.,

- participants and their roles (Tubbs & Beane, 1982:49; Chapman, 1988:41);
- extent of participation (Schneider, 1984:25);
- amount and level of participation (Bartunek, 1980:492);
- format, degree, content and scope of participation (Conway, 1984:9-20).

The definition of participation (cf. par. 2.1.8) also alludes to the above characteristics, viz., more persons interacting on school management issues. Additionally, the underlying theories of participative management (cf. par. 2.2.8) identify, inter alia, teamwork within a hierarchical structure, efficient and effective organisation, and values and norms, as important elements in participative settings.

From the above review, it appears that the following characteristics of participation should receive attention in this section:

- * hierarchical authority relationships in participation;
- * leadership and roles,
- * values and norms in participation;
- * extent and level of participation;
- * format of participation.

2.3.1 Hierarchical authority relationships in participation

Of all characteristics of teacher participation, none is so controversial as authority relationships. The sharing of authority, responsibility and power in participatory settings (Van Rooyen, 1984:151) implies a different role and authority structure from the one found in traditional management. Principals view participation as an erosion of their authority over teachers, while teachers demand participation as a way of attaining independence from the control of principals and Departmental Heads.

The reasons for aberrations in this regard are not far to find. According to Lindelow et al. (1989:155) the bureaucratic approach has been fostered by the fact that schools were staffed with less qualified teachers who needed close supervision. Thus, participation is viewed as a definite and radical departure from this authority structure. With the increase in the educational qualifications of teachers, the introduction of militant teacher unions and, as Van der Westhuizen

and Theron (1994:71) suggest, the inception of a new generation independent personnel corps, the pendulum swings to the end of complete freedom from the authority of principals.

Recent events in schools point to the problem of marginalisation of principals, who are seen in the Black communities as part of an oppressive apartheid regime (Mosoge, 1991:2). Morrow (1988) gives an account of the way in which Peoples' Education challenges the teachers to indicate whether they are part of the bureaucratic apparatus of apartheid education or part of the democratic structures of the "struggle" (cf. Teleki, 1994:6).

Under these circumstances the legitimacy of principals as interpreters of educational policies and practices (Haller & Strike (1986:265) is seriously contested. There appears to be a need, therefore, for a reassessment of the principal's role if principals are to play a vital part as leaders in educational transformation (ANC, 1994:27).

Participation, however, points to the fact that school management need not be dominated by the unreconcilable models of bureaucracy and professionalism and, according to Chandler (1984:345), if participation were in operation, unions would possibly have been unnecessary as a vehicle to assure staff a voice. Since teachers appear to derive satisfaction from the knowledge that they exercise their democratic right in collective bargaining, it seems reasonable to assume then that their participation through the less militant structures within the school, may serve to enhance their job satisfaction without exacerbating the adversarial relationship usually found in collective bargaining.

Conley (1989:367) asserts that authority is the ability of an organisational member to say "yes" or "no" to a particular decision. This "performative utterance", as Rizvi (1990:3) calls it, represents the final decision making power on a matter, issue or action provided that certain preconditions are met. An important precondition is that the individual must have the legal right to utter these words. Another is that the members must recognise and accept these words to constitute a final decision thereby accepting the authority of the individual in question (Rizvi, 1990:3).

Authority can, therefore, be regarded as a legally derived and socially expected right of an individual to exercise final decision making powers granted by an official employing body (Laws et al., 1992:48). In a school the principal is vested with the authority relating to the responsibilities for the management and administration of the school (ANC, 1994:26). To manage a school, therefore, implies the exertion of the authority principle (Bolin, 1989:84).

The principal's responsibility to manage the school is immutable and will remain so regardless of the style he utilises (Bell, 1992:1). Consequently, the argument that in participative settings the right of the principal to the last word is dogma and that the principal's authority is subject to the negotiation and re-negotiation processes in the school, as De Wee (1994:10-12) claims, appears to be a misrepresentation of facts; rather the principal's influence is subject to negotiation.

Although authority is vested in one position and no two positions can share authority (Conley, 1989:368), the principal is by no means the only authority bearer in the school.

Complexities of school management and the utilisation of participative management necessitate the delegation of authority from higher to lower levels, for example, to Heads of Department and teachers. As the highest authority bearer in the school the principal, however, remains legally responsible and accountable for what happens in the school. In this way, the authority of the principal necessarily constrains the authority of teachers (Conley, 1989:368). This implies that teachers are subject to the authority of the principal in the same way that pupils are subject to the authority of the teacher, as De Wee (1994:12) aptly puts it. The position of teachers as authorities over students enables them to participate more effectively in matters related to students.

Given the above, a participatory mode which disregards or belittles the importance of authority in the school is likely to cause disagreements (Conley, 1989:368) and problems of accountability (Jaques, 1991:58-59). The earlier rhetoric which presented participation as a way of rendering principals superfluous, has been replaced by the growing realisation that participation can never be effective

without strong administrative leadership (Walker & Roder, 1993:166). Therefore, participation can never be equated with capitulation or abdication of authority.

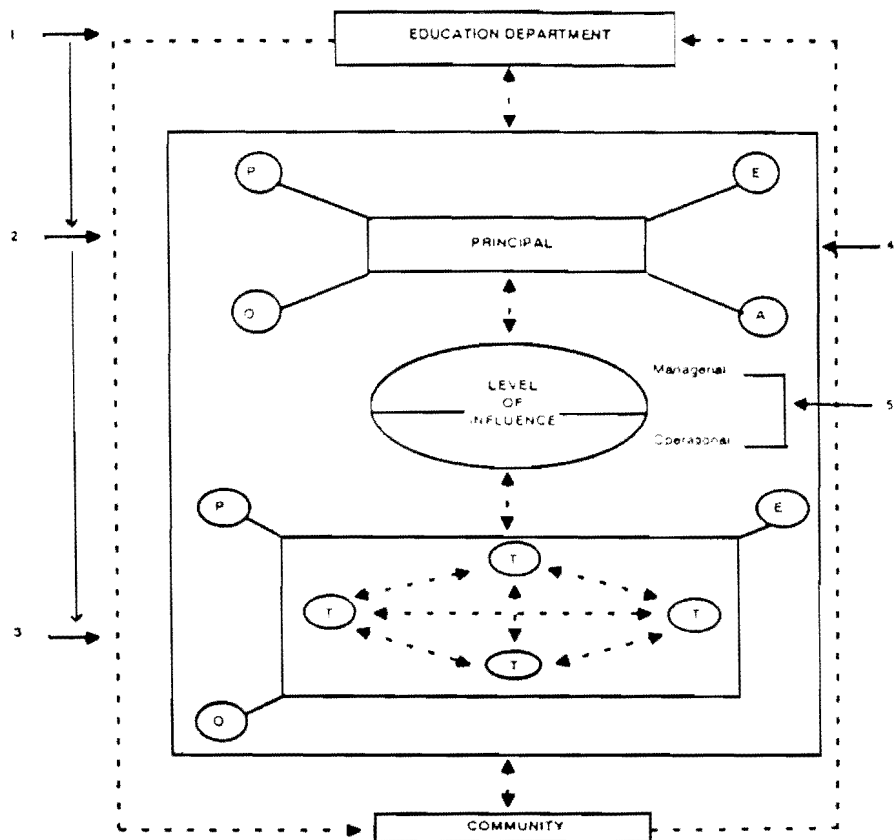
Another precondition for authority to be effective is that it must be recognised and accepted by each member to be legitimate (Rizvi, 1990:3, Conley, 1989:368). Authority implies influencing the behaviour of individuals in the direction of achieving goals. Thus, the authority of the principal and other authority bearers is given considerable influence when perceived to be legitimate by members. Smith and Scott (1990:4) point out that principals who share authority have discovered to their surprise that power shared, is power gained.

It may be said, then, that in participation, influence in the decision making processes concerning the management and operational tasks of the school, gains momentum and greater significance than authority per se. Conley (1989:370) considers influence to be a non-zero sum and multi directional entity. Its operation depends on positional power as well as expertise, opportunity and personal characteristics. Since teachers have access to the latter bases of power, they possess the capacity to influence the management of the school and decision making processes in the Education Department as such.

Given the above arguments concerning authority, power and influence in the context of participation, it is possible to conceptualise teacher participation in the form of the following model:

FIG. 2.2

MODEL OF AUTHORITY AND INFLUENCE IN PARTICIPATION



Power of expertise : P - Personal Characteristics
 : E - Expertise
 : O - Opportunity
 : A - Positional

1, 2, and 3 : Levels of authority
 : Direction of influence
 : Direction of authority

T : Teachers

4 : Field of interaction

5 : Focus of influence

The major features of the above model may be summarised as follows:

- **Levels of authority**

Authority moves in a top-down direction; it is unidirectional. Each level of authority is subordinate to the higher one, i.e. teachers are subordinate to the principal and, in turn, the principal is subordinate to the Education Department. This is a line function.

- **Field of interaction**

Participants act within a field of interaction, i.e. the school setting.

- **Participants**

Participants within the field of interaction consists of the principal and teachers. However, the Education Department and the community (including all stakeholders in the education system) also interact with members within the school.

- **Flow of influence**

In the process of interaction, participants exert influence on each other. Within the school milieu, the principal and teachers influence each other and teachers themselves influence each other mutually. The Education Department's policies influence what happens in the school but is also influenced by the school personnel and the community. Influence between the school and the community is also mutual. Influence is, therefore, multidirectional.

- **Focus of influence**

The end-product of the influence-interaction is the decision making relating to management and operational tasks in the school. The execution of tasks, in turn, affects the pattern of influence flow between various members and, in some instances, prescribes the limits of authority by members on the matter or task in question (cf. par. 2.3.5).

The above model is, however, inadequate by portraying the traditional division between managerial and operational tasks. A holistic view of school management is taken in this research. This means providing every member with a fair opportunity to influence the way a school functions while providing mechanisms to prevent a few from having excessive influence at the expense of other members. All members should be committed to the ideals of tolerance, rational discussion and collective decision making (DE, 1996:15).

2.3.2 Leadership in participation

In addition to legitimising the Education Department, as suggested by De Wee (1994:10) it appears necessary for principals to legitimise their authority by displaying a leadership style which is congruent with the culture of a democratic order. Van der Westhuizen (1995a:28) believes that since the Fall, man's authority tends towards the extremes of authoritarian and laissez-faire types of leadership. Neither type is envisaged in participation.

According to Mataboge (1993:53) democratic leadership is the most appropriate type of leadership style in participatory settings. However, seeing that schools differ according to specific circumstances (Van der Westhuizen, 1995a:20), it may be expected that the principal will adopt a leadership style which matches the peculiar circumstances of the school. In this connection, Muczyk and Reimann (1987:54), using the participation-direction model (figure 2.3), suggest four leadership styles as follows:

FIGURE 2.3

FOUR GENERIC STYLES OF LEADERSHIP (Muczyk & Reimann, 1987:54)

| | EXTENSIVE EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION | NO EMPLOYEE PARTICIPATION |
|---------------------|---|----------------------------------|
| Extensive follow-up | Directive democrat | Directive autocrat |
| No follow-up | Permissive democrat | Permissive autocrat |

A brief discussion of each style is in order.

- **Directive democrat**

Although teachers participate in decision making, the principal supervises them very closely to ensure successful execution of assigned tasks. Such a style appears to be appropriate for small organisations, e.g., a school, where there is a high interdependence of activities requiring a high degree of coordination.

- **Permissive democrat**

This appears to be the most ideal type since a high degree of participation exists and teachers have great autonomy in carrying out tasks. It is a style most appropriate for managing teachers who are at once, highly qualified, motivated and committed - professionals in the real sense of the word.

- **Directive autocrat**

The principal makes decisions unilaterally, there is a low delegation of tasks and extensive follow up. The style seems to be suitable in schools with inexperienced and underqualified staff who need constant prodding to do their work. It is also appropriate for issues requiring quick action.

- **Permissive autocrat**

While this type of principal takes decisions unilaterally, he has no follow-up allowing teachers wide latitude in accomplishing delegated tasks. This style appears appropriate where staff is motivated and trustworthy, but often occurs in a large school where the principal simply fails to follow up or has not the time to do so.

A further point to consider in the choice of an appropriate leadership style is the variation in the decision content (Rice & Schneider, 1994:44). As a result, in collaborative settings, the principal will be called upon to act in different roles, thus (Hoy & Tarter, 1993:11):

- **Integrator**, to reconcile divergent views
- **Parliamentarian**, to facilitate open discussion thus protecting minority views.
- **Educator**, to explain a problem and opportunities as well as limitations on teacher participation.
- **Consultant**, to solicit advice from expert teachers relevant to a specific problem.
- **Director**, to take unilateral decisions according to the dictates of the problem.

By adopting a flexible attitude on leadership style, the principal will derive power from the confidence of the teachers in his ability to manage the school effectively (Laws et al., 1992:52). As a leader, the principal should provide inspiration and purpose to the school's endeavours. The principal should co-ordinate the interests of stakeholders in the school and offer visionary leadership instead of merely carrying out policy decisions of the Education Department. Moreover, if he succeeds in focusing the attention of teachers, parents, students and the community on the mission and goals of the school (Laws et al., 1992:53) through participation, he will also succeed in legitimising his position of authority.

While it is true that the principal occupies a key leadership position, it cannot be denied that he is not the only leader in the school. Even in traditional management, Heads of Department, senior personnel and teachers as project leaders, exercise leadership in the school. "Leadership density", as this phenomenon is called, increases the likelihood of the school becoming more effective in its educative tasks (Laws, et al., 1992:50). It creates opportunities for more teachers to be involved in leadership roles. Leaders amongst teachers are often appointed but informal leaders may emerge depending on the needs and skills of members (Parker, 1991:33) or if the appointed leader is weak (Bartol & Martin, 1991:561). The principal should provide support and encouragement to teacher leaders to enable them to perform effectively (Short, 1994b:495; Raines,

1983:112). In sum, participative management does not so much establish who governs, but how the leader marshalls expertise of teachers in attaining an effective school (Smith & Scott, 1990:4).

2.3.3 Values and norms in participation

Embedded in a community is a value structure which forms the basic outlook on life by individuals and groups within it. Such a value structure is at once directional and preferential in that it determines how individuals will behave and how they will structure their relationships (Van der Westhuizen 1995b:87). This implies that teachers uphold and honour the dominant value structures of their respective communities. Thus, the teachers and the principal will exhibit such value structures in participative relationships.

Values have a powerful and continuous influence on the expectations of the community with regard to how a school ought to be managed (Van der Westhuizen, 1995b:88). The implementation of participative management must be consistent with the beliefs and values upheld by the community served by the school (Schlechty, 1993:22). If the prevailing norms, beliefs and values prevalent in the school support participation the chances of its success are enhanced (Midgley & Wood, 1993:247). Considering that in the RSA calls for democratisation of schools are rife (cf. par. 2.2.7.4), it appears reasonable to assume that participation already forms part of the value system of the community.

Since dissimilarity of values among teachers may be a source of dysfunctionality in participatory settings, a sharing of common values becomes an essential ingredient for successful participation (Kessler, 1992:37). However, effecting changes in the value structure of teachers and so achieve commonality, is a difficult task because values form enduring characteristics of communities and are honoured by groups and individuals (Bondesio & De Witt, 1995:261)

However, this must not be interpreted as a negation of the temporality of values because from time to time major paradigm shifts occur resulting in changes in the dominant value structure of a community (Bondesio & De Witt, 1995:261). Moreover, teachers and principals continually acquire new perspectives on life as a

result of education. This may result in changes in their outlook on life and alter their basic value structures.

It is especially in participatory settings where opportunities for changes in the value structures of teachers exist because of new insights and perspectives gained from closer interaction with colleagues. Participation builds a school into a social structure that bonds teachers together and binds them to a shared value structure on educative teaching (Sergiovanni, 1993:6). Participation also provides the basis for eliminating dissimilarities in the values of the school personnel. The principal may also utilise participation to correct faulty values by increasingly affirming God's Law (Van der Westhuizen, 1995b:131).

Each of the values upheld by a community is underpinned by a set of norms which consist of criteria, prescriptions or rules for proper behaviour. A norm is a standard which prescribes certain behaviours and forbids others within a specific community (Bondesio & De Witt, 1995:620). The behaviour of individuals in a school is controlled by formal and written norms, for instance, a school policy document, as well as a myriad of informal and unwritten norms. Both types of norms have important implications for participative management

Informal and unwritten norms evolve spontaneously within informal groups in the school notably during the first interactions among members. In order to inculcate positive norms in the informal groups of the school, the principal should note the following ways in which such norms commonly arise (Bartol & Martin, 1991:564):

- **Explicit statements:** An opportunity arises for a principal to influence norms by making explicit statements concerning performance and conduct when a group is formed or subsequently when a new member is added to the group. Such norms will only have a lasting effect if they are reiterated from time to time.
- **Primacy:** Primacy stems from the tendency for the behaviour pattern that emerges in a group to establish group expectations from that point on. In this case, the principal should follow the norm "Do it right the first time" (Certo, 1983:391).

- **Critical events:** A critical event in a school experience can establish an important precedent. For example, a particularly decisive way of dealing with a bereavement of a staff member may set a precedent for encouraging teachers to do similarly in ensuing events and may spill over to other personal events of members.
- **Carryover behaviours:** What one has learned from one's situation may be applied in another similar situation. For example, new teachers may introduce certain ways of daily preparation of work which may quickly become a norm at the school.

Even though informal norms are not written, they are nevertheless, relatively enduring and permanent, hence attempts to change them results in resistance (Basson et al., 1995:621). A principal who encourages participation will not only gain an insight into the informal norms operative in his school but will also be able to exercise his influence to inculcate positive norms informally.

Informal norms are spontaneously obeyed by members. According to Donnelly et al (1992:363-364) compliance to these norms is achieved through three specific social processes, viz.,

- **Group pressure:** Group pressure is a palpable element of group dynamics. Group members are influenced in subtle and overt ways to conform to group norms. The tendency for groups to override their motivation to realistically appraise alternative courses of action is known as groupthink (Daft, 1991:201). Group pressure is optimal when it results in cooperation, efficiency and the accomplishment of group goals.
- **Group review and enforcement:** Group review occurs when an individual or a number of individuals fail to conform to group norms. In such cases various approaches may be used to bring deviants in line, for example, a discussion between respected leaders and the deviants may take place, deviant members may also be privately and publicly scolded and in extreme cases, deviants may be ostracised by the group.

- **Personalisation of norms:** A norm may become a standard of conduct from a group and social vantage. The norm then changes into a value which is internalised by members because it is seen to be ethically and morally correct.

It is important to note that group norms form the basic mode of control among professionals (cf. par. 2.2.3) but this does not exclude the control which must be brought to bear on the group externally by the manager. In this connection, formal and written norms are a necessary requirement for successful participation (cf. par. 2.2.6).

The formulation of formal norms is a conscious and purposeful activity which is executed by the school authorities such as the inspectorate, management council and the school's top management. An opportunity exists here for the principal to involve teachers in formulating these norms. Participation will enable the teachers to identify themselves with the norms and accept them as their own (Basson et al., 1995:622).

The existence of norms in the school, like values, is a powerful force in the behaviour of individuals. The principal should strive to inculcate norms that support and are derived from values which are consistent with participative management.

2.3.4 Extent of participation

Extent of participation refers to the choice of individuals who should be involved. The basic questions in this regard are: Who should be involved and at which stage of decision making should he/she be involved? In the aura of democratisation of schools, principals often feel constrained to involve teachers in all aspects of management and in all issues cropping up from time to time in a school. This, however, is impossible, illogical and dysfunctional (Hoy & Tarter, 1993:14)

Within the constraints of the management task concerned and the principal's leadership style, teacher participation may range from very little participation to final decision making power (Conway, 1984:20). While some management actions

require time and wide-ranging consultation to arrive at a technically correct decision, e.g. in planning, others are in the nature of a crisis, requiring snap decisions and quick action, e.g. in unrest situations

Additionally, the desire to participate is not evenly distributed among teachers in a school. For example, the inexperienced teacher may desire less participation while the more mature and experienced teacher, his initial enthusiasm in teaching beginning to wane (Smith & Scott, 1990:10), may exhibit a greater desire for participation. Bergman (1992:48) attests to the fact that teachers do not want to be bothered with the intricacies of the many decisions made daily. How, then, can a principal know who to involve?

Drawing from previous research on the concept of zone of acceptance, i.e. that there are decisions which employees simply accept, Hoy and Tarter (1993:4-7) arrived at a model to guide subordinate involvement in decision making, thus

FIGURE 2.4

DECISION ISSUES OF THE ZONE OF ACCEPTANCE (Hoy & Tarter, 1993:6)

| | | Do subordinates have personal relevance? | |
|--|-----|--|---|
| | | Yes | No |
| Can subordinates contribute expertise? | Yes | Outside zone of acceptance (Definitely include) | Marginal with expertise (Occasionally include) |
| | No | Marginal with relevance (Occasionally include) | Inside zone of acceptance (Definitely exclude) |

From the four decision situations presented in the above model, the following guidelines for participation may be postulated:

- **Outside zone of acceptance:** By virtue of having a personal stake in the decision and the necessary skill and knowledge to improve the decision, teachers should fully participate. Decisions which are related to teaching such as instructional policies, planning of subject matter, tests and examinations, and those related to the authority sphere of teachers, such as pastoral care and extracurricular activities, appear to fall outside the teachers' zone of acceptance.
- **Marginal with relevance:** This is called the stakeholder situation where teachers should occasionally be involved because, though having a personal stake in the decision, they have no expertise to contribute to the quality of the decision. Involvement of teachers in this decision may result in frustration, discontent and hostility fostering a perception of tokenism. The principal should only involve teachers here to gain acceptance of the decision but otherwise he has to decide himself.
- **Marginal with expertise:** This situation is also called the expert situation because teachers have no stake in the decision but possess expertise. Involvement should be occasional as teachers have no pay-off, no motivation and no personal stake in the decision. In this case the principal will consult only those teachers with expertise in order to arrive at a technically correct decision.
- **Inside zone of acceptance:** Since teachers have neither the expertise nor a personal stake in the decision, the principal should not involve them at all. He should take a unilateral decision. After all, teachers expect him to do so.

The extent of participation of individual teachers in cases where decisions fall outside their zone of acceptance, varies according to manner and impact (Parker, 1991:36-37). Manner of participation refers to verbal involvement (e.g. the number of times a person speaks), nonverbal involvement (e.g. nodding, leaning forward, taking notes) and involvement in arrangements (e.g. preparing reports, handouts and presentations, setting up the meeting room and getting the necessary equipment). This implies that all members must be encouraged and, more importantly, be given an opportunity to participate.

Impact refers to what Parker (1991:36) calls weighted participation, i.e. contribution towards attainment of goals. In action it means efficiency, i.e., attaining the goal in the most cost-effective manner. In verbal terms it means providing useful information, for instance summarising key points, conclusions, tentative decisions or urging members to talk relevantly. Impact, therefore, refers to quality of participation. Often people are "so busy" that the task is not accomplished or they talk endlessly without reaching decisions under the wrong impression that everyone must have his say.

The decision making process is often conceived as consisting of several steps, viz., define the problem; develop alternatives, weigh each alternative, select strategy for action, implement plan and monitor and evaluate plan (Daft, 1991:189; Donnelly et al., 1992:114; Hoy & Miskel, 1991:300; Boone & Kurtz, 1992:185). Extensive participation occurs when the principal involves teachers in all the steps of the decision making process. However, when teachers are involved in the later stages of the process, then limited participation is used (Hoy & Tarter, 1993:7).

2.3.5 Level of participation

Level of participation refers to the amount of decision making which participants are empowered to undertake. The issue of decentralisation discussed earlier (cf. par. 2.1.3) involves the question of establishing parameters of school decision making (Doyle & Tetzloff, 1992:10). This means drawing a line between decisions accorded to the school and those reserved for the central Education Department and expressing without ambiguity their respective competencies and functions (Prinsloo, n.d.:67). This action becomes more significant in the light of the commitment of the Ministry of Education to limit State involvement to the minimum required for legal accountability (DE, 1995:70).

Drawing this line, however, is a difficult and sensitive issue (Torres, 1992:14) because, inter alia, of the fear of losing authority on the part of officials of the central Education Department and the reluctance of the school to take up more responsibilities. Hence the new educational policy supports an evolutionary model of decentralisation whereby each school is given a basic set of responsibilities and can then negotiate for additional powers as it gains in experience and capacity (DE, 1996:17).

Lebowitz (1992:12) rightly points out that the line between district level decision making and school level decision making is often "wiggly and gray". While such delineation of powers and functions requires thorough scientific investigation, the bottom line is that imposing it in a top-down direction without the participation of those whose interests are at stake will prove disastrous.

Commentators (McWalters, 1992:9; Short, 1994a:490-491; Lifton, 1992:18; Pashiardis, 1994:16) suggest that matters such as scheduling, curriculum, textbook selection, staffing, teacher evaluation and budgeting may be accorded to school personnel. However, since the school is part of a larger organisation, each school should undertake its own needs assessment, develop its mission and set its goals within the parameters set by the central Education Department (Robinson & Barkeley, 1992:13).

Decentralisation within the school is equally problematic. Quite often teachers assume that they are competent to deal with all aspects of school management and when excluded from certain functions resort to pressure tactics such as mass protest or passive resistance. Some principals are also comfortable with the directive authoritarian style and cannot entrust some management functions to teachers. Both principals and teachers need to reconcile the disparity of their perceptions with regard to areas in which teachers should have final decision making powers (Schneider, 1984:31), especially in view of the new dispensation which upholds the right of teachers to participate in school governance (DE, 1995:70). Pashiardis (1994:14) asserts that both administrators and teachers should understand the present level of teacher participation and what it ought to be. A wise principal, as Bolin (1989:94) contends, should insist on teacher participation before teachers demand it. At the same time, he should clarify the boundaries of the teachers' authority and area of jurisdiction (Hoy & Tarter, 1993; Wood, 1984:63).

2.3.6 Format of participation

The notion of format is closely related to extent of participation as it refers to the types of processes underlying the various forms of participation (see Chapter 3). Specifically, format refers to the form in which participation is initiated in an organisation, viz., mandated or voluntary, formal or informal and direct or indirect (Conway, 1984:19).

2.3.6.1 Mandated and voluntary participation

Participation may occur in a school as a result of directives from the Education Department, for instance, grievance procedures, formation of advisory councils and subject committees. It is mandated because it originates from outside the school. Voluntary participation, on the other hand, arises from the principal's leadership style whereby he requests and solicits the participation of teachers and school citizenry, for instance, fund-raising projects and specialised groups for dealing with school unrest.

2.3.6.2 Formal and informal participation

Formal participation consists of structures incorporated in the hierarchical school organisation in the form of teams, committees and union representatives. Informal structures depend more on the preferences of the principal and teachers to enter into casual or planned interaction.

2.3.6.3 Direct and indirect participation

Direct participation concerns the process whereby the total group is involved with the view of expressing views and exerting influence on a particular issue, for instance, staff meeting (cf. par. 2.2.7.1). It is more concerned with work and work-related matters. Indirect participation refers to representatives who act for a larger constituency, for instance in collective bargaining or joint consultation. The issues involved here concern general policy (cf. par. 2.1.7).

2.3.7 Summary of viewpoint

Participation is subject to a number of misconceptions because of the "understandings" attached to it by both principals and teachers and perhaps also because it represents a departure from traditional management. Wood (1984:58) alludes to these misconceptions with regard to the level of participation only, but it may be assumed that all characteristics of participation are often viewed differently by different people. This is probably why Smith and Scott (1990:4) open their discussion by explaining what participation is **not** instead of explaining what participation **is**.

In view of the above argument, it appears necessary to summarise the major characteristics of participation in order to achieve unity of thought concerning the view of participation expressed in this research.

Firstly it must be understood that participation in the school context occurs within a hierarchical authority structure at the head of which is a principal as the ultimate authority (cf. par. 2.3.1). While he empowers the teachers, he remains finally accountable and responsible for the effective management of the school. This is a necessary condition because teachers as professionals act within a hierarchical authority structure of an educational system. The principal should, however, exercise his authority in a way that allows more teachers to act in leadership roles to attain more effectiveness in the school. This implies that teachers who act in leadership positions must be given formal authority which empowers them to participate effectively (cf. par. 2.3.2).

Secondly, participation grows out of the community, out of the values, beliefs and norms of the community (cf. par. 2.3.3). This also means that the teachers in the school are bound together by the prevailing values and norms which determine their commitment to one another and to the goals of the school. By and large, to share authority implies sharing of common values and norms. Thus, the principal must be particularly sensitive to a disparity in values and norms in the school and attempt to eliminate such disparities through careful and gradual involvement of teachers. Participative management, like educational management of which it is part, is normative and value determined.

Thirdly, the model of differential participation advocated in this research (cf. par. 2.3.5) entertains inclusiveness in that everyone has the right to participate in educational decision making, but rejects such inclusiveness if grounded in the political arena. The right of the individual is respected only if it passes the test of effectiveness in contributing to school goals. This model, therefore, derives its principles from the arena of effectiveness instead of the arena of politics. The idea of devolution of authority and decision making to teachers must be balanced with the teachers' expertise and interest.

Finally, effectiveness may be greatly enhanced if participation occurs through formal representative structures which are mandated by the state in accordance with the prevailing norms and values of the community, instead of informal, voluntary structures including every member of the school's interest groups (cf. par. 2.3.6).

2.4 FACTORS INFLUENCING PARTICIPATION

Although teachers may possess the interest and expertise to participate in school management, some are willing but others are unwilling. Sometimes, the initial wave of willingness to participate, fades with time and participation is finally withdrawn. Factors which influence the willingness of teachers to participate if opportunities are provided and which will secure their continued future involvement have been investigated by, inter alia, Young (1989), Chapman (1988), Riley (1984), Wood (1984) and Imber et al. (1990).

From the above studies, it is possible to identify the following six major factors which influence participation: influence of the principal, characteristics of teachers (gender, academic qualifications and teaching experience), demands of teaching, pragmatism, cultural factors (community expectations, interpersonal relationships) and affiliation to teacher unions.

2.4.1 Influence of the principal

The principal occupies the most influential and powerful position of leadership in the school and thus plays a crucial role in eliciting participation from teachers (cf. par. 2.3.2). His enthusiasm, his readiness to share power, to provide information and resources, his ability to bring in introverted teachers and acknowledgement of teachers' contributions, has much to do with the willingness of teachers to participate (Chapman, 1988:55; Hudiburg & Klingstedt, 1986:90). For participation to succeed, the principal must convince teachers that his commitment is sincere. He must be willing to discuss school matters openly, to share information voluntarily, to trust and treat his teachers as colleagues (Dawson, 1984:18; Fuhr, 1989:53-54).

Yet the principal can surreptitiously undermine participation especially if he feels uncomfortable with and is inexperienced in participation (Kirby et al., 1992:90). Wood (1984:57-58) posits that some superordinates (i.e. principals) may embrace and wholeheartedly endorse the idea of participation while behaving in ways which discourage subordinate (i.e. teachers) participation. Barth (1988:640) maintains that relinquishing power is against human nature especially where the one who relinquishes is held accountable for what these others do with power. The principal should, therefore, put trust in the teachers and display a collegial attitude rather than regarding teachers as his subordinates.

The principal may discourage teacher participation by failing to convene meetings, manipulating teachers to endorse what he has already decided, bringing forth only unimportant matters and capitalising on the teachers' limited information. Mangieri and Kemper (1983:27) argue that involvement of teachers must be a truly collaborative effort, not just a token gesture to placate potentially vocal teachers.

Unconsciously, the principal may discourage participation by failing to follow-up on decisions reached jointly with the teachers. This appears to teachers as insincerity and lack of direction and commitment in participatory efforts. Mertens and Yarger (1988:15) correctly point out that teachers cannot involve themselves unless they have been explicitly invited to join because unequal power exists by mandate between the principal and the teachers. There is also a tendency among teachers to give serious consideration to an idea if it is originated or at least supported by higher status participants (i.e. principals) (Wood, 1984:57). Imber et al. (1990:217), however, are of the opinion that participation is doomed to failure without the enthusiastic support of teachers, regardless of the degree of administrative support.

2.4.2 Personal factors related to teachers

As pointed above the type of teacher found in the school is an important factor in the success or failure of participation. The personal factors of teachers which appear to relate to willingness to participate are discussed below.

2.4.2.1 Gender

Females are less likely to participate and less likely to continue participating than their male counterparts (Chapman, 1988:45). Several factors account for this. Societal expectation cause women to be passive, be more committed to the family and have limited career aspirations (Chapman, 1988:45; Riley, 1984:41). It appears also that females are more willing to participate at classroom level while men are more willing to engage in collective bargaining because males are more militant than females (Riley, 1984:41-42). It appears, however, that the drive for a non-sexist society and the changing role of women in organizations encourage women towards participation. In fact, women, inclined to emphasize cooperative strategies, collaboration and consultation (De Witt, 1995:570), may yet play an important role in efforts to enhance participation.

2.4.2.2 Academic qualifications

Riley's (1984:40) research proves that highly educated employees show a greater desire and propensity for participation than less educated teachers, i.e. those holding a masters degree, show a greater willingness to participate because they have more time, energy and money at their disposal. Due to their higher qualifications, these teachers may feel that they can make useful contributions. Knowledge of the issue, however, does not lead to teacher satisfaction but may be related to the effectiveness of decision making (Imber et al., 1990:224).

2.4.2.3 Teaching experience

During the first few years in the field, teachers tend to be preoccupied with classroom and teaching practice and show little interest for managerial duties (Chapman, 1988:53). At a later stage, however, with increasing confidence, self assurance, professionalism and satisfaction with their progress in teaching, teachers tend to look beyond the classroom for new challenges (Young, 1989:366-368). In his research Riley (1984:40) found that teachers with 21 years plus experience were the most active in utilizing three of the seven avenues of participation. Bolin (1989:90) laments the fact that some teachers are incapable of fulfilling their classroom responsibilities, let alone sharing in school governance.

2.4.3 Demands of teaching

Most of the teacher's time is occupied by his operational work leaving him with very little time and energy to do managing work while the principal and departmental Heads do not experience this type of pressure of time. While the teacher is teaching, the principal manages. Van der Westhuizen (1995a:51) posits that teachers proportionally perform more teaching work than managing work though carefully pointing out that this is not the true relation of the two types of work. Conley (1991:237) also, maintains that the precise line delineating the separate work of management and workers tends to soften, blur and disappear in educational institutions.

The concept of time is important in educational management and cognisance must be taken of time-related matters, such as, inter alia, school day, school year and signs of the times (Van der Westhuizen, 1995a:22). In the face of limited time most teachers opt either to invest their time and energy on managing at the expense of teaching or vice versa (Chapman, 1988:63). If participation occurs after school hours, e.g. a staff meeting, it conflicts with other interests, e.g., family matters and community involvement (Young, 1989:369-370). In view of the above, it may be said that demands of teaching and the accompanying lack of time impacts negatively on participation.

McCarthy (1985:325) recommends that teachers be freed from the tyranny of time. This suggests that if teachers were to spend only a fixed amount of time on teaching, then they would choose to spend some time on participation (Duke et al., 1980:95).

2.4.4 Pragmatism

Allied to demands of teaching is the factor of pragmatism. Teachers are more likely to participate if the potential for improvement of classroom life and student outcomes is great (Duke et al., 1980:96). Young (1989:391) notes that teachers were more willing to participate if they perceived the work of committees to be applicable to their own classroom. However, these views appear to restrict participation to the narrow range of classroom activities rather than school-wide decision making. On a broader basis, it appears teachers are more willing to

participate once they perceive the implementation of some, if not all, of their contributions. Lortie (1986:571) points out that agreements must be made through formal participation otherwise teachers cannot be certain that their decisions will survive review by higher authorities. Benson and Malone (1987:250) argue that participation which is merely ratification of decisions already made is likely to discourage further participation especially among those whose teaching duties traditionally leave little time for group decision making

2.4.5 Traditional factors

As in the case of gender (cf par. 2.4.2.1) societal expectations impact on participation. McCarthy (1985:330) is convinced that the traditional machosistic expectations for school principals impact negatively on participation. Open disapproval is exhibited by the community towards a principal who seems to allow teachers to express their views. Teachers, also, tend to be suspicious of those who identify too closely with the school's authorities (Duke et al., 1980:97). Cooptation by management is often equated with "selling out"

There is also a tendency of regarding teachers who disagree with the principal's views as being insubordinate. Thus, teachers tend to please principals by avoiding participation, lest they spoil their chances for promotion (Duke et al., 1980:98). Experience also shows that in most black societies seniority based on age forms a barrier to participation by younger teachers in a school. Contradicting an elderly person is often interpreted as a sign of disrespect and lack of manners. However, a social atmosphere in a school which is characterized by the existence of friendship groups and cordial relationships with the principal may help to overcome the above barriers to participation (Chapman, 1988:56).

2.4.6 Affiliation to the teachers' association

Teachers who are affiliated to a teachers' association, specifically a militant one, take keen interest in educational matters especially the management of the school. It would seem reasonable to suppose then that such teachers would be willing to participate in school management when the opportunity arises. Chapman (1988:54), however, found that affiliation to teachers' union does not predispose teachers to participation. Instead, those affiliates seeking participation do so

because it affords them an opportunity to criticise the principal and generally to oppose the old order education system in the RSA

Union affiliation reflects more a general involvement in the school, an interest in educational issues and a commitment to make participation effective.

2.4.7 Local concerns and priorities

Local concerns and priorities constitute an important set of factors which provide either negative or positive incentive for teachers to participate. Dawson (1984:9) points out that teachers are more likely to participate in matters which are important to them or in matters which they are concerned about. In her research (1984:10), she found that teachers were highly motivated to participate in improving the school climate because their schools experienced severe climate problems, such as, low teacher morale, student apathy, disorderliness and misbehaviour, and strained relationships between teachers and administrators. Russell (1982:355) argues that principals usually do not inform teachers about matters relating to a teacher strike for fear that this might create more problems than it would solve. However, it appears fruitless to withhold such information because teachers will eventually hear it from the grapevine, and in such cases, teachers will lose trust in the principal (cf. Herrick, 1991:133)

A crisis situation appears to have a negative impact on participation. Van der Westhuizen et al. (1991a:33) assert that unrest situations require quick but calculated decision making and action due to time constraints and inherent threat factors. A crisis situation generates a crisis mentality in which action to avert disaster takes precedence over all other matters (Tewel, 1988:37). In such cases, then, the principal is more likely to adopt an authoritarian rather than a participative approach (cf. par. 2.3.2).

2.4.8 Size of team

The utilisation of small semi-autonomous teams mentioned earlier (cf. par. 2.2.5.2) points to the idea of smallness as a contributing factor to success of participation in the Japanese management approach. According to Daft (1991:464) the ideal size of a group is often thought to be seven but may vary between five and twelve

persons. Small groups are generally more effective than large groups because in small groups members communicate and interact with each other more frequently and each member is able to participate (cf. par. 2.3.4).

Larger groups tend to have more conflicts, easily break up into cliques and encourage social loafing. Consensus decision making is more difficult and more time consuming in large rather than small groups. This implies that where a staff is too large, it should be organised into smaller interdependent groups to facilitate participation.

2.4.9 Conclusion

Factors influencing participation are many and variegated and thus the factors discussed above may, at best, be viewed as representative of all factors that may possibly impact on participation. Additionally, these factors appear to mutually influence each other so that the impact of one factor may increase or decrease in the presence of another factor. Identification of factors which moderate others is thus of great significance in efforts to achieve and sustain high levels of participation.

With regard to the above argument several factors appear to have a decisive influence on participation. It is conceivable that pragmatism may mediate the impact of other factors (cf. par. 2.4.4). For example, though the principal may show enthusiasm in implementing participation (cf. par. 2.4.1), his impact may be blunted if decisions are not implemented. Moreover, albeit the propensity of a teacher to participate (cf. par. 2.4.2), he may become discouraged if decisions are not implemented and may find participation a useless encroachment on his teaching time (cf. par. 2.4.3).

The above argumentation indicates that the principal, as the highest authority in the school must ensure that decisions taken are actually implemented. Giving cogent reasons for non acceptance of a decision before agreement is reached is important for ensuring future participation of teachers. If the principal feels he cannot live with the results of shared decision making, it is better that he adopts an autocratic style rather than attempt participative management.

2.5 OUTCOMES OF PARTICIPATION

Participation engages the attention of both administrators and subordinates alike though their motivations are based on different value orientations. Both administrators and teachers expect and do derive certain benefits from participation. All is not rosy, however, because participation has some negative effects, mostly as a result of incorrect implementation or because, it is instituted for wrong reasons.

From an examination of literature (for example, Bartunek, 1980:491; Lindelow et al, 1989:155-159; Chapman, 1988:57-66; Van Rooyen, 1984:163-166) the following major outcomes of participation are discernible: quality of decisions, organisational effectiveness, job satisfaction, personal growth and development, loyalty to the principal, improved communication, unrealistic expectations and development of pressure groups. Each of these outcomes will be discussed.

2.5.1 Quality of decisions

Participative management employs consensus decision making in which the principal may act as an "equal" with no final decision making powers or where he retains the final "veto" power for decisions (Lindelow et al, 1989:152). As a result of more information, experience and the generation of more alternatives, groups can be expected to make better decisions than individuals. Through group decision making all members gain a better understanding of what is happening in the organisation (Knoop, 1985:7).

Wood (1984:56) asserts that recent empirical studies have demonstrated that the impact of participation on decision quality is contingent upon how much information sharing takes place within the group. This implies that the greater the information flow, the higher the quality of the decision. Basson (1995:472) emphasises the importance of developing a management information system with the involvement of staff at all levels to enable members to make quality operational decisions.

It must also be said, however, that group decisions, while increasing the probability that decisions are accepted and seen as fair by members, may be less optimal for the organisation (Daft, 1991:201). Thus, consensus decision making is effective when there is necessity that the decision must be acceptable not necessarily that it is the best. Moreover, consensus consumes more time and resources. So, if time is of the essence consensus decision making is not profitable. In spite of the above, group decisions remain the best way of arriving at high quality decisions without alienating the teachers. This is especially true in the school where acceptance of a decision ensures implementation because of lack of standardised operational action. Having compared schools with and those without participation, Weiss (1992:3) concludes that participation does not change the substance of decisions very much but tends to make teachers feel more committed to carry out decisions

2.5.2 School effectiveness

Stein and King (1992:26) rightly maintain that shared decision making as a strategy for school reform should consider the question, "What is good for the education of children and how could this school better deliver that?". Referring to the ineffectiveness of schools in black education, Teleki (1994:136), for example, points out that these schools produce poor academic results in the std 10 examinations and unbalanced human beings. It appears, therefore, that the ultimate outcome of participative management should be academic achievement and the production of a responsible adult. Whether schools adopting participative strategies achieve this goal is a question of intense controversy.

Conway (1984:29) points out that research in participation shows an indirect answer to the question, and concludes that participation is probably desirable for effective teaching and student achievement. This is probably the result of difficulties experienced in operationalising school productivity or effectiveness: hence the inference of productivity from commitment of teachers, their increased sense of responsibility and enthusiasm for their work. Mataboge (1993:106) found that principals who believed that team management contributed to effective management had a higher matric pass rate than those who did not. According to Bergman (1992:51) participation increases the teacher's sense of responsibility. It may be inferred, then, that positive academic results are a product of an effective teacher whose effectiveness results from participation.

Conway (1984:28-29), referring to research by Greenbalt, Cooper and Muth, argues that participation is likely to lead to higher quality teaching and thus higher student outcomes - an equation of A→B→C. However, Weiss (1992:4) maintains that serious curriculum and pedagogy changes must come from principals as these changes are unlikely to bubble up from teachers. In refuting this assertion, it may be argued, of course, that teachers, having been subjected for so long to authoritarian management, will take time to adjust to new approaches which allow changes to emerge from them.

School effectiveness also refers to the degree to which staff members succeed in defining, striving towards and attaining school goals (Moffat, 1991:58). In participative settings, tackling school goals occurs within the relative safety of a group where each member is assured of constructive criticism, testing of ideas without fear of exposure and support and encouragement from colleagues. The openness with which tasks are performed leads to timeous anticipation of problems regarding an envisaged action thereby ensuring its successful execution (Moffat, 1991:57-58). Effectiveness is the function of a diversity of knowledge, skills and abilities which members apply on the task. An added advantage is that the knowledge and skills of individual members are broadened and enriched as one learns from the others. Finally, teachers are better able to cope with stress and enjoy their job (Daft, 1991:481).

According to the Human Resource Management approach, effectiveness of personnel is enhanced where there is harmony between personal and the organisation's goals (Van der Westhuizen & Theron, 1994:71). Through participation a high degree of agreement is obtained to harmonise school goals and personal goals. Members are also predisposed towards working harmoniously with each other. Thus members will exhibit high levels of job satisfaction since the school will be a sort of home-from-home work environment.

Participation may, however, also act negatively on effectiveness. Where teams are overly large, members may not exert equal effort (cf par. 2.4.8). Coordination efforts needed to get the work done may lead to members spending more time on deliberations than on the actual tasks. Unpleasant jobs may also be neglected especially where clear task assignments do not exist (Daft, 1991:482).

2.5.3 Job satisfaction

According to Benson and Malone (1987:247) job satisfaction reflects one's balancing of the job rewards one receives with those offered by similar jobs. Conway (1984:25) holds a different view by defining job satisfaction as "willingness to remain in an organisation despite inducements to leave", for instance, a satisfied teacher would never leave even when offered a job say in industry with better rewards. Thus, as Hoy and Sousa (1984:323) put it, job satisfaction reflects satisfaction with one's career, professional development, authority position, and ability to fulfil professional responsibilities.

According to Conway (1984:24) most research, using a discrepancy measure of placing members into three categories of decision conditions, i.e., deprivation, equilibrium and saturation, proves that an individual's participation is positively related to his job satisfaction. Benson and Malone (1987:250), working on alienation as denoting dissatisfaction, conclude that the "perceived influence in decision making is more closely related to alienation rates than is deprivation". It appears, therefore, that a teacher who participates is more likely to be satisfied with his job than one who does not participate.

Empowerment, which is associated with participation, tends to increase the teachers' feeling of mastery over the destiny of their school and of themselves in that school (Chapman, 1988:58). Through participation teachers gain a new confidence in their collective talents and insight to resolve school problems and create an outstanding school (Starratt, 1996:111). Perceptions of "his" (principal) school are replaced by "our" (teachers and principal) school.

Job satisfaction is greatly enhanced if teachers believe that they have been listened to and that their contributions have been incorporated into the decision or plan (Wood, 1984:56). Otherwise they will not only lack a sense of satisfaction but may even be uncommitted to the decision and be less productive.

2.5.4 Personal growth and development

Participation in school management leads to more awareness of the broader issues associated with the school and education in general (Chapman, 1988:58). In this way, professional development of the teacher is enhanced. Participation assumes that as people grow they learn to judge their own abilities better, discover their interests and develop their basic potential (Short, 1994a:490). As the teacher's areas of responsibility increase, so does his professional moulding (Dreyer, 1989:27). Often a teacher is promoted to principalship solely on the basis of teaching competence and not on his managerial abilities (Van der Westhuizen, 1995a:1). Through participation the teacher gains valuable experience in management and this in turn, increases the teacher's ambition for promotion thereby leading to self-development.

Personality traits of teachers are also enriched by participation and increasingly teachers will exhibit the following behaviours (Herrick, 1991:50-54):

- **Honesty:** Members become more open about their thoughts and feelings.
- **Respect:** Every member, regardless of his formal position is listened to with respect and all contributions are subjected to equal consideration. Members pledge respect to each other and no one is ridiculed.
- **Trust:** Participating members express good faith in the abilities of others.

With success achieved through participation, the teacher increasingly feels that his opinions are respected and that encourages him to contribute his best thinking in respect of school improvement (Dunne & Maurer, 1982:85). It also increases the teacher's self-esteem, confidence and feelings of efficacy (Chapman, 1988:60) in that he/she will feel that others respect his/her knowledge and expertise (Short, 1994a:490).

2.5.5 Loyalty to the principal

Loyalty is related more to the principal's personal attributes than to his positional power. It is defined by Hoy and Sousa (1984:322) as the extent to which a principal is liked, respected, accepted, trusted and followed by teachers. Loyal teachers are

committed to the principal, show unquestioning faith and trust in him, and are willing to remain with or follow him (Johnston & Germinario, 1985:92). Thus, a principal who commands the loyalty of his teachers is obeyed and held in high esteem by his teachers. In this way, such a principal is more likely to be effective by establishing both informal and formal authority over his teachers.

There is persuasive evidence, such as the rise of militant teacher organisations, which indicates changing perceptions about the exercise of authority in schools (par. 2.3.1). The contemporary worker, as does the teacher, does not automatically assign power to a bureaucratic manager; the manager must be someone worth working for (Duttweiler, 1989:9). This makes loyalty the most valued characteristic in school settings, especially because a school is characterized by loosely-coupled activities (Conley, 1988:396). According to Duttweiler (1989:8) a loosely-coupled system is more elusive, less tangible, harder to grasp and harder to administer than a tightly coupled system.

In the setting described above it seems a principal gains loyalty not only through his positional authority but also because of his personal power i.e. his superior expertise, charisma, patience and persuasion (cf. par. 2.3.2). To be effective as a principal in view of the changing school environment, a principal must show the following characteristics (Duttweiler, 1989:9):

- * get things done but does not attempt to do everything alone;
- * listen actively to staff and create opportunities for staff to express their ideas;
- * provide resources and supportive environment for collaborative planning;
- * establish school wide goals and programs with in-puts from staff;
- * avoid forming a "principal's clique";
- * sensitive to staff concerns on a given issue;
- * take a position which is the most beneficial to the school;
- * accept risks involved in participation and take responsibility for participation outcomes, both positive and negative.

Although some teachers show loyalty to an authoritarian principal, it seems they do so mostly because the principal involves them, is decisive, principled and task-orientated. Chapman (1988:68) found that high participating teachers had significantly more positive feelings towards their leaders. The degree of loyalty also differs according to the type of school. Secondary school teachers appear to show less loyalty to the principal than the elementary school teachers (Johnston & Germinario, 1985:103). This may possibly be ascribed to the fact that more male teachers, who are more assertive than women, are found in secondary than in elementary schools.

2.5.6 Improved communication

As mentioned earlier (cf. par. 2.2.2) bureaucratic structures are notorious for poor communication which is typically top-down. Russell (1982:354-358) argues that a bureaucratic system widens the disparity of information between administrators and teachers. Often school principals provide parents and teachers with information which is important to them but which does not necessarily interest the recipients (Barnard, 1995:440-441). Participation seems, in many ways, to be the antidote for poor communication because it establishes good communication channels where information moves up, down and laterally within the school. What is more important is that participation ensures that these communication channels remain open in normal circumstances and in times of crisis. Van Rooyen (1984:100) is of the opinion that most organizations experience problems of communication mainly due to the absence of formal upward and lateral communication.

Of the ten suggestions proffered by Russell (1982:358) for improving communication, three refer to participation, viz.:

- * more consultations with employees before decisions which affect their working lives are made;
- * superintendents and board members (i.e. principal) must keep in touch with their staff;
- * employee councils (i.e. teacher council) must be established for better upward communication.

The choice of information which must be communicated affects both the principal and teachers equally. Each withholds information for fear that the other party may use the information to gain advantage. In a participative set-up, the flow of information ceases to depend on the idiosyncrasies and fears of the major players. Upward communication improves and this enables the teachers to say what they feel about the school and contribute ideas and opinions about their work. In this way, the principal gains the teacher's understanding and acceptance of plans and policies. The atmosphere of trust and honesty which prevail under participation dispels the uncertainties of the usual grapevine found in organisations.

2.5.7 Unrealistic expectations

It is apparent from the discourse on characteristics of participation (cf. par. 2.3) that the participation action is subject to numerous misconceptions and may, therefore become dysfunctional in a school. These misconceptions centre around the final decision making power of the principal, extent and scope of participation (Wood, 1984:58-60). Teachers may unrealistically expect to have final decision making powers, participate in all issues of school management and that all teachers will be equally involved in all issues. It is imperative, therefore, that participants must understand the dynamics of participation otherwise teachers will not be sure when to participate or what role they are expected to play.

2.5.8 Development of pressure groups

The group situation in which participation often occurs is another source of the dysfunction of participation (Wood, 1984:56). As mentioned earlier (cf. par. 2.5.1), the group may lower the quality of decisions because of compromising. In subtle and overt ways, group members are coerced to modify and align their behaviour with group norms. The most vocal members tend to dominate discussions forcing the introverted, yet gifted members into withholding opinions (Wood, 1984:57). Staff members may also act politically to advance their own interests at the expense of school goals (Van der Westhuizen, 1995c:156).

Principals utilising participative strategies must, therefore, understand leadership and decision theory in order to involve teachers fruitfully, and also understand group dynamics to train staff in functioning as a group (cf. par. 2.3.4). Techniques

to stimulate creativity, such as the nominal group technique, the Delphi technique, brainstorming and synectics (Crous, 1990:204-206; Bartol & Martin, 1991:287-288), may also be used to off-set the dysfunctional effects of "groupthink".

2.5.9 Problems of accountability

Participative management often results in the blurring of distinctions between departments, between line and staff managers, and between management and workers (Clegg, 1990:193). Detractors of participative management often express fear that decisions reached by consensus are nobody's decisions. Should some decision be wrong, then it will be difficult to hold anybody accountable. Moreover, individuals, and not groups, can be fired (Jaques, 1991:59). It may also occur that teachers would use their participation to avoid what school administrators or the public want them to do (Smith & Scott, 1990:5).

Participation, however, obviates problems of accountability. Individuals who have helped to make a decision are more likely to have a greater sense of ownership in the decision and will, therefore, be more committed to its implementation and are less likely to fight or undermine such a decision (Lindelow et al., (1989:56). Although decisions are taken by a group, it remains the duty of the principal to give adequate direction and hold individuals accountable for duties delegated to them (cf. par. 2.3.2).

2.5.10 Closing remarks

Participation is often referred to as a "high risk" undertaking for the administrator involved (Lindelow et al., 1989:153) probably because of the misconceptions associated with it. There is, however, reason to believe that the participation "risk" is worth taking. Conley (1991:282) maintains that when teachers do not participate, they tend to report more dissatisfaction, more stress and less loyalty to principals. Harber (1993:299) contends that the benefits of participation clearly outweigh any disadvantages.

On its own participation appears to be a worthy goal whereby teachers are managed as adults in the first place and as professionals in the second place. The objective of attaining a satisfied staff which enjoys its work environment - a sort of

home from home environment, is a noble one by any definition. However, this is a subsidiary objective of teacher participation. There is a greater one, viz., school effectiveness.

School effectiveness is the ultimate aim of educational research, though in this research it can only be inferred. It may, however, be interesting to compare schools with participation and those without, in terms of school effectiveness. If, as Harber (1993) found in Tanzania, participation reduces school violence, it would be interesting to find support to this research result in the RSA where presently most schools are reeling from disruption. The view is taken in the present research that increased participation, especially by teachers, may well be the answer to the rehabilitation of education in the RSA.

2.6 SUMMARY

This chapter dealt with participative management as the overarching construct of teacher participation. Various concepts relating to participation were explained and a definition of participative management was given. Attention was then focused on those theories which were deemed to have had an influence on the formulation of a participative management theory. Participative management was further explained by identifying and discussing its major characteristics. Factors influencing participation were also discussed as a way of identifying those factors which could aid in attempts to achieve effective participation. Lastly, the outcomes of participation were highlighted thereby giving a rationale for a research on teacher participation in school management. The chapter finally ended with a summary.

The ensuing chapter will examine teacher participation in action by way of discussing forms of participation in school management.