THE INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

CLEMENT MOREKU

Submitted in accordance with the requirements for the degree

PHILOSOPHIAE DOCTOR

in

Education Management
Faculty of Humanities

at the

**CENTRAL UNIVERSITY OF TECHNOLOGY,
FREE STATE**

Promoter: Dr D.K. Selaledi
Co-promoter: Dr A.M. Rambuda

2014

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to my mother Dumisho Margaret Glory Moreku. I also dedicate this study to my father Richard Moreku and brother Jabulani Thomas Moreku, who are both deceased. May their souls rest in peace?

DECLARATION

I declare that **THE INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references and that this work has not been submitted before for any other degree at any other institution.

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Signature: C. Moreku   Date

ABSTRACT

THE INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

Clement Moreku

The dawn of democracy in South Africa resulted in an emphasis on the involvement and participation of stakeholders in decision-making processes. At public higher education institutions, involvement and participation were guaranteed by the enactment of the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997. This Act provides that co-operative governance should be practiced in the governance of public higher education institutions. Students are stakeholders in higher education institutions. This means that according to the Act, students ought to be represented in the governance of public higher education institutions. The representation of students in university governance became a new phenomenon in the democratic South Africa.

This thesis explored the involvement and participation of student representative councils in the co-operative governance of South African higher education institutions. It evaluated the role and effect of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa. Following the merging of these institutions, universities have multi campuses, all of which need to be represented in the universities Managements through SRCs.

This study employed the QUAN-Qual (explanatory) mixed methods design which included the use of a questionnaire and in-depth, open-ended, semi-structured interviews. The sample for the study was made up of hundred and fifty-three respondents and nine interviewees from three types of South African higher education institutions.

The quantitative part of this study investigated the nexus between the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance at public higher education institutions. The correlation between SRCs' perception of participation and co-operative governance was also examined. The study also explored the SRCs' perception of the implementation of co-operative governance at different universities types. The qualitative part of the study investigated perception of the nature of co-operative governance the SRCs at different universities. It also examined perceptions regarding whether participatory democracy was practiced at universities,

challenges experienced in the governance of universities and what the SRCs thought should be done to address those challenges.

The study found that SRC members feel that they are both involved and also participate in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa. This was further enhanced by research hypotheses that revealed that there is a statistically significant relationship between the SRCs' perception of their involvement and participation in university governance and their perception of the implementation of co-operative governance in the South African higher education institutions.

Although SRC members feel that they are involved and that they participate in co-operative governance, interviews have revealed that they experience the following problems:

- SRC members have annual budget deficits at their universities and as a result, they fail to fulfill their mandates by the student body.
- SRCs find it difficult to deal with the challenges pertaining to multi-campus set-ups in their institutions.
- The existence of student political structures contributes to ideological differences amongst SRC members. This affects effective student governance at universities.
- The capacity building of SRC members at higher education institutions is not adequately addressed by managements of these institutions.

The researcher recommends that it is important that HEIs adhere to the HE Act 101 of 1997, as amended. Adherence to the Act will ensure that there is compliance with the law and will minimise the chances for HEIs to be placed under administration. The managements of universities and SRCs need to co-operate in order to ensure that co-operative governance in HEIs is effectively implemented. Workshops and meetings are held at universities between SRCs and managements regarding issues of co-operative governance. SRCs need to involve themselves in national and international student activities in order for them to gain knowledge and skills about student governance. The researcher designed a multi-campus student governance model that will effectively deal with the challenges mentioned above.

KEYWORDS

Co-operative governance, Higher Education Act 101 of 1997, Higher Education Institutions Student Involvement, Student Participation, Student Representative Council, multi-campus student governance model, Comprehensive Universities, Universities of Technology, Traditional Universities

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS AND ACRONYMS

ANC	African National Congress
ANOVA	Analysis of Variance
ASB	Afrikaanse Studentebonde
AZAPO	Azanian People's Organisation
AZASCO	Azanian Student Congress
AZASM	Azanian Student Movement
BC	Black Consciousness
CEI	Confederation International des Students
CEO	Chief Executive Officer
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CPUT	Cape Peninsula University of Technology
CSRC	Central Student Representative Council
CUP	Council of University Principals
CUs	Comprehensive Universities
CUT	Central University of Technology, Free State
DASO	Democratic Alliance Student Organisation
DHET	Department of Higher Education and Training
DOE	Department of Education
ESU	European Student Union
FET	Further Education and Training
HAUs	Historically Advantaged Universities
HBIs	Historically Black Institutions
HBUs	Historically Black Universities
HDUs	Historically Disadvantaged Universities
HE	Higher Education
HEA	Higher Education Act

HEC	Higher Education Council
HEF	Higher Education Forum
HEIAAF	Higher Education Institutional Autonomy and Academic Freedom
HEIs	Higher Education Institutions
HELM	Higher Education Leadership and Management
HESA	Higher Education South Africa
HWIs	Historically White Institutions
HWUs	Historically White Universities
IF	Institutional Forum
ISRC	Institutional Student Representative Council
MDM	Mass Democratic Movement
NCHE	National Council on Higher Education
NHEP	National Higher Education Plan
NMMU	Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University
NP	National Party
NPHE	National Plan for Higher Education
NSFAS	National Student Financial Aid Scheme
NUSAS	National Union of South African Student
NWU	North West University
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PASMA	Pan Africanist Movement of Azania
PASO	Pan Africanist Student Organisation
PQM	Programme Qualification Mix
RSA	Republic Of South Africa
SA	South Africa
SANSCO	South African National Student Congress
SAPs	Student Affairs Practitioners
SASCO	South African Student Congress

SASO	South African Student Organisation
SAUS SRC	South African Union of Student Representative Council
SDPs	Student Development Practitioners
SRCs	Student Representative Councils
SSC	Student Services Council
TELP	Tertiary Education Linkages Project
TUs	Traditional Universities
TUT	Tshwane University of Technology
TYRPS	Three Year Rolling Plans
UCM	University Christian Movement
UCT	University of Cape Town
UFH	University of Fort Hare
UJ	University of Johannesburg
UK	United Kingdom
UKZN	University of Kwazulu Natal
UL	University of Limpopo
UNISA	University of South Africa
UNITRA	University of the Transkei
UOTs	Universities of Technology
UP	University of Pretoria
US	University of Stellenbosch
UWC	University of the Western Cape
UZ	University of Zululand
VCs	Vice Chancellors
VUNSRC	Vista University National Student Representative Council
VUT	Vaal University of Technology
WITS	University of the Witwatersrand
WSU	Walter Sisulu University

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION AND OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

1.1 INTRODUCTION

The advent of democracy in 1994 was a defining moment in the history of higher education in South Africa. Bunting and Cloete (2004:1) assert that after 1994, policy issues with regard to the higher education system in South Africa were centrally concerned with the need to create greater equity and deepen democracy in the sector. They argue that the key objective was "to declare a break with the past and to signal a new direction". This heralded a trajectory in the process of transformation which instilled democratic values in the governance of public Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in the country. It created an enabling environment for 'representative and participatory democracy' to be practiced by statutory structures and stakeholders at all public HEIs. In this study, this meant active involvement and participation by Student Representative Councils (SRCs), in the governance of public HEIs in South Africa.

Luescher (2008:3) concurs with Bunting and Cloete (2004:1) and writes that "the post-apartheid transformation and restructuring of public higher education in the 1990s sought to democratise university governance along with introducing more modern forms of university management". The aim was to eradicate the edifices of the past and a divided public higher education into a single and unified sector. The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE), tasked by the democratic government to make proposals on a transformation of higher education, proposed a model of co-operative governance that was crafted in a South African way, to ensure democratisation of public HEIs.

This chapter outlines what has been discussed in the different chapters of the study. It introduces the study, which is about the involvement and participation of student representative councils in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. In this chapter the following are discussed: the necessity and the purpose of

the research; a statement of the research problem which encompasses research questions and hypotheses; aim and objectives; conceptualisation of student involvement and participation; preliminary literature review the research methodology and design (with the research approach and design and research methods and procedures); ethical consideration; limitations of the study; significance of the study; definition of terms. The chapter ended by explaining the value of the research and outlined subsequent chapters.

1.2   NECESSITY OF THE STUDY

Following the Education White Paper 3, *A Paper for Higher Education Transformation* (henceforth referred to as the White Paper 3), the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 (henceforth referred to as the HE Act 1997) was promulgated. The White Paper addressed key challenges facing the South African higher education sector. It tabled ideas on how to transform the higher education landscape from its apartheid legacy to an effective and efficient single coordinated higher education system in South Africa. The essence of the White Paper was to "redress past inequalities and to transform the higher education system to serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs and to respond to new realities and opportunities" (White Paper 3:1.1). The importance of the above was observed by Kulati (2000: 178) when he declared that both the White Paper and the HE Act 1997 are the most important pieces of legislation that form the pillars of the transformation agenda for public higher education institutions in the democratic South Africa.

The purpose of the HE Act 1997, as amended, is to regulate higher education, but in doing so, it is recognised by the legislature as set out in the preamble of the Act that "it is desirable for higher education institutions to enjoy freedom and autonomy in their relationship with the state within the context of public accountability and the national need for advanced skills and scientific knowledge" (HE Act 101 of 1997). It is therefore imperative for the public HEIs stakeholders to interpret the HE Act 1997 accurately and engage in healthy debates in order to alleviate unnecessary misunderstanding and ensure cooperation and harmony in executing the mission and vision of the institutions they govern.

One of the fundamental tenets of the HE Act 1997 was the espousal of a new model of governance in higher education institutions, namely, co-operative governance. According to the White Paper 3, the key elements of co-operative governance are "partnership, co-operation and effective articulation of interests" amongst different stakeholders. This ought to be done in the spirit of advancing the imperatives of the HE Act 1997 in the best interests of South Africa. Tabane et al, et al (2003:4) proclaims that this means "balancing participation with effectiveness and accountability". Co-operative governance encourages partnership and co-operation within and amongst public HEIs in South Africa in cognisant of their differentiation.

The HE Act 1997 is an important piece of legislation which outlines the imperatives in terms of how public HEIs in South Africa ought to be governed. Therefore, in this study, it means that any public higher education institution which does not comply with the legislative imperatives of the HE Act 1997 as amended contravenes it. Sec 41A (1) of the HE Act 101 of 1997, as amended affords the Minister of the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET) powers to intervene in case there is transgression of any sections of the HE Act 1997. The Minister of Higher Education and Training has the prerogative, according to this Act, to intervene and put an institution under administration where compliance was not met. Four public HEIs in South Africa were placed under administration on allegations of non-compliance with some of the sections of the HE Act 1997. These institutions include the Vaal University of Technology (VUT), Walter Sisulu University (WSU), Tshwane University of Technology (TUT) and the University of Zululand (UZ). The minister's attempt to do the same to the Central University of Technology, Free State (CUT) was unsuccessful. The CUT situation had to be resolved in a court of law. The High Court of Bloemfontein ruled in favour of CUT in the Minister of Higher Education and Training vs. Central University of Technology, Free State case. The Minister was found to have erred in his interpretation of some of the sections of the HE Act 1997 especially on the extent to which the government could intervene in the governance of public HEIs. At the time this thesis was written, the HE Act 1997 was undergoing some amendments to give the Minister more power in dealing with public HEIs. The present study will explore the principles of co-operative governance in the context of student governance in public higher education institutions of South Africa.

Section 35 of the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 provides for the establishment of SRCs at the public higher education institutions of South Africa. The section further provides that "the establishment and composition, manner of election, term of office, functions and privileges of the students' representative council of a public higher education institution must be determined by the Institutional statute" (HE Act 101 of 1997).

SRCs are regarded as one of the integral stakeholders in the governance of public higher education institutions. The HE Act 1997 provides that students ought to be represented in the key governance structures of public higher education institutions such as Council, Senate and Institutional Forum. The higher education institutions are empowered by the Act to create structures and to facilitate processes that will enable differences to be negotiated in participative and transparent ways. The statutes of the individual public HEI signed by the Minister of the DHET are imperative in the governance of public HEIs. They outline the roles of the various governance structures in the institutions and how differences ought to be dealt with. Higher education is a contested terrain that is characterised by divergent interests. While the statutes are necessary tools of governance, they are not always enough to deal with contestations amongst the different governance structures at public HEIs.

In the gesticulation of the democratisation of universities in the late 1970s and 1980s students undoubtedly played an important role. However, there seemed to be a disturbing shift from the collegial governance of the public HEIs to that of managerialism. Luescher (2008:3) argues that the above change of university governance to 'managerialism' muted the voice of students in their involvement and participation in university governance regarding student matters. Luescher (2008:2) writes that "managerialism is a set of beliefs or an ideology that legitimises the authority of university executives as professional managers; it involves, and is typically described in terms of the application of leadership styles and management approaches developed in the business world, to the academic context of university governance". Luescher (2008:2) further argues that 'new managerialism' may be viewed as part of the modernisation of university administration and governance associated with New Public Management prescriptions.

Notwithstanding the existence of the HE Act 1997, there are contestations in the governance of public higher education institutions, especially in respect of the role of

students in policy formulation and implementation. This results in the principle of co-operative governance posing what Mandew (2003:35) refers to as 'ambiguities and inherent tensions', within institutions of public higher education. The HE Act 1997 does not prescribe explicitly how the governance structures, at universities, ought to realize the goals of co-operative governance, leaving the balancing act to the devices of the public HEIs. This results in serious challenges pertaining to the operations of the principles of co-operative governance. The HE Act 1997 only provides guidelines regarding the concept of co-operative governance "but leaves much scope for individual institutions with regards to interpretation and implementation" of this concept (Mandew, 2003: xii). This places an onerous task on higher education institutions to ensure that they use their statutes to fill the gaps created by the HE Act 1997's failure to overtly enunciate itself on the operations of the concept of co-operative governance. The placing of some public HEIs under administration by the Ministry of Higher Education and Training bears testimony to the fact that there is a huge difference between policy formulations, interpretation and implementation. It could therefore be deduced that the interpretation of the concept of co-operative governance by individual institutions has grey areas.

University democratisation and the rise of managerialism are two stages in the global trajectory of higher education governance. Luescher (2008:2) argues that, "in South Africa, the above two stages were meant to be tackled simultaneously in terms of post-apartheid policy of a democratisation of governance and managerial modernisation of universities". He further puts it that the above "differently oriented restructurings are in terms of international experience 'problematic conjunction' in view of the fact that policy goals in university democratisation and managerial modernisation may involve paradoxically opposed tendencies". According to Luescher the above disparate tendencies are seemingly marked with respect to the role and significance of students in university governance.

In the light of the above haziness, this study explored the challenges and dilemmas of co-operative governance particularly regarding the involvement and participation of the SRCs in the governance of public HEIs. The study further suggested the interpretation and implementation of co-operative governance that could be agreeable to most higher education institutions in South Africa, given that they have multi-campuses.

1.3   THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

The concept of co-operative governance has challenges from both institutional and at systemic levels. The South African Constitution of 1996 makes provision for co-operative governance in different spheres of governance, universities included. The higher education sector has experienced regulations and legislative amendments from 2012 and this was understood as indicating a shift in the foundational governance assumptions on which the relationship between higher education and the state is based. Du Toit (2014:4) argues that 'co-operative' as a configuration of governance has experienced challenges from its inception and has now reached a teething stage of threatening "departures from and the possible demise" of the concept.   Du Toit (2014: 3) further notes that co-operative governance is facing the moment of truth and questions are asked as to what are the relevance and legitimacy of, and prospects for, a foundational framework of co-operative governance for higher education in the light of recent and current developments in terms of regulations and legislative amendments. The above situation impacts negatively on the SRCs, as statutory structures, to play effective role in decision-making of institutional governance.

SRCs and management of public HEIs usually have differences on institutional governance issues. One of the key areas of tension and contestation within public HEIs is the question of the role of SRCs as a statutory structure in the decision-making of the institutions. Typically, the decision regarding the cost of tuition at these institutions is mostly taken by councils, where the students are under represented by only the President or any other designated member of the SRC, who is barely experienced in dealing with matters of finance and curriculum, and cannot outvote the members of council if voting takes place in meetings.   Determining yearly fees causes tension between students and executive members of the institutions. Financial and academic exclusions are some of the sources of conflict at public HEIs which result in student protests and disruptions that sometimes bring the academic activities of some institutions to a halt. The protests and disruptions emanate mostly from governance failures. The other area of disagreement relates to how far the SRC has influence in co-operative governance issues, as a statutory structure to ensure that the students' interests are met. Lack of funding for students, limited spaces in the

residences and under-representation of students in committees responsible for decision making on student issues, are some of the contestations at universities. Lastly, the budget allocated to the SRC and how to utilise it result in confrontations. The question is how effective and efficient is the SRC's role, at universities governance, in accordance with the essentials of the HE Act 101 of 1997, especially in terms of co-operative governance.

Based on the situation presented above, the study explored the effect of SRCs in issues of co-operative governance at higher education institutions in South Africa. The problem of 'ambiguities and inherent tensions' at public HEIs, emanating from the challenges of co-operative governance at institutional level, has given rise to the following research questions:

1.3.1 Research questions

The following were the research questions:

- What is the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of the student representative council at public higher education institutions?
- How is participative democracy practiced at public higher education institutions?
- What are the governance challenges experienced by public higher education institutions?
- How can the governance challenges be addressed?

1.3.2 The hypotheses

The Null hypotheses of this study were the following:

- There is no statistically significant relationship between the SRCs' involvement in university governance and their perceptions on the implementation of co-operative governance in the South African higher education institutions.

- There is no statistically significant relationship between the SRCs' participation in university governance and their perceptions on the implementation of co-operative governance in the South African higher education institutions.

The following are the subsidiary hypotheses:

- There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC members of different designations, genders, who are enrolled in different programmes and who are from different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC participation.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC members of different designations, genders, who are enrolled in different programmes and who are from different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to democratisation.
- There is no statistical significant difference amongst SRC members' different designations, gender, programmes enrolled in and type of university with regard to their perceptions pertaining to their understanding of university governance.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC participation.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to democratisation.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to their understanding of university governance.

1.4   AIM AND OBJECTIVES

The aim of this study was to explore the involvement and participation of student representative councils in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa.

The following objectives led to the accomplishment of the aforementioned aim:

- Outlined the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of the student representative council in public higher education institutions.
- Established how participative democracy was practiced at public higher education institutions.
- Examined the governance challenges experienced by public higher education institutions in co-operative governance.
- Established how the governance challenges could be addressed
- Determined if there was a statistically significant difference between biographical variables (designations, gender, programmes enrolled in and type of university) and SRC participation?
- Established if there was a statistically significant difference between biographical variables (designations, gender, programmes enrolled in and type of university) and democratisation at public HEIs?
- Investigated if there was a statistically significant difference between biographical variables (designation, gender, programmes enrolled in and type of university) and the understanding of university governance?
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC participation.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to democratisation.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to their understanding of university governance.
- Developed and recommend a model of co-operative governance workable in the multi-campus set-up of South African public higher education institutions.

1.5 CONCEPTUALISATION OF STUDENT INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION

The HE Act 1997 as amended provides how the public HEIs should be governed and the roles of the different governance structures. The key governance structures at universities are Council (supreme decision-making body), Institutional Forum (IF) which is the advisory body to Council and Senate (which deals with the academic activities of the universities). According to the HE Act 1997 as amended the SRC is a stakeholder in the governance of the public HEIs. Therefore, as a stakeholder the SRC should understand the HE legislation together with the statute of their institutions in order to participate meaningfully in the governance of their institutions.

This study highlights three important concepts, which should be understood when dealing with the involvement and participation of the students in the governance of the public HEIs. These concepts are: Understanding of governance, Democratisation and SRC participation. These concepts are conceptualised below.

1.5.1 Understanding of institutional governance

In order to realise the essentials of how public HEIs should be governed it is imperative that both the SRC and management of universities should understand the HE Act 1997 as amended. Key to understanding and implementing of the HE legislation is the appropriate comprehension and interpretation of the elements of co-operative governance. These elements are: cooperation and partnerships in governance, democratisation and effectiveness and efficiency. These concepts have been discussed in detail (cf.3.8). Compliance with legislation is imperative and the various amendments to legislation and the Department of HET committees such as the Transformation Oversight Committee need to be understood and properly interpreted and implemented. The three important transformation elements of: policy and regulatory compliance, epistemological change, and institutional culture and the need for social inclusion, raised in the Soudien Report need to be seriously considered by managements of public HEIs.

1.5.2 Democratisation

Jones and Weale (1999;14) define democracy as a system whereby "important public decisions of law and policy depend directly or indirectly, upon public opinion formally expressed by citizens of the community, the vast bulk of whom have equal political rights". Participatory democracy is a process of emphasizing a broad participation of the stakeholders in decision making. In this study, it refers to the involvement and participation of SRCs in the governance of universities. The right of SRCs to participate and influence the governance processes of public HEIs is embedded in the HE Act 101 of 1997 and the Constitution of South Africa (1996).

Democratisation of public HEIs is imperative in order to ensure that co-operative governance is practised. In order for this to occur the management of universities should provide an enabling environment which promotes democracy in the governance of public HEIs. Democratisation is one of the key concepts of c-operative governance; therefore it should be practised by all the stakeholders involved in public HEIs. Council of universities through management should ensure that the spirit of democracy is engendered in all the university governance structures. Luescher (2008: 20) has covered a reasonable scope on issues of university democratisation that touched on transitions of student governance.

1.5.3 SRC participation

The understanding of governance by both the SRC and management through correct interpretation and implementation of HE legislation will ensure that the SRC participates effectively and efficiently in the governance of the public HEIs. For the SRC to play a meaningful role there should be access to information, consultation, dialogue and partnership between the SRC and management. The above have been discussed in finer details in (cf.4.7). Klemencic (2012c: 636) has attempted to outline the levels of student participation at the institutional level and how if both the SRC and management adhere to those levels can ensure that co-operative governance occurs at public HEIs.

The above concepts were useful in constructing the questionnaire for the SRC and the interviews conducted on co-operative governance and also served as the key themes for the study. They were therefore fundamental in the conducting of the study and served as the theoretical framework within which the involvement and participation of the SRC in public HEIs should be understood. The section below briefly outlines the literature review and the mapping of the different chapters in this study.

1.6   THE LITERATURE REVIEW

Blumberg, Cooper and Schindler (2005:76) write that the purpose of a literature review is to examine recent or historic significant research studies that act as a basis for the proposed study. Babbie (2007: 489) points out that a literature review is the way we learn what is already known and not known in a field of study. Thus, the purpose of literature review in this study is to trace the history of governance in higher education and also to obtain a fresh perspective on most recent research findings relating to co-operative governance in public higher education institutions of South Africa in general and the role of the SRC in particular.

The literature review was divided into three chapters. The first chapter examines the transformation of governance in public higher education institutions regarding the legislative framework of the higher education sector. This section investigates transformation, mergers and co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa and their impact on the higher education landscape. The second chapter explores the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa looking at historical and contemporary perspectives. The last literature review chapter investigates student political leadership and the participation of SRCs in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa.

1.6.1   Transformation of governance in higher education institutions (HEIs): a legislative framework

This part explored the transformation trajectory at the South African public higher education institutions and the implementation of mergers of different educational institutions.   The legislative framework towards the democratisation of the public higher education sector and co-operative governance will also be explored.   The aim was to trace the origin of changes in the governance of public higher education in South Africa.   It also uncovered how the mergers and incorporations of public higher education institutions have impacted on the changes and continuities in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa pertaining to the role of the SRC.   The merits and demerits of the mergers were also examined.

1.6.2   Governance of public higher education institutions (HEIs): historical and contemporary perspective.

The aim of this section was to discuss the state of governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa during the apartheid era.   Firstly, it described the structure of public higher education institutions before the democratic dispensation in South Africa.   The different models of higher education governance in South Africa during this period were discussed.   This shed some light on the history of the governance of higher education institutions in South Africa, especially on the role of the state.

There are various authors in South Africa, such as Cloete, Kulati, Moja and Olivier (2003) who have made conscientious efforts to provide useful insight into co-operative governance in HEIs of South Africa but only with regard to the role of Council, Senate and Institutional Forums. Notable authors on student involvement and participation in HE governance include Thobakgale (2001), Mandew (2003), Tabane *et al* (2003) and most especially Luescher-Mamashela (2008, 2009, 2010 & 2011).   They explore issues relating to student participation and the interaction between university democratisation and the rise of managerialism in university governance.   The above authors on students' involvement and

participation in the governance of higher education institutions do not particularly explore the implications of co-operative governance and/or whether public HEIs meet the HE Act legislative imperatives. Student leadership in higher education institutions in South Africa is a topical issue given its political nature of diverse ideology linked to national political parties. However, there is dearth in research regarding the role of the SRC in higher education co-operative governance. In Europe, a lot has been written about student's involvement and participation in higher education institutional governance. The following are some of the prominent authors who explore the involvement and participation of students in higher education institutions in Europe: Bergan (2004), Persson (2004), May (2009) and Klemencic, (2011, 2012c).

Through the European Student Union (ESU), students at higher education institutions are represented which makes Europe one of the continents which is well developed pertaining to student representation and student participation. The right of students to organise has been incorporated into almost all higher education laws in Europe. The Bologna process provides a platform for the students to debate matters that affect them. Conversely, in South Africa, despite the union of SRCs, there is little that deals with student issues nationally. In the African continent, strides are made in terms of establishing an effective continental student union. A student charter has recently been launched in South Africa. This is a step in the right direction, which needs the support of the government and all public HEIs' managements.

1.6.3 Participation of the SRCs in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa

Student leaders, through their different formations, played a very important role in instilling their aspirations and interest into a democratic and transformed higher education system. It has been observed that students "participated in and contributed to the discussions and debates relating to the future of higher education during the transformation to a democratic dispensation" (Mandew, 2003:120). The chapter explored issues on the involvement and participation of SRCs at public HEIs in South Africa. It further examined student political organisations and the origins of SRCs at the South African HEIs. The role of ideological

differences amongst student political organisations in the governance of public higher education institutions and the challenges experienced by SRCs and possible solutions were also explored.

Research design and methodology are discussed below

1.7   RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

This section comprised the following aspects of research methodology: the designs of the study, the methods of research employed in both designs, the fundamental tools utilised for the collection of data in both designs and the methods selected for both designs, the overall population of the study, the requisite samples for either designs and the data analysis for both designs.

1.7.1   Research Designs

Gay, Mills and Airasian (2006: 597) describe a research design as a general strategy or plan for conducting a research study which indicates the study's basic structure and goals. This study used both qualitative and quantitative research designs. Mixed methods research is defined as a procedure for collecting, analysing and mixing both quantitative and qualitative data at some stage of the research process within a single study to understand a research problem better (Creswell 2005). In a mixed methods study, both numerical and text data are collected and analysed to address different aspects of the same general research problem and provide its complete understanding (Ivankova, Creswell & Clark, in Maree, 2009: 263)

A mixed method research which combines both quantitative and qualitative research designs was viewed as best suited for this study. Gay, *et al.* 2009::462) note that the purpose of mixed methods research is to build on the synergy and strength that exists between quantitative and qualitative research methods to understand a phenomenon more fully than is possible using either of the above methods alone. The QUAN-qual model, also

known as the triangulation mixed method design, where quantitative and qualitative data are equally weighted and are collected concurrently throughout the same study, was used (Gay, *et al.* 2009:463). The two research designs are discussed below.

McMillan (2000:9) writes that both qualitative and quantitative approaches can be used within the same study as they both fit in the same research paradigms. The qualitative approach is reasonably open and extensive when contrasted with the quantitative technique. It is aimed at comprehension as it provides profundity of information than just girth.

1.7.1.1 Qualitative Research Design

Hermeneutics was used as a qualitative research method in this study. Hermeneutics focuses on interpreting something of interest, traditionally a text or work of art, but in the larger context of qualitative enquiry, and has also come to include interpreting interviews and observed actions (Patton, 2002: 497). Hermeneutics emphasizes that a phenomenon should be understood within its proper context.

In this study the researcher used institutional records (of different higher education institutions), primary and secondary historical information (on student governance), written commentary, policy statements and other documentations as data. An analysis of the above helped to ascertain the extent to which student representative councils are involved and participate in higher education co-operative governance structures. The reason for choosing hermeneutics as the research methodology is that it will provide the most efficient and complete source of accurate information.

The researcher also used the Higher Education Act 1997, publications of Higher Education South Africa (HESA) and Centre for Higher Education (CHE) as well as the records of the union of SRCs in higher education. The internet also played an important role in accessing the above records. The above were a valuable source material for the researcher to complete the study.

1.7.1.2   Quantitative Research Design

Both descriptive and inferential statistics were used in this study. Statistics are mathematical procedures used to summarize and analyse numerical data. Statistical analysis has to do with the body of statistical computations relevant to making inferences from findings based on sample observations that can be generalized larger population. Babbie (2007:459) writes that inferential statistics is mostly used in social scientific research projects involving the examination of data collected from a sample drawn from a larger population.

Creswell (2012:182) points out that inferential statistics makes use of data from a sample to draw conclusions about an unknown population; assesses whether the differences of groups (their means) or the relationship among variables is greater or less than what could be expected for the total population, if the entire population is studied. This means that the results obtained through a sample are generalized to the entire population from which the sample was drawn.

McMillan (2012: 250) writes that inferential statistics are necessary to understand the precise nature of descriptions, relationships, and differences based on the data collected in a study. He argues that there is some degree of uncertainty in the questions addressed in educational research, and as a result, inferential statistics indicate in a precise way what the researcher can for the most part, be confident about.

Inferential statistics is concerned with making predictions or inferences about a population from observations and an analysis of a sample. Results of an analysis using a sample can be generalised to the larger population that the sample represents, provided the sample is representative of the group being generalised. Examples of inferential statistics include linear regression analyses, (analysis of variance) ANOVA, correlation analyses, structural equation modelling, and survival analysis. To address the issue of generalizability, tests of significance are used. Tests of significance indicate the probability that the results of an analysis could have occurred by chance when there is no relationship at all between the variables studied in the population. For example, Chi-square or t-test can tell whether the results of an analysis based on a sample are representative of the population that the

sample represents. This study has used the chi-square technique. Random sampling is mostly preferred when using inferential statistics. Fraenkel and Wallen (2010:217) assert that making inferences about populations on the basis of random samples is what inferential statistics is all about.

A non-experimental research method was ideal for this study as it described a phenomenon and examine relationships between and amongst different phenomena of the study without any direct manipulation of the conditions that are experienced (McMillan and Schumacher 2010: 22). The method preferred was descriptive survey.

According to Anderson (2004: 164-166) a survey is a method for collecting data from a sub-sample of the population with the intent and purpose of sampling a sufficient number of participants with desired characteristics to permit a valid generalization to all cases in a group. However Anderson cautions about the importance of reliability and validity. Silverman (2011:366) asserts that reliability and validity are the technical terms that refer to the objectivity and credibility of a research study. Enhancing objectivity in research involves on the one hand, efforts to ensure the accuracy and inclusiveness of recordings that the research is based on, and, efforts to test the truthfulness of the analytic claims that are being made about those recordings, on the other. He further claims that regarding validity in quantitative research, there is an underlying background assumption about a separation between the raw observations and the issues that these observations stand for or represent. Responses from questionnaires, for example, can be more or less valid representations of underlying social phenomenon such as the respondents' attitudes or values.

1.7.2   Data Collection Tools

The study used both quantitative and qualitative research designs. Below is a discussion of the data collection tools for both qualitative and quantitative research designs.

1. 7.2.1 Data Collection Tools for Qualitative Design

The researcher used face-to-face interviews and documentary analysis as research instruments. Gay, et al (2011:626) define interviews as an oral, in-person question-and answer session between a researcher and an individual respondent, a purposeful interaction in which one person is trying to obtain information from the other.

Leedy and Ormrod (2013:190-191) write that face-to-face interviews enable the researcher to establish rapport with the respondents and yield highest response rates of percentages of people agreeing to participate and that the researcher is likely to gain participants' cooperation and encourage them to respond honestly. They also allow the researcher to clarify ambiguous answers and if need be, seek follow-up information. A set of predetermined open-ended questions on an interview schedule will be developed to guide the researcher during the interviews and the participants will be guided and encouraged to share their experiences and views regarding co-operative governance and a possible model of governance at higher education institutions (cf. appendix E).

The researcher also analysed the different types of written documents on co-operative governance in higher education with the aim of shedding light on student involvement and participation. The written data sources to be used in this research will include published and unpublished documents, memoranda, agendas, administrative documents, letters, reports, e-mail messages, faxes, newspaper articles, or any document that relates to co-operative governance and student leadership in higher education. The above documents will comprise both primary and secondary sources of data. Such documents are important sources of data in qualitative research (Nieuwenhuis in Maree, 2009: 82).

1.7.2.2 Data Collection Tools for Quantitative Design

A questionnaire was employed as a tool for data collection. The questions were first subjected to a test of validity by giving them to the local SRC members as judges to determine their validity and reliability. The aim of the pilot study will be to check the veracity and understandability of the questionnaire items. Ambiguous or double-barreled questions

were restructured or reformulated to make them meaningful and understandable. A questionnaire will be dispatched to the participants. As part of the pilot process, forty questions were designed and then subjected to tests of validity and reliability using factor analysis. Questionnaire items that showed evidence of ambiguity from the pilot study were excluded from the final questionnaire that was administered (cf. appendix D). Anderson (2004:170) avers that if well-constructed, a questionnaire permits the collection of reliable and reasonably valid data in a simple, cheap and timely manner.

1.7.3 Population and Sample

The population of the study was all SRC members in the 23 South African higher education institutions.

1.7.3.1 Population

Viljoen (2007:20) defines a population as a gathering of a particular group of people and a sample as actual participants selected to take part in the study. The population of this study comprised of members of the SRCs at the public HEIs that have given consent for research to be conducted in their institutions. The SRC was chosen because it plays an integral part in student governance in higher education institutions. The choice of the SRC was based on the premise that it plays an integral part in terms of governance and influence student dealings at higher education institutions.

1.7.3.2 Sampling

According to Maree (2009: 79), sampling refers to the process used to select a portion of the population for a study. Fraenkel and Wallen (2010: G8) say that sampling involves the selection of a number of individuals from a population, preferably in such a way that the individuals are representative of the larger group from which they were selected. The type

of study determines how the selection of the sample is conducted. Cluster sampling was used in this study (cf.). It involves a random selection of a number of clusters from which either all elements or a randomly selected number form the sample (Maree and Pietersen in Maree, 2009: 176). They further assert that for cluster sampling to be effective and representative of the population, the clusters that are formed should be as heterogeneous as the population.

For the purposes of this study, three clusters formed by public HEIs have participated in the study. These clusters included Universities of Technology (UoTs), Comprehensive Universities (CUs) and Traditional Universities (TUs). A sample of convenience was used to select 9 interviewees (qualitative research), that is, three (3) SRC members from each cluster. The total sample for the qualitative design was nine (9) interviewees.

Fifteen (15) SRC members were selected from each of the public HEIs in South Africa for the administration of a questionnaire. That is, 23 universities multiplied by 15 SRC members equaling 345 SRC respondents were involved. The total sample for the quantitative design was 345 respondents.

1.7.4   Data Analysis

The following discussion examined the analyses of data for both the quantitative and qualitative research designs.

1. 7.4.1   Data analysis for quantitative design

The descriptive statistics, the chi-square and analysis of variance (ANOVA) were used for the quantitative design. Fraenkel and Wallen (2010:192) point out that the mean is another average of all the scores in a distribution. Blaikie (2003: 321) writes that standard deviation is a measure of the dispersion of distributions of interval and ratio-level data. The square root of the sum of the squared deviations of all values from the mean is divided by the

number of values to obtain the standard deviation. Bryman (2012:709) says that chi-square is a test of statistical significance, which is typically employed to establish how confident we can be that the findings displayed in a contingency table can be generalized from a probability sample to a population.

Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to test the hypotheses of the study (cf.5.4.2.2). McMillan (2012: 260) writes that ANOVA is a parametric procedure that has the same basic purpose as the *t*-test, which is to compare group means to determine the probability of being wrong in rejecting the null hypotheses. Whereas the t-test compares two means, ANOVA compares two or more means. It can also be explained as an extension of the *t*-test that allows the researcher to test the differences between more than two group means. Pietersen & Maree, in Maree (2009: 225) observe that the ANOVA technique is used when two or more independent groups need to be compared based on their average score on a quantitative variable.

To ensure that there is reliability of the study the researcher used the Cronbach's Alpha test, where internal consistency reliability of the items was measured. This was discussed in detail in chapter six (cf.6.2.2).

1.7.4.2 Data analysis for qualitative design

Fraenkel and Wallen (2009:426) write that data analysis in a qualitative study involves analyzing and synthesizing the information the researcher obtains from various sources into a coherent description of what he or she has observed or otherwise discovered. McMillan (2012: 297) writes that the goal of data analysis is to discover patterns, ideas, explanations, and understandings.

This study used a case study for the qualitative design. Gay, et al. (2009:426) define a case study research as a qualitative research approach in which researchers focus on a unit of study known as a bounded system. This type of approach, which is described as particularistic, descriptive and heuristic, is useful when describing the context of the study and the extent to which a particular programme or innovation has been implemented.

Creswell (2012:617), on the other hand, asserts that a case study is a variation of an in-depth exploration of a bounded system based on an extensive data collection. Bryman (2012:709) writes that a case study is a research design that entails a detailed and intensive analysis of a single case. The term is sometimes extended to include a study of just two or three cases for comparative purposes. A case study is concerned with the complexity and nature of the case in question. The case in question here is the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance at public HEIs in South Africa. In this study, the researcher intends to develop an SRC model of co-operative governance, by using SRC members as participants, workable in the multi-campus set-up of the South African public HEIs.

1.8   ETHICAL CONSIDERATION

Anderson (2004: 18) writes that the most fundamental principle for ethical acceptability is that of informed consent: the involved participants must be informed of the nature and purpose of the research, its risks and benefits, and must consent to participate without coercion. Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 101-102) outline the following as four categories of ethical issues into which research falls:

- **Protection from harm** - researchers should not expose research participants to unnecessary physical or psychological harm. The researcher ensured that the respondents were protected from harm by requesting them to complete the questionnaires and be interviewed at their own time, space, comfort and convenience. This was arranged in time with their permission. Their rights to privacy, dignity, integrity and any other sensitivities were respected and observed throughout the research process.

- **Informed consent** - when people are intentionally recruited for participation in a research study, they should be told the nature of the study to be conducted and given the choice of either participation or not participating. Furthermore, they should be told that, if they agree to participate, they have the right to withdraw from the study at any time. The researcher explained to the individual participants in the study that they may choose whether or not to participate. They were made to have to have a

complete understanding of the purpose and methods to be used in the study, the risks involved, as well as the demands placed upon them as participants. Therefore the participants exercised the free power of choice without force, fraud, deceit, duress, or other forms of constraint or coercion. This right was present throughout the entire research process.

- **Right to privacy** - Any research study involving human beings should respect participants' right to privacy. Under no circumstances should a research report, either oral or written, be presented in such a way that others become aware of how a particular participant has responded or behaved (unless, of course the participant has specifically granted permission in writing, for this to happen). The researcher ensured that the names and institutions of the respondents were not mentioned whether explicitly or implicitly, this was also explained to the respondents. The reader cannot infer that the issues deliberated on the study are those of their institutions. Editing the study has also assisted to ensure that there is clarity on different discussions.

- **Honesty with professional colleagues** - researchers must report their findings in a complete and honest fashion, without misrepresenting what they have done or intentionally misleading others about the nature of their findings. And under no circumstances should a researcher fabricate data to support a particular conclusion, no matter how seemingly "noble" that conclusion may be. The researcher has gathered and reported data with absolute honesty and acknowledged all the information from other sources and authors. The opinions of the participants were recorded verbatim with their consent, transcribed and conclusions were based on the actual responses of the respondents.

During the study, the researcher adhered to the above ethical issues and was honest, respectful and sympathetic towards all the participants. During face-to-face interviews, the researcher presented the participants with a letter of consent (cf. Appendix C), in which the research process was described, and the consent form was signed for willingness to participate in the research and to withdraw participation anytime during the research.

The researcher wrote letters to the Registrars of the 23 public higher education institutions in South Africa requesting permission to conduct research in their institutions (cf. Appendix A), with the SRC members as the respondents (cf. Appendix B). Permission was obtained

from the eleven (11) higher education institutions. The Faculty of Humanities at the researcher's enrolled institution did not have a committee that issues ethical clearance certificates. As a result the researcher used the permission granted by the Research Committees at the institution to apply for permission to conduct research in other institutions.

The other important ethical issue was to ensure that the participants understood and consented to all aspects of the study. Signed, informed-consent statements were obtained from the participants. They were also individually and privately met and informed about the method to be used for conducting the one-on-one taped interviews. Participants were all informed that their participation was to be kept anonymous and that all of their personal information would be confidential. After describing the study in detail to each of the respondents, they were given the option to participate in the study.

The judgmental sampling technique was used for the selection of data. In this case, the principal criterion that determined the selection of the interviewees was that they were serving in the SRCs of the three different types of public HEIs, that is, Comprehensive Universities (CUs), Traditional Universities (TUs) and Universities of Technology (UoTs). The principal technique used to gather data was the semi-structured interviews. The reason for employing this technique was that it allowed interviewees to provide their views and drew attention to the issues that were not considered by the interviewer. The sample was drawn from a number of campuses amongst the different types of universities in South Africa; two universities were selected per cluster. Nine students in all, three from each cluster, were interviewed. The study population consisted of the public HEIs which consented to the research being conducted in their institutions.

The questions in the questionnaire used throughout the study were open-ended, for the purposes of gathering additional information from the interviews. The interviewees were vastly spread in different provinces, as such, interviews were conducted both face-to-face and by telephone. Interviews were conducted in accordance with the schedules which were conducive to the respondents. As the respondents were SRC members, who are usually busy with their studies and different SRC functions, flexibility was allowed to maximize participation.

1.9   LIMITATIONS OF THE STUDY

The main limitation of this study was that the population comprised less than the intended 23 public HEIs in South Africa. The findings may therefore not be regarded as a wholly representation of all the public HEIs population. The other limitation of the study is that the use of the questionnaire does not allow for probing and in-depth description of the respondents' opinions about the SRC's role and effect in co-operative governance. However, the interviews made up for this limitation.

This study used both qualitative and quantitative research designs and they both have limitations. Babbie (2007: 276) writes that surveys in social research have special strengths and weaknesses. He argues that surveys are weak on validity and strong on reliability. Although standardized questionnaires have important strengths, they are inflexible and seldom deal with the context of life. However Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 98) argue that qualitative design is more true to life and findings of its studies may be so specific to a particular context that they do not apply or cannot be generalized to other contexts.

McMillan and Schumacher (2010: 405) assert that the challenge with mixed methods designs, especially where concurrent triangulation occurs, is that the researcher may encounter situations where the results of the qualitative and quantitative data analyses diverge. That is, the results do not agree or appear to tell different stories. This may require additional data collection or analysis, which will further need time and money and consequently delay the completion of the research.

The study provided glimpses into the role of student involvement and participation within the new governance model in higher education, that is, co-operative governance. It is expected that those involved in research on the involvement of students in the governance of higher education institutions', will delve deeper into the subject by way of further qualitative and quantitative research.

The study focused on the involvement and participation of students in co-operative governance in the three clusters of South African higher education institutions, that is, UoTs, CUs and TUs. The number of students and universities who participated is relatively

small; the scope limited the ability to transfer the conclusion to other populations or universities. Consequently, the results cannot be generalised to all the public HEIs; this include other educational sectors such as Technical and Vocational Education and Training Colleges (TVET), secondary and primary schools. However, the proposed study will contribute to knowledge and further research on higher education student governance issues.

1.10   SIGNIFICANCE OF THE STUDY

The significance of the study lies in the highlighting of the opportunities and challenges available for the SRCs available for the involvement and participation of students. This could possibly result in the development of a suitable model of co-operative governance, which is aimed at fostering good student governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. The study provided an understanding of the principle of co-operative governance in higher education and the importance of student leadership in the new model for governing higher education. This might further enhance efficient, effective and successful governance in higher education but also assist in the capacity building of students with regard to issues of co-operative governance.

There is no school for democracy; therefore, student governance as a forum is imperative in introducing, exposing and inculcating democratic principles and best practices in student leaders. There is a dire need for engagements, discussions and debates amongst all the affected parties in a democratic structure like higher education institutions. This may ensure that graduates from higher education are equipped with leadership skills and are sensible citizens to democratic governance, ethos and values. The next section discusses the limitations of the study

1.11 DEFINITION OF TERMS

The following terms are defined in order to clarify their meaning within the context of this study.

Cooperative: is described as involving doing something together or working together with others towards a shared aim(Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary: 323).

Co-operative governance (in higher education institutions): a new model of governance in higher education institutions in South Africa (with its basis from collegial model which assumes that participatory governance is the most suitable approach in pursuing institutional goals) intended to redefine and reconstitute the nature and process of the relationship between the government, higher education institutions and their internal stakeholders, and related agencies (Mandew, 2003: 31-32). In this study co-operative governance means that the SRC and different structures such as Council, Senate and Institutional Forum need to debate issues of concerns relating to institutional governance in order to alleviate possible tensions which might happen at the expense of the HE Act outcomes. These outcomes include amongst others accountability, democracy, consultation and partnership.

Corporate: Oxford Dictionary explains a corporate as "connected with a corporation which is a large business company, or an organization or a group of organizations that is recognized as a single unit" (Oxford Advanced Learners Dictionary: 327).

Council on Higher Education (CHE): "a major statutory body established to provide independent, strategic advice to the Minister of Education on matters relating to the transformation and development of higher education in South Africa, and to manage quality assurance and quality promotion in the higher education sector"(Education White Paper 3- *A Programme for Higher Education Transformation,* 1997:37). This body is very crucial to the ministry of higher education and training, in terms of ensuring that higher education in South Africa meet quality standards to deliver on its social and economic expectations.

Democratization: Democratization in public HEIs means management should ensure that democratic structures are established and that key stakeholders are represented. These structures and the processes of electing their representatives should be done appropriately. The HE Act of 1997 as amended gives guidance on how to establish these democratic structures. Democracy validates the decision making of stakeholders within an organization.

Government: government is defined as "the people who rule a country or a state" (Pharos English Dictionary for South Africa: 288)

Higher Education Institution means any institution that provides higher education on a full-time, part-time or distance basis and which is-
(a) merged, established or deemed to be established as a public higher education institution under the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997;
(b) declared as a public higher education institution under this Act; or
(c) registered or provisionally registered as a private higher education institution under this Act; [Definition of 'higher education institution' substituted by s. 1 *(a)* of Act 63 of 2002.] (HE Act, p.8)

Higher education transformation: higher education transformation in South Africa refers *inter alia* to the structural readjustment and redesign of the higher education sector (universities and technikons), guided by the higher education policy and aimed at correcting the inequalities, imbalances and distortions of the system as a result of the political history of the country (Badsha 2000). This process intended to remedy the mistakes experienced in higher education institutions engendered by the apartheid government. The outcome was to align education with the democratic values of South Africa.

Historically Advantaged Universities (HAUs): these are universities which are sometimes referred to as historically white English and Afrikaans universities. They were established by the apartheid government to pursue the principle of divide and rule, catering for the needs of white communities of English and Afrikaans origin. Such universities were instituted mainly to serve the needs of the separate development policy which reinforced the dominance of the white rule by excluding blacks from quality education (CHE 2000a).

Historically advantaged universities still enjoy the benefits of the legacy of apartheid because they are still better endowed (Seepe 2001) in terms of accessibility, research, facilities, post-graduate capacity and staff. These institutions were comprised of English and Afrikaans speakers, well-resourced and funded by the apartheid government. They were the following eleven public universities:

- University of Cape Town,
- Natal University (now part of University of Kwazulu Natal)
- University of the Orange Free State (now University of the Free State)
- University of Port Elizabeth (now part of Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University)
- Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education (now part of North West University)
- University of Pretoria
- Rand Afrikaans University (now part of University of Johannesburg)
- Rhodes University
- University of Stellenbosch
- University of Witwatersrand
- University of South Africa

Historically Disadvantaged Universities (HDUs): these universities are sometimes referred to as Historically Black Universities (HBUs). They were also established by the apartheid rule to cater for Blacks, Indians and Coloureds (CHE 2000b). These universities, which had been set up in the rural areas of the country, provided education that was not only inferior, but that was aimed at advancing the same principle of divide and rule by producing black subordination (Odhav:2009). These institutions were poor and racially classified. They did not have sufficient resources and were not properly funded as compared to the HAUs. "Historically Advantaged Institutions" (HAIs) and "Historically Disadvantaged Institutions" (HDIs): This distinction is used in literature (ANC, 1994) to describe the distinct split along racial and ethnic lines of universities as set out in the apartheid policy (1959), which created separate universities for the different African ethnic populations (Zulu, Tswana, Sotho, etc.) and for coloured and Indian populations. Such engineering aimed at limiting HBUs to institutions of teaching (rather than institutions of research), and their limited potential and capacity was further exacerbated by the fact that

most of them were located in rural areas (in government-created Ethnic homelands) to give some credence to those territories as being independent and having their own institutions, government and administration (to which these universities could direct their training). The following public HEIs fell under this category:

- Medical University of South Africa (now part of the University of Limpopo)
- University of the North (now part of University of Limpopo)
- Vista University (now merged into different public higher education institutions in South Africa)
- University of Zululand
- University of Fort Hare
- University of the Western Cape
- University of Durban Westville (now part of University of Kwazulu Natal)

Mergers and Incorporations (of public HEIs): is a process whereby two or more formally separate and independent higher education institutions become legally and organizationally a single entity under the managerial responsibility and control of a single governing body and a single chief executive. According to Martin (1996: 83), merger refers to an extremely complex process that touches on every level of operation and all functions of the higher education institutions to be combined as a single unit governed by one council. It is a transformational process prescribed by the South African government where the Minister of Education has powers to merge two or more higher education institutions into one institution (Kele, 2009:8). As a result of the educational backlogs created by the apartheid system the democratic government in SA passed an Act to try and redress the imbalances of the past in public higher education institutions. HEIs were to be merged, especially those institutions which were historically advantaged and had better resources with the historically disadvantaged ones with little or no resources at all. This was in order to ensure provision of quality education to all students irrespective of their social and economic backgrounds.

According to Hall et al (2004: ix) **merger** is taken to mean the combination of two or more separate institutions into a single entity with a single governing body and chief executive body. **Incorporation** refers to the process whereby a subdivision of one institution is incorporated into another institution, without affecting the latter's legal status. This process,

as discussed below, had varied result in that it advantaged some institutions while others were left worse off.

Multi-campus: Hall et al (2004: ix) write that multi-campus is used to refer to unitary institutions with geographically distant delivery sites.

Student Representative Council (SRC): A statutory structure as provided by the Higher Education Act 1997 which offers a variety of services to individual student and different groupings in higher education institutions. The SRC is generally responsible for student governance and management of the activities of student life (Tabane et al, 2003:8). The SRC is comprised of registered student leaders who are democratically elected by the students from the student body. These student leaders do not necessarily have to be affiliates of particular student political structure. The SRC, as a student representative body, ensures that the interests of students are communicated appropriately in the executive structures of HEIs. Amongst other issues dealt by the SRC are first and foremost academic, cultural and sports activities, residences and overall wellbeing of the students.

Transformation: Meyer and Botha (2004: 219) explain transformation as "a change in form, outward appearance, character or disposition...it is the non-incremental and simultaneous change of an organisation's strategy and structure, systems and processes, measurements and controls, culture and expectations, costs and capabilities." In this study, it implies the democratization of HEIs to ensure that the SRC as a statutory structure, in accordance with the HE Act 1997, represents students in key decision making bodies within the HEIs by participating effectively and efficiently.

1.12   LAYOUT OF THE STUDY

In order to realise the purpose of the study, the text is divided into the following sequential chapters:

Chapter One: An introduction to the study. The chapter will briefly discuss the historical background to the study; research problem, research design and methodology, significance of the study, limitations and delimitations, and the aims and objective of the study.

Chapter Two: Literature Review. This chapter investigates the legislative framework towards the transformation of HEIs' governance, and most significantly, co-operative governance in South Africa, as a new model of governance per the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 (as amended). The following issues are discussed: the genesis of the debate regarding transformation trajectory by the different structures in HEIs; higher education policy development in South Africa, mergers and incorporation of HEIs in determining the shape and size of HEIs and the different pieces of legislation passed by the democratic government on higher education transformation.

Chapter Three: Literature review. This chapter has two separate, but mutually interrelated, sections. The first part provides a review of literature relating to the theoretical perspectives of governance at public Higher Education Institutions (HEIs) in South Africa. In this section, the theoretical perspectives and governance models at public HEIs and the role of the state in the era before democracy will be examined. The second section explores the historical involvement and participation of SRCs in the governance of the South African HEIs. This section will further discuss the origins of SRCs, student political organizations and the role of ideology in student politics.

Chapter Four: Literature Review. This chapter investigates issues of student leadership and the participation of the SRCs in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa.

Chapter Five: Research design and methodology. This chapter will discuss in detail the research design and methodology used in this study.

Chapter Six: Data analysis and results. This chapter focuses on the findings and interpretations of the results.

Chapter Seven: Discussion, implications, and recommendations. This chapter will provide a précis on the discussions in chapters four and five and then make recommendations on the problem under study, that is, to determine and the extent and effect of students' involvement and participation at higher education institutions of South Africa with regard to co-operative governance.

1.13   CONCLUSION

This chapter has given a synopsis of the study.   It presented an explanation of the involvement and participation of the SRCs at the public HEIs in South Africa. It gave a brief exposition of the legislative framework of the ttransformation of governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa, a historical and contemporary perspective on the governance of public higher education institutions and an investigation into student leadership and the participation of the SRCs in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa prior to and in the post-apartheid era.

The chapter has also elucidated the designs of the study, methods of research employed in both designs, fundamental tools utilised for the collection of data in both designs and methods selected for both designs, the overall population of the study, the requisite samples for either designs and the data analysis for both designs. Lastly, the chapter has presented the limitations of the study, defined the terms used for clarity and provided a layout of the study.

Chapter 2 provides an extensive review of the literature relating to the legislative framework of the transformation of governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. It investigates the different pieces of legislation enacted in South Africa to transform the higher education sector after the dawn of democracy.

CHAPTER TWO

TRANSFORMATION OF GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN
SOUTH AFRICA: A LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK

2.1   INTRODUCTION

The preceding chapter outlined and delineated the problem explored in this study. The
present chapter investigates the legislative framework and policy documents informing the
transformation of HEIs governance since the democratic South Africa in 1994. The chapter
further examines the type and extent of SRC representation in institutional structures and
how the SRC relates with different governance substructures. This will assist in highlighting
the student involvement and participation in co-operative governance and the transformation
project. The aim is to place the role of the SRC at the institutional level. Amongst the
important policy documents discussed are the following: the National Commission on Higher
Education (NCHE) report of 1996, the Education White Paper 3 of 1997, the Higher
Education Act, Act 101 of 1997, the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) (2001) and
the Guidelines for Mergers and Incorporations of 2003. All these documents determined the
current shape and size of public HEIs in South Africa. Most significantly, this chapter
examines the concept of co-operative governance in South Africa, as a new model of
governance per the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 (as amended). The higher education
policy documents mentioned earlier as well as the different pieces of legislation enacted by
the South African government from 1996 based the public higher education sector on a
democratic transformation trajectory.

2.2   THE CONCEPT OF TRANSFOMATION

Transformation is a complex and evasive concept that means different things to different
people. The same goes for its definition. The Pharos English Dictionary of South Africa
(2011: 760) describes to transform as changing the appearance or nature of [something]
completely. Meyer and Botha (2004: 219) define transformation as "a change in form,
outward appearance, character or disposition...it is the non-incremental and simultaneous
change of an organisation's strategy and structure, systems and processes, measurements

and controls, culture and expectations, costs and capabilities." Zide (2010: 31) proclaims that South Africa has contributed significantly to the popularization of transformation as part of higher Education discourse. Zide (2010: 31-32) describes transformation as "a complete and fundamental change which radically affects the nature of something especially for the better..."

In the HE sector, transformation was prompted by the democratisation of the South African society, which imbued public institutions with values of fairness, justice and redress of the past undemocratic order. As a result of the HE Act 1997, public HEIs were obligated to transform in alignment with the national transformation agenda in public higher education.

The common verb used in the above definitions and descriptions of the concept transformation is change. As much as the verb change dominates in both the definition and descriptions of transformation, the two words do not necessarily mean the same thing. Verhoef (2013: 2) clarifies the above differences when she argues that "change is normally seen as a simple, physical, time-specific process that happens externally to human beings and finds its embodiment in policies. Transformation is complex; it involves people, requires experience and reorientation, takes time, does not have a final script and overtly demands a process". To demonstrate the multifariousness of the transformation process further, Munck (1996: 43.) avers that "at the moment it is tempting to abandon the term altogether given its current (mis)use, and it's almost complete devaluation and stripping of meaning. It seems, sometimes, that transformation and democracy refer simply to the outcome that the user desires". What is apparent is that in the processes which entail both concepts there is an adjustment from the original shape. However, the two have distinctive features in terms of their intended outcomes.

The contrasts of the two concepts presented by Verhoef above demonstrate that the nature of transformation is complex and that it is a constant process, predicated on the material conditions of the time. The HE sector keeps on changing and therefore requires a kind of leadership which embraces the principles of negotiations and persuasions to ensure that there is accord amongst the diverse interest of the stakeholders. Consequently, the public HEIs are highly contested terrains characterized by precarious relationships which exist amongst the different stakeholders. This situation is exacerbated by the excessive number of legislative initiatives introduced by the Ministry of the Department of Higher Education and Training (DHET). Given the different environments characterising public HEIs in South Africa, each institution will follow what works best in accordance with their material conditions.

Bray and Borevskaya (2001: 345), write that the concept of transformation, which is sometimes a result of political, demographic or economic changes, has increased in importance to an extent that it has developed into an independent field of study known as 'transitiology'.

De Wet and Wolhuter (2009:361), Cowen (2000: 338) defines transtiology as

> "...the more or less simultaneous collapse and reconstruction of (a) state apparatus (b) social and economic stratifications system (c) political visions of the future (d) education is given a major symbolic and deconstructionist role in these social processes of destroying the past and redefining the future".

The term transtiology was initially used during the 1970s by political scientists in their analysis of the political, cultural and economic problems in southern Europe and Latin America. Since the 1990s, the term has also been used in the analysis of political transformation in Eastern and central Europe. In 1996, the term was borrowed by Cowen (1996: 163) from political scientists (Martyanov, 2005: 175-191; Saxonberg and Linde 2003: 3-14; Carothers, 2002: 5-12; Haynes and Husan, 2002: 105-129). Cowen (1996: 163) used the term "to illustrate some of the complexities of the transition of pre-modern to modern to late-modern education systems". By way of his publications, Cowen established the term in Comparative Education literature.

In the South African higher education sector, this concept signifies a change from a previously divided HEIs sector to a single and more democratic one where all the stakeholders are urged to contribute in a participatory mode of democracy. The aim of higher education in the post-apartheid period is posited in the HE ACT of 1997 as amended. The White paper outlines the anomalies and the changes to be made in order to transform education in South Africa. The Act outlines the legislative imperatives of the different stakeholders in the transformation trajectory of HEIs as understood by the government.

Figure 2.1 is below is a schematic representation of what transformation at HEIs entails

	TRANSFORMATION VENTURI	

Farewell to the past	Turbulence and Chaos	The new beginning
• Resistance to change • Low innovation • Fear and uncertainty • Double agendas • High levels of conflict • No clear vision • Legitimacy crises	✓ Uncertainty level very high ✓ Confusion and chaos ✓ No clear game rules ✓ Anxiety, depression ✓ Polarisation ✓ Need for leadership	• Visionary leadership • Emerging game rules • Ambivalence • Legitimacy increase • Innovation appears • Efficiency increases
Conflict	**Power Play**	**Consolidation**

Figure 2.1: Transformation venturi. *Venter, 1998* as quoted by Verhoef (2013: 2)

The structure presented in figure 2.1 shows that there are three (3) distinguishable phases, dealing with the ways in which persons who are involved in transformation react to it. These phases are a farewell to the past, which is usually characterised by a conflict caused by resistance to change and the use of force on the other hand to demand change. The second phase is called turbulence and chaos, which presents confusion and disorder as the old, is being done away with but the new not yet born; there is a lot of power play during this stage. It is a period of living in between the times, the old and the new. This phase needs leadership to overseer the process. The third and last phase of transformation is the new beginning, when the conflicting parties have found each other and try to consolidate and chart a way forward towards the agreed common future. This stage is led by visionary and innovative leadership that is prepared to compromise for a win-win situation. The essence of

the above illustrates the uneven road that is usually undertaken towards a transformed society that results in causalities.

In order to address transformation at the South African HEIs, the Department of Education developed the White Paper 3 on Education. According to the Education White Paper 3 Notice 1196 of 1997, the following are the principles by means of which the process of transformation of HE is to be guided in the spirit of an open and democratic society:

- Equity and redress
- Democratisation
- Development
- Quality
- Effectiveness and efficiency
- Academic freedom
- Institutional autonomy
- Public accountability

The above is a schematic representation of typical complex procedural phases of transformation in HEIs using the metaphor of a *venturi* with different successive phases from conflict signified by farewell to the past, power play which is a stage of turbulence and chaos to consolidation which signifies the dawn of a new beginning. These stages might not always be successive but can occur at the same time depending on the circumstances of a given HEI.

Venturi, originated from the Italian Physicist, Venturi G.B, who died in 1822. The noun *venturi* was first used in 1887. The Merriam-Webster Dictionary defines a *venturi* as a short tube with a tapering constriction in the middle that causes an increase in the velocity of the flow of a fluid and a corresponding decrease in fluid pressure, and that is used especially in measuring fluid flow or for creating a suction (as for driving aircraft instruments or drawing fuel into the flow stream of a carburettor (Meriam Webster Dictionary: no page)

According to the Science Dictionary, *venturi* is a convergent-divergent duct in which the pressure energy of an air stream is converted into kinetic energy by the acceleration through the narrow part of the wasp-waisted passage. It is a common method of accelerating the airflow at the working section of a supersonic wind tunnel. Small *venturis* are used on some

aircraft to provide a suction source for vacuum-operated instruments, which are connected to the low-pressure neck of the duct (The Science Dictionary: no page)

It is important to mention that good governance in HEIs is very critical for the transformation project to be realized. Key to the transformation process is good policy developments, procedures and oversight. The role of all the stakeholders is imperative; the SRC is one of the integral structures to be represented in the governance of public HEIs.

The section below discusses the historical background to the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa before 1994.

2.3   HISTORICAL BACKGROUND TO THE GOVERNANCE OF PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA BEFORE 1994

2.3.1   Introduction

The aim of this section is to discuss the role of the state on the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa during the apartheid period. The university as a concept will be defined and the apartheid higher education structure explained. This will shed some light on the history of the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa, especially on the role of the state in this era.

2.3.2   The South African public HEIs in the apartheid era

Before 1994, South Africa had 36 higher education institutions comprised 21 Universities and 15 Technikons. These institutions were governed and managed by different government departments including Bantustans. These were areas reserved for different black ethnic groups during the apartheid era in South Africa. The division based on race and language as discussed below added on the already fragmented education system. The system was characterised largely by lack of co-ordination, severe inequalities and inefficiencies. As a result, a fundamental and instantaneous challenge of the democratic government after the 1994 political dispensation in South Africa was the creation of "a rational, coherent

landscape and moving towards a single, co-ordinated and differentiated HE system…since many of the features of apartheid fragmentation continued within the system and between institutions" Council on Higher Education (CHE, 2001a: 68)

The concept of a university has existed for as long as human beings have lived. Mthembu (2009: 3) writes that its modern establishment in Africa in terms of essence, content and form, is anchored in the old higher education systems of Europe, depending on who the coloniser was. States all over the world have played a role in the lives of public higher education institutions. In effect, universities are used by governments as agents of their political objectives. Apartheid governments were no exception in using universities to further their ideology of separate development.

The higher education system in South Africa during the apartheid period was stratified and arbitrarily highly controlled by the government. There was very little autonomy enjoyed by the university administrators, be it academically or pertaining to the governance of the institutions. Student involvement and participation in governance was not permitted therefore there was a very minimal activity except for protests against university managements. Students were not viewed as stakeholders but needed representation when it comes to governance of public higher education institutions. The model used was that of state control in its different facets. The severity of this model was mostly felt by the historically black public higher education institutions.

During the apartheid era, there were seventeen universities in the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and four other universities which fell within the borders of the independent homelands. The twenty one universities were public institutions which were established by acts of the parliaments of the RSA and of the independent homelands respectively. The seventeen universities in the RSA operated up until 1993 within the framework of the 'educational model'. These universities were further subject to the provisions of the general (University Act No 61 of 1955 as amended), to the provisions of their individual private acts, and to the provisions of statutes and regulations approved by the appropriate minister of education. The various acts and statutes determined chiefly the powers and responsibilities of the governing body and of various officers of a university (Bunting, 1994: 31).

The essence of the apartheid era pertaining to public HEIs is that separate development pervaded all institutional norms, ethos and values and it was based on race and to a certain extent, language. The English and Afrikaans public HEIs benefitted immensely in terms of infrastructure and resources. The effect of the above was enormous and is still yet to be

corrected. Even the mergers and incorporation of HEIs is wanting in terms of redressing the above past imbalances. Badat (2007: 6) writes that all higher education institutions were profoundly shaped by apartheid planning and by the respective functions assigned to them in relation to the reproduction of the apartheid social order. It was the fundamental differences in allocated roles that distinguished the historically white and historically black institutions and constituted the key differentiation and the principal basis of inequalities between them.

As a result of the above, it was a deliberate intent of the democratic government to ensure that there is a transformation agenda to redress the situation through the HE Act and other numerous processes. Co-operative governance is one of the attempts to ensure that representation of stakeholders and debates occur to ensure that decisions are democratically arrived at. In the apartheid era, institutions of higher learning were structured according to race with each governed by its Act. This lasted until 1994 when a new Act governing all the higher education institutions was promulgated. Below is the details of and categorisation of the Technikons according to race and the student enrolment in 1992 before the new dispensation which started in 1994.Student representation in institutional governance was not democratised. Instead, students organised themselves in accordance with the existing liberation movements, they were always in collision course with the university authorities that were helped by the police agents. Most institutions especially black universities embarked on strikes fuelled by a variety of disagreements between management and students ranging from the need to allow SRCs to operate on campuses as recognised democratic structures, hiking fees to appalling living conditions in the student residences. They were imbued with the spirit of intensified mass rolling action spearheaded by a collective liberation movement.

The new order has made it imperative that SRCs should become part of the governance structures of the HEIs. Students have as a result been legally given a platform to make their voices heard as they serve in Councils, Senate and the Institutional Forums of public HEIs. However, some of the tendencies of apartheid still persist. Amongst other things, students still embark on protests for issues ranging from high fees, living conditions in the residences and general disagreements on governance with public HEIs management. The question is whether the SRCs are effective in terms of representing student needs in the democratic structures that they serve in or is the management of the various public HEIs failing to create an enabling environment for the SRCs to participate meaningfully in university governance?

2.3.3   Apartheid regime and the governance of public HEIs in South Africa

During apartheid, student governance was not legislated and as a result, students' involvement and participation was through violent protests that were deemed illegal. The state did not adhere to the democratic values of representation and higher education management had control over the needs and aspiration of the students. Students were viewed as minors' whose role was to study and carry out instructions per the university managements' demands. Race was the determinant factor in terms of the needs of the students which segregated blacks. White institutions were to a certain extent, given leverage when it comes to student participation especially in associations and sports structures. But beyond that, all power resided in the hands of the state through management.

Sayed (2000: 475) argues that in respect of governance, the key legacy of the apartheid higher education system has been " the lack of co-ordination and articulation between and within the various segments of the higher education system; state interference in the governance of the higher education institutions in pursuance of its apartheid ideology, and the higher education system lacked transparency, legitimacy and was to a large extent not accountable to the needs of the society and to the various stakeholders within, and outside, the system." The above situation was oppressive and student involvement and participation was unthinkable.

Woods (2001: 91) writes that inequality based on racial status was deeply embedded in the system of apartheid in South Africa. As a result of policies and practices specifically aimed at creating stratification and perpetual inequality among the races, the South African society became one in which social, economic, and political power, and access to resources were controlled by Whites and parcelled out to other races hierarchically. The SA educational system has historically been rife with extreme segregation and unequal distribution of resources based on the racial status. It is argued that Blacks in South Africa have suffered the most chronic educational disadvantages as a result of apartheid.

According to Woods (2001: 91-92), during apartheid, racial inequality was established and maintained by official laws and policies governing the educational system and by the practices of the country as a whole. The heavily chronicled demise of apartheid in the early 1990s brought about many changes in the educational system in SA. The post-apartheid transformation has been multifaceted and addressed many important aspects in order to change the way education operated under apartheid. Woods (2001: 91-92) further asserts

that in order to transform the educational system in a meaningful way, it is important to understand how deeply the constructs of race and racism are embedded into the institutions, structures and social practices of the South African society and how they play out in the educational environment and in the lives of the individual actors within it.

King (2001: 159) writes that the National Party government utilized higher education institutions to further apartheid goals. The legacy of apartheid is a system comprising historically disadvantaged (HDI) and advantaged (HAI) institutions. The principal mission of HDIs was teaching, located in remote regions where the Black South African population clustered. If South Africans developed stronger ethnic identities, the minority White population could avoid any cross-ethnic efforts to overthrow the apartheid system. While these efforts were obviously unsuccessful, what have emerged are historically disadvantaged institutions that have difficulty competing with the historically advantaged institutions because of their isolated locations and the conditions caused by disparate levels of funding.

Thus the governance of higher education was bridled with state control and interference and serious sanctions in the event of non-adherence to instructions.   Higher education institutions were used as state agencies to enforce the apartheid ideology. In terms of student participation in higher education institutions there was no space for it to be practiced.

2.3.4   The English-medium public HEIs in South Africa before democracy

Bunting (1994: 31) further asserts that during apartheid, South African universities were governed differently according to race and the language spoken by the particular group they serviced. The English and Afrikaans universities enjoyed a measure of academic freedom and autonomy and functioned as part of a socially-engineered system. They were, however, influenced by different universities in Europe in terms of how they operated. The English medium institutions in South Africa depended on the University of London for the recognition of their qualifications, and modelled their academic programmes and administration on Scottish traditions. Notions of academic freedom and the related concepts of institutional autonomy and accountability were accordingly influenced by an understanding that a university was a community of scholars' intent on the pursuit of truth; to succeed, the university needed to be free from outside interference. English medium universities in South Africa articulated their opposition to the apartheid state's separate university education

policies from 1957 onwards and declared themselves 'open universities'. The involvement and participation of the students in English-medium universities is discussed in detail in the subsequent paragraphs below.

2.3.5 The Afrikaans-medium public HEIs in South Africa

Bunting (1994: 31) further writes that the Afrikaans-medium institutions favoured an approach more akin to Dutch and German models of higher education, that universities should serve the nineteenth-century idea of nation-building. This gave birth to the *volksuniversiteit* – the idea that the South African university should offer the fruit of its labour to the building of the Afrikaner nation. Afrikaans-medium universities colluded with state policies, albeit with some notable exceptions of protest and political activism by staff and students. In contrast to historically white universities, the six designated 'black' universities (in Bantustans and self-governing territories) enjoyed little autonomy of any kind. They were administered as extensions of state control, where government exercised a tight rein over appointments, the curriculum and budget. In turn, these institutions became sites of resistance when students began to organise after the late 1960s.In the above systems, there was no public accountability, even for public monies, in any recognisable democratic form. The white universities were funded by formula and could keep unspent balances, while all historically black universities and technikons were initially funded by a system of negotiated budgets and were compelled to return unspent monies. (CHE, 2008: 17-18). For more details about the involvement and participation of students in universities during the apartheid period see the discussion below.

The factors which contributed to the fragmentation of the above apartheid higher education system are that the institutions were governed and managed by independent and self-governing Bantustans. Between 1976 and 1994, public HEIs, for example, the former Ciskei Technikon (later renamed Border Technikon) and the Eastern Cape Technikon, formerly known as Transkei Technikon, were governed or managed by different Acts and military decrees. The above Technikons and the former University of Transkei (UNITRA) have been merged into what is known as Walter Sisulu University (WSU). The tables below show the details of ministerial control of universities as well as Technikons in the Republic of South Africa (RSA) and in the homelands and how they were administered in 1992. The different universities and technikons are grouped into various categories in the tables below.

Table 2.1 shows universities that catered for white students only

Name of Universities	Student Numbers
University of Cape Town	14 239
Natal University	13 488
University of the Orange Free State	9 264
University of Port Elizabeth	5 149
Potchefstroom University for Christian Higher Education	9 353
University of Pretoria	22 384
Rand Afrikaans University	9 865
Rhodes University	4 122
University of Stellenbosch	14 313
University of Witwatersrand	18 120
University of South Africa	125 283
Total	**245 384**

Source: Bunting (1994: 30)

Table 2.1 above shows the universities that catered for white students only during the apartheid era. However the above table is not completely correct in the cases of the University of Cape Town, Natal University, Rhodes University and the University of Witwatersrand, which had some Black students.

Table 2.2 shows universities that were administered by the Minister of Education and Training, the 'general affairs' minister for Black education

Name of Universities	Student numbers
Medical University of South Africa	2 592
University of the North	15 617
Vista University	28 581
University of Zululand	4 568
Total	**51 358**

Source: Bunting (1994: 30)

Table 2.2 above shows the universities that catered for black students only during the apartheid era.

Table 2.3 below shows the university administered by the Minister of Education and Culture (House of Representatives) the Coloured 'own affairs' minister:

Name of University	Student numbers
University of the Western Cape	**12 521**

Source: Bunting (1994: 30)

Table 2.3 above shows the university that catered for Coloured students only during the apartheid era.

Table 2.4 below shows the universities that catered for both Coloured and Indian students

Name of University	Student numbers
University of Durban-Westville	**9 506**

Source: Bunting (1994: 30)

Table 2.4 above shows the university that catered for Indian students only during the apartheid era.

Table 2.5 below shows universities which fell under the borders of independent homelands

Name of Universities	Student Numbers	Year
University of Bophuthatswana	2 806	1991
University of Fort Hare (Republic of Ciskei)	3 490	1988
University of the Transkei	4 922	1991
University of Venda	2 744	1991
Total	**13 962**	

Source: Bunting (1994: 31)

Table 2.5 above shows the universities that catered for students in Bantustans during the apartheid era.

The following tables show the details of ministerial control of Technikons in the RSA in 1992

Table 2.6 below shows Technikons administered by the Minister for Education and Culture (House of Assembly), the White 'own affairs' minister

NAME OF TECHNIKONS	STUDENT ENOLMENT
Cape Technikon	7 878
Technikon Natal	5 894
Technikon OFS	4 102
Port Elizabeth Technikon	5 330
Technikon Pretoria	11 854
Technikon RSA	47 723
Vaal Triangle Technikon	5 791
Technikon Witwatersrand	9 148
TOTAL	**97 450**

Source: Bunting (1994: 33)

Table 2.6 above shows the Technikons that catered for white students during apartheid era.

Table 2.7 below shows the Technikons administered by the Minister of Education and Culture (House of Representatives), the Coloured 'own affairs' minister

NAME OF TECKNIKON	STUDENT ENROLMENT
Peninsula Technikon	4 740
TOTAL	**4 740**

Source: Bunting (1994: 33)

Table 2.6 above shows the Technikon that catered for Coloured students during apartheid era.

Table 2.8 below shows Technikons administered by the Minister of Education and Culture (House of Delegates)- i.e. the Indian 'own affairs' minister:

NAME OF TECKNIKON	STUDENT ENROLMENT
ML Sultan Technikon	5 760
TOTAL	**5 760**

Source: Bunting (1994: 33)

Table 2.8 above shows the Technikon that catered for Indian students during apartheid era.

Table 2.9 below shows Technikons administered by the Minister of Education and Training, the Black 'general affairs' minister: Technikon Northern Transvaal

NAME OF TECKNIKON	STUDENT ENROLMENT
Technikon Northern Transvaal	4 153
TOTAL	**4 153**

Source: Bunting (1994: 33)

Table 2.9 above shows the Technikons that catered for the Sotho speaking students during apartheid era.

Table 2.10 below shows Technikons administered by the Minister of Education of Kwazulu-Natal, the minister of a Black 'self-governing' homeland.

NAME OF TECKNIKON	STUDENT ENROLMENT
MangosuthuTechnikon	1 968
TOTAL	**1 968**

 (Bunting, 1994:33)

Table 2.10 above shows the Technikon that catered for the Zulu speaking students during apartheid era.

The tables above showing the details of Ministerial control of Technikons in the RSA in 1992 indicate that there were 114 071 students enrolled in all the Technikons in the Republic of South Africa that year. The tables also indicate that there were more Technikons (8), which enrolled white students only as compared to one meant for each ethnic groups, that is, Coloureds, Indians, Zulus and one in the Transvaal meant for the remainder of the other ethnic groups in the Republic of South Africa.

All twelve of the above technikons were, like universities, public institutions which had been established by acts of the parliament of the RSA. They operated until the end of 1993, as did universities, within the framework of the higher 'education model'. Technikons differed from universities in that they did not have private acts. Each group of technikons was subject to the provisions of 'general affairs' education acts such as that which established the certification Council for Technikon Education (Act 88 of 1986), as well as to the following 'own affairs' acts which had not yet been repealed in July 1994:

- Technikons established to serve Whites: (National Education) Act (Act 40 of 1967);
- Technikons established to serve Indians: Advanced Technikon Education for Indians Act (Act 12 of 1968);
- Technikons established to serve Blacks: Technikons (Education and Training) Act (Act 27 of 1981); and
- Technikons established to serve Coloureds: Peninsula Technikon Act (Act 52 of 1982.

Individual technikons had a governance structure similar to that of the universities. They were, like universities, required by law to establish a council which was the governing body of each Technikon. Members of council were drawn from a range of interest groups such as

local authorities, specific industries, the body of diplomats of the Technikons, and various government departments. Each Technikon also had to appoint an academic board which had functions similar to that of a university senate. The academic board was responsible for the instruction of students and research, and in general, for the academic programmes of the technikons. Technikons had, within this framework, a degree of administrative autonomy which was less than that afforded to universities. The council of each Technikon was able to manage, for example, most of its financial and personnel affairs without prior ministerial approval. But technikons had far less autonomy than universities in academic areas (Bunting, 1994: 34).

In the new dispensation, the name 'technikons' fell off and was replaced by 'universities of Technology', and these institutions were reduced from twelve to seven. The Higher Education Act of 1997, which resulted from the transformation trajectory, has replaced all the above acts and universities of technology, traditional universities and comprehensive universities are governed by this Act. According to this Act, each of the institutions mentioned above ought to have a Council, Senate and Institutional Forum. These are the three key structures in any higher education institution. They comprise key stakeholders an integral part of which is the student representative council. In the apartheid era, student representative councils were not legislated, students mobilised themselves as part and parcel of the liberation struggle that was going on in South Africa against the apartheid policy.

2.4   HIGHER EDUCATION POLICY DEVELOPMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA POST 1994

During the apartheid era, education in South Africa was a contested issue, hence the demands of people's education validated the popular perceptions of education as an instrument for laying the basis for a democratic, coherent and single education system. The 1980s experienced educational struggles which involved a challenge for the demands for 'people's education'. In 1985 December the Soweto Parents' Crisis Committee called a conference, where the 'people's education movement was mooted. This was part and parcel of the struggle which was waged against apartheid and its oppressive laws. Mathebula (2013: 4) claims that 'people's education' can be traced from the launch of the Freedom Charter in June 1955 in Kliptown, Johannesburg. He argues that it was during this launch that the demands of 'the people' for an alternative government to apartheid power 'were collected, debated and expressed in the Charter's preamble. Rakometsi (2008: 328)

claims that the concept of 'people's education' originated during the Witwatersrand National Consultative Conference in December 1985 where the theme 'people's education for people's power was coined. This concept was proposed by the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) and was viewed as an alternative to the apartheid schooling system. Rakometsi (2008: 329) argues that 'people's education' was a rejection of apartheid education for domination and it was premised on the assumption that education and politics are interlinked and the struggle for an alternative education system cannot be separated from the struggle for a non-racial democratic South Africa. Mathebula (2013: 5) posits that the demand for democratic 'people's education' began in the 1950s in protest against the Bantu Education Act of 1953. He then argues that in the 1980s, the anti-apartheid struggles' educational and political goals became clearer with the demand for 'people's education for people's power'. Cross (1991: 37) argues that some educationists questioned the value of 'people's education' as it was viewed that it would politicise children.

Education was therefore viewed, during the apartheid era, as a transformation tool for the South African society. The fragmentation in the South African public higher education system could not continue unabated. This resulted in the new government embarking on a series of policy development in order to bring about a single, unified and democratic higher education system. Dandala (2009: 21) argues that given the apartheid legacy there was lack of focus and the coherent mission of public HEIs in South Africa worsened as a result of the unhealthy competition in which HEIs reinforced their inherited privileges. He further postulates that HEIs continued to enjoy their autonomy and to have uncontrolled academic freedom, a luxury that the democratic government could not turn a blind eye on unabatedly. This situation, as he rightly suggests, had to be changed in order to create a single and well-co-ordinated HE system in South Africa.

The Higher Education Act, 1997, established the legal basis of a single national higher education system on the basis of the rights and freedoms of the South African democratic Constitution 108 of 1996.Tabane et al (2003:1) argues that the promulgation of this Act "revolutionized the role of …institutions in society and the manner in which they are governed". The Act empowers students through SRCs to play a role in co-operative governance by participating in various institutional governance structures such as Council, Senate and Institutional Forum. The Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 replaced the Universities Act, 1995 (Act No. 61of 1955), the Tertiary Education Act, 1988 (Act No. 66 of 1988), and the Technikons Act, 1993 (Act No. 125 of 1993). The latter acts did not involve students in decision making in the governance of universities and technikons. The involvement and participation of students in the governance of institutions was viewed as

illegal. This resulted in students voicing their dissatisfaction through protests which were mostly violent. Campuses, especially of the former black institutions were mostly seen as volatile. The student leaders of these protests were harassed by the police and also suffered incarceration.The HE Act of 1997 as amended legislates the participation of students in the management of universities through the principle of co-operative governance that was discussed in details above. Therefore, it is imperative by law for all public institutions in South Africa to have SRC representation in all key decision-making bodies. Below is a discussion about the policy and legislative processes which transformed the higher education system in South Africa.

The following words in the foreword of the White Paper on Higher Education 3 1997, by Professor Sibusiso Bengu, the first Minister of Education in a democratic South Africa, paint the course of the origin of transformation by the South African democratic government. He said "The release of the Education White Paper 3- *A Programme for Higher Education Transformation,* is the culmination of a wide-ranging and extensive process of investigation and consultation that was initiated with the establishment of the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) in February 1995 by President Mandela, and the subsequent release of the Green Paper on Higher Education in December 1996 and the Draft White Paper on Higher Education in April 1997." Given the above statement, the legislation process towards the transformation of the higher education system began. The discussion below traces the path of processes that resulted in the enactment of the Higher Education Act of 1997, which legislates both the HE system and HEIs in South Africa.

2.4.1   National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE)

The higher education system in South Africa was gradually becoming diabolical beyond ignoring. There was a need for a co-ordinated HE system that would respond to the national development agenda that would redress the past imbalances and equitably distribute resources efficiently and effectively. This would further ensure that the socio-cultural and economic development imperatives of the democratic South Africa are realised. The conception of the NCHE took place after the address of the Planning Session of the Committee of University Principals (CUP) by the first democratic Minister of Education, Professor Sibusiso Bengu. In the paper titled "*Sustaining while transforming our Higher Education System*", Bengu said "if the present system were to continue its current trajectory,

it would result in the collapse of our institutions and the loss of thousands of places in our higher education system" (Bengu, 1996).

In order to successfully contextualise co-operative governance in HEIs, it is prudent to trace the history of the educational transformation process in South Africa. It is therefore practical to first discuss the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) and its findings. The publication of the NCHE in 1996 was hailed as the first systematic attempt to map out a policy terrain for higher education in South Africa since the first democratic elections in 1994. Its recommendations, particularly on the governance of higher education, elicited much discussion and debate, which gave birth to the Green and White Papers culminating into the passing of the Higher Education Act in 1997. Consequently, the NCHE presaged a transformation trajectory in the South African higher education sector.

The NCHE (1996:99) uncovered in its report that the 1993 participation rates in the South Africa higher education sector was only 19% compared to 76% in the USA and 39% in the Netherlands. In 1994, the participation rates in the South African HE system was only 20% of the 20 to 24 year old population. 70% of the above were Whites and only 12% were Black Africans. The key concern of the NCHE was the speedy and increased co-operation between the higher education sector, which comprised universities, colleges of education, technical colleges excluding agricultural and nursing colleges - and the partnership of both the government and private sector. The partnership between the government and the private sector had to play a critical role in terms of fast-tracking and improving the education sector for the benefit of the previously marginalised masses of the South African population (CHE, 1996: 95).

In order to respond to the national human resources needs of South Africa, the White Paper created an enabling environment for South Africa to ready itself for the National Higher Education Plan (NHEP), later referred to as the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) (DoE, 2001a). To redress the situation, where only the HEIs were efficient and had adequate resources in terms of infrastructure and good throughput as opposed to the HDIs' low throughput and inadequate resources, the White Paper adopted some of the NCHE report. Key amongst the adopted proposals, from the NCHE report, was to promote the expansion of the higher education system in order to "to meet the imperatives of equity, redress and development" (DoE, 1997a: 20). Therefore it is important to assert that the NCHE played a vital role in the birth of co-operative governance in South Africa, which emerged from its findings and recommendations to the Department of Education.

The National Commission proposed its philosophy of co-operative governance as a version of the "state supervision" model that has been well tried in a number of other countries. In state supervision systems (as distinct from either state control or state interference systems), "the state sees its task as supervising the higher education system to ensure academic quality and maintain a certain level of accountability … In this model the government is an arbiter who watches the rules of the game played by relatively autonomous players and who changes the rules when the game no longer obtains satisfactory results". It is however important to emphasise that according to this philosophy the sate supervises and not control (NCHE 1996: 175).

However, the National Commission also recognised that the necessary conditions for an "imported" model of state supervision were not all present. South African higher education was characterised by a weakly integrated higher education system, weakly developed planning and regulative structures, low levels of mutual trust and the difficulties that institutions faced in placing common interests above individual interests. These circumstances required "distinguishing features" in the South African version of state supervision and, particularly, a wide range of "governance mechanisms". Thus co-operative governance requires that "the government does not become the single agent, but it will have a range of roles and obligations, in a variety of co-ordinated arrangements". This, in turn, is to recognise that there will be tensions, and that these must be balanced with commitment: "for co-operative governance to succeed all stakeholders need to commit themselves to a code of conduct based on the acceptance of joint responsibility for the future of higher education in South Africa" (NCHE 1996: 177). In particular, the principal stakeholders must take appropriate roles as follows:

- Managers of institutions should show "a willingness to interact and establish relationships with a wide range of partners". They will be responsive to national and regional needs, and will promote a favourable institutional environment.
- Students "have legitimate expectations and demands which should be met while recognising that the potential benefits of higher education offer a privilege which carries its own responsibilities. Students "have a role to play in the facilitation, and orderly continuation and transformation of academic programmes" (NCHE 1996: 177).

The NPHE is discussed below.

2.4.2 The National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) 2001

The conception of the NPHE was elicited by the institutional planning processes which were started in 1998 through several workshops organized by the Department of Education. These workshops were funded by the USA through the Tertiary Education Linkages Project (TELP). This was in preparation for the 1999 – 2001 and the 2000 – 2002 Three Year Rolling Plans (TYRPs) (Dandala, 2009: 25). The above processes were in tandem with the evaluation of the higher education environment and the report by the CHE, Towards a New Higher Education Landscape: Meeting the Equity, Quality and Social Development Imperatives of South Africa in the 21st Century (CHE, 2000). The objective of the National Plan was to outline the framework and mechanism for implementing and realizing the policy goals of the White Paper. Both the National Plan and the White Paper set indicators for the targets of the size and shape the higher education system had to adopt. This included overall growth and participation rates, institutional and Programme Qualification Mix (PQM), as well as equity and efficiency goals (DoE, 2001a: 18).

The NPHE gave effect to the vision for the transformation of the higher education system outlined in *Education White Paper 3 - A Programme for the Transformation of the Higher Education System* (DoE: July 1997). It provided an implementation framework and identified the strategic interventions and levers necessary for the transformation of the higher education system. It further offered an opportunity and challenge to chart a path that locates the higher education system as the key engine driving and contributing to the reconstruction and development of the South African society (NPHE: 4).

This National Plan provided a framework for ensuring the fitness of the higher education system to contribute to the challenges that face South Africa in the 21st century. Its primary purpose was to ensure that

- "the higher education system achieves the transformation objectives set out in the White Paper and is responsive to societal interests and needs;
- there is coherence with regard to the provision of higher education at the national level;
- limited resources are used efficiently and effectively and there is accountability for the expenditure of public funds;

- the quality of academic programmes, including teaching and research, is improved across the system." (NPHE, 1996: 5)

The development of this National Plan has been informed by the institutional planning process which was started in 1998, the ongoing analyses of higher education trends by the Department of Education and the report of the Council on Higher Education (CHE), (CHE: 2000).

This National Plan addressed five key policy goals and strategic objectives which in the Ministry's view, were central to achieving the overall goal of the transformation of the higher education system. The goals and strategic objectives are:

- "To provide access to higher education to all irrespective of race, gender, age, creed, class or disability and to produce graduates with the skills and competencies necessary to meet the human resource needs of the country.

- To promote equity of access and to redress past inequalities through ensuring that the staff and student profiles in higher education progressively reflect the demographic realities of South African society.

- To ensure diversity in the organizational form and institutional landscape of the higher education system through mission and programme differentiation, thus enabling the addressing of regional and national needs in social and economic development.

- To build high-level research capacity to address the research and knowledge need of South Africa.

- To build new institutional and organizational forms and new institutional identities through regional collaboration between institutions." (DoE, 2001: 21)

2.4.3 Policy Framework of the National Plan

This National Plan is based on the policy framework and the goals, values and principles that underpin that framework as outlined in the White Paper. These are intended to develop a higher education system that will:

- "Promote equity of access and fair chances of success to all who are seeking to realize their potential through higher education, while eradicating all forms of unfair discrimination and advancing redress for past inequalities;

- Meet, through well-planned and coordinated teaching, learning and research programmes, national development needs, including the high-skilled employment needs presented by a growing economy operating in a global environment;
- Support a democratic ethos and a culture of human rights through educational programmes and practices that are conducive to critical discourse and creative thinking, cultural tolerance, and a common commitment to a humane, non-racist and non-sexist social order;
- Contribute to the advancement of all forms of knowledge and scholarship, and in particular, address the diverse problems and demands of the local, national, southern African and African contexts, and uphold rigorous standards of academic quality." (White Paper 1997: 1.14)

2.4.4 Planning and competition in public HEIs

The result of the absence of a national plan has been the development of a competitive climate in the public higher education sector. This was fuelled by the emergence of a market in higher education as a result of a growing private higher education sector. Furthermore, competition worsened the inequalities within the higher education system. This competition was the product of two inter-related factors. The first of these was a decline in student enrolments in the late 1990s. The average annual growth rate of 5%, experienced in the higher education system between 1993 and 1998 was not sustained and there was a 4% drop in enrolments between 1998 and 2000 (CHE 2000: 7). The second factor was the financial constraints that resulted from limited financial resources. Although government expenditure on higher education (excluding the National Student Financial Aid Scheme) as a percentage of Gross Domestic Product increased from 0.72% in 1996/96 to 0.77% in 1996/97, it remained steady at 0.77% until 2001/2002 when it dropped to 0.74%. This has impacted institutional operational budgets and many institutions have attempted to respond by introducing efficiency measures and widening their income stream. (CHE 2000: 7).

The increased competition amongst public HEIs in South Africa was a result of the need to maximize their welfare to become top ranking universities. It also highlighted the limits of linking funding narrowly to student enrolments. This was likely to be competitive, except

when enrolments were growing unless if policy and planning mechanisms were linked to national goals.

The implications of a competition-driven higher education system and its attendant dangers are clearly identified by the CHE Report, which argues that it results in:

> "lack of institutional focus and mission incoherence, rampant and even destructive competition in which historically advantaged institutions could reinforce their inherited privileges; unwarranted duplication of activities and programmes; exclusive focus on 'only' paying programmes; excessive marketization and commodification with little attention to social and educational goals; and insufficient attention to quality" (CHE 2000: 17-18).

The competition-driven developments have essentially taken three forms to date: first, the rapid development of distance education programmes by traditionally contact institutions; second, the establishment of satellite campuses by contact institutions to facilitate the delivery of their distance education programmes and in some cases, to offer traditional face-to-face programmes; third, the rapid growth of the private higher education sector with its limited focus on the delivery of low cost, high demand programmes which are financially lucrative such as those in business, commerce and management. (CHE 2000: 17)

2.4.5 Equity and redress

Competition amongst public HEIs in some cases intensified the racial divide in the higher education system. The opening up of access to black students at all public HEIs after 1994 has undesirably impacted on student enrolments at historically black institutions (HBIs) and, in particular, historically black universities. According to the NPHE (2001: 13), between 1993 and 1999, African student enrolments decreased from 49% to 33% at historically black institutions and increased from 13% to 39% at historically white institutions (excluding UNISA and Technikon SA). The decline in enrolments, combined with a range of other factors such as a growing student debt, governance and management failures and general instability, resulted in a rapid erosion of the sustainability of a number of the historically black universities (CHE 2000: 13).

As a result, there was a need for redress funding in order to address the legacy of the past and also to establish the sustainability of HBIs. The principle of equity and redress is firmly entrenched in the White Paper, which states,

"The principle of equity requires fair opportunities both to enter higher education programmes and to succeed in them. Applying the principle of equity implies, on the one hand, a critical identification of existing inequalities which are the product of policies, structures and practices based on racial, gender, disability and other forms of discrimination or disadvantage, and on the other a programme of transformation with a view to redress. Such transformation involves not only abolishing all existing forms of unjust differentiation, but also measures of empowerment, including financial support to bring about equal opportunity for individuals and institutions." (White Paper 3: 1.18)

The Ministry of the Department of Education therefore agreed with the CHE report that:

"the categories of 'historically advantaged' and 'historically disadvantaged' are becoming less useful for social policy purposes --- (and that the) 36 public higher education institutions inherited from the past are all South African institutions. They must be embraced as such, must be transformed where necessary and must be put to work for and on behalf of all South Africans". (CHE 2000: 14)

In keeping with the above statements, the South African democratic government embarked on a transformation path to ensure that the higher education sector benefits the socio-economic demands of all the South Africans, especially those who were marginalised by the apartheid policies. What then followed was an enactment of a series of legislation to redress the past imbalances, the processes culminated into the enactment of the Higher Education Act 1997 as amended. Co-operative governance became the new model to govern higher education institutions, with stakeholders (the SRC included) playing a significant role in decision-making. The White Paper 3 on education is discussed next.

2.5   THE HIGHER EDUCATION WHITE PAPER 3

As outlined in the White Paper, the key challenges facing the South African higher education system remain, "to redress past inequalities and to transform the higher education system to

serve a new social order, to meet pressing national needs, and to respond to new realities and opportunities" (White Paper 3: 1.1). More specifically, as the White Paper indicates, the role of higher education in a knowledge-driven world is three-fold:

- "Human resource development: the mobilization of human talent and potential through lifelong learning to contribute to the social, economic, cultural and intellectual life of a rapidly changing society.

- High-level skills training: the training and provision of person power to strengthen this country's enterprises, services and infrastructure. This requires the development of professionals and knowledge workers with globally equivalent skills, but who are socially responsible and conscious of their role in contributing to the national development effort and social transformation.

- Production, acquisition and application of new knowledge: national growth and competitiveness is dependent on continuous technological improvement and innovation, driven by a well-organized, vibrant research and development system which integrates the research and training capacity of higher education with the needs of industry and of social reconstruction". (White Paper 3: 1.12)

The above implies that education was to be designed in such a manner that it should play a central role in terms of transforming the socio-economic conditions of South Africa. The realization of the human resources development, high-level skills training and the production, acquisition and application of new knowledge would give effect to the vision of a transformed higher education sector. Students as a stakeholder were to be statutorily empowered to play a key role in the transformation of the higher education landscape.

2.6   THE HIGHER EDUCATION ACT 101 OF 1997 AS AMENDED

The preamble to the HEA, 1997 enunciated the need to establish a single and coordinated HE system which would promote the principles of co-operative governance. Section 20 (1) of this Act empowers the Minister of Education to establish a university, technikon or college after consultation with the CHE and by notice in the government Gazette. Section 23 (1) of the same Act empowers the Minister of Education to merge two or more public higher education institutions into a single higher education institution. The merger process was

guided by both sections 23 and 24 of the HEA, Act No 101 of 1997. The mergers of the public HEIs in South Africa are discussed below.

Hall *et al* (2002: 31) aptly argue that the NCHE (1996) report, both the Green and White Papers on Higher Education (1997), and the NPHE (2001); in conjunction with each HEIs' own Statute, define co-operative governance and sets out the roles and responsibilities of the Councils, Senates and Institutional Forums that Constitute the formal organs of governance in the country's HEIs. They further assert that this set of policy and legislation has "re-moulded the fractured and divisive inheritance of the apartheid years into a coherent national system".

2.7   MERGER PROCESSES IN PUBLIC HEIS IN SA AND STUDENT GOVERNANCE

The concept of mergers in South Africa was borrowed from countries such as Finland where about three of their higher education institutions merged (Dandala, 2009: 27). A merger in HEIs is a way of rearranging universities into fewer and more efficient institutions. The mergers in South Africa reduced 36 institutions that comprised 21 Universities and 15 Technikons to 23 HEIs grouped into three different types mentioned below. This process resulted in a multi-campus mode of offering, creating three different clusters namely, Comprehensive Universities (CUs), Traditional Universities (TUs) and Universities of Technology (UoTs). The HDIs were idyllically merged or incorporated with HAIs to equitably distribute resources, with the HDIs category meant to be the beneficiaries of the mergers. The creation of the different types of HEIs was in line with redressing the human resources needs of SA resulting from the legacy of apartheid. The establishment of multi-campuses within the HE sector in SA had an effect on student governance, as student bodies in each campus had to be represented by the SRC as per the provision of the HE Act of 1997 as amended. The question was how the different HEIs were going to manage student governance in the multi-campus set-up. This study attempts to explore the effect of the SRC in co-operative governance in the South African HEIs.

Dandala (2009: 27) writes that the South African merger of HEIs was assisted by the South Africa- Finland Co-operation Project (the Finish Project) in order to strengthen their quality assurance policies, procedures and mechanism. The Finish assistance of South Africa occurred despite the fact that the Finish HE system was small and in the process of undergoing its own mergers in 2008. The above illustrate the comparatively matured,

efficient and well-coordinated Finish higher education system compared to that of South Africa which was riddled by the residues of a disintegrated and inefficient legacy of apartheid.

The involvement and participation of student representative councils differed from merged institutions (which resulted in multi campuses) and single campus institutions. Mergers of higher education institutions resulted in one institution having multiple campuses and this affected how this type of institution is governed. This institution became suited with a model referred to as a federal structure. According to Tabane et al (2003: 23), this type of model meant that there are two or more SRCs co-existing at different satellite campuses. He further notes that the two or more SRCs will then meet to coordinate their activities and seek consensus on matters or even establish joint coordinating committees, or having the same office bearers in SRC sub-structures existing in satellite campuses. However the model of student governance is determined by the constitution which serves as the basis for the operation and management of the SRC.

2.7.1   What are mergers of public higher education institutions?

A merger is defined as "a process whereby two or more formally separate and independent higher education institutions become legally and organizationally a single entity under the managerial responsibility and control of a single governing body and a single chief executive" (Martin, 1996: 83). Harman & Lynn Meek (2002: 1) posit that "mergers and other forms of consolidation have been used by many countries such as Canada, Great Britain, Germany, New Zealand, Australia, Norway Sweden, Hungary and Vietnam to name a few, to initiate a restructuring of higher education".

A merger is one of the most significant events an institution may engage in and for some institutions merger may mean that they cease to exist. In both educational and commercial worlds, there are few 'true' mergers; the more common practice is that one institution takes over another institution. Few, if any, mergers are painless. It is generally agreed that it can take up to ten years for the wounds to heal and for the new institution forged from previously autonomous identities to operate as a cohesive and well integrated whole. This may be the reason why it takes so long for many of the efficiencies expected of a merger to appear. The negotiations leading up to a merger can be long and protracted and those individuals and groups who feel that they have lost advantage because of the merger may continue their

opposition long after agreements are formalised. (Harman & Lynn Meek, 2002: 4). Jansen (2003:35) confirms the above that most of the mergers were subsumed integration, which means the taking over of a smaller and vulnerable institution by a larger established institution.

Higher education in South Africa has been undergoing significant transformation with the government demanding fewer, larger and more effective and efficient universities that are designed to better meet specific national needs in the post-apartheid era. Amongst others, the restructuring of higher education, through mergers was amongst others meant to increase levels of institutional collaboration. The following have been the drivers of these efforts:

- "Increase efficiency and effectiveness, especially in coping with rapid and substantial growth in student numbers which in turn brings heavier demands on institutions;
- Deal with problems of non-viable institutions and institutional fragmentation;
- Widen student access and implement more broad scale equity strategies;
- Differentiate course offerings to cater for greater student diversity and to improve the equality of graduates; and
- Increase government control of the overall direction of higher education systems, especially to ensure that higher education institutions serve more directly national and regional economic and social objectives". (Harman & Lynn Meek, 2002: 1)

The above meant that the DHET was to democratically steer the higher education sector to ensure that the imbalances of the past are redressed. Access of students was to be controlled to ensure that the previously disadvantaged benefit. Institutions were to be merged while others were incorporated to insure equity, efficiency and quality of graduates to realise the need for a high-level skilled labour force in South Africa. The differentiation of universities ensured that there is no duplication in offerings yet some institutions were to specialise in certain fields. The DHET had to provide huge budgets to assist the merger process to be realised. However the process was protracted and uneven. At the time when this study was done there was a move to demerge some institutions, whose merger proved to be unviable. The preamble to the HE Act 1997 aptly sums it that the aim was to provide for 'programme based higher education (HE Act 1997: 2). The question of why mergers took place in South Africa is answered below.

2.7.2   Why mergers in South African public higher education institutions?

In order to establish a single coordinated public higher education system in South Africa, the Ministry of Education embarked on the process of transforming the higher education landscape, with the dawn of democracy. Starting with the *White Paper on Higher Education of 1997* (Department of Education, 1997:1) which was later enacted as the Higher Education Act, 1997 (Act 101 of 1997), the ministry of education compiled and distributed a document which became known as the *Higher Education Restructuring and Transformation Guidelines for Mergers and Incorporations of 2003* amongst South African public universities and technikons in 2003. The announcements by the Minister of Education on mergers and incorporations served as a precursor to the above guiding framework (Asmal, 2003: 7).

The South African public HEIs were merged and incorporated as follows:

- The University of the North and the Medical University of South Africa (now University of Limpopo (LU);
- The University of Fort Hare and the East London Campus of Rhodes University (now Fort Hare University);
- The University of Port Elizabeth and Port Elizabeth Technikon(now Nelson Mandela Metropolitan University (NMMU);
- The Rand Afrikaans Universiteit, and Technikon Witwatersrand (now University of Johannesburg (UJ);
- The University of Natal and the University of Durban Westville (now University of Kwazulu Natal (UKZN);
- The University of the North West and Potchefstroom University (now North West University (NWU);
- The University of Transkei, Border Technikon and the Eastern Cape Technikon (now Walter Sisulu University (WSU);
- The incorporation of the Vista University campuses into Universities and Technikons in different regions;
- Technikon Pretoria, Technikon Northern Gauteng and Technikon North-West now Tshwane University of Technology (TUT)
- Cape Technikon and Peninsula Technikon (now Cape University of Technology (CPUT)

Below is a discussion on the merits of the mergers in public higher education institutions in South Africa.

2.7.3   The merits of mergers

Koen (2003: 1) writes that the virtues of mergers as an instrument to promote efficiency and to reduce costs in higher education have long been challenged. According to Koen (2003: 1), the merger of higher education institutions was mainly aimed at reorganizing the apartheid edifices and thus, reduced the 36 universities and Technikons to 21 institutions of higher education. The mergers were imposed upon the higher education sector, with institutions having to comply with the instructions to merge. Patterson (1999: 15) concurs that mergers were forced into higher education institutions and were as such, involuntary. The resistance and conflict which characterised merging institutions was a testimony to the involuntary nature of the mergers. They were initiated and driven by the government and it was expected of institutions of higher learning to merge.

Ntsoe (2003: 381) argues that the policy of institutional mergers was as a result of lack of effective governance and management in some of the higher education institutions and their incapacity to address the historic disparities caused by apartheid. Pityana (2004: 5) writes that the merger policy was controversial as its assumptions were based on ideological conjectures that were inadequately tested such as the reduction of institutions from 36 to 21. He argues that the above assumptions were seen as outstanding instruments of mergers and incorporations without examining other options to achieve the intended purpose. Lynch and Lind (2002: 5) retorts that there is no single merger model that should be viewed as a cure-all. Baloyi (2007: 12) argues that the approach used by the South African government in implementing mergers is clearly not a panacea but one of the few methods through which a resilient single coordinated higher education could be achieved.

The federal structure model of the SRC is conveniently used in most multi campuses institutions in South Africa. However, it has shortcomings in that there are main campuses and satellite campuses at HEIs. Satellite campuses are mostly neglected when it comes to representation pertaining to decision–making, despite having SRC structures in their campuses.

2.7.4   Mergers and incorporations of higher education institutions and the Multi-campus governance

The merging of the 36 HEIs resulted in the establishment of 23 HEIs with multi-campuses. This meant that the HEIs had to rethink how the SRCs were to be elected and operate in a democratic and seamless manner. Before the mergers the South African public institutions had one SRC mostly in the main campuses. Vista University was an exception, which had multi-campuses and had both local SRCs in the campuses and a central national SRC named Vista University National Student Representative Council (VUNSRC). In the current South African HE sector there are multi-campuses institutions with local SRCs on campuses and a central SRC. The next section highlights the key governance structures public HEIs.

2.8   THE KEY GOVERNANCE STRUCTURES IN PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION NSTITUTIONS

The higher education governance structure is comprised of Council, Senate, Institutional Forum and the SRC. Beside the above structures, the SRC is also represented in other institutional governance structures such as Student Parliament, Student Services Council, Faculty Boards and in evaluation committees where the student voice ought to be heard. These structures provide the SRC with a platform to raise and engage on robust debates regarding the needs of the student body and most importantly policy and constitutional issues, which are critical in institutional governance. It is important to note that the representation of students in institutional governance structures is not uniform in all the higher education institutions, statutes of various HEIs determines how students are represented in statutory bodies. In some universities the students are either not serving or under-represented, which makes the voice of the students not to be effectively heard.

The council of a public higher education institution must govern the public higher education institution, subject to the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended and the institutional statute. The senate of a public higher education institution is accountable to the council for the academic and research functions of the public higher education institution and must perform such other functions as may be delegated or assigned to it by the council. According to Sec 31 (1) the institutional forum of a public higher education institution must-

(a) advise the council on issues affecting the institution, including (i) the implementation of the HE Act and national policy on higher education (HE Act 1997: 31)

The HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended provide for a representation of SRCs in co-operative governance in the following manner:

- "Section 27, subsection 4 (f), The Council of a public higher education institution must consist of (amongst other stakeholders), students of the public higher education institutions elected by the SRC. The Council must also provide for a suitable structure to advise on the policy for student support services within a public higher education institution after consultation with the SRC, subsection 3.
- Section 28, subsection 2 (f), The Senate of a public higher education institution must consist of (among other stakeholders), the SRC.
- Section 31, subsection 2 (f), The Institutional forum of a public higher education institution must consist of representatives of (among other stakeholders), the students" (HE Act, 1997:29-31).

Tabane et al (2003: 5) avers that the above-mentioned provisions provide for direct representation of the SRC in governance structures. This means that, apart from representing students, SRCs have the responsibility of acting in the best interests of the institution in exercising their role in these governance structures. Section 27 subsections 7 (a) and (b) require that members of the council must be persons with knowledge and experience relevant to the objects and governance of the public higher education institution concerned and must participate in the deliberations of the council in the best interests of the public higher education institution concerned.

Tabane et al (2003: 5-6) further argues that the establishment and composition, manner of election, term of office, functions and privileges of student representative councils are referred to as institutional statutes and institutional rules in terms of section 35 of the Higher Education Act. Institutional statutes are legal tools that seek to promote effective management of the higher education institutions in respect of matters not expressly prescribed by the Higher Education Act. Therefore the crafting of institutional statutes needs care and skill for them to ensure a proper implementation of the HE Act in general but co-operative governance in particular. This means that there should be adequate and quality consultation with and among various stakeholders mentioned above, lest a public higher education institution might always have differences especially where the students' needs are

involved. Differences on campuses result in violent protests by students and sometimes disgruntled staff members owing to working conditions.

Analysis of the HE Act 1997 (as amended) reveals that the structure of the governance in public HEIs can be represented as follows.

Figure 2.2 below shows a schematic representation of university governance structure as per the HE Act, 1997 as amended.
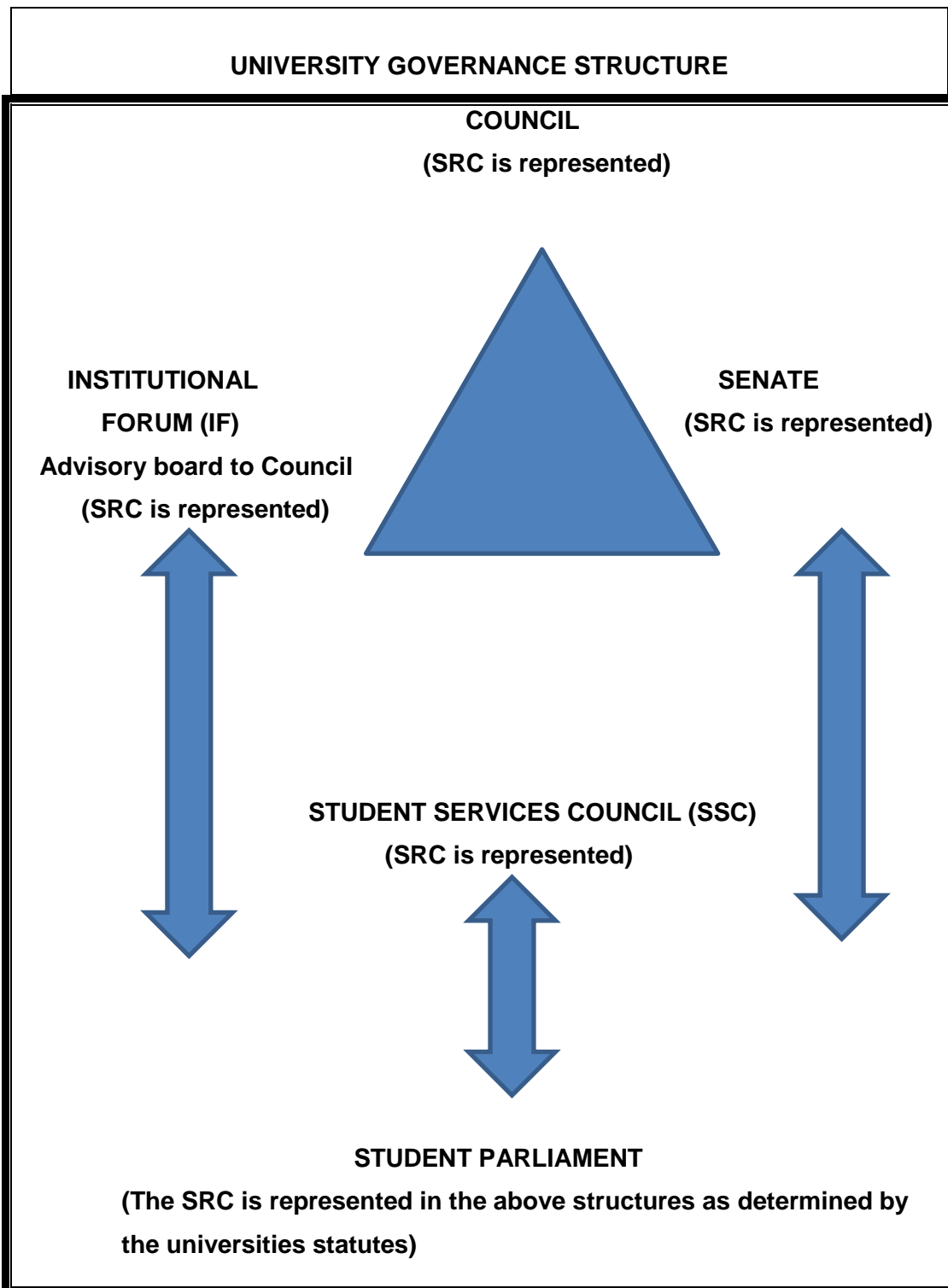
Figure 2.2 University governance structure as interpreted from the HE Act 1997

Figure 2.2 is a schematic representation of key University decision-making bodies that comprise of stakeholders where the SRC is represented. Council comprises of different stakeholders that include both internal and external members and is the accounting body for the public HEIs and reports to the Minister of the DHET. Amongst the internal stakeholders represented there are students. Senate is the highest academic structure in an institution which decides on what to be taught and the requirements for qualifications amongst other things. Institutional Forum has advisory powers in respect of matters affecting the institutions including but not limited to the following:

- "the implementation of the Higher Education Act 1997 (as amended) and the national policies on higher education;
- race and gender, institutional equity policies and the language policy of the University;
- the selection of candidates for senior management positions;
- codes of conduct, mediation and dispute resolution procedures; and
- fostering of an institutional culture which promotes tolerance and respect for fundamental human rights and creates an appropriate environment for teaching, research and learning".

The Institutional Forum performs such other functions as may be determined by the Council. It is comprises representatives from all key structures in universities such as council, senate, management, academics and administrative employees, representative employees' organisation, convocation, and most importantly, the Students' Representative Council. The statute in an institution is a legal document that outlines the governance structure of the institution and the powers and functions of each stakeholder within that particular university. However, the statute of any university must comply with the imperatives of the HE Act 101 of 1997 which governs the higher education sector. Failure to adhere to the provisions of the Act may result in the DHET intervening. The section below evaluates the higher education policy framework.

2.8.1. Student Services Council (SSC)

The National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) recommends that each institution establishes a Student Services Council, chaired by a senior executive member, with equal representation from staff/management and students (ensuring race and gender representation), and with a policy-advisory role in student services. The administration and

management of such services should remain the responsibility of management (NCHE 1996: 206).

The Student Services Council (SSC) was enacted in the Guidelines for Mergers and Incorporations passed in 2003, which determined the size and landscape of the higher education institutions in South Africa. The purpose for its establishment was intended to deal with matters relating to the provision of student support and administration in higher education institutions. The SSC is constituted as a sub-committee of council with a formal constitution and its membership is comprised of a wide student representation and institutional staff. Its objective is to provide student services by university personnel such as residence wardens, sports officers and staff from the student affairs departments (DoE 2003: 47).

Institutionally, the SRC play a pivotal role in the SSC in terms of influencing policy that has a bearing on the student affairs. It is therefore important that its representation should be encouraged, protected and supported by the student affairs practitioners. This could go a long way in ensuring that the role of student representation is effective in the governance of higher education institutions.

In accordance with, section 27 (3) of the Higher Education Act (101 of 1997, as amended) it is provided that:

The Council of an institution, after consultation with the Students' Representative Council, must provide for a suitable structure to advise on the policy for student support services within the institution, which should:

- "Advise the Registrar on matters of policy relating to student services.
- Fulfil a policy-advisory role in student services.
- Submit its recommendations to the Institutional Forum on equity and diversity matters.
- Provide a vehicle to enhance the collaborative effort between management and students, as well as all lecturing and student services staff, in order to ensure that the institution is responsive to the needs of students.
- As a joint management and student participation forum, the SSC shall be used for purposes of consultation, information sharing, and consensus seeking on matters pertaining to the interests of students and the institution as a whole.

- Co-ordinate and support student development initiatives and programmes within student services, with individuals as well as academic departments.

- Make recommendations to the Planning, Finances and Research Committee regarding priorities for the allocation of resources for the provision of services to students.

- Co-ordinate the development and delivery of quality assurance processes across all areas of student support, including performance indicators, client surveys and benchmarking.

- Give advice on equity and diversity matters in the area of student services and to contribute to the development and monitoring of an appropriate equity plan.

- Promote and facilitate relevant student services-related research and to communicate findings to the relevant structures.

- Develop policies, procedures, rules and regulations with regard to student services matters in accordance with the vision and mission of the institution.

- Co-ordinate and monitor the implementation of policies, procedures, regulations and rules relating to student support services and programmes.

- Establish such standing and ad hoc committees as it finds necessary in carrying out its functions. The membership and terms of reference of any standing subcommittees established must be forwarded to the Executive Management for endorsement, and the chairs of such subcommittees are to be approved by the SSC." (CUT, FS, Constitution of the Student Services Council, D SSC 13/02/3)

Beside the above statutory university governance structures the SRC plays a critical role in the following institutional structure, student parliament.

2.8.2   Student Parliament (SP)

According to the constitution of the students' representative council of the Central University of Technology, Free State SP is a body of student leaders elected from all recognized structures who meet to discuss university matters that affect the students and serves as an advisory body to the SRC, as regulated in terms of the university statute? Each public HEIs determines the composition and functions of the SP. The following outlines the core

functions and powers of the student parliament in accordance with the Central University of Technology, Free State constitution. The core functions of the SP include:

(a) To act in the best interest of students and to actively promote students' rights under chapter 2 of the Student Constitution;

(b) Duties and powers as set out in Section 54 of the Student Constitution

(c) To hold the SRC accountable and transparent;

(d) To advise the Student Represent Council upon request-

     (i) of this body; and/or

     (ii) student; and/or

(e) To formulate and maintain policy in order to promote an institutional sensitivity to foster accountability and transparency within student leadership structures" (CUT, FS, SRC Constitution, 2013: 40).

According to the CUT, FS SRC constitution the following are the powers of the Student Parliament:

- "Give general guidance to the SRC.

- Contribute to the formulation of students' policies and the SRC.

- Protect the right and expose any form of exploitation of students.

- Encourage the interest, awareness and participation of CUT in community development, social upliftment, research and projects.

- Promote the democratic participation of students in the CUT governance structures.

- Promote accountability of students' leadership to students and to the broader community.

- Provide a forum for exchange of information and ideas in order to promote unity and solidarity amongst students and to achieve this by facilitating communication and cooperation, liaison and good relations amongst affiliates" (CUT, FS, SRC Constitution, 2013: 43).

2.9 CHALLENGES TO THE LEGISLATIVE FRAMEWORK IN THE SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION SECTOR

There is usually a gap between policy and practice and a misinterpretation of the policy results in lack of transformation and crisis in HEIs. The process of developing policies for the higher education system in South Africa has been a daunting task. National imperatives were to be taken into cognisance as the redress of the divided past was to be undone. The legislative framework process was, without any doubt, not easy as it challenged the core of apartheid values and ethos, which meant those who benefitted, had to forego their privileges. This was however to be done in such a way that equity and diversity were going to be observed.

The governance of HEIs seems to be in a crisis and their autonomy is challenged by the amendments the Minister of HET seeks to make. In a recent discussion of the Act on SAfm on 24 July 2013, the minister of HET, Blade Nzimande, "gave the impression throughout the programme that there is no problem with the legislation and accused vice-chancellors and other critics of lying when they claimed that there had been inadequate consultation." At hand, it is section 35A (2) that requires the minister's independent assessor to impose a blanket embargo on any documents, records or evidence disclosed to the assessor. This is against the disclosure of information and constitutes a violation of the right of those affected by the investigation to answer allegations. As such, it also compromises the integrity of the assessor's proceedings.

The gist of the DHET Laws Amendment Act 2012 introduces into the HE Act provision for a new type of national institute. It extends both the powers of the minister to intervene at a university in a crisis and the grounds on which the minister must act. It allows the minister to appoint an assessor to investigate a university that is showing symptoms of an approaching crisis. The independent assessor has the power to summon personal testimony or documentation, or to exclude observers from attending any meeting he/she might call to investigate and interrogate such evidence.

Ndungane and Price, chancellor and vice-chancellor of the University of Cape Town respectively argue that section 49A (1), the proposed HET Laws Amendment Act 2012 "gives the minister unwarranted powers to suspend a university council or its vice-chancellor, even when that university has no evidence of being in distress. It allows the minster, in effect, to decide who should be admitted to or employed by the university, and which staff

members should be promoted if he/she is of the opinion that the university is not doing it equitably. This would result in a direct violation of the institution's academic freedom and autonomy, whereas the checks on unfair or illegal practices by a university are already adequately available in other legislation such as chapter 9 institutions and the equality court" (*Mail & Guardian,* 30 August 2013).

2.9.1   Higher Education South Africa (HESA) and the Ministry of Higher Education and Training (HET)

The higher education sector has challenges and as such, the HET Ministry develops policies in order to deal with the environment. Higher Education South Africa (HESA) also plays an important role in ensuring that legislation and policies are properly interpreted and understood by managers and prospective managers of the HEIs for adherence. Addressing the aspiring leaders at public HEIs at the Higher Education Leadership and Management (HELM) training Workshop, HESA CEO, Dr Mabelele (2013) posited that the " legislative framework post 1994 had seen the rise of the White Paper on Higher Education and Training, plus a plethora of legislative instruments changing the complexion of governance within the higher education system." HELM training was designed to equip leaders-in-the making to deal with the imperatives of managing change at their institutions. It further enabled them to debate managing university-stakeholder partnerships and sharpen their understanding of the higher education policy and regulatory framework.

According to Dr Mabelebele (2013), the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 has brought some changes from the past undemocratic ways of governing HEIs. He argues that "the collegial method of governing and managing universities in the past had been dismantled and in its place, a new model of public accountability had been created." Accountability in governance of organisations, including HEIs, is emphasised as one of the key principles. Co-operative governance, the new model of governance in HEIs, mentions amongst others accountability as one of the values. The King 3's report on good governance also touches on the mandatory importance of accountability by managers of organisations.

The *White Paper 3: A Framework for the Transformation of Higher Education (1997) (White Paper)* sought to guide programmes and processes aimed at transforming the post-apartheid higher education system. It required that "all existing practices, institutions and values are viewed anew and re-thought in terms of their fitness for the new era" (White

Paper 3: 3). The HE sector has serious challenges regarding transformation on a number of issues and in 2008, the then Minister of Education, Naledi Pandor, appointed a *Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education,* headed by Prof Crain Soudien, to "investigate discrimination in public higher education institutions, with a particular focus on racism and to make appropriate recommendations to combat discrimination and to promote social cohesion." (HESA, 2010:2). According to the conclusions of the *Soudien Report,* the state of transformation and redress in the public HEIs is moving at a "painfully slow" pace. The report noted serious disjunction between policy and the real-life experiences of both students and staff, particularly in learning, teaching, curriculum, languages, residence-life and governance.

The Soudien Report argued that transformation incorporates three elements, namely, policy and regulatory compliance, epistemological change, institutional culture and the need for social inclusion. It further suggested that while institutions have gone a long way towards achieving regulatory compliance, concerns remain policy implementation and the larger questions of transforming curricula and institutional culture. A synopsis of the report is the urgent need "to move beyond policy formulation and to achieve practical, tangible equity goals and to create an observable shift in the cultures of institutions which in many instances, albeit in difficult to define and sometimes barely perceptible ways, continue to legitimise the subordination of the disabled, of women and of black people, is widely embraced in the sector" (HESA, 2010: 2).

Lewins (2010: 133) writes that on the issue of governance in public HEIs the Soudien Report found that governance structures were generally not working optimally as councils had abdicated and deferred their responsibilities to management, which is itself problematic and sometimes a hindrance to the transformation agenda of public HEIs. The IF at universities were not found to be assisting in advising council as per the HE Act 1997 as amended but were downgraded to just 'fringe players' with minimal impact. Pertaining to student governance the Soudien Report argued that "student governance was often narrow and parochial but could not be wished away by the bureaucratic fiat" (Lewins, 2010: 133). The above scenario paints a bleak picture regarding co-operative governance which is key in realizing the transformation project in public HEIs

Based on its conclusion, the Committee recommended, as one of the key interventions, that the Minister of HET should consider establishing a permanent *Transformation Oversight Committee* to monitor the transformation of the higher education sector. At the time this this study was carried out, the Minister of HET had established the above committee, chaired by Prof Malekgapuru Makgoba, the Vice Chancellor of UKZN, to guide and overseer the higher education transformation path at the South African public higher education institutions (DHET, 2013).

It is still early to tell whether the *Transformation Oversight Committee* will achieve its goals of transformation and redress at the public HEIs. It is, however, reliant on the HEIs, HESA, CHE and all the HE stakeholders to work together in the best interests of the South African HE. The focus of this study is on the role and effect of the SRC; it is therefore imperative that the student leadership plays its part in the transformation and redress of student affairs to ensure that racism and discrimination are combated and that there is social cohesion.

The managements of HEIs have a big role to play in transforming their institutions. This should begin with accurate interpretations of legislations and how they manage their internal relations amongst themselves as stakeholders. Luescher-Mamashela (2012: 8-10) avers that management at HEIs should be mindful of the legal and changing roles and relationships of the SRCs and adhere to these fundamental changes. Amongst others, he asserts that public HEIs managements need to be wary of using outdated concepts such as children or minors, beneficiaries or even subjects to refer to students. Instead, they should use new concepts such as adult citizens, clients or consumers, co-responsible for their learning and co-governors to refer to them. Failure by management and other stakeholders to be sensible to changing roles and relationships at HE will heighten the already unpredictable conditions on campuses at public HEIs

2.10   CONCLUSION

The chapter explored the transformation of governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa by looking at the legislative framework. It is evident that the transformation of HE sector, in its broadest sense, would involve an increased and broadened participation of stakeholders; accountability; efficiency; responsiveness to societal interests and needs; and cooperation in partnerships and governance. These principles are vital in moving towards

realising the intricate concept of transformation, thereby ensuring that co-operative governance is practiced in public HEIs in South Africa.

CHAPTER THREE

GOVERNANCE OF PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA: HISTORICAL AND CONTEMPORARY PERSPECTIVES

3.1   Introduction

The preceding chapter investigated the legislative framework and policy documents towards the transformation of public HEIs governance in South Africa from its genesis. This chapter provides a review of literature relating to the theoretical perspectives of the governance of public HEIs in South Africa. The objective is to investigate how best the SRCs in public HEIs can participate in co-operative governance. In this section, theoretical perspectives and governance models at public HEIs and the role of the state in the era before democracy will be examined.

3.2   The governance of public HEIs in South Africa

Chambers English Dictionary (1992: 615) defines to govern as to direct, to control or to rule with authority and governance as giving direction or control by the government. In this study, the focus is on the co-operative governance of public HEIs. The study examines the effect of SRCs as an integral stakeholder in the governance of public HEIs. Fielden (2008: 2) explains the governance of universities as "all the structures, processes and activities that are involved in the planning and direction of the institutions and people working in tertiary education". Zide (2011: 109-110) writes that the concept of governance refers to the development of a more democratic system of power relations between various sectors of an institution by, for instance, seeing to it that fundamental changes occur to ensure adherence to the principles of democratic governance, accountability, transparency and inclusiveness in decision-making. In this study, the structures involved in the governance of public HEIs in South Africa are the Senate, Institutional Forum (IF), SRC and the Council of institutions. Council is the supreme body in decision-making at public HEIs.

In order to contextualise the involvement and participation of students in HEIs' co-operative governance, it is important to unpack the complex modes, theories and models of governance used in the HE sector. Sayed (2000: 477) argues that fundamental to the governance models of HEIs in South Africa are conflicting and contrasting understandings of the relationship between the state and HEIs. The state steers, subsidises and oversees the governance of HEIs while the councils, (comprised of both internal and external members) as supreme decision making bodies in these institutions, are involved in the daily operations through the Vice Chancellors as the Chief Executive Officers (CEOs)The councils are accountable to the Ministry of Higher Education and Training (HET). HEIs are obliged to submit annual reports on the operations of their institutions, especially regarding compliance with the imperatives of the HE Act, 1997 and the usage of public funds. Section 41 A (1) of the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended empowers the Minister of HET to intervene and appoint an administrator where compliance by public HEIs is breached. There seems, however, to be challenges in the interpretation and implementation of the HE Act in terms of how far the HET department should steer HEIs on one hand and the extent of academic freedom and autonomy to be exercised by public HEIs. This creates mistiness which has resulted in the Ministry of HET placing some universities under administration.

3.3 Theoretical perspectives on the management of the public Higher Education Institutions

The following discussion investigates the theoretical perspective best suited for the practice of co-operative governance in HEIs especially pertaining to the role and effect of the SRC. Different governance models are explored below.

3.3.1 Governance models at public HEIs

Different models are used in the governance of public HEIs. Amongst these models are the bureaucratic, collegial, political, state control and state supervision models. Baldridge (1986: 16), one of the constructors of the intellectual models of analysing academic administrations, proclaims that both bureaucratic and collegial models are the two dominant models of university governance. However, he further declares that the political model is offered as an alternative means of understanding the dynamics of policymaking in

academic organizations. He affirms that this political model has now been used in three empirical studies at New York University, Portland State College, and Stanford University. He argues that "there is a complex social structure that generates conflict; there are many forms of power and pressure that affect the decision makers; there is a legislative stage in which these pressures are translated into policy; and there is a policy execution phase that eventually generates feedback with the potential for new conflicts" (Baldridge,1986: 16). State supervision and state control are two other models which are mostly used in the governance of universities. The following governance models are discussed: bureaucratic model, political model, collegial model, state control model and the state supervision model. The discussion of these models validates South Africa's choice of the democratic concept of co-operative governance, borrowed from the collegial model, as a model for governing public HEIs.

3.3.2 The bureaucratic model

Chambers English Dictionary (1992:189) defines bureaucracy as a system of government by officials, responsible only to their departmental chiefs. Hage (1980: 34) says that a typical bureaucracy has seven key tenets, namely:

- hierarchical authority,
- limits of authority,
- division of labour,
- technical proficiency,
- standard operating procedures,
- rules for work and
- different rewards.

Mandew (2003: 30) argues that notwithstanding the fact that public HEIs possess some of the above characteristics, they tend to be irreconcilable with bureaucratic technologies because of the prominence they place on the value of autonomy and other incongruities that occur in remuneration and the non-routine nature of a number of activities. Mandew (2003: 30) proclaims that resistance to transformation and inaptness of the manner in which output is evaluated by public HEIs are some of the downsides of the bureaucratic model.

According to Fourie (2001: 89), Max Weber's bureaucratic model suggests, in essence, that bureaucracies are networks of social groups dedicated to limited goals and organized for maximum efficiency (Baldridge *et al.* 1986: 16). A bureaucratic process model means that routines and procedures are used to resolve decisions. Hardy (1990: 409) lists the following characteristics of a bureaucracy:

- The focus is on efficiency.
- Goals may relate more to means than ends.
- The search for alternatives is limited and routine.
- Criteria are historical.
- The process is largely predictable.

Fourie (2001: 89) further writes that "higher education institutions and systems do display some characteristics that fit Webers' original description of a bureaucracy, such as the division of labour, the standardization of activities, the use of impersonal criteria, an administrative hierarchy and formal policies and rules". There are also formal channels of communication that must be respected. However, other characteristics such as direct supervision of work, detailed operating rules and a high degree of centralization are not inherent to higher education institutions.

In order to accommodate professional organizations like higher education institutions in the bureaucratic model, Mintzberg developed a model of professional bureaucracy in which the professional and the bureaucratic co-exist. In professional bureaucracy, allegiance is to the profession or discipline rather than to the organization and adherence to professional values rather than to organizational goals binds the members together (Hardy 1990: 394, 395). Another characteristic of professional bureaucracy is the decentralization of power and responsibility. Hardy (1990: 395) argues that the existence of professional ethics, which guide, motivate, and control members, makes this 'self-government' possible". In professional bureaucracy, professionals of the organization derive their power from the fact that their work is too specialized and complex to be supervised by managers (Savenije 1992: 643).

When considering the different types of institutions in a higher education system in terms of bureaucracy and professional bureaucracy, it becomes clear that a continuum exists. Prestigious research institutions such as universities are more decentralized in the manner

of professional bureaucracy, while less prestigious units such as training colleges are characterized by more traditional bureaucratic arrangements (Hardy 1990: 401). In general, public institutions are likely to be more bureaucratic than independent (private) institutions (Birnbaum 1988:118, 119). HEIs are different from bureaucratic institutions due to the nature of their educational projects which gives them academic freedom and scholarly freedom. As much as universities can be referred to as bureaucratic structures, there is more collegiality in their craft than in core inflexible structures.

The rigidity of a bureaucratic model does not allow the stakeholders within structures such as that of a HEI to become involved and participate meaningfully. This model is devoid of democratic values as embedded in the principles of co-operative governance as fostered by the HE Act 1997. In the context of this study, it is not immediately explicit how the role and effect of the SRC can be realised under the bureaucratic model of governance.

3.3.3   The Political model

The political model was developed in the seventies by Baldridge (1986). Fourie (2001: 92) argues that this model assumes that complex organizations like higher education institutions can be studied as miniature political systems. It focuses on policy- formation processes, because major policies commit an organization to definite goals and set the strategies for reaching those goals (Baldridge *et al.* 1986: 20). Most higher education institutions are composed of large numbers of individuals and groups that in some ways, operate autonomously but in other ways remain interdependent. Politics and power only become relevant when individuals or institutions must rely on others for some necessary resources or when interdependence forces them to become concerned about or interested in the activities of others (Birnbaum 1988: 132)

Although this model encapsulates self-interest, and emphasizes conflict among interest groups, institutions which display these characteristics are not constantly in turmoil and a state of instability. Birnbaum (1988: 136-137) gives the following reasons:

- "Organizations tend to develop continuing and quasi-stable dominant coalitions whose established power serves to inhibit overt conflict.
- Individuals belong to more than one group and they participate in many political processes, each of which involves different people therefore deep cleavages dividing major groups on many issues are unlikely.

- Most people in political communities are different and not concerned about most issues most of the time.

- Disruptive conflict is inhibited because power in higher education tends to be issue specific" (see also Baldridge *et al.* 1986:20; Hardy 1990: 398).

Mandew (2003: 31) declares that the political model acknowledges that educational institutions are essentially political animals because of the various interests that are involved and constantly competing for power and control. The model takes cognisance of the unequal power relations in institutions and has problems with its assumptions of rationality in organisational behaviour. Mandew (2003: 31) argues that this model can best be driven by policy as it assumes that differences are unavoidable in institutional stakeholder relations. He insists that the weakness of this model is that, due to its acknowledgement of the centrality of conflict and competition, it works against the long-standing practices of collegial decision-making and processes of governance.

In higher education institutions, the political model results in contestations for power and if not properly managed through policy, an institution can be plunged into chaos and instability. Usually the political party in government ensures that its wishes and interest permeates through the organs of a public higher education institution. In South Africa, competition for power and control is rife and the Minister of Higher Education and Training has a prerogative to intervene where he thinks there is mismanagement or instability.

3.3.4   The Collegial model

Monaghan (2007: 7) writes that collegiality is a tradition in university administration which is based on the ideals of collaboration, debate, consensus and democracy and which has often included the appointment of senior university administrators following election by their faculty colleagues. He insists that collegial approaches are idealized by many in university communities, without acknowledging that this tradition often allowed for a range of power plays, influence and the techniques of the 'old boys club' by those with superior political skills. It also frequently resulted in slow decision-making, a stalemate or decisions which were never implemented. Monaghan (2007: 7) argues that in the past quarter-century, managerial styles have become dominant and these are characterized by strategic focus, target setting, executive decision-making and performance review. This change has resulted in intense variations in power relations and considerable disquiet in university communities.

In contextualizing the collegial model, Makhanya's explanation below best describes the essence of this model. Makhanya (2011: 6) asserts that at the University of South Africa (UNISA), collegiality is defined as cultivating an ethos of professionalism, shared responsibility, mutual respect, civility and trust while understanding and acknowledging each other's competencies and roles. Makhanya argues that the sheer pace and volume of work at most institutions tend to inhibit collegiality and that results in authoritarian practices by leaders. However, for leaders in public HEIs to be collegial and persuasive, they need to be constantly vigilant and unremittingly committed to a leadership style that is inclusive and accommodating. Makhanya's view above resonates with the democratic principles of co-operative governance.

The two most important principles of the collegial model are firstly, the idea of a community of scholars in which decisions are a matter of consensus, and secondly, the idea of professional authority that is based on competence rather than on position. This model reflects common interests, what Birnbaun (1988: 85) calls "sharing power and values in a community of equals". Collegiality has been represented as the traditional view of higher education governance in which members' loyalty and commitment bind them to organizational goals, leading to consensus decision-making. Hardy (1990: 397) argue that collegiality is more than a structure; it is a gestalt which pervades all aspects of institutional life and is reflected in the structure, process, behaviour and attitudes of an organisation. This model is more likely to be found in institutions where there are commonly accepted missions, where charismatic leaders mobilize organizational members, or when sufficient resources exist to accommodate disparate goals (Hardy 1990: 409).

Characteristics of collegial institutions or systems include an emphasis on consensus, shared power, common commitments and aspirations, and leadership that emphasizes consultation and collective responsibilities (Birnbaum 1988:86; cf. Anderson 1991:528-530). Although Baldridge *et al.* (1986: 19) suggest that the collegial model is more often a desirable goal than an actual and accurate description of the processes in most higher education institutions, Birnbaum (1988:93) believes that collegial structures and processes can almost certainly be seen at least some of the time, in at least some of the parts of most higher education institutions.

Mandew (2003: 31) avers that the collegial model assumes that participatory governance is the most suitable approach in pursuing institutional goals. The following are some of the key tenets of the collegial model:

- that participants share basic beliefs about the institutional purposes and processes;

- the existence of mechanism and equality of opportunity by all participants to influence decisions on strategic issues; and

- success being contingent on participants being open to new ideas and a willingness to change positions

The collegial model appears attractive as a model that can be used in co-operative governance to allow the SRC to play a role. However, it has both its strengths and weaknesses. Mandew (2003: 31) states that the strength of the collegial model is its consistency with the academy's values such as informed debate and 'governance by peers'. Amongst the drawbacks of the collegial model are that the processes tend to be labour-intensive, time-consuming, and insensitive to differential power relations, resource availability and policy implementation issues makes this model problematic.

The weak aspects or the disadvantage of the supportive model, one of the five models of organizational behaviour, were eliminated in the collegial model. The word "collegial" I is related to the number of persons working for a similar intention. In its starting days, the collegial model was most common in research laboratories and a similar workspace. The theory of the model is based on the fundamental objective of developing mutual contribution by employees and the employer. The model encourages the employee to develop an internal bond and think that he/she is the integral part of it and contribute to the success and growth of the organization. Not only does the employer have to make a contribution to the organization, he must also appreciate the work of the other employees. In this model, no one is the boss and no one is the employee management and the employees work jointly. The objective is to build a strong and efficient team where every employee knows his/her responsibility and efficiently works for it. The model is different from other models in the sense that it provides a degree of self-actualization that is enough to spark enthusiasm in employees. (Tutors Kingdom: no page)

Cooperation amongst different stakeholders is encouraged in organizations as they will always engage in debates regarding shared vision. Therefore collegiality is essential to realize common goals. It is imperative in university governance to ensure that the environment is enabling for the students to participate fruitfully and effectively. The principles of the collegial model may support the participation and involvement of students in co-operative governance in the sense that it ensures that university governance ought to include students, as key stakeholders, in governing public HEIs. The participation and

involvement of students in governance ensures that the legislative imperatives of co-operative governance are actualised and that the students' voice is heard through the SRC.

3.3.5 The state control model

The state control model had its origin from European countries and some countries in Africa. Sayed (2000: 477) writes that the state control model is based upon the rational planning model and presumes total and complete knowledge of the object of regulation. Sayed further argues that this model presumes that it is possible and desirable to control the behaviours of different actors involved in a higher education system.

Hay and Monnapula-Mapesela (2009: 7) aver that there are two types of steering control by governments which are classical steering (also known as state control) and supervision by government (also known as the 'new' steering). Classical steering is based on the idea that society can be manipulated and that in this approach, steering is done through a command and control of internal processes. The problem with classical steering is that higher education systems are too great for detailed top-down steering and that governments have no monopoly on steering society.

The state control model has its foundation on effective and systematic state administration of higher education, implemented by a professional and competent civil service, the "continental" mode characteristic of Western Europe in the twentieth century. Initially the governance model for formerly black institutions or Historically Black Institutions (HBI) in South Africa was clearly a state-control model, that is, control by legislation backed up by central government's administrative and executive powers with respect to the composition of management; administrative and academic structures; access; student affairs; funding and the appointment of all senior members of staff. The legislation which controlled HBI was known as the Universities Act No.61 of 1955).This legislation ensured that every aspect of black institutions regarding management, administration, academics, funding and appointment was in check. This was in line with the apartheid policy where black people did not have a say in terms of how they are being governed. In contrast, the Van Wyk de Vries Commission (1973) recommended strong institutional autonomy for Historically White Institutions (HWI), which during the 1980s possessed an unprecedented degree of autonomy (Cloete & Kulati, 2003: 4). HWI were state apparatus, and were given more institutional autonomy to govern their affairs with minimum interference by the state as compared to HBI which were rigidly state controlled.

Like any model, the state control model has its own limitations. Sayed (2000:477)argues that the state control model has shortcomings as it fails to distinguish between a legitimate state and a state struggling to maintain its legitimacy in the face of opposition. A distinction is of crucial importance especially in the South African context. In a legitimate state, the interests of the state are seen to reflect the will of the people who voted for it, hence giving it legitimacy to govern on behalf of the general electorate. In an illegitimate state, control by the state is for the purpose of safeguarding its ideology and actions against the popular will. At the time of this study, the government was democratically elected. However, there were challenges in terms of how the Ministry of HET steers public HEIs, despite the apparent legitimacy of this process.

Consequently, the basis of this model is that "governments control both the process and product of higher education and are concerned with actively directing the creation of higher education system. This model is characterised by strong bureaucracy which is a powerful medium of regulation" (Sayed, 2000:477). This model departs from the co-operative principles of consultation, debates and seeking consensus amongst the stakeholders within the institutions. Thus, this model is not preferable for the purpose of transforming the higher education landscape. This model operated during the apartheid era where SRC's involvement and participation were not authorised.

3.3.6   The state supervision model

Sayed (2000: 477) writes that, based on a cybernetic model of decision-making, Neave and Vught (1994) posited a contrasting approach referred to as the supervisory model of governing public HEIs. According to this model, the state sets frameworks and plays mainly a monitoring role leaving decision making to decentralised units at lower levels. In this model, the state's role is to evaluate the system and ensure consistency across different public HEIs. Van Vaught (1989: 43) argues that in the supervisory model, the state sees itself as a supervisor and uses broad terms of regulation to steer public HEIs from a distance.

Sayed (2000: 478) observes that the power relationship under this model of governance may be more 'insidious as the capillaries of power' are extended beyond the formal apparatus of the state. This means that in the supervisory model of higher education governance, the state recasts its relationship to public HEIs in different ways. Sayed mentions

'quangofication' as of one of the ways through which the state makes semi-governmental agencies responsible for intervening and monitoring the system of higher education. The effect of 'quangofication' is that the state keeps strategic control over public HEIs while outsourcing services that deal with provisioning. In the UK, the Teacher Training Agency monitors and intervenes in the system of higher education. The South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) and the CHE are the examples of such agencies in South Africa.

Hay and Monnapula-Mapesela (2009: 7) argue that contrary to the state control model, the new steering mechanism (state supervision) provides universities with greater autonomy and improves transparency of inputs and outputs. It further enhances institutions' accountability and has the possibility to strengthen university managements. In a state supervision system, "the state sees its task as supervising the higher education system to ensure academic quality and maintain a certain level of accountability… in this model the government is an arbiter who watches the rules of the game played by relatively autonomous players and who changes the rules when the game no longer obtains satisfactory results" (NCHE 1996: 175).

According to Hall, Symes and Luescher (2002: 43), state supervision also referred to as 'state steering', is a model of governance in which institutions are granted appropriate levels of autonomy and academic freedom is guaranteed. These principles are given effect through a bicameral system of responsibilities, in which accountability for governance is shared between two primary parties, namely, the lay members of Council acting as trustees in the public interest, and professional academics taking responsibility for teaching, learning and research through Senate and Faculty Boards.

Cloete and Kulati (2003: 4-5) write that the state supervision model is founded on less centrist forms of control, where the locus of power shifts from "centralised control" to "steering". They argue that in the application of this model, governments provide the broad regulatory framework and, through the use of instruments such as planning and funding, institutions are "steered" to produce the outputs governments' desire. Cloete and Kulati (2003: 4-5) persuasively argue that the steering of public HEIs is seen as an interactive process between government and institutions and is the current preferred model in many countries. However, there are many and divergent mechanisms and levels of steering. However it should be noted that as much as this model can be ideal, it does not necessarily mean that it will alter the allocative authority of the state. This is true of co-operative governance where the state, under the Ministry of the DHET has intervened in five public HEIs in South Africa, between 2011 and 2013 and placed them under administration for reasons including maladministration, corruption and financial crises. They are the Vaal

University of Technology, Tshwane University of Technology, the University of Zululand and Walter Sisulu University.

The DHET Ministry did not succeed in all the cases of its interventions to place the public HEIs under administration. The case in point is that of the Central University of Technology, Free State (CUT) where the finding of the court was decided in favour of CUT (Minister of Higher Education and Training and Others v Mthembu and Others 2012). Therefore the state supervision model can as well be as constrictive as the state control model. For any model to succeed despite being founded on democratic values there needs to be commitment amongst all the role players, the SRC included, to ensure that co-operative governance is effectively implemented.

The opposite of the state supervision model is the state interference model. Cloete and Kulati (2003: 5) note that state interference is based on control in higher education that is neither systematic (like the state control model) nor "regulation through steering" (like the state supervision model) but which is based on arbitrary forms of intervention. It is argued that this model operates in many developing countries of Africa in particular. This type of model is applied arbitrarily and it is devoid of any democratic principles similar to those of co-operative governance.

In assessing the different models examined above, the writer posits that for the purpose of transforming HEIs' governance and student participation, two models are preferred, namely, the collegial l and supervision model. Amongst the models discussed above, the collegial model, which has its conception from the German *bundestreue* and adapted to co-operative governance, is regarded as the suitable model for governing public HEIs. The supervision model, where the state plays an evaluative role, is also ideal to be considered. The above two models create an enabling environment for the SRC to become involved and participate meaningfully in the co-operative governance of the HEIs.

3.4   The steering of public HEIs

The steering of public HEIs by governments is a common phenomenon worldwide. The steering of public HEIs refers to the involvement of governments in the direction-finding of public HEIs. Government steering of higher education involves attempts by governments to influence the decisions and actions of other actors according to its goals by using certain mechanism or 'tools' in the form of funding, regulation, planning and evaluation, and often

find their impetus in policies. In the 1980s, quality assessment and lately, university rankings have become powerful government steering mechanisms.

Hay and Monnapula-Mapesela (2009: 6-8) write that governments throughout the world steer higher education systems to achieve the governing ideologies and objectives of the day. They argue that through a well-balanced steering approach, governments can create a climate that is conducive to economic development. Through initiatives that create partnerships among higher education, the private sector and state government can invest in strategic and cumulative ways for infrastructure. This can further provide structures that encourage and reward collaboration among higher education providers within and across sectors. HEIs are public entities and as a result governments the world over are involved in different ways in guiding them on how they should operate. The government of the day plays an integral part in how public HEIs are being steered.

In South Africa, the HE Act of 1997 as amended provides how HEIs should be steered and should operate and also set measures to assess them. Co-operative governance is used as a yard stick in terms of how governance in public HEIs should occur, with all key stakeholders empowered by legislation to play an important role. The steering of public HEIs ensures that the objectives of higher education, as enshrined in the South African Constitution 101 of 1996 and the HE Act of 1997 as amended are met. The preamble to the HE Act 1997 speaks to the importance of the steering of HEIs and their autonomy and accountability. The purpose of the HE Act as set out in its preamble posits that "it is desirable for higher education institutions to enjoy freedom and autonomy in their relationship with the state within the context of public accountability and the national needs for advanced skills and scientific knowledge" (HE Act 101 of 1997). The above illustrates the integral part played by public HEIs in the development of their countries.

The importance of the HEIs in terms of being innovative and key towards the socio-economic development of their societies has been observed by different authors. Bjarnason and Coldstream (2003) and Clark (1998) write that with the technological advances of the 19th and 20th centuries, the knowledge society and its knowledge economy require a more responsive higher education system that engages more closely and proactively with the rest of the society; closes the critical gap for their economy and becomes an agent of social and economic development.

On the steering of higher education institutions, Ferlie, Musselin and Andresani (2008: 325) point out that most higher education systems in Europe and the United States (US) are

publicly funded. The above authors assert that European universities are largely dependent on the state for financing: the state is concerned with the regulation of their behaviour as they influence citizens' life chances significantly; they contain a mix of professional and bureaucratic elements and they operate within strongly structured institutionalised fields. They further proclaim that there are many fundamental similarities with other public service settings such as health care, which are also steered by the government. The above practice in the United States and Europe regarding the funding of HEIs is maintained in South Africa as well. It is also for this reason that based on the democratic values of the South African Constitution of 1996, the new model of governance, that is, co-operative governance was adopted in South Africa.

The mode of the steering of public institutions is not static but evolves with time. The aim is to meet the changing needs of the society, as assessed by governments of the day. Teichler (2004: 5) proclaims that experts tend to agree that substantial changes have taken place in Europe since the 1980s as far as steering national higher education institutions and the administration of individual higher education institutions are concerned. Teichler emphasises that in all European countries, at different points in time and developing somewhat differently, a process evolved whereby governments reduce their direct supervision and control of higher education. By so doing they tried to shape higher education more strongly through target-setting and performance-based funding. Individual higher education institutions became more powerful strategic actors and they established a managerial system characterised by stronger executive powers of the institutional leadership. By increased evaluation activities, this promoted reflection and improvement on the part of academics as well as accountability to the government and the public at large.

In South Africa, the government plays an overseer role together with the Council on Higher Education (CHE) that governs public HEIs. Council is the supreme decision making body at public HEIs, it comprises both internal and external members. The external members of council constitute 60% of the total number of the council members serving within a university, with the Ministry of HET also having representatives. The question that arises then is that if the Ministry of HET is represented in the councils of HEIs, why were some universities found not to be complying with the provisions of the HE Act 1997? From 2009 to 2012, four public HEIs were placed under administration by the Ministry of HET for the reason that they breached the HE Act as amended. Such universities include the University of Zululand in 2009; Tshwane University of Technology in 2011, Walter Sisulu University in 2011 and Vaal University of Technology in 2012. This further concurs with the haziness in

terms of the interpretation and implementation of the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended, especially on the principle of co-operative governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

According to the summary of the key recommendations of Ministerial Report on Transformation in HEIs (MRTHEIs) the role of the students is very critical in the governance of public HEIs. The report outlines that it is imperative for the management of the higher education institutions to eensure that the freedom and right of students to organise along political lines is upheld. This right acknowledged the importance of national politics in the country and extended it to the student political organisations on campuses. The recognition of student political organisations departs from the apartheid past where it was illegal for students to organise themselves let alone to have SRCs on their campuses (MRTHEIS: 4).

3.4.1 Why the steering of HEIs?

As public entities and funded by the state, HEIs have a particular role to play to meet the needs of the society. As a result, the steering of HEIs directs them towards accomplishing state-set goals and the imperatives of the Higher Education Act 1997 (as amended). In South Africa, the steering of higher education institutions ensures that there is adherence to the key principles of co-operative governance, namely, cooperation and partnership in governance, democratisation, public accountability, and effectiveness and efficiency in public HEIs.

The relationship between public HEIs and the state is not always harmonious given to the existence of a grey area resulting from a lack of a common understanding of the concepts of autonomy and academic freedom enjoyed by the HEIs. As much as public HEIs are understood to have a certain degree of autonomy pertaining to governance as well as academic freedom, the state, through recent interventions in university governance demonstrated that it has unlimited control on HEIs as public entities. The question regarding the governance of HEIs is how far should public HEIs go in terms of governing themselves without state interference in their institutional autonomy in terms of governance and academic affairs? Below is a discussion of the different theoretical perspectives on governance models and how they relate to co-operative governance.

3.4.2 Steering models in sovereign, institutional, corporate-plural and classical liberal states

Gornitzka and Maassen (2000: 217) distinguished between the sovereign state, the institutional state, the corporate-pluralist state, and the classical liberal state, also known as the state supermarket model. The sovereign state steering model views higher education as a government instrument for reaching political, economic and social goals. The higher education sector is thus a strong ally to the state in its implementation of the higher education policy agenda. The institutional steering model provides public HEIs with the task of protecting academic values and traditions against political instabilities. The corporate-pluralist state steering model on the other hand, acknowledges that there are a variety of often competing centres of authority and control with respect to higher education. In the supermarket steering model, the role of the state is very minimal. This model ensures that the market mechanism in the higher education sector is not imprecise. Looking at the different models discussed above, Gornitzka & Maassen (2000: 223) found a predisposition towards the "supermarket steering model".

Hay & Monnapula-Mapesela (2009: 8-9) argue that what seems interesting is that in most systems, a blend of models is found also referred to as hybrid steering approach. Universities as public institutions have always performed certain roles that were predominantly influenced by the cultural and ideological, social and economic, educational and scientific roles allocated to them. Yet, it is accepted globally that that the 'modern' university as a project of the nation state with its cultural identity finds itself in uncertain times. This is because universities are involved in almost every kind of social and economic activity and are highly dependent on government for the bulk of their funding. Modern public HEIs are increasingly urged to 'modernise', 'adapt', 'marketise', in order to become more 'efficient', more 'service oriented' and more 'societally relevant'. The success of the above transformational issues will only be realized if the traditional steering relationship between the state authorities and the public higher education institutions are in tandem.

3.4.3 Europe and the steering of HEIs

Steering in public HEIs has been used as a global mechanism to ensure efficiency, relevancy and accountability in the governance of universities. The Bologna Declaration of

1999 is a typical example of collective efforts by public HEIs in Europe to give direction on the governance of the higher education sector towards common goals:

- The Bologna process with its implied changing degree structures as a European example of government steering;
- Internalisation and globalization;
- The changing organization of research
- Financial accountability and responsibility;
- Interactive governance (Hay & Monnapula-Mapesela, 2009: 9)

In 1999 the Bologna process was attended by 29 European ministers in charge of higher education to lay the basis for establishing a European HE Area by 2010 and promoting the European system of higher education world-wide. In their declaration known as the Bologna Declaration, the ministers agreed to,

- Adopt a system of easy readable and comparable degrees;
- Adopt a system with two phases: the undergraduate and the graduate;
- Establish a system of credits;
- Promote mobility by overcoming obstacles;
- Promote European cooperation in quality assurance; and
- Promote dimensions in higher education. (Hay & Monnapula-Mapesela, 2009: 9)

Through the Bologna Declaration, European students organised themselves into a forum and were given a platform to represent themselves in the universities' decision-making processes that affected them. In Africa, the process of students organising themselves into a similar structure is almost non-existent. However South Africa has a union of SRCs known as the SAUS, but it could not be concluded at the writing of this research whether this union was effective. In 2012, SRCs from different higher education institutions drafted the Student Charter which might begin the process of having a national forum where students can meet and collectively address issues of common interest experienced on campuses.

3.4.4   Steering of HEIs in South Africa in apartheid

Hay and Monnapula-Mapesela (2009: 11) assert that before 1994 the steering of HEIs by the government was aimed at mainly advancing white South Africans. The apartheid

dispensation left South Africa with a highly contested and racially segregated HE system, consisting of a typology of historically white and historically black universities (which included two separated universities for Indians and 'coloureds'). This system originated in the establishment of colleges that were precursors of the University of Cape Town and the University of Stellenbosch. Given the political situation in the early 20th century, white universities were established in South Africa on the basis of the language tuition they offered. This resulted in HEIs being classified as historically white Afrikaans and historically white English universities. Apart from differentiation based on the language of instruction, there was also a noticeable distinction between the academic, intellectual and socio-political cultures and epistemic alliances of that time- historically white English universities in the Anglo-Saxon historical tradition and historically white Afrikaans universities in the Dutch and German philosophical and theological traditions.

The proliferation of Afrikaans universities should also be viewed against the rise of Afrikaner nationalism in the early 1900s and the coming to power of National Party (NP) in 1948. The establishment of the so-called black universities was based on the policy of separate development or segregation. This distinction was justified in the extension of the University Act of 1959 passed by the National Party (NP) government. Black universities had to adopt curricula and management models used by Afrikaans universities. Apart from race, universities were also classified according to ethnicity. The underlying ideology in this divide was to preserve the cultural identity of only a small part of society, namely white, and in particular, the Afrikaner, people. A further distortion of the HE system before 1994 was the lack of equity in the distribution of resources to institutions, huge disparities between historically black and historically white institutions in terms of facilities and capacities, and a skewed distribution of the student population in certain disciplines, with no more than a handful of Blacks students in fields such as the sciences, engineering, and technology. The same stratification existed in the governance of these public institutions. The HE system in the apartheid era was highly characterized by fragmentation, inefficiency and ineffectiveness. (Hay & Monnapula-Mapesela, 2009: 12)

3.4.5 State steering of public HEIS in democratic South Africa

The dawn of democracy in South Africa resulted in the adoption of democratic values of governance in all spheres of governance, doing away with all the apartheid values that promoted the control of public HEIs by the state. In contrast to the apartheid era where parliament was supreme and controlled public HEIs arbitrarily, the advent of democracy

urges all the stakeholders in HEIs to have a say in how their institutions are governed. The HET Ministry plays a steering role in the governance of public HEIs. The state supervision model became the preferred approach to the governance of HEIs. This state supervision model became known as the co-operative governance. This concept was discussed in detail in chapter two. Hall and Symes (2005: 204) posit that co-operative governance, as a form of state supervision, "relies on a political mode of coordination based on the participation of diverse stakeholders within a hierarchal system of authority, and with formal constraints on the exercise of power". This means that consensus amongst all the affected parties in an organisation plays an important role and this comes through processes of debate and cooperation. The SRC is a key stakeholder in public HEIs' governance and as a result, their voice is imperative in realising the principles of co-operative governance.

In contrast to the apartheid epoch, the state's steering of HEIs in democracy ensures that all affected parties or stakeholders in an organisation should debate issues and reach a consensus. Whether this model of stakeholder cooperation is effective or not, especially in terms of students' involvement and participation, is a matter to be concluded at the end of this study.

The governance of public HEIs needs concerted efforts and requires commitment and accountability from all the stakeholders in order to ensure the realisation of co-operative governance in the public HEIs. Bergan (2003: 16) argues that governance issues are not a luxury or a concern of the few while the majority of staff and students get on with their work. Rather, they are part and parcel of the contribution of higher education to developing and maintaining the democratic culture without which democratic institutions cannot function. Such institutions are crucial to ensuring that the academic community of scholars and students is not only an imagined community but a real and healthy one. In co-operative governance, this means that all stakeholders have a vital role to play to ensure that this democratic way of doing things is realised. The SRC should not just add numbers in the governance structures of public HEIs; they must also contribute positively to their success. The efficacy of the SRC as a stakeholder in realising the imperatives of the HE Act 1997, as amended; and the accomplishment of the visions and missions of public HEIs is indispensable.

3.5   CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN SOUTH AFRICA

This section discusses the concept of co-operative governance as a new model of governance in South Africa generally as it should apply to HEIs in particular and the role of the SRC in giving expression to this model of governance. The origin of co-operative governance is firmly rooted in the federal debates during the multi-party constitutional negotiations in South Africa. In the heart of co-operative governance is the practice of good governance by all public and private institutions.This section will first trace the historical origins of co-operative governance long before its inception in the Constitutional Act 108 of 1996. It will finally examine whether HEIs give expression to the concept of co-operative governance, pertaining to the SRC, as espoused both in Chapter 3 of the South African Constitution 108 of 1996 and particularly in the HE Act 1997 as amended.

3.5.1   Conceptual and historical perspectives of co-operative governance

The adoption of a democratic constitution in South Africa repudiated the undemocratic rule and all its edifices. The higher education institutions, as public creations, were not exceptions. In order to understand the concept of co-operative governance within HEIs, it is imperative to trace its origin and try to contextualize it by discussing its related concepts. This section will first explore the concept of co-operative government and intergovernmental relations in relation to the White Paper 3 on Education which resulted in the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997, the mergers and incorporations of higher education institutions in South Africa and a detailed discussion of co-operative governance in higher education institutions.

Hall *et al* (2002: 33) argue that the Ministry of Education was aware that governance in higher education institutions continued to be characterised by struggles for control, lack of consensus and even conflict over differing interpretations of higher education transformation. Working within the broader framework of reconstruction and development which had enabled effective negotiation of South Africa's new constitution, the National Commission of Higher Education was seeking a way to resolve the campus conflicts that were disabling higher education across the country, to move forward rapidly in transforming institutions, and to instil management practices without violating academic principles. The South African concept of cooperative governance certainly calls for the sort of collaborative working relationships envisaged in the idea of shared governance, but also calls for a far wider range

of interrelationships. Co-operative governance is rather an argument for a social contract in which diverse parties agree to suspend particular interests in the interests of reconstruction and development.

Co-operative governance continues to be a contentious issue in terms of its interpretation and implementation; some critics think there has not been any commitment towards its application in public HEIs. The origin of co-operative governance can be traced from different processes, which explored at ways to transform governance in public higher education institutions, post 1994. Du Toit (2014: 13) has aptly looked at the 'genealogy' of co-operative governance in two different phases, which are namely, the period of NCHE (National Commission of Higher Education) and the post NCHE era. The former period played a key role in the origins of processes towards the founding of co-operative governance, while the latter explored the realities of the implementation of the co-operative governance. Du Toit (2014: 72) argues that there was a failure by the Department of Education and other stakeholders to consummate the founding commitment to the call for shared and self-binding principles of co-operative governance made by the NCHE.

Du Toit further posits that the lack of commitment to the application of co-operative governance raises the following two questions:

- "First, if the presumed policy framework of 'co-operative governance', as called for by the NHCE, never actually was put into place, then how should the official policy framework underlying the implementation of the NPHE since 2001 be characterised more accurately?
- "Second, if the collectively self-binding commitment to 'co-operative governance' in higher education, as called for by the NCHE, was never put into place, then what, if any, are the prospects for reviving the NCHE's vision of 'co-operative governance' and under what conditions would that be feasible?" (Du Toit, 2014: 75).

The above questions are critical in terms of understanding co-operative governance and its implementation or lack thereof in public HEIs in South Africa. Du Toit is sensitising all the stakeholders to return to the core vision of the NCHE regarding committing to it and also ensuring that it is implemented to the letter. Failure to heed this call will result in not realising the goal of co-operative governance in public HEIs.

Du Toit (2014:4) argues that 'co-operative' as a configuration of governance has experienced challenges from its inception and has now reached a teething stage of threatening "departures from and the possible demise" of the concept. Du Toit (2014: 3) further notes that co-operative governance is facing the moment of truth and questions are asked as to what are the relevance and legitimacy of, and prospects for, a foundational framework of co-operative governance for higher education in the light of recent and current developments in terms of regulations and legislative amendments.

3.5.2 The King III's report on corporate governance

Good governance is a topical phenomenon fostered by companies and democratic governments the world over. An application of good governance results in socio economic development. However, its conceptualization and application pose a lot of challenges. In South Africa, the need for good governance became more apparent and preferred with the dawn of a democratic government. The King III's Report on corporate governance is one of the important documents when examining how good governance is executed in companies and public HEIs.

The King Committee was first formed in 1992. However, only three members of the original committee remain in the present committee. According to the Institute of Directors in South Africa the third report on corporate governance in South Africa became necessary because of the new Companies Act no. 71 of 2008 and changes in international governance trends. Sir Adrian Cadbury pointed out the evolutionary nature of corporate governance followed by various commissions held in England. Following the Cadbury Report, the Greenbury, Hampel, Turnbull, Smith and Higgs Reports were issued. These were combined and the UK governance code is now known as the Combined Code. Following Sir Adrian Cadbury's advice and the report, South Africa continued to use it known as the King Committee and the King Code. This has become an internationally recognized brand (University of Pretoria: no page).

In describing what good governance entails, Bowman Gilfallan (University of Pretoria: no page) quotes Mervyn King from his book *The Corporate Citizen* that "good governance will not result in from a mindless quantitative compliance with governance code or rules. Good governance involves fairness, accountability, responsibility and transparency on a foundation

of intellectual honesty. One has to employ one's practised abilities and honestly apply one's mind in an unfettered and unbiased manner in making a decision that is in the best interest of the company" (Bowman: no page). The above summarises the essentials of the King III report on good governance and provides the key principles entrenched in the concept of co-operative governance. These values enable cooperation amongst the stakeholders in public HEIs including the SRC and are integral to the present study.

3.5.3 Corporative government and intergovernmental relations

Co-operative government in South Africa was founded with the dawn of democracy in 1994. The above concepts of co-operative government and intergovernmental relations serve as the cornerstone of a discussion of co-operative governance in public higher education institutions.

The concept of co-operative governance in South Africa originated from the principle of co-operative government adopted by the democratic government in all its spheres of governance. Co-operative government together with intergovernmental relations are defined in section 41 of chapter three of the constitution of the democratic South Africa, Constitutional Act 108 of 1996. This constitution became the supreme document replacing the sovereignty of parliament. No one is above the constitution including the state president of the Republic of South Africa. The following are the principles of co-operative government and intergovernmental relations. These principles proclaim, amongst others, that all spheres of government and all organs of state within each sphere must observe the following:

- "preserve the peace, national unity and the indivisibility of the Republic;
- secure the well-being of the people of the Republic;
- provide effective, transparent, accountable and coherent government for the Republic as a whole; be loyal to the Constitution, the Republic and its people;
- respect the constitutional status, institutions, powers and functions of government in the other spheres;
- not assume any power or function except those conferred on them in terms of the Constitution; …"(Constitutional Act 108 of 1996: 25)

3.5.4 Critique of co-operative government

Cooperative government is an ideal that the South African government strives for; however, there are overwhelming challenges. Bray (2002: 530) argues that developing strong and effective spheres of government and ensuring that each one fulfils its constitutionally assigned role in a system of cooperative governance may be one of the greatest challenges facing government in South Africa. Bray claims that the above difficulties result in cooperative government not working properly. He argues that the following are the reasons why co-operative government is not working properly or not working at all:

- "People including those in power are used to doing things independently and without the interference and the frustration of working together with others or in teams.
- The government in South Africa has traditionally been centralised in a unitary system with distinct and rigid hierarchical lines reflecting "top-down" power.
- The law with its supporting enforcement mechanisms, especially the courts of law, traditionally and inherently sets boundaries and sets parties against each other". (Bray, 2002: 530)

The above makes it difficult and almost impossible for the concept of co-operative government to ensure that intergovernmental relations are realised. There needs to be a paradigm shift in terms of parties learning how to work together in teams. Therefore, cultivating a spirit of team work is essential. The democratic element of stakeholder representation, debating of issues to reach consensus and principles of co-operative governance can assist to make the concept of co-operative government work. Lastly, harmonious working relations by parties is essential; parties should see themselves as complementing one another than competing with each other.

Bray (2002: 530) suggests the use of the principle of subsidiary that is acclaimed in the Maastricht Treaty on European Union, which means that "political decisions are devolved to the lowest practical level (e.g. The provinces), but not in the traditional fashion of "top-down" devolution (as if all powers originate from the top) but within the modern co-operative government context which requires co-operation, transparency, accountability, and mutual respect and trust for each sphere's constitutional status". The above principle instils democratic values within public organisations.

3.6   *BUNDESTREUE* AND THE ORIGINS OF CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE

Edwards (2008: 66) notes that co-operative governance can be traced back to the German *bundestreue* concept, which entails a set of unwritten principles on which relationships between national and regional government are based. The German Constitutional Court ensures that different parts of the German federation act in good faith and that they have mutual trust.

Brand (2006: 61-62) avers that the principle of *bundestreue* is essential to cooperative federalism. *Bundestreue* is defined as the duty of national and regional governments within a federal state to take each other's interests into account in the exercise of their respective responsibilities. An essential element of this principle is mutual trust and respect between respective governments within the federal state. Although not stipulated explicitly in the Basic Law, *bundestreue* is a fundamental principle of the German constitutional system. It has its origin in the Constitution of the German Empire of 1871. When southern states joined the North German *Bund* to from the German Empire, agreements or treaties were concluded between them. These treaties were based on *Vertragstreue* or treaty trust. The South African constitutional processes adhered to the same values of cooperation and mutual trust of stakeholders within provinces and institutions as mentioned above and the principle of good governance.

Malherbe (2008: 48) posits that the principle of co-operative government in the South African Constitution is crafted along the same lines as the German Constitution in pursuance of the German *Bundestreue* principle. This principle provides that government in all spheres must promote national unity, respect the status and powers of each sphere, refrain from encroaching on each other's integrity and co-operate in mutual trust and good faith. They must support and consult one another, coordinate their actions and in case of conflict exhaust all remedies before turning to the courts. Section 41 of the South African constitution speaks to the above principles.

Juan (1997: 20) concurs with Brand on the principles of *bundestreue* and further declares that these principles imply the following three dimensions:

- "the institutions geared to that purpose and assuring a certain solidarity between the component units of the federal state,

- a basic set of attitudes of majorities of the population in the federal national units and the state population as a whole, and

- behavioural aspects that go from the specific policies of the government of the federal components and the central government,"

There is a strong argument that SA learned a lot from the German process of democratising their country which, like South Africa, was once a divided state. Brand (2006: 60) declares that SA borrowed its cooperative government concept from the German cooperative federalism. Brand argues that both Germany and South Africa currently have decentralised systems of government that fall within a wide range of modern federal systems. However it should be noted that South Africa is a unitary state as opposed to Germany which is a federal state. In the case of South Africa, the description of the nature of the system of government is not so explicitly formulated as in the Basic Law in Germany, but various provisions of the 1996 Constitution contribute to the formulation of the South African constitutional system. Section 40 describes government in South Africa as 'national, provincial and local spheres of government, which are distinctive, interdependent and interrelated' (Brand, 2006: 60). This is a clear indication of a decentralised system of government. In both Germany and South Africa, it is evident that a particular constitutional design requires cooperative behaviour between various constituent units. South Africa's Constitutional system, with its emphasis on concurrency and cooperative government, clearly relates to the cooperative or integrated federal model.

Brand (2006: 63) further argues that in the development of South Africa's new constitutional order, attention was already given to intergovernmental relations in 1993. A number of Constitutional Principles were agreed upon which provided the framework for the future constitutional design of intergovernmental relations in South Africa. It was perhaps not realised at the time, but the seed of b*undestreue* was planted at this point.

It is clear from the discussion above that Germany was used by South Africa as a case study during negotiations for a democratic constitution. It is also evident that the concept of *bundestreue* was key both in Germany and South Africa as a basis for co-operative governance. Brand concurs with this notion and notes that the influence of German constitutional law on the shape of South Africa's new constitutional system was quite strong, in particular in the period between 1994 and 1996 when the Constitutional Assembly designed the current Constitution. In view of the legal imperative of the Constitutional Principles, provision had to be made in the 1996 Constitution for specific provisions governing intergovernmental relations. The principle of *bundestreue*, as it has developed in

German constitutional law, was used as the foundation for the inclusion of Chapter 3 of the 1996 Constitution on principles of cooperative government and intergovernmental relations. This set of principles is foundational to the functioning of South Africa's constitutional system, and the Constitutional Court confirmed that it was appropriate for cooperative government.

Levy and Tapscott (2001: 52) posit that the German system of federalism provided an insight into the potential benefits of "co-operative government" as opposed to a model of "competitive federalism" best illustrated by the Canadian model which at the time was undergoing extraordinary stress and potential disintegration. They argue that the ANC was anxious during the Constitutional Assembly that conventional federal models were likely to promote mutually destructive competition between provinces to regulate resources such as water to the disadvantage of each other. The above had the consequences to entrench the isolation of decision-makers in the provinces from national consideration and debates and also to remove real provincial participation and perspectives on national questions. Therefore the promotion of co-operative government would curtail the divisive ethnic and racial tensions rife amongst the South African ethnicities, which would further exacerbate problems of nation-building and cause geographical fragmentation.

Co-operative government can be traced from the transformation process and policy discussions at the time of the negotiation process for a democratic South Africa. Co-operative government is a framework within which all spheres of government work together towards a shared goal. The notion of co-operative government is an integral part of all successful systems of good government. It plays a critical role in the achievement of good governance.

Reddy (2004: 62) writes that according to the NCHE proposals, co-operative governance was proposed as Goal 2 and it was structured as follows:

- "**National Level:** Create a branch of higher education in the Department of Education to advise minister on policy matters. Also proposes two statutory bodies be formed as intermediaries between HE and the state – a Higher Education Forum (HEF) and a Higher Education Council (HEC).

- **Regional Level:** HEC should encourage regional structures to be "consulted on the planning needs of the region, mergers, rationalization, programme distribution, sharing of resources and the development of institutional capacity.

- **Institutional level:** Need policies and mechanisms to address RCG issues: access (changing the student and staff profiles), development (capacity and training), curriculum transformation, and institutional culture (enabling and safe environment). Suggest restructuring of councils, senates and academic boards, and establishing Institutional Forums to focus broadly on institutional transformation (for this need student bodies to be organized, SRC helped to develop leadership capacity). Also suggest establishing Workplace Forums as specified in the Labour Relations Act. Students need to participate in decisions about student support services therefore propose the Student Services Councils be set up in institutions to advise on policy. The NCHE recommended a new legislation (a Higher Education Act) to specify national and institutional relationships, identify key governance structures, and describe functions and powers of the HEC and HEF".

The above played a critical role in terms of the enactment of the HE Act 1997 and particularly in acknowledging and legislating the role of the students and their participation in formulating policies that affect them for detail discussion on the role of the SRCs (cf. chapter 4).

Figure 3.1 below is a schematic representation of the discussion of co-operative governance from its origins in Germany and how it was adapted to suit the South African socio-political conditions.

Figure 3.1 below show the schematic representation of co-operative governance interpreted from literature on the origins of the concept, co-operative governance

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SCHEMATIC REPRESENTATION OF THE ORIGINS OF CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE

CONSTITUTION OF THE GERMAN EMPIRE OF 1871

⬇

GERMAN COOPERATIVE FEDERALISM

⬇

BUNDESTREUE

⬇

SOUTH AFRICAN CONSTITUTION 108 OF 1996

Chapter 3 of the Constitution

(Cooperative government and intergovernmental relations)

⬇

CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE MODEL
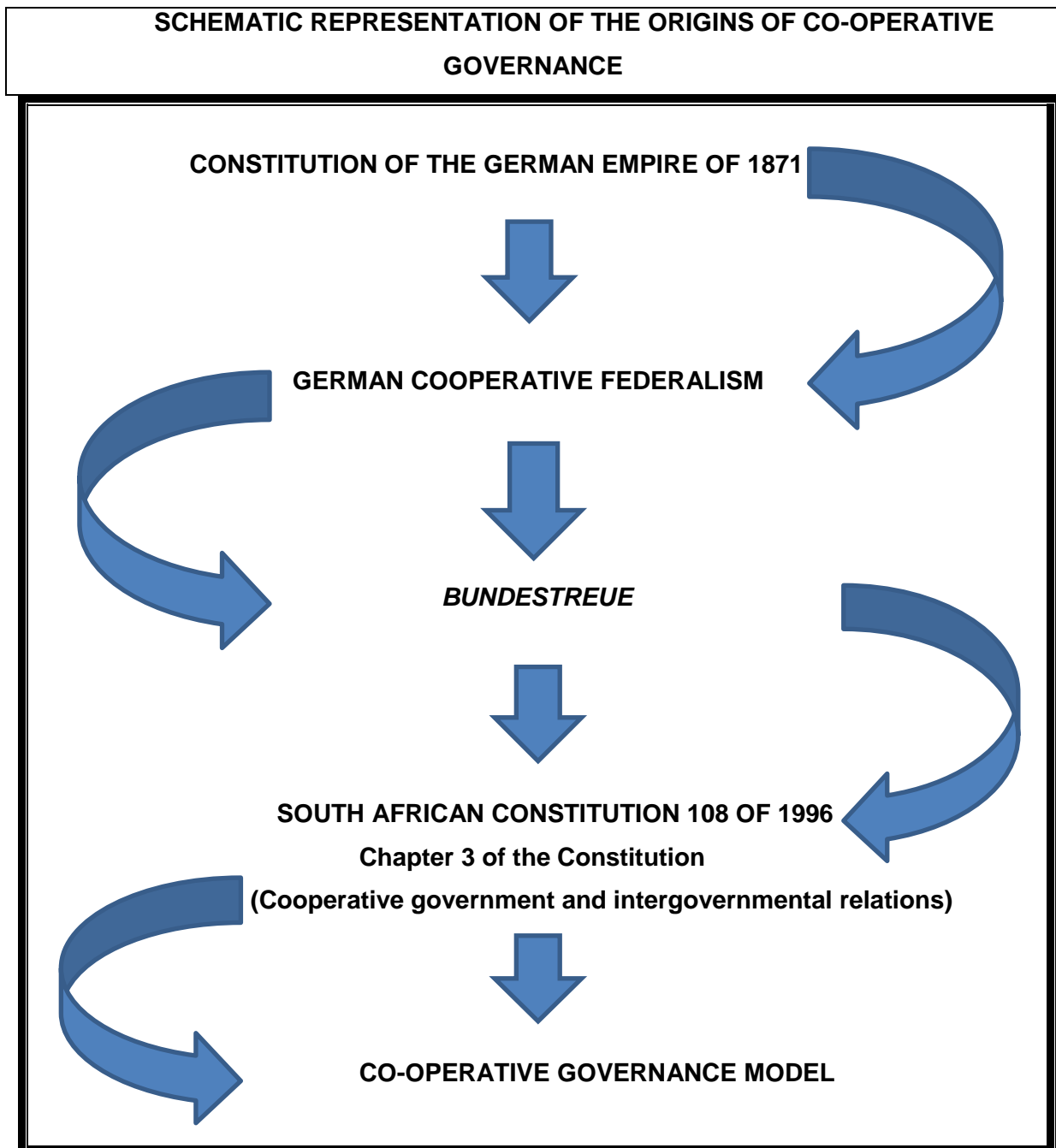
Figure 3.1 above is a schematic representation of the origins of co-operative governance, interpreted from the literature review, which illustrate that the concept was borrowed from German's constitutional values. The figure also shows the importance of co-operative governance which is part of the Constitution of a democratic South Africa. All public institutions in South Africa including the three tiers of government, which are the

Municipalities, Provincial and National departments, are expected to adhere to the principles of co-operative governance.

The section below discusses co-operative governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

3.7   CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN PUBLIC HEIs IN SOUTH AFRICA

Mandew (2003: 35) asserts that co-operative governance has its basis from the collegial model of governance, the choice adopted for the South African higher education system. Thus, co-operative governance implies that sub-national and national jurisdictions have certain political and legal obligations to support and consult one another on matters of common concern to cooperate and maintain friendly relations. Co-operative governance offers a strong steering model with planning and strong co-ordinating roles, which provide for increased and stronger government and stakeholder participation as well as expert input from the sector (NCHE, 1996:180)

The concept of co-operative governance is a philosophy that governs all aspects and activities of government. Co-operative governance is a principle of a democratic government and its practice is adherence to the promotion of cooperation and intergovernmental relations as provided in Chapter 3 of the Constitution (Act 106 of 1996). The National Commission on Higher Education proposed the philosophy of co-operative governance as a version of the state supervision model discussed earlier.

According to the HE Act (101 of 1997: 3.7) co-operative governance adopts a preemptive, supervisory and constructive role for government that is realized in a co-operative relationship between the state and public higher education institutions in South Africa. Key amongst the implications of co-operative governance is that institutional autonomy is to be exercised in tandem with public accountability. Another effect, of co-operative governance, is that the Ministry of HET's oversight role does not involve responsibility for the micro-management of institutions. A third implication is that the Ministry will undertake its role in a transparent manner.The following discussion examines the elements of co-operative governance, which are cooperation and partnerships in governance, democratization, effectiveness and efficiency, and public accountability

3.8 KEY CONCEPTS IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE

The following are the key concepts that apply to co-operative governance:

3.8.1. Cooperation and partnerships in governance

Cooperation is defined by the Chambers Dictionary (2006: 333) as a joint operation, assistance, willingness to help, combination in co-operative societies, and interaction between two species which is of mutual benefit but on which neither is dependent. The Chambers Dictionary (2006: 1103) defines partnership as the state of being a partner; a contract between individuals engaged in any business and a business run by partners. In this study, cooperation and partnership refer to the working together of different key university structures, that is, Council, Senate, IF and SRC, in HEIs as partners.

For any democratic governance to succeed there needs to be cooperation and partnership amongst the different stakeholders. Within the HEIs, the key institutional structures are the Council, Institutional Forum, Senate and the SRC. This cooperation and partnership can best be guided by legislation; the Higher Education Act of 1997 regulates the relations of the above stakeholders within the HEIs.

Successful policy must re-conceptualize the relationship between higher education and the state, civil society, and stakeholders, and among institutions. It must also create an enabling institutional environment and culture that is sensitive to and affirms diversity, promotes reconciliation and respect for human life, protects the dignity of individuals from racial and sexual harassment, and rejects all other forms of violent behavior (HE Act 101 of 1997).

3.8.2 Democratization

Higher education institutions are bureaucratic structures by their nature. However, the legal imperative of the HE Act 1997 as amended ensures that all stakeholders, in the spirit of democracy, are represented in key structures of decision-making. Democracy is mostly understood along political lines when reference is made to the state, ruling and voting of politicians once every five years. It is therefore important to define and explain it within the context of its usage in this study.

The Chambers Oxford Dictionary (1990:376) defines democracy as "a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people collectively, and is administered by them or by officers appointed by them". It further says it is "a state of society characterised by recognition of equality of rights and privileges". According to the Pharos English Dictionary (2011:166), democracy is a form of government in which the people freely elect representatives to govern them. The Chambers Dictionary (2006:400) defines democracy as "a form of government in which the supreme power is vested in the people collectively, and is administered by them or by officers appointed by them". In this study, democratization refers to the representation of the key structures (Council, Senate, IF and SRC) in the governance of public HEIs.

Through the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997(as amended) HEIs are urged to be democratic organisations by ensuring that all the stakeholders are represented in decision making processes. For the purposes of this study, there is indeed democratization in the public HEIs as the students are represented in the decision making bodies such as the Institutional Forum, Senate and Council. The involvement and participation of students in the above bodies, as legislated, denotes that HEIs are democratic organisations. However, the effect and efficiency of the students' involvement and participation should be a matter of fact and not perception. It is for this reason that this study is conducted. South Africa has embraced a path where all spheres of governance from local to national government are permeated by democratic values, with the representation of all stakeholders within public organisation as key.

In his paper, *The democratic lineage*, Modelski (1997: 1) aptly writes that democratization is one of the fundamental forces shaping today's world and it has in the past century transformed the world's basic make up from one that was minority-democratic, to one that is now becoming majority democratic. Modelski further asserts that democratization has not only registered startling and sudden gains in what used to be the Soviet Union and the lands it dominated in East Europe and Asia but that it has also made steady gains in South and East Asia. What is more, a set of common institutions is coming to harmonize activities among the democracies; the European Union, regular summit-level meetings of the Group of Seven (soon to be eight), a wide range of other intergovernmental arrangements in the political realm, wide acceptance of free markets and freer trade in the economy and considerable cultural convergence. A global democratic community may not be in place as yet but it is no longer utopian to think it is achievable within a reasonable time span.

Bergan (2003: 13) argues that a universal feature of legal regulations is that students hold a substantial, yet minority number of seats on the governing bodies. Seats on the governing bodies are not distributed according to numerical strength. The democratic principle of 'one person, one vote' is then, not the norm in HEIs, where the votes (or number of representatives) of the stakeholders are weighted according to their perceived roles in institutional life.

The HE Act has outlined how the governance of HEIs in South Africa should be. The principle of democratization requires that the governance of the system of higher education and of individual institutions should be "democratic, representative and participatory and characterized by mutual respect, tolerance and the maintenance of a well-ordered and peaceful community life. Structures and procedures should ensure that those affected by decisions have a say in making them, either directly or through elected representatives. It requires that decision-making processes at the systemic, institutional and departmental levels are transparent, and that those taking and implementing decisions are accountable for the manner in which they perform their duties and use resources". (HE Act 101 of 1997)

Democratization in public HEIs means management should ensure that democratic structures are established and that key stakeholders are represented. These structures and the processes of electing their representatives should be done appropriately. The HE Act of 1997 as amended gives guidance on how to establish these democratic structures. Democracy validates the decision making of stakeholders within an organization.

3.8.3 Effectiveness and efficiency

'Effectiveness' is a noun that originates from the adjective 'effective' which means being successful in producing a result or effect, while efficiency is defined as the power to produce the result intended, or the quality of being efficient (Chambers Dictionary (2006: 478). In this study, effectiveness and efficiency refer to the ability of HEIs stakeholders to deliver outcomes as per the HE Act of 1997 as amended.

The principles of effectiveness and efficiency are related though distinct. An effective system or institution functions in such a way that it leads to desired outcomes or achieves desired objectives. An efficient system or institution is one which works well without unnecessary

duplication or waste, and within the bounds of affordability and sustainability. It does things correctly in terms of making optimal use of available means (HE Act 101 of 1997).

Effectiveness and efficiency in HEIs can be achieved when all key stakeholders work collaboratively consultatively and decisions are taken in tandem. It also implies that contested interests need to be debated and an amicable consensus reached. In co-operative governance, it means that the SRC should be effective in the governance of student affairs. This also implies that management at public HEIs needs to capacitate the SRCs to carry their duties effectively and efficiently.

HEIs are places of knowledge production and as such they have the academic freedom in terms of how they operate. However, as they are public entities funded by public resources, it is important that they account on how they use the public resources in carrying out their craft. Mthembu (2006: 8) points out that scholarly freedom refers to the freedom that a scholar or a community of scholars should be accorded in their dispassionate pursuit of evidence and scientific truth. He argues that there are conventions, protocols and methodologies that constitute the art and science of such a pursuit. This type of freedom is distinct from the freedom of speech that any citizen may enjoy in that such freedom is not necessarily circumscribed by the conventions, protocols and methodologies of academe.

Zumeta (2000: 59) observes that academic accountability is difficult, especially in a democracy with high aspirations for higher education, strong populist tendencies and constrained public resources. The concept of accountability has its origin from the private business sector. However, the scrutiny of higher education as the key to competitiveness resulted in the need for universities to pay greater attention to outcomes including quality control and customer satisfaction.

However one of the challenges facing governments is how to balance the autonomy enjoyed by public HEIs with the accountability required by the state from these institutions. In the recent past, lack of balancing the HEIs' autonomy and government supervision has resulted in legal battles. It is therefore imperative to balance the above relations in order to have a harmonious relationship between the government and the HEIs.

On the issue of autonomy, Fielden (2008: 18) aptly writes that the extent of autonomy that institutions are allowed by the state is often "a mixture of inherited rights, tradition, legislative intent, and societal culture. It is usually built up over time through a variety of legislative processes, ministerial decisions, and ad hoc regulations. It is rarely a finely crafted structure

to a rational design. It is also culture specific and rights or controls that are taken for granted in one country can be unthinkable in another". Autonomy for public HEIs is, however, not a blank cheque, universities cannot enjoy unlimited autonomy. Fielden (2008: 10) says that there need to be checks and balances to achieve the interests of the state and to protect those of the citizens. Fielden argues that the above takes the following two forms: firstly through the state monitoring and assessing institutional performance and secondly by universities having a governing body that holds managers accountable for achieving institutional goals.

The principle of public accountability implies that institutions are answerable for their actions and decisions not only to their own governing bodies and the institutional community but also to the broader society. Firstly, it requires that institutions receiving public funds should be able to report how and how well, money is spent. Secondly, it requires that institutions should demonstrate the results they achieve with the resources at their disposal. Thirdly, it requires that institutions should demonstrate how they have met national policy goals and priorities (HE Act 101 of 1997).

Accountability is the obligation to report to others, to explain, to justify, to answer questions about how resources have been used, and to what effect. Accountability to others takes many different forms in different societies, with respect to different actions and different kinds of support. The fundamental questions with respect to accountability are, who is to be held accountable, for what, to whom, through what means, and with what consequences (Trow, 2002: 2)

Fielden (2008: 33) argues that as well as requiring information and financial external accounts, the state has the following to hold institution accountable:

- Through requiring independent external audit of their accounts and an annual report on internal audit activities;
- Through the use of the state audit service to investigate any activity in the institution;
- Through whatever mechanism and processes have been established for reviewing the quality of teaching;
- Through requiring the submission of strategic plans or other strategies (e.g.: academic, information and communication technologies (ICT), human resource, property) to the funding body; and by

- Specifying that the board of the institution shall include external members with experience of financial management, and that there shall be appropriate arrangements for internal audit.

In essence, co-operative governance identified three imperatives of public accountability which are namely: accounting for the expenditure of public funds, making public the results achieved in spending public funds; and demonstrating how institutions meet national policy goals and priorities. Mthembu (2009: 18) further asserts that in addition to the above imperatives, the Higher Education Act of 1997 provides the Minister of Higher Education and Training with a number of instruments that include amongst others a buffer body, the Council on Higher Education (CHE) whose role is to advise the minister, particularly on quality assurance, the responsibility to allocate funds in a fair and transparent manner and the authority to intervene in cases of maladministration through the appointment of an independent assessor, but with the CHE's involvement.

The above three imperatives of public accountability are indeed occurring in the South African public HEIs where the government intervenes as and when it believes there is a need to. It also invests a lot of money in terms of infrastructure such as lecture halls and student housing. Councils of public HEIs which are supreme bodies in terms of governance, comprises ministerial representatives and other external experts to ensure that there are diverse skills needed for good governance. However, in South Africa the intervention of government in the affairs of public HEIs has resulted in f some institutions being placed under administration. Placing some of these public HEIs under administration occurs despite the fact that there are government representatives and other external experts in the councils of these universities. Therefore this raises the question of whether co-operative governance in HEIs is   effective or not.

Public HEIs have an important role to play both as centres of knowledge creation and microcosms or miniatures of the society. Bergan (2003: 1) asserts that public HEIs are an important part of and play an important role in society. The institutions are societies unto themselves, but they are also part of the larger society. If they remained only societies unto themselves, higher education institutions would be locked up in the proverbial ivory tower and their future most likely be considerably shorter than their past. On the other hand, higher education institutions, without some distance from society at large, would run a serious risk of losing their capacity to reason in terms of principle, to take a long term view somewhat detached from the immediate issues of the day and to identify sustainable solutions to the most serious and long term challenges facing the society

The essence of public accountability in HEIs is that, as they are public establishments and are funded by the government through the tax payer's money, public HEIs must account for every cent and public resources by submitting annual reports to the government.

3.9 THE RATIONALE OF CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN HEIs IN SOUTH AFRICA

The promulgation of the HE Act resulted in SRCs being considered as statutory structures. The White Paper on education, which was a precursor to the HE Act, emphasises "orderliness and rationality in higher education institutions with a clear intent to move away from the disorderly and emotional expressions of dissent" (Mandew, 2003: 34). This was characteristic of the apartheid era in the higher education institutions.

The principle of co-operative governance that was born from the HE Act regards students as a key and legitimate partner in higher education. As a result of the above legislative requirement, it gives students "an effective voice and a legitimate platform to represent their interests within a higher education institution" (Mandew, 2003: 34). Thus, the involvement and participation of students in the governance structures of public higher education institutions is not only a desirable imperative but a legislated matter too. This epitomizes the seriousness of the government when it comes to the question of the democratisation of public institutions.

Luescher and Symes (2003: 6) write that the post-1994 government inherited a higher education system that was segregated by race, ethnicity, class and geography, inequitable in terms of gender and language, divided by the disparate functions performed between universities and Technikons, administratively fragmented largely intellectually isolated from the state, from society (and the economic, developmental and cultural needs of the country), and from the international intellectual community and characterized by highly uneven quality between and within different historical institutional types.

The principle of co-operative governance intends to do away with the adversarial nature of and belligerence of past relationships within higher education institutions. Co-operative governance "recognises the positive contribution students can make and should make as critical and rational thinkers. It gives effectiveness to their voice and perspective, creates a

legitimate platform and forum for the articulation and vocalisation of this voice, and enjoins higher education institutions to listen, to hear and to take serious cognisance of this voice" (Mandew, 2003: 34) This means that debate, robust engagement and persuasion ought to be used by different stakeholders within HEIs, including SRCs, to reach consensus.

3.10   WHAT ARE THE MERITS OF CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE?

Co-operative governance has democratic values similar to that of the collegial model. Mandew (2003: 35) avers that co-operative governance has its origin from the collegial model. South Africa preferred to call it co-operative governance. In South Africa, governance structures are by law urged to practice this philosophy in adherence to the South African democratic Constitution of 1996.To give this philosophy credence, the Department of Co-operative Governance was established. This model of collegiality, like co-operative governance, advocate for participatory democracy in key decision making by all the affected parties in an organisation.

Co-operative governance, as a new model for governing higher education, is a democratic approach to governing HEIs; however, it has serious challenges pertaining to its operation. Mandew (2003: 35) comments that co-operative governance should not be interpreted as presupposing a level playing field or equal power relations at all times between the various role-players and stakeholders. The HE Act does not prescribe specifically how the stakeholders ought to realize the goals of co-operative governance. This places an onerous task on higher education institutions to ensure that they use their statutes to fill the gaps. The HE Act only provides guidelines regarding co-operative governance but "leaves much scope for individual institutions with regards to interpretation and implementation" (Mandew, 2003: xii). Tabane *et al* (2003: 4) further illustrates the above challenges by remarking that in order for co-operative governance to work, stakeholders are required to "acknowledge the existence of competing and complementary interest, interdependence and a sharing of common goals for the good of the institution".

The tensions and ambiguities, if not properly managed, result in not realising the democratic concept of co-operative governance. This concept engenders good governance, thereby giving expression to the South African Constitution of 1996 and the Higher Education Act of 1997 as amended. Through the key values of this concept which are partnership, accountability, consultation, transparency and deliberation amongst the affected parties,

democracy will reign supreme. Co-operative governance, despite its challenges pertaining to implementation, has undeniably set in motion a legitimate process of transforming the higher education governance landscape. It has infused democratic values and ethos into the governance of higher education in ways never practised before in South Africa. Its success is owed to the determination, commitment and the wisdom of the stakeholders involved in the governance of public higher education institutions.

Zide (2011: 110) warns that cooperative governance should not lead to a situation where institutional leadership is so incapacitated that its authority to lead and give direction to the institution is compromised. Zide's view is critical and emphasises the importance and integral role played by councils of public HEIs as supreme bodies pertaining to decision-making. The involvement and participation of SRC's in co-operative governance should play a positive role in the best interests of the institutions and not to be a counter force in the vision and mission of public HEIs.

3.11   CONCLUSION

This chapter has investigated the historical and contemporary perspectives of the governance of public HEIs in South Africa. Theoretical perspectives on the management and governance models in public HEIs were discussed. It looked at the different governance models including the bureaucratic, political, state control, state supervision and collegial. Different steering models in public HE were also discussed. Lastly the chapter investigated the concept of co-operative governance and how the SRC fits in, in terms of its role as a stakeholder in the governance of public HEIs.

This chapter has also traced the origins of co-operative governance and established that the concept of *bundestreue,* which is a German concept*,* was borrowed by the South African multi-party democratic negotiations to design the concept of co-operative governance. The German constitutional principles were essential in determining the type of government system that South Africa ultimately adopted. Germany is a federal state but South Africa was able to use its values to establish a unitary state. The next chapter discusses the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public HEIs in South Africa.

CHAPTER FOUR

PARTICIPATION OF THE STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS IN THE GOVERNANCE OF PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1   INTRODUCTION

This chapter highlights the involvement and the participation of Student Representative Councils (SRCs) in the governance of public higher education institutions (HEIs) in South Africa. The aim of the chapter is to establish the role and effect of the SRCs' involvement and participation in co-operative governance in South African public HEIs. Student political organisations, the origins of SRCs and the suggested democratic theory to be considered by SRCs are also examined. The role of ideology within student political organisations in student governance and the challenges experienced by SRCs are explored.

4.2   ORIGINS OF THE SRC AT SOUTH AFRICAN PUBLIC HEIS

There is an abundance of literature in the United States on the origins, evolution and influence of student governance in public HEIs. Notable amongst those authors are Bambenek and Shifton (2003); Crane (1969); Downy Bosco and Silver (1984); Falvey (1952); Klopf (1960); Love and Miller (2003); McGrath (1970); Miller and Nadler (2006). May (2009: 1) writes that, since the late 1700s, and particularly during the last 75 years, educational authors, have consistently raised the topic of student governance, its history, and its impact on institutions and students. He avers that these scholars have unanimously supported the argument that student governance has had a significant impact on colleges and universities and that the students who participated and led student governance organizations have also greatly benefited. In South Africa, notable authors on student involvement and participation in public HEIs governance include Maseko (1994); Badat (1999); Nkomo (1984); Thobakgale (2001); Mandew (2003); Tabane *et al* (2003); Luescher-Mamashela (2008, 2010 & 2011).

The origins of the SRC in public HEIs in South Africa can be traced from the establishment of the South African College (now UCT) in 1829, which opened with a cohort of 115 students. In 1877, the University of the Cape of Good Hope was also established. According to Mandew (2003:7), the history of student governance in South Africa dates back to 1906 when the first SRC was established at the South African College (now UCT). The SRC had authority over all student clubs and societies. This SRC was appointed by the university management and it was limited to being an advisory body to management on student issues. In 1926 the UCT SRC's attempt to gain access to Senate agendas and to attend Senate meetings 'fell on deaf ears'. The participation and involvement of SRCs in this era was, according to Mandew (2003: 7), 'on parochial bread-and-butter issues'. This means that its role and effect was minimal in terms of student governance. During this era SRCs in public HEIs were not statutory bodies and as a result, their involvement and participation in the governance of institutions was limited. This situation was characterized by lack of legislation on the role of SRCs in public HEIs and left student governance, in some institutions, to the expediency of the university management and students had to fend for themselves.

The history of the SRC evolved over time with insurmountable challenges on the way. Nonetheless, the establishment of racially stereotyped black universities in 1959 changed student politics and the role of the SRC in public HEIs. In the 1960s, students in some public HEIs were opposed to the formation of SRCs as they viewed them as government stooges, which served the apartheid racist system by perpetuating its values of racism and separate development. Rightfully so, the above notion had substance in that SRCs at universities were not democratically elected by student bodies but they were appointed by the Vice-Chancellors (VCs). The VCs were on the other hand, also appointed by the government. The aim of the appointment of those SRCs was to serve the interests of the government and the institutions at the expense of the student body. In contrast, to the era characterized by the reluctance of students to form SRCs, in the 1970s and 1980s, students in Historically Black Universities (HBUs) formed illegal SRCs which were strongly opposed to the apartheid government's laws of segregation. These SRCs concentrated their efforts on both the state and university managers, campaigned and protested against them, as they were viewed as symbols of oppression (Cele and Koen, 2003: 201). Ironically, SRCs in public HEIs are currently described as being 'toothless', because they fail to become an effective voice of the students on most campuses. Cebekhulu, Mantzaris and Nhlapho (2006: 219) argue that the above description of SRCs as 'toothless' emanates from the 'apathy and mass mobilisation by some student political organisations that depoliticizes student leadership in the public HEIs'.

In the apartheid era, students on campuses were not free to operate as they were highly controlled and repressed by both university officials and police agents. The state used public HEIs, especially the Student Affairs Practitioners (SAPs) as "de facto gatekeepers for apartheid higher education policies" (Mandew, 2003: 8). The SAPs as direct custodians of students ensured that students were subdued by oppressive laws which did not give them a voice about their affairs. The status quo did no continue unabated, the winds of struggle against apartheid were blowing and students became conscientised and organised themselves in structures. Instead of silencing the students, the banning of the African National Congress (ANC) and the Pan Africanist Congress (PAC), police brutality and the incarceration of political activists against apartheid, played a role in conscientizing them. This resulted in the establishment of student structures such as the National Union of South African Students (NUSAS) that chiefly comprised white English-speaking students attending liberal universities such as Cape Town, Natal, Rhodes and Witwatersrand (identifying with the black struggle), and the South African Student Organisation (SASO) which had SRCs on black campuses as its power base. The above student movements, especially SASO, made campuses turbulent through protests and campaigns for recognition and against oppressive laws on these campuses (Mandew, 2003: 10). NUSAS and SASO are discussed in finer detail below.

During the 1960s to the 1990s student political organisations in South Africa united against the effects of establishing separate universities and of limiting black enrolments at white universities. They also fought for the establishment of SRCs in public HEIs during the 1960s and 1970s. From the 1970s to the early 1980s, students increasingly linked with the community and other organisations to build unity among the oppressed masses (Cele and Koen, 2003: 205). The struggle for liberation in South Africa was busy gaining momentum during this period. Every section of the oppressed community, including students, joined hands to deal with the scourge of racism and oppression. The literature on student politics in South Africa by authors such as Nkomo (1984), Maseko (1994), and Badat (1999), confirms that the origins and recognition of SRCs in HBUs in South Africa followed on a broad range of student protests and confrontations between students and management of universities on a large scale.

Student political organisations played a critical role in the battle for SRCs to be recognised in public HEIs. Maseko (1994: 72) writes that the desire to get the SRC recognised in public HEIs has been one of the key demands of student political organisations during the mid-1980s, which made them to risk injury, detention, long prison terms and even death. The

struggles waged by the students on campuses in the form of protests and various campaigns were a microcosm of the bigger struggle for the liberation of the black majority and at the same time, the democratisation of public HEIs. The above was also observed by SRC members of the University of Western Cape in 1983 when they aptly stated that "we believe students are an integral part of the democratic movement in South Africa and that the SRC's role is to facilitate students' full participation in this movement through educative programmes and taking part in its campaigns" (Maseko, 1994: 76).

The SRC as a statutory structure in public HEIs is guided by both the university statute and a constitution. These two documents are key in outlining the duties, powers and parameters within which the SRC should and can operate. It is important to emphasise that the council is the supreme structure at the university in terms of making laws and decisions. The SRC Constitution, as a very important document, its place has been appropriately located in the pyramid below by Tabane *et al* (2003: 6).
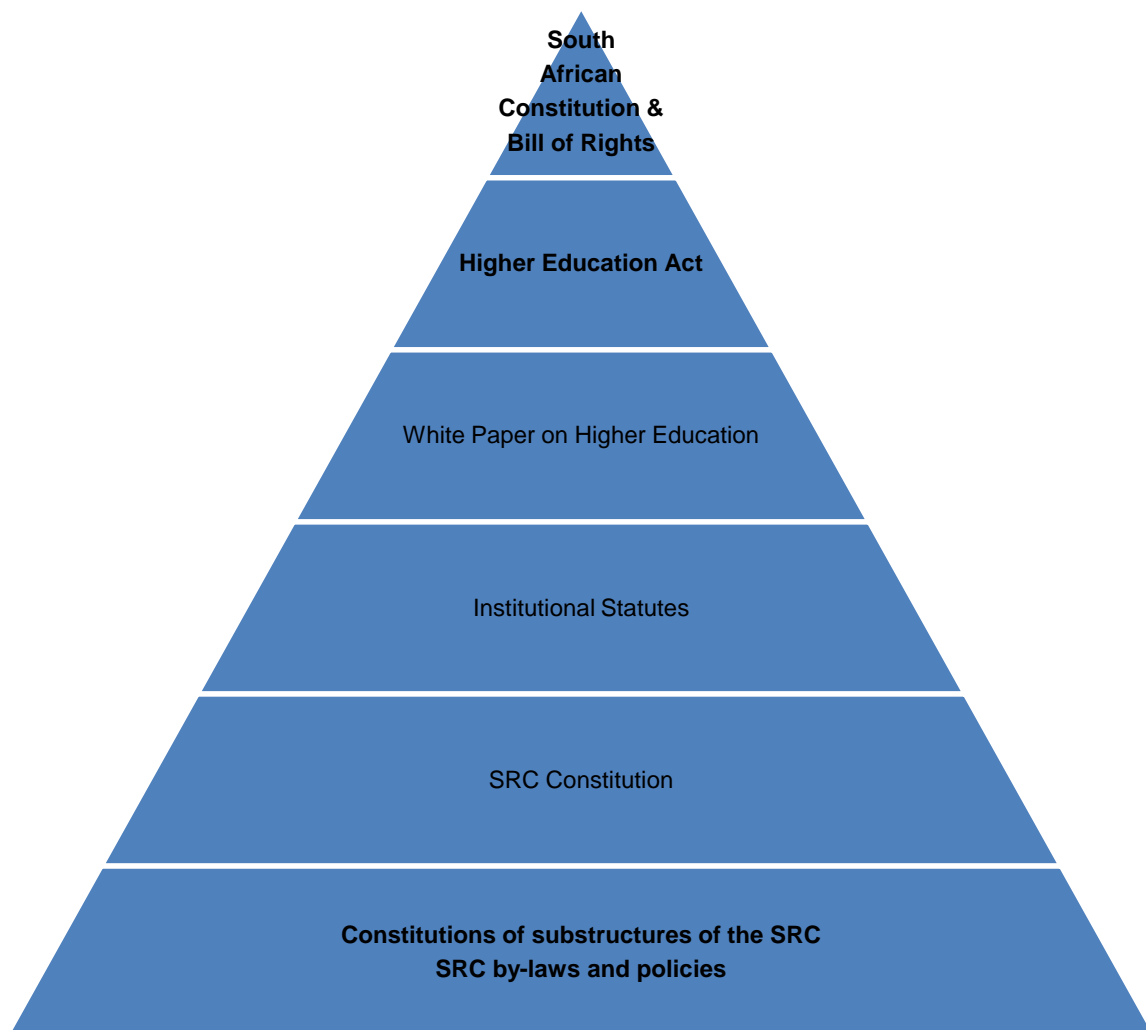
Source: Tabane et al (2003: 6)

Tabane et al (2003: 6) writes that the SRC constitution is a legal document that contains the most important rules in connection with the constitutional system of a student body. The role of the constitution in building student governance is key. It is also binding on future student governing authorities. Provisions of the constitution cannot be amended unless the procedure stipulated to do so is followed to the letter. In this way democracy is protected. The SRC constitution is regarded as a written enactment of the will of the student body. If the constitution reflects the will of the student body accurately, it will ensure that any policy or law that the organisation develops will enjoy credibility from all students regardless of their political or other persuasions. The constitution also provides for a less chaotic and non-confrontational manner of addressing disagreements with the development of policy and practice within student governance. A given policy can be challenged on the grounds that it conflicts with the constitution and should therefore be declared unconstitutional (Tabane et al, 2003: 7).

The next section provides a critique of student participation in the governance of public HEIs in South Africa.

4.3   CRITIQUE OF THE PARTICIPATION OF STUDENTS IN THE GOVERNANCE OF PUBLIC HEIS

Wolff (1969), Moodie and Eustace (1974) and Morrow (1998) are some of the opponents of the extension of representation in university committees to students. They believe that novice students and by extension, junior members of the university community, cannot contribute towards the governance of public HEIs. Luescher (2008) and Luescher-Mamashela (2013) write that some of the arguments advanced were that:

- Formal student participation in university governance was inappropriate and would simply waste everybody's time;
- Formal student participation would introduce an organised and permanent adversary into a system of university governance that was basically consensual, thus leading to private caucusing, a lack of public discussion and, eventually, to the creation of an inner circle;
- Students are by definition and in practice only transient members of the university community, whose commitment to the university's mission may be shallow;

- Students are not likely to be personally affected when decisions they have been party to take effect, since they will have left campus by then (Zuo & Ratsoy, 1999), and

- The academic community is not egalitarian but structured by a fairly rigid professional guild hierarchy.

The above fears were confirmed by the students' approach which emphasised on mandating and reporting back to student body masses. This had a disruptive impact on academic activities in terms of embarking on long-drawn-out strikes on different campuses. Student protests and campaigns at public HEIs, which mostly resulted in disruptions, led to a strong opposition on the idea of student involvement and participation in governance. However, a democratisation of public institutions has been viewed differently by various authors as discussed below, some being for and others against it.

Contrary to Moodie and Eustace (1974), on student participation in university governance, Thompson (1972), Epstein (1974), De Boer and Stensaker (2007) are the proponents of the involvement and participation of students in the governance of public HEIs. Thompson (1972) points out that widening the circle of participants in university decision-making to include students may have positive educational effects in different respects. It is not only of benefit to students themselves but also likely to improve the quality of decisions and their informed acceptance by the student body. Thus, the inclusion of students in university governance can contribute to the pursuit of a university's purposes. Participation in university governance may not only benefit the participating students themselves, but also a democratic society in the form of citizenship education. Furthermore this may provide the university community a better quality of decisions and to ensure a more peaceful campus environment (Luescher, 2008: 19).

Luescher-Mamashela (2011:3), one of the important scholars in student governance, has conceptualised the different phases in the evolution of student participation in the governance of public HEIs. Luescher-Mamashela (2011:3) outlines three major phases in the evolution of student participation. He regards the first phase of the evolution as having started in the 13th century in Europe during the birth of universities. He argues that, originally, there were two types of student participation in the decision-making process of European universities. The first type was exemplified by the University of Paris. This university became known as a 'university of masters' because an association of professing teachers shared control over that university with a student rector who was also a young master.

Luescher-Mamashela (2011:3) points out that the second type of student participation during this time was the case of Bologna University. Students of the Bologna University were in control of how their studies were organized. Students were able to determine doctors' fees, levied fines on them for starting or finishing lectures late, and not keeping with the syllabus or leaving the university campus without permission. However, as centuries progressed, the Bologna model of student involvement gradually converged with the Parisian model and by the mid-20th century, students did not play a major role in university governance (Luescher, 2009: 1). According to this model, students played an integral part in terms of involvement and participation in university governance.

The first phase initially attempted to give students a voice. However, it did not really give them a platform to become a force to be reckoned with in terms of student participation and involvement in governance. It suffices to say, however, that at least the students were involved in academic issues that affected them as students. Student participation is not an event but a process. There was a gradual betterment of student participation in student governance as the next phase demonstrated below.

Luescher-Mamashela (2011: 11) affirms that the second phase happened during the 1960s and 1970s when universities were undergoing democratisation. During this period, students from universities of industrialised countries of North America, Western Europe, and parts of the British Commonwealth protested for university democratisation. What these students fought for was to extend the membership of existing committees and governing bodies to students, which they eventually achieved (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011: 11). Latin America was the first continent to take the participation of students in the governance of public HEIs seriously and tried to give students an opportunity to do so. In South Africa, this was during the apartheid era where there was no legal representation of students.   As such students were fighting for the recognition of SRCs in public HEIs.

The above phase of student involvement also came to pass and by the late 1980s, a trend of managerialism developed in the universities. According to Luescher-Mamashela (2011: 11), this approach marks the third phase of student participation in the governance of public HEIs. In this phase, students hardly feature as decision-makers but as clients. However, this does not mean that students no longer participate in university decision-making. Student participation is now legalised which give students a stronger say over social, educational and pedagogical issues, but it is considered weak in matters of university finances, employment of teaching staff, and degree and admission requirements (Luescher-Mamashela, 2011: 11).

The above phase can be likened to the era of co-operative governance where students are by law supposed to play an important role in the governance of public HEIs. This was made possible by the enactment of the HE Act 1997. Section 35 of this Act provides for the establishment of SRCs in the public HEIs of South Africa. The SRC is regarded as one of the integral stakeholders in the governance of public higher education institutions. The Act provides that students ought to be represented in the key governance structures of public higher education institutions, such as Council, Senate and Institutional Forum. The issue of students viewed as clients asserted by Luescher-Mamashela (2011) above is in the centre of the proposition of this chapter, which highlights the role and effect of SRCs in public HEIs in accordance with the principles of co-operative governance. Given the above, the implementation of co-operative governance, in relation to the effect of the students, is complex and mired by a myriad of factors. Some of the obstacles are caused by the structures which are partners in co-operative governance, while others emanate from within the very student leadership which is supposed to be the voice of student interests and aspirations. Mandew (2003:34) argues that since 1994, factors such as the ascendancy of sectorial politics and sharp ideological contestations within student organisations have weakened the student movement, reducing its capacity to respond effectively to new demands. The above drives the focus away from the real issues pertaining to the needs of the students such as academic access and exclusions, funding and making the voice of the students heard on a broad range of student issues.

Student leaders have also been part of the problem in terms of the efficient and effective execution of their mandate, that is, as the mouth-peace of the student body's interest. This has been mainly due to ideological differences of student political organisations in student governance. The above has also been captured in the *Report of the Ministerial Committee on Transformation and Social Cohesion and the Elimination of Discrimination in Public Higher Education Institution* (2008:109-110) that "the overriding view seems to be that the dominance of student organisations, which are linked to political parties, results in narrowness and parochialism in dealing with student issues, and fuels tension and conflict within the student body because of a lack of tolerance. The concerns raised are to a large extent influenced by the perception that student political organisations are too focused on national political issues and not on serving and/or representing the interests of students on campus". The above is a serious challenge at universities and needs concerted efforts by all the stakeholders to eradicate. Student leaders have a critical role to play in this regard.

Thobakgale (2001:6) affirms the above notion and argues that the strategies used by student leaders to tackle student issues do not seem to be working because of a heavy emphasis on lobbying processes within the main-stream political parties. This results in SRCs focusing their energy on national politics than dealing with genuine students affairs. This approach defeats the purpose of student representation in co-operative governance, which is to be a key stakeholder in the governance of public HEIs. This situation is worsened by the battle among political parties for the control of key structures in public universities through the assistance of student organisations.

Students are part and parcel of the society and they will always get involved in national issues through the community structures and political parties. Also, the community is a stakeholder in the governance of public HEIs; however participation by students and the community structures in institutional governance should not result in destabilisation of the campuses.

4.4 STUDENT POLITICAL ORGANISATIONS IN THE PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS OF SOUTH AFRICA

The previous section examined the arguments for and against the participation of the students in the governance of public HEIs. As much as the objective of this chapter is to examine the participation and effect of the SRC in HEIs, it is imperative to examine student political organisations' ideologies, political identity, and their qualities and features. This is because these organisations played an integral part in the birth of SRCs in public HEIs, especially HBUs. The aim is not to delve into the details of student political organisations but to give a context for and content to the SRC as a statutory structure in co-operative governance. Neither is the objective of this section to give an exhaustive account of all student political organisations. In doing this, a brief history of the key student structures, which operate in public HEIs will be explored. This will give the context in which the SRC originated. It is important to note that SRCs were disallowed in public HEIs and that their existence was always met with the might of university management and the police who were the agents of the apartheid regime.

Amongst the student political structures to be discussed in this chapter are NUSAS, SASO, and later the Pan Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) (now Pan Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA), Azanian Student Congress (AZASCO) and South African

Student Congress (SASCO). These are some key student organisations that engineered transformation in public HEI, especially the importance of students' need to be represented in the governance of public HEIs. SASO was a Black Consciousness (BC) aligned student organisation which advocated for black students to be self-reliant and take it upon themselves, without the assistance of white students, to change their material conditions of repression under apartheid. SASO was viewed as being against white interests as they were focused only on black aspirations

Student leadership played a very important role in the transformation of higher education governance in the pre and post-apartheid eras. There is a rich history of the role of student political organisations in the South African public higher education sector. Some of the authors who prominently documented the role of student political organisations, especially during the apartheid era, are Welsh and Savage (1977), Gerhart (1978), Grobler (1988), Ramphele (1991) and Davenport and Saunders (2000). This history is intertwined with that of the general broader struggle for the liberation of the oppressed black people in South Africa. The apartheid system permeated every facet of the South African society. Therefore the struggle for the recognition of SRCs by students in public HEIs was interlaced with that of the broader society fought at different fronts.

Student organisations were politically linked to either the ruling party or national liberation movements. Those linked to the apartheid regime perpetuated the status quo while their counterparts were campaigning for the end to the oppressive system of apartheid. It was not by coincidence that, despite that a few of these organisations were multiracial; the majority were constituted according to racial lines or language. The above demonstrate that student leaders, through their different formations, played a very important role in instilling their aspirations and interest into a democratic and transformed higher education system. Mandew (2003:120) observes that students "participated in and contributed to the discussions and debates relating to the future of higher education during the transformation to a democratic dispensation". The above was remarkable and the ultimate edict of the Higher Education Act 101 of 1997 was in part, the effort of the above collective by the student movement.

Student organizations in South Africa have and continue to echo their aspiration on the cleavages of wider society and most specifically, of governance in public HEIs. Universities where Afrikaans was used as the medium of instruction such as the universities of Potchefstroom, Pretoria, Rand Afrikaanse and Stellenbosch universities were represented by the AfrikaanseStudentebond (ASB) while the National Union of South African Students

(NUSAS) represented the students in the English-medium universities of Cape Town, Natal, Rhodes and Witwatersrand. Black students were represented by SASO (Welsh & Savage 1977:142). Black students have been a major force for change both in universities and society at large. The 1976 riots are seen as the highlight of high school learners' role in South African politics.

There is great concern by writers regarding the role of students in public HEIs and the silence of the reflective voices of student activists in universities is said to be deafening. Cebekhulu (2006:228) rightly asserts that the days of student activism have died a slow and painful death at a very critical juncture of the country's intellectual and knowledge search. Cebekhulu (2006:228) argue that the greatest mistake for the student movement was to fail to assert itself post 1994, as they failed to re-conscientise themselves and their constituencies. Cebekhulu further argues that the current student leadership lacks conscientisation, which he defines as a "dialectical outcome of a critical educational effort based on favourable historical conditions, and it is related to a process in which student movement leadership and constituency are not merely recipients but knowing subjects, striving to achieve a deepening awareness of both the socio-cultural reality which shapes their lives and their capacity to transform it". The argument above illustrates the reality of the changed material conditions of the student activism and the need for the student leaders to be relevant to the challenges of their times. The fact that the SRC is a statutory body affords student leaders opportunity to mobilise their constituencies about issues that affect them and engage university management through democratic processes.

Different student political organisations furthered the ideologies of the national political parties. NUSAS which was aligned to the African National Congress (ANC) was more multiracial in orientation while SASO was leaning more towards AZAPO and, as a result, the Black Consciousness philosophy. The South African Student Congress (SASCO) and the Azanian Student Congress (AZASCO) were later formed and became aligned ideologically to NUSAS and SASO respectively. Contestations amongst student organisations were more ideological and took queue from the mother bodies. The challenge posed by ideological differences is less of a problem in public HEIs where candidature for the SRC is not based on political affiliation. In such institutions, the criteria for SRC candidacy are based on academic achievement, good leadership traits and the potential of individual students. The next section discusses NUSAS.

4.4.1　The National Union of South African Students (NUSAS)

The origin of NUSAS was preceded by various activities of student activism by different organisations internationally. Key amongst those was the Confederation International des Students (C.E.I) which was founded in 1919 in Strasbourg, France, with the aim to represent the interest of students internationally.　The C.E.I inspired the formation of a national union of students of that magnitude in Britain in 1920.　This in turn influenced students in Commonwealth countries to follow suit and South Africa was no exception.　Leo Marquard, the then student leader at the University of Cape Town, attended the C.E.I congress in Europe. This spurred him to become instrumental in the formation of NUSAS (South African History online: no page).　This union of students was formed in 1924 and was primarily engaged in co-ordinating the activities of SRCs mostly in white public higher education institutions.　Its subscription to the democratic ideals and non-racialism resulted in it not being viewed as friendly to the racial discourse dominant at the time.　There was very little activism amongst black students then and this can be attributed to the policy of apartheid that denied black students admission to higher education institutions, and the manner in which the state responded to political activism (Thobakgale, 2001: 2).

In 1924, the inaugural conference of NUSAS was held in Bloemfontein with representations from the following universities: University of Pretoria, University of Natal, Witwatersrand University, Rhodes University, University of the Free State, Potchefstroom University and the University of Cape Town.　The above public HEIs played an integral role in the founding of NUSAS.　Already in 1926 NUSAS was involved in an overseas exchange programs for its executive members in order to learn more about the running of the organisation.　In 1927, a student parliament was founded in Durban, which became an integral organ of NUSAS, and its structure was run like a political party.　By so doing, students also became politically inclined. This student organisation mirrored the South African political picture of the time and as a result, membership of the student parliament was confined to white students only. The exclusion of black students for membership was based on the racist approach of trusteeship and the assumption that white students were better positioned intellectually to engage government in dialogues than their black counterparts. Ideology played a significant role in this student structure and the need to dominate was strong. In the 1930s, NUSAS was affected by the growing feeling of Afrikaner nationalism and this was as a result of the winds of change that were blowing at the time in South Africa.　Afrikaners felt that they should be in charge of the politics and ethos of South Africa. The scars of the South African War were still fresh (South African History online: no page).

NUSAS was a multiracial organisation of white university students of South Africa and comprised mostly English speakers. This union of students fought for the social and academic needs of the students. Steve Biko joined NUSAS and at the time the spirit of fighting for black liberation among the students had never existed. NUSAS leaders who supported the struggle for black liberation were perceived as dangerous by the apartheid regime and were crushed long before Steve Biko arrived. In the era of Steve Biko, NUSAS was more focussed on issues of academic freedom only as the government, university authorities and parents were on guard against student political leaders (Biko, 1986: 3-6). NUSAS was opposed to government policy, both in relation to the universities and to public affairs, operated in English- speaking universities and hardly at all the Afrikaans universities, where the AfrikaanseStudentebonde (ASB) was committed to supporting government policy (Davenport & Saunders, 2000: 445).

NUSAS was riddled with racial undertones where white students felt that they were superior to black students. This situation angered black students who felt that they were prejudiced by virtue of the colour of their skin. Biko (1986: 10) writes that black students had to listen to whites articulating how black students should live their lives because white students had infinitely superior education. Black students were forced into a subservient role of having to say 'yes' to what white students were saying, because blacks could not express it well. Biko (1986: 10) writes that the psychological fear of black students to express themselves in English had something to do with the mind and made them to think that they were less intelligent than whites. As a result, black students refused to accept the status quo and they challenged it.

Black and white students viewed the approach to the problem of apartheid from different perspectives. Informed by their circumstances, white students regarded apartheid as an enemy and non-racism as an antidote, and verbal protest and symbolic racial mixing was regarded as the only limit of their action. Black student leaders like Steve Biko extended the responsibility of NUSAS to the whole university, including university employees who were underpaid and treated like slaves, while white students were not concerned with fighting for black aspirations as they were not oppressed. Essentially black and white students had different views about their needs and how the status quo should be changed (Biko, 1986: 3-5).

What the above means is that the participation of students in university governance was barred by the apartheid system in universities. Despite the attempts by white students under

NUSAS to voice student concerns, there was no meaningful move towards transforming public HEIs. The dominance of white students in NUSAS meant that the solution to the black students' concerns was left to the expediency of their fellow white students who viewed the problem of and solution for apartheid differently. This situation resulted in black students seeking a solution of representation by opting for their black only student organisation SASO which is discussed below.

4.4.2 The South African Student Organisation (SASO)

Differences grew within NUSAS between black and white students, which resulted in a split. SASO was formed in 1968 as a break away from NUSAS, to provide black students with a vehicle entirely their own. It was one of the student organisations that sprang into life as a result of the spread of the black consciousness (BC) philosophy, which emphasised the importance of blacks being self-reliant and doing away with their sense of inferiority which worsened their situation of oppression (Davenport and Saunders, 2000: 437). The racial politics in NUSAS and the frustrations that black students experienced became a precursor to the formation of SASO. One of the black leaders, Steven Biko, felt that they should form an all-black university student organisation that will have the aspirations of the black students at heart. The new all black student organisation would give students a chance of coming together and formulating their own thinking, unpolluted by ideas emanating from a group with a great deal at stake in the status quo. In NUSAS, white students dominated with their paternalistic attitude towards black students. The University Christian Movement (UCM), which was allowed to organise formally on black campuses because of its non-political religious character paved the way for the formation of SASO. It was in the UCM gatherings where Steve Biko got the fertile ground to spread, conscientize and to incite African students.

In 1968, the UCM held a conference in Stutterheim, but because of the Groups Areas Act of 1924, which barred white residential areas from blacks, they were not allowed to stay for more than seventy two hours. Resulting from this painful incident, a black caucus was held for the first time. This spurred black university students to form their own organisation. The need to form a black student organisation was once again emphasised at a NUSAS conference, which took place after the Stutterheim conference, when Steve Biko asked whether there was a point in Africans continuing their affiliation to NUSAS in the light of their minority status and second class treatment (Ramphele, 1991: 23-25).

As an astute student leader, Steve Biko used his skills to conscientise black students in black universities to form a black student organisation. Barney Pityana, the SRC president in Fort Hare then assisted Steve Biko to inspire black students to form their own organisation. In December 1968, at the Marianhill conference of the Wentworth University SRC, SASO was adopted. Its inaugural conference took place in July 1969 at the University of the North (now University of Limpopo), where Steve Biko was elected its first president. Amongst other prominent student leaders elected were Hendrick Nenqwekhulu, Musa Hendrick, Petrus Machaka, Manan Kgware, Aubrey Mokwape, Goolam, J. and Strini Moodley (Gerhart, 1978: 261-262).

The formation of SASO in 1968 decidedly changed the future of the South Africa politics. This BC aligned organization maintained an exclusive black membership comprising African, Coloured and Indian people who rejected the policy of apartheid. While university managements and government first saw SASO as an ethnic organisation that vindicated its policies, SASO members challenged student leaders at English Historically White Universities (HWUs) to protest against the social colour bar and argued that blacks in liberal student organizations at English HWUs should form their own organizations. Black students were urged to draw attention to the limited role blacks played in their own universities and emphasized black dignity and pride and from 1970 onwards became involved in protest actions at several black universities. These actions included boycotts against state appointed university leaders, protests against the expulsion of student leaders and support for black people establishing a broad range of youth, women, community, and medical civil society organizations to build black solidarity (Cres Revues Org: no page). The next section focuses on the SANSCO.

4.4.3   South African National Students' Congress (SANSCO)

Established in 1979, SANSCO was one of the largest and most influential national student organisations representing black students in public HEIs. This student organisation was an important and integral part of the broad mass democratic movement (MDM) in South Africa. It was formed two years after the banning of SASO and continued the traditions of SASO, campaigning for the total liberation of black students from all forms of oppression in

public higher education institutions in South Africa. SANSCO operated and survived under conditions of authoritative and repressive political order for about twelve years until its merger with NUSAS to the form South African Student Congress (SASCO) (Badat, 1999: 365).

SANSCO committed itself to a non-racial and non-sexist future based on the vision inscribed in the Freedom Charter. This meant building an alliance with the liberal and predominantly white NUSAS. It was therefore not surprising that its merger with NUSAS took place as they both associated with the ANC and were dominant student structures at white universities. (Cele & Koen, 2003: 210).

The objectives of SANSCO were outlined in the preamble to its constitution and policy document as follows "whereas we the Black students of South Africa, realising that we are members of an oppressed community before we are students, and committing ourselves to non-racial democratic society free of exploitation and national oppression, in which harmony among people will prevail, find it necessary to articulate the aspirations of the oppressed people in a united and organised manner.."(Badat, 999: 379). The above illustrates that students did not want to be spectators in the game which they should be playing. They took it upon themselves to become part and parcel of the broader oppressed community and resisted oppression. SASCO is examined below.

4.4.4 The South African Student Congress (SASCO)

SASCO was born from the merger between NUSAS and SANSCO in 1992. A result of this merger was significant membership changes and strengthening of linkages between organizations that subscribed to non-racialism and non-sexism. This further brought together black and white students who supported the ANC's broad policies. Today, SASCO mainly draws its membership from African students. Cele and Koen (2003:214) claim that "one effect of this change involves an increasing search among white students for alternative organizations to SASCO through which they can express their interests". They further assert that the above has led to the emergence of independent (from political parties) student coalitions at individual institutions that address general student concerns around SRC election time. Much of this activity has been ascribed to unease with SASCO's dominance of SRCs, their subordination of student interest to ANC policies, and unhappiness with the organizational activities of SRCs at several institutions. However, whereas SASCO still

exists as a national body and maintains national influence, independent student coalitions still mainly operate as single institutional organizations and only present a marginal alternative.

Cele and Koen (2003:214) write that the merger between SANSCO and NUSAS that resulted in the formation of SASCO had different outcomes. One of them was a change in membership which brought both black and white students together as they ascribed to non-racialism and non-sexism. However today SASCO draws most of its membership from African students, while white students continue to increasingly search for alternative organisations to SASCO through which they can express their interests. This, according to Cele and Koen (2003:214), could be attributed to the unease with SASCO's dominance of SRCs and their subordination of student interest to ANC policies and a general unhappiness with the organisational activities of SRCs at several institutions. Whereas SASCO still exists as a national student body and has national influence, independent student coalitions operate as single organizations and only present a marginal alternative.

Cloete (2011: 12) writes that SASCO as a student structure, it was mandated "to take up the demands of students of South Africa [whether they are] social, political, economic or educational" (Section 5 of the SASCO Constitution). SASCO has branches at all major universities in South Africa. It also has provincial and national structures. Cloete (2011:12) writes that the major struggle experienced by the SASCO led SRC at UWC during 2010 was the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) issue.

The cadre deployment, used in government and other public departments, also play a significant role in the SRC elections. This is also accompanied by ensuring that SRC members take mandate from the student organisation and not the student body. Cloete (2011: 12) further asserts that SASCO aligns itself with the African National Congress (ANC) and the ANCYL. If SASCO gets the majority of votes in any SRC elections, they decide on the mandate of the SRC. True to the ANC culture, SASCO believes that they deploy members of SASCO to the SRC. The above has the tendency of deployed SRC members to forget that they are students and regard themselves as politicians who carry out the mandate of the political organisation at the expense of the student body. It is for this reason that some managers of public HEIs encourage students to compete in SRC elections as independent candidates, to avoid the deployment of candidates who carry out political mandates. The above has a serious negative impact on the principles of co-operative governance in public HEIs, as institutions can be held hostage by being used like they were during the apartheid era. PASO and PASMA are discussed below.

4.4.5 The Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) and the Pan-Africanist Student Movement of Azania (PASMA)

Different liberation movements ensured that they had student wings in order to make the education sector a site for the furtherance of the total liberation of the oppressed. The ANC and AZAPO had already established their student wings in SASCO and AZASCO and AZASM respectively. The Pan-Africanist Congress was the only liberation movement still to establish a student wing. Throughout its history in exile, the PAC consistently struggled to re-establish itself inside South Africa. Essentially, in the 1980s the PAC-aligned student structures generally attached themselves to the BC student organizations. However, the formation of the PAC-aligned trade unions foreshadowed efforts to re-establish a student wing. In 1998, the Pan-Africanist Student Organisation (PASO) was established. Taking queue from AZASCO, which formed the secondary student structure called AZASM, they formed PASO for the students in secondary school. PASMA became a structure for higher education students. Since its inception, PASMA has effectively organised itself into a formidable structure which has successfully challenged SASCO for the control of SRCs at a number of campuses (Cele and Koen, 2003: 215).

It is undeniable that the student political organisations played a critical role in both the democratisation of South Africa in general and the public HEIs in particular. This occurred by ensuring that universities were the extension of the site of the broader struggles for total liberation against repressive laws in South Africa. Cele and Koen (2003: 219) fittingly summarise the developmental stages played by student leaders when they say that student leaders shifted "focus from being vehicles of defiance to becoming catalysts in the transformation of the education system by contributing to policy formulation, monitoring the implementation of new legislation and promoting education transformation". This implies that student leaders, through SRCs, are key agents of transformation in the South African higher education sector. This needs to be done by way of representation in all governance structures of universities and contributing towards the realisation of the goals of co-operative governance.

4.4.6 Emergence of new student organisations on campuses

In the last decade some youth organisations have emerged linked to the national political organisations in the country. Amongst them are the Freedom Front Plus (FF+) youth,

Democratic Alliance Student Organisation (DASO) and the Young Communist League (YCL) which has working relations with the ANCYL and SASCO (discussed above). These youth organisations also participate in student politics and stand for SRC elections in various campuses in the country. Much, though, has not been written about them by the academics except in newspapers. This area needs to be explored in order to nuance the student politics in totality.

The emergence of the above youth formations has added a new dimension in terms of the shape of campus politics. There is however death of scholarship on the FF+ and DASO youth formations in terms of how they become involved and participate in in student politics. As a result this calls for research to be undertaken in order to explore the degree, influence and effect of these youth formations in public HEIs. This could also gauge how transformed they are organisationally in terms of diversity and their approach to race issues which have polarised the student body in public HEIs.

The next section focuses on the student political protests and campaigns in university campuses.

4.4.7   Student Political Protests and Campaigns

Cele and Koen (2003: 207) write that "SRCs in HEIs operated in a context where behaviour was strictly controlled and political activity considered prohibited. However, violent political protests and campaigns in public HEIs were used by students to voice their concerns to the university managements, which were viewed as agent of the apartheid system". An example of student protest was at the University of the Western Cape where male students refused to wear ties for a social function. Political activity in public HEIs was controlled and attempts by SRCs to affiliate to NUSAS were thwarted by their university councils. Within universities, SASO's rejection of apartheid and its anti-government stance overlapped with increased student rejection of the limited powers SRC's enjoyed and the increasing signs of white political dominance and economic privilege and its corollary of black subordination. This rejection also spilled over into other areas as disturbances at the universities of the North (now part of University of Limpopo), Western Cape, Fort Hare and Durban Westville (now part of UKZN) took place.

Cloete (2011: 3) correctly points out that protest marches at South African universities over service delivery issues are becoming a regular event in the South African landscape. In May 2009 both CPUT campuses erupted in violent protest marches and again in August 2009, students at the Bellville CPUT campus violently protested. In September 2009, students at University of the Witwatersrand held the same kind of protest marches. In August 2010, students at the University of the Western Cape violently protested and towards the end of March 2011, students at the UKZN also had violent protest marches. Cloete (2011: 3) argues that these cases share three things in common. Firstly, in all the cases, students violently protested to such an extent that the South African Police Service (SAPS) was called in by affected universities to stop these protests. Secondly, in all cases, non-protesting students and university staff members were intimidated by protesting students. Thirdly, all were about service delivery and two cases were specifically about the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NSFAS) financial support. These cases signal something much more profound than just violent student demonstrations; it signals a lack of institutional wide student participation at South African universities.

Times have changed and there is a shift in terms of the needs of students at public HEIs. Student political organisations do not enjoy the same mass support they used to during the apartheid era. What is therefore needed is for them to redefine their tactics in order to be still relevant in public HEIs. Students have lost interest in gatherings that are politically orientated and there is poor attendance of political structures meetings. In order to attract students to these gatherings, some student organisations tie their programmes to social events. The same trend is common in political parties.

The role of student organisations in democratic South Africa has changed from that of being critical against oppressive and intransigent laws to that of being voiceless. Cebekhulu, Mantzaris and Nhlapho (2006: 240) argue that there needs to be critical and relentless engagement of student leaders as "…ignorant leadership blinds people into comfort zones of party allegiances which on its own defeat the purpose of academic, political and intellectual independence. Throughout the world student movements have turned into tokens of the ruling party, rubberstamping every decision without interrogation or critique." South Africa is not an exception to the above as it is a common occurrence in most campuses of HEIs.

A discussion of the different student political organisations in HEIs highlights a critical role played by students in universities, especially the role of black students. The common aim of the above organisations is that they wanted a representation of the students, not only in the governance of public HEIs, but also with regard to the broader democratisation of the society

in which they lived in order to contribute meaningfully. These student organisations played a role towards the transformation of public HEIs and ultimately the enactment of the HE Act which declared the SRCs in public HEIs as statutory bodies with a significant role to play in the governance of universities. The next section discusses the role of the SRCs in co-operative governance.

4.5 WHAT IS THE ROLE OF THE SRC IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE?

SRCs in HEIs in the 1980s were viewed as subordinates to political student organisations. That status has, however, increasingly changed in the democratic South Africa. Student activism in several black universities in the 1980s and 1990s were consumed into protests and a myriad of campaigns including demands for access to public HEIs; student debt and funding; class boycotts, looting and hostage taking, in alignment with the national consciousness of the oppressed groups. Despite student political organisations still playing a critical role in the SRCs, they are currently, to a certain extent, being seen as administrative bodies that take up and defend student interests. The provisions of the HE Act 101 of 1997, especially the principles of co-operative governance transformed SRCs by making them statutory structures and key players in the governance of HEIs. The above function is ironically what the apartheid government envisaged. However, its intention was viewed with disdain, hence the boycott of HBUs by SRCs as stooges of the apartheid system in HE (Cele and Koen, 2003: 216).

Cele and Koen (2003: 216) aptly emphasize that the role of SRCs has changed from protest to governance projects, which are taken up through negotiations. Their functions include and are not limited to engagement with faculty boards, senate and university councils, facilitating disbursement of monies to clubs and societies, procuring resources and organising functions for students. The above is in the spirit of the principles of co-operative governance with the SRCs as stakeholders in the vision and mission of public HEIs.

Co-operative governance is critical in deepening democracy and strengthening institutional management in public HEIs. HE managers have a duty and responsibility to involve student leaders in decisions affecting the daily activities of their institutions. SRCs are expected to follow democratic practices in electing representatives in different structures such as the Senate, Institutional Forum and the Council of universities. The role of SRCs in co-operative

governance is to co-govern with the university management on issues that affect the students.

Tabane et al(2003:1) avers that students are 'the main stakeholders' in HEIs and as a result, their influence in institutional governance should be strengthened. The SRC is the mouth piece of the student body in public HEIs. The new model of governance in higher education means that SRCs must redefine their role in how they become involved and participate in higher education institutions governance. They need to "transcend from being mere representative structure to become student government structures that play a role in co-operative governance through participating in various institutional governance structures" (Tabane, 2003: 1)

Thobakgale (2001: 6-7) is of the view that for the students to make their presence felt as a force for change they need to have a national strategic making body and develop a clear national agenda to address, *inter-alia*, "the continuing practice of management styles that contradict the spirit and the letter of co-operative governance". In 2012, student representatives from different public HEIs conferenced and produced a Student Charter. This might be the beginning of an effort to address the above agenda and broad student concerns in the best interest of the entire South African student.

There are challenges in terms of the involvement and participation of students in SRCs. Thobakgale (2001: 6-7) argues that the following are some of the contributory hurdles or impediments to student leaders' somewhat lack of enthusiasm in participation:

- The erosion of the mass base of student political organisations at a campus level by independent student leaders who not only win SRC elections against these organisations (i.e. student political organisations) but also question their dominance;
- The fear by national student leaders of appearing too radical in the eye of government and the ruling party as this might ruin their employment prospects;
- A lack of interest in broad socio-political issues by students who increasingly see themselves as consumers in a market-driven higher education system…
- The continuing deterioration of the level of political awareness on campuses due to a lack of resources for running political education projects.

According to Cebekhulu *et al.* (2006: 219), failure by student leaders to articulate their position on student issues is partly because they expect to get employment in either

universities or the government on completion of their studies. As a result, they rather keep silent than to voice their concerns and risk not getting employment. This perception does not always hold true though, as most of former student leaders are unemployed despite their efforts not to oppose either government or universities. There are very limited job opportunities especially in public universities while on the other hand; it is not easy to get a job in government unless you are well connected beyond student activism.

Tabane *et al* (2003: 3-4) emphasizes that the SRC as the government of student body has jurisdiction over student matters and its operation and management is executed on the basis of a constitution. However, he cautions that the SRC is subordinate to council and its constitution is within the scope of the statute, which is the legislation governing that institution and also the Constitution of South Africa as the supreme document of the country.

In discussing the role of the SRCs in co-operative governance it is important to contextualise what student leadership is? Below is an examination of student leadership in the context of university governance.

4.6   WHAT IS STUDENT LEADERSHIP?

Student leadership was of topical interest in the 1970s and 1980s, where students voiced their concerns in the governance of their institutions. There is, once more, renewed interest in the democratic South Africa about student leadership, this time provided by legislation. In the context of public HEIs, the question to ask is what type of leadership SRCs should practice to achieve their goal as elected representatives of the students.

SRC members need to realise that the spirit of serving is paramount and more important than just being part of the SRC for corruption and material gains. Some SRC members tend to make a career out of SRCs and as such, neglect the core business of being at universities. A culture of serving in the interest of students' needs first and foremost should be what drives students to stand for SRC elections in higher education institutions. Below is a discussion of leaders who have demonstrated the type of leadership which is selfless and is not based on self-aggrandisement.

In this study, involvement refers to the part taken actively by students through SRCs in student affairs, devoting most of their time and energy within key decision- making structures in public HEIs. This includes all the processes related to how they are elected by the student body to serve in the SRC and their representative role in key HEIs structures. In this study, participation means the actual role played by the SRC through their representation of the student body, as stakeholders, in the Council, Senate and Institutional Forum and any other structure in HEIs that deals with governance and where student interests are at stake. On the participation of students in higher education governance, Klemencic (2011: 1) argues that representation is a necessary but not sufficient condition for active and effective participation in institutional governance. This means that SRCs must transcend mere representation in the governance of HEIs in order for their active and effective participation to bear fruit on institutional governance. Therefore, it is incumbent on the management of HEIs, to capacitate SRCs in their institutions to ensure that they have the interest of students at heart and that they effectively carry out programmes to advance those interests. This will further give the student body impetus to have faith in SRCs which are sometimes viewed as ineffective and inept. The next section discusses the need for students to participate in the governance of public HEIs.

4.7   THE NEED FOR STUDENT PARTICIPATION IN HEIS GOVERNANCE

Despite the long history of struggle to find space in public HEIs governance, the establishment of SRCs were only legislated in 1997 in South Africa when the HE Act 1997 as amended was enacted. This implies that democratic SRCs are relatively new in South Africa compared to other parts of the world such as Europe. Klemencic (2011: 2) notes that, despite a lack of comparative studies of student participation across different regions of the world, student representation and participation in higher education governance within the European Higher Education Area is arguably one of the most developed in the world. Students' right to organise has been incorporated into almost all higher education laws in Europe and elected student representatives participate in the governing bodies of most European HEIs. However, student representative organisations continue to argue for student participation. This demonstrates the complexities and transformation challenges embedded in student representation in HEIs the world over. Klemencic (2012a: 632) further argues that despite the intense political involvement of the European Student Union (ESU) in European HEIs, there are still reports of deteriorating student influence when it comes to institutional governance.

Klemencic (2012a: 632) argues that there is a gap between policy and practice which might be attributed to the interactions and interrelations between student participation as a concept and social phenomenon and policy developments by the European Higher Education Area (EHEA). In Europe, the Bologna process was a precursor to transformed HE policy making while in South Africa the HE Act of 1997 as amended set a democratic path for a transformed higher education. In 2012, the South African Union of Students (SAUS) drafted a student charter as a guiding document in an attempt to ensure that student issues are addressed collectively from a national forum. According to the draft charter, SAUS is committed to represent students of the country in the higher education challenging environment in which all members of its culturally, geographically, racially, politically, socially and economically diverse community can realize their potential. The interests and needs of students are our highest priority and the Union will foster continuously the improvement of all institutions of higher learning the quality services to students. The SAUS invites students to honour their responsibilities to their studies, to the life of their institutions, and to the life of their communities they are coming from. Together with member affiliates, the South African student body, the Department of Education and the institutions of higher learning will strive to ensure that every graduate has been given the opportunity to enjoy a fulfilling and rewarding learning experience which has promoted their academic, social and personal growth (*Draft South African Student Charter*, 2012: 1).

The above charter by SAUS is a further illustration that student involvement and participation is important in realising the on-going transformation project in the governance of HEIs in accordance with the principle of co-operative governance. The idea of transformed governance of public HEIs with students playing 'an equal role', is , at the moment, still an ideal to be achieved.

Discussions of SRCs' participation in HEIs needs to be contextualised in order to correctly understand its dynamics and intensity, especially by debunking its elements. In the heart of this issue is what participation in HEIs entail. Klemencic identifies four levels of participation by student representatives. She notes that the degree of participation is a defining element in the social meaning and effects of student participation which ranges from access to information as the basic degree of participation, to consultation and dialogue, and finally to partnership as the highest degree (Klemencic 2012a: 636). The following explains these four levels of participation:

For the SRCs' to participate effectively in student governance, they should have access to institutional information. This is the basis for all subsequent levels of participation. It implies a one-way provision of information from the institutional administration to representative student bodies. The administration should ensure that there is open and free access to documents related to relevant institutional policies and decisions. This availability of information is especially important during student elections to give all candidates equal access to such information. If the SRC has access to information regarding student matters it will better represent the student body by ensuring that it is disseminated. This may empower the SRC to make informed decisions based on the facts; this might alleviate misinformation which mostly results in chaos on campuses.

Regarding consultation, university management solicits student representatives' opinion on specific issues. It provides information and then asks for comments, views and feed-back. Consultation is one of the fundamental elements of democracy. Constant sharing of ideas is imperative in terms of getting the general feelings of the stakeholders in an organisation. Consultation between the university governance structures and the SRC could enable a healthy environment of taking every stakeholder on board in terms of decision making. This should however not be at the expense of vigorous debates. In order for the SRC to be effective and realise the elements of co-operative governance issues should be tabled and robustly debated.

Dialogue is another important tool to enhance legitimate solutions to challenges. A student representative body and university management hold a regular (formal or informal) exchange of views built on mutual interests and potentially shared objectives. Practically, this means that student representatives are involved in various consultative committees where they perform advisory functions or are informally consulted on a regular basis (for example through meetings). They also have opportunities to launch their own agenda issues. However, they do not have formal decision-making powers, such as that of voting or veto rights. If dialogue can be fostered between the SRC and management and a certain degree of decision-making given to the SRC especially on crucial student matters, dialogue could be an effective tool of communication and transformation on campuses. Real dialogue can only occur in a healthy environment, where parties have a common goal, guided by democratic principles, procedures and shared values.

Participation is one of the key elements in co-operative governance. It is imperative for the statutory bodies and stakeholders to foster partnership in institutional governance. A

partnership implies shared responsibilities in each step of the institutional decision-making process: agenda setting, drafting, decision-taking, implementation and monitoring of institutional decisions. It is the highest form of participation. At this level, representative student bodies and administration cooperate closely and broadly while respecting the independence of student representation. Student representatives participate in decision-making bodies typically with full voting rights. They are also delegated particular implementation activities (Klemencic 2011: 13). Co-operative governance embraces partnership as one of the essentials in ensuring that governance structures realise the institutional goals as provided for in the HE Act 1997 as amended. It is evident that some universities have positive stories to share on matters relating to institutional governance and they can partner with those with weaker systems. Benchmarking, on tried and tested governance models, amongst the public HEIs can necessitate sharing of best practices by SRCs and management.

The above elucidates the intricacy of HEIs governance and the challenges imbedded in the effect of student voice in institutional governance. The environment in the South Africa higher education sector is no exception to the above scenario in Europe. This study intends to evaluate the role and effect of SRCs in public HEIs in South Africa regarding co-operative governance. In the heart of the debate is how far policy is translated into practice. Dialogue, consultation and access to information, as explained above, are key forms of participation by student representatives. However, partnership as explained by Klemencic (2011: 13) above captures the essence of co-operative governance as it should occur in public HEIs of South Africa.

The HE Act 1997 as amended serves as an overarching reform process. However, the practices of co-operative governance in public HEIs should be practically mirrored in institutional governance in terms of a representation of all stakeholders and also by not just being listened to but also being heard. Therefore, the four levels of participation (access to information, consultation, dialogue and partnership) as identified and explained by Klemencic (2011: 13) above should be the guiding criteria in public HEIs' student governance. The section below looks at what is good student governance in public higher education institutions.

4.8   GOOD STUDENT GOVERNANCE IN PUBLIC HEIS

It is important to define, contextualise and identify what constitutes good governance as it relates to student leaders in HEIs. The White Paper 3, 1997 can assist in this regard when it refers, in general, to the democratisation of university governance below:

> "The principle of democratisation requires that governance of the system of higher education and of individual institutions should be democratic, representative and participatory and characterised by mutual respect, tolerance and the maintenance of a well-ordered and peaceful community life. Structures and procedures should ensure that those affected by decisions have a say in making them, either directly or through elected representatives. It requires that decision-making processes at the systemic, institutional and departmental levels are transparent, and that those taking and implementing decisions are accountable for the manner in which they perform their duties and use resources" (White Paper, 1997: 1.19).

On the concept of governance, Zide (2011: 109-110) writes that it entails the development of a more democratic system of power relations between the various sectors of an institution by, for instance, seeing to it that fundamental changes occur to ensure adherence to the principles of democratic governance, accountability, transparency and inclusiveness in decision-making. The governance of HEIs is outlined in the legislation; in South Africa, the HE Act 1997 as amended gives guidance on how universities should be governed. However the issue is in the interpretation of the extent to which the power of both universities and the government starts and ends. Good university governance is a desirable phenomenon to ensure that public HEIs deliver on their socio-economic goals and legislative imperatives.

Fielden (2008: 41) writes that Australia, Denmark and the United Kingdom (UK) have played a leading role in terms of guidance on good university governance. In Australia, according to a set of protocols on good governance, it is almost a mandatory requirement for universities to receive extra funding. In the UK, chairs of university governing bodies have a document called Statement of Primary Responsibilities which all universities have to adhere to and give reasons for evading. Fielden (2008: 41) further asserts that governments of the above countries influence the way universities are governed by funding improvements on systems such as information system, e-learning and issuing good practice guidance on issues such as risk management. The issue of institutional autonomy and how far governments should intervene in the affairs of public universities to ensure that the use of public money is

appropriately accounted for poses a challenge in terms of the autonomy of HEIs. However Australia and the UK believe that through interventions mentioned above, governments ensure that institutions are governed effectively.

Luescher (2009: 194) proposes that good student governance is conscious governance that should invite an on-going examination of the democratic credentials of university governance, as it should also occur in other respects in academic freedom terms. He declares that it involves an important public good dimension of higher education, which should be defended courageously against tendencies that run against this ideal. The SRCs and their challenges in universities are discussed below.

4.9 SRCS AND THEIR CHALLENGES IN UNIVERSITIES

It is evident that the voice of students is marginalized not only by university cultures and processes but also by the very student leaders who are entrusted with the role of advocating for their needs and aspirations. Universities reciprocate by successfully reducing the role of SRCs into compliance exercises, fulfilling the mandatory call by the government for universities to have an SRC. Comparatively, the SRCs in the apartheid era and those in the democratic period differ in terms of their objectives and how they operate. In the apartheid era, students were called on a discourse which sought to establish a strategic and high level approach towards weakening the divides and strengthening the voice of an African student, a call which had nothing to do with desires for positions and seats in the SRC or for material gains. The call was about a genuine resolve by student leaders to liberate and transform universities from practices that tended to marginalize African students (Baloyi: no page. Retrieved October 20, 2013, from www.saassap.co.za/dl//Baloyi, %20C.%20SRC%20 accountability.pdf.).

In the democratic period, there is apathy amongst students and there are signs of lack of communication between the SRC and the student body in terms of feedback. There is also a lack of accountability and corruption is rife. The participation of SRC members in key structures, if it takes place at all, does not demonstrate that there is accountability in terms of feedback. The riots by students in various HEIs show that students in general somewhat misunderstand or are ignorant of the purpose of voting the SRC into office (Baloyi: no page Retrieved October 20, 2013, from www.saassap.co.za/dl//Baloyi, %20C.%20SRC%20 accountability.pdf.).

SRCs and the processes of their elections are highly contested along ideological and party political lines and there are always suspicious processes in conducting elections. A case in point is that of the 2013 SRC elections at the University of Fort Hare. The South African Student Congress (SASCO) went to the Eastern Cape High Court in Bisho accusing the company appointed to oversee the 2013 SRC elections of not consulting and communicating to them properly. The court ruled in favour of the Student Parliament which resolved to move the elections to 2014 and appoint an interim SRC (Fort-Hare University: no page).

Contesting SRC positions in public HEIs is viewed as a very serious competition for power by different political organisations, which at times results in violent confrontations. At different Campuses, there is a balance of forces which mirrors national politics. There is no longer hegemony by student political organisations associated with former liberation movements. At some of the HEIs, SRC candidates are encouraged to participate as independent candidates than political organisations. This is logically because SRC ought to represent the student body and not political organisations. Campuses continue to mirror the national political set-up with democrats also entering the fray regarding student politics.

There are usually fierce battles during SRC elections and some of them turn violent. During the 2013 SRC elections, it was reported that, in the Polokwane campus of the Tshwane University of Technology's (TUT), a Democratic Alliance Student Organisation (DASO) member was stabbed allegedly by a SASCO member during the SRC elections vote counting procedures. In a statement issued by Ntuli Mbali, she said "We are growing all across South Africa, and especially on campuses, and this is making SASCO panic to the extent that they are engaging in physical violence and intimidation. We will not allow this lawlessness to continue. We will follow up with the SAPS to make sure that the guilty parties are punished and that the democratic rights of our members and students are protected on all campuses" (Mbali 2013). The violence apparently occurred as a result of DASO which had grown significantly in the election winning roughly 24% of the votes. Members were singing and dancing to celebrate the good results when they were attacked. The above demonstrates the nature of contestations when it comes to the control of SRCs in HEIs. This also mirrors what takes place even during national elections in South Africa.

SASCO believes that it has played a key role in the transformation of HEIs. In their 2013 SRC election manifesto, they claim that "SASCO has ensured that structures of governance are democratised. We were at the forefront of the struggle for the recognition of SRC as a legitimate student representative. SRC's have then therefore become the vehicle not only

for championing of student needs aspirations and demand but have also been in the forefront of transformation struggles. Our SRCs have waged relentless wars against all forms of exclusion. SASCO is therefore calling upon all students to exercise their democratic rights in defence of our democracy and hard earned SRC's" (SASCO SRC Election Manifesto 2013).

The above is an attempt by SASCO to win votes to become the SRC on campuses in South Africa. They believe that they are the legitimate student organisation that also has struggle credentials and know how to address students' challenges in HEIs. However, Griffiths (2012: 1), former chairperson of DASO at the University of Pretoria, does not believe SASCO has the answers to questions related to student governance in public HEIs. Griffiths (2012:1) argues that SASCO, which is ANC-aligned, does not have a clear record of service delivery at any of the public HEIs and by virtue of its political affiliation has lost moral legitimacy to lead the students as they are usually part of protesting student groups. This is the nature of contests that occurs in public HEIs as the battle to control different campuses intensifies.

The issue of candidates and political affiliation plays an important role in public HEIs. Structures such as SASCO are against candidates standing independently for SRC elections and in their 2013 election manifesto, they strongly warned students that "Those of us who have independent candidate in our ballot papers ought to resist the temptations of voting people who are without mandate and account to themselves and themselves alone. SRC is a platform for advancing transformation and unorganised people will not be able to advance such an agenda since they get mandate from nobody and no organisation can be held liable for their actions. The process of receiving mandate and accounting is the most important part of the complex process of democratic governance" (*SASCO Election Manifesto 2013*).

The desire to control SRCs on higher education campuses has been on-going, hence the contest which even becomes fierce amongst different student organisations. The reasons for this are the benefits that go with serving in the SRC. During the apartheid era, political activity was polarized between those aligned to non-racial ideology and those who were black consciousness aligned; this picture has changed in democratic South Africa. Cele and Koen (2003: 209) argue that the Azanian Student Movement (AZASM) which was a black consciousness (BC) student structure had problems with SANSCO which often denied it access to university and organizational resources through its control of the SRC. This was done to limit the growth and influence of the BC ideology. The section below explores why students should serve in the SRCs.

4.10   WHY STUDENTS SHOULD SERVE IN THE SRCS?

It is imperative for the students to participate in their affairs in public HEIs to ensure that their voice is heard. As much as there are challenges experienced by the SRCs in their attempts to lead the student body, there are also socio-economic benefits for both themselves and their societies. Students are an integral part of society and serving in the governance structures of public higher education institutions through SRCs exposes them to the democratic values they will encounter when they enter the job market. Student movements have played a vital role in fighting against the undemocratic governance of public higher education institutions over the years. Their involvement and participation in higher education institution governance structures is in recognition of the role they play and continue to play in the democratic South Africa.

Higher education plays a very important part in society. By virtue of serving in the democratic decision making bodies in higher education institutions, students are afforded an opportunity to become good citizens and better future leaders. According to Bergan (2003:11) the following are the purpose of education:

- Preparation for the labour market;
- Preparation for life as active citizens in a democratic society;
- Personal development;
- Development and maintenance of an advanced knowledge base.

Therefore, participation in university governance structures legitimizes the decision-making in public HEIs and also empowers student leaders to become responsible citizens for the public good.

4.11   CONCLUSION

This chapter has discussed the origins of SRCs and the role of student political organisations in public HEIs. Undoubtedly, SRCs are currently playing a greater formal role in institutional policy affairs through their participation in academic and institutional forums. This has been made a reality by the enactment of the HE Act 1997 with its concept of co-operative governance. Principled on the democratic conception of stakeholder participation,

the key governance structures in public HEIs give SRCs an institutional voice and make them co responsible for some decisions affecting their constituency and for transforming public HEIs. The next chapter examines the research methodology and designs used in this study.

CHAPTER FIVE

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

5.1   INTRODUCTION

In chapter 4, the involvement and participation of student representative councils (SRCs) in the governance of public higher education institutions (HEIs) in South Africa was investigated. This chapter highlights the research methodology used in this study. The purpose of this chapter is to review the data processing procedures and the statistical techniques applied in this study. The theoretical perspectives of both qualitative and quantitative research methods and designs are discussed. The data collection techniques and processing procedures as well as the statistical techniques applied in this study are examined.

In this study, the researcher made use of case study, where semi-structured interviews and questionnaires were utilized to collect data. The theory that was studied was co-operative governance at public higher education institutions in South Africa where SRC members were requested to complete questionnaires and were also interviewed. The following sections highlight the research design and methodology for this study.

5.2 RESEARCH DESIGN AND METHODOLOGY

McMillan (2012: 5) defines research as an inquiry characterised by accepted principles to verify that a knowledge claim is reasonable. It involves a systematic process of gathering, interpreting, and reporting information. Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 2) concur with the above definition and point out that the purpose of this process is to increase researchers' understanding of a phenomenon in which they are interested or concerned about.

5.2.1 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Leedy and Ormrod (2005: 87) define research methodology as the "specific methods researchers use to collect and analyse data". Babbie and Mouton (2001: 75) in Henning *et*

al. (2004: 36) observe that a research methodology focuses on the process and the kinds of tools and procedures used by a researcher. Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 12) argue that a research methodology is the general approach a researcher takes in carrying out the research project. To some extent, this approach dictates the particular tools the researcher selects.

From these definitions, it is evident that in order for a research project to be successfully completed, a researcher needs to choose suitable methods to deal with the identified research problem. Every research problem will therefore determine the type of methods to be used.   This study will use the grounded theory method which seeks (Nieuwehuis 2007: 77) to develop a theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analysed.   The reason for using the grounded theory method is that one of the objectives of this study is to develop and recommend an SRC model of co-operative governance that will be workable in the multi-campus set-up of the South African public HEIs.

This study has used both qualitative and quantitative research methods. McMillan (2012: 318) writes that both qualitative and quantitative approaches can be used within the same study as they both fit in the same research paradigms. McMillan (2012: 318) maintains that the two biggest advantages of using mixed methods are:

- The ability to provide more a thorough understanding of a research problem because of the opportunity to examine multiple forms of data that are more comprehensive than data that might be collected via either quantitative or qualitative methods alone, and
- The ability to answer complex research questions that cannot be addressed through the use of quantitative or qualitative methods alone.

Table 5.1 below outlines both the advantages and disadvantages of Mixed-Methods Research.

Table 5.1   Advantages and Disadvantages of Mixed-Methods Research

Advantages	Disadvantages
• Provides more comprehensive data • Includes multiple approaches to compensate for disadvantages with using a single method • Allows investigation of different types of questions in a single study • Allows examination of complex research questions • Includes triangulation to enhance credibility of the findings	• Researcher needs an ability to conduct and interpret results from both quantitative and qualitative designs • May require more extensive data collection • May require more time and resources • Difficult to combine approaches when writing reports and forming conclusions

McMillan (2012: 319)

McMillan and Schumacher (2001: 41-42) write that the qualitative technique is best suited for investigating people in their natural environment using a multi-method approach in order to determine attitudes, feelings, perceptions, values and motivations lying beneath. In a qualitative study, qualifying words and descriptions to record and investigate aspects of social reality are employed (Bless & Higson-Smith, 1995: 156). Peshkin in Leedy and Ormrod (2001: 148) further indicates that a qualitative research study may also serve the purpose of description. The descriptive approach implies that certain situations, settings, processes, relationships, systems or people are studied. In this study, co-operative governance is investigated in relation to the role and effect of SRCs at public higher education institutions in South Africa. Durrheim (2002: 73-94) notes that the quantitative approach is in line with the typical positivistic view, which emphasises empirical observation, measurement, and the use of statistical analysis. Its main aim is to describe and explain. It is more formalised and uses quantitative numeric data that is analysed by means of statistical procedures. In this study, both questionnaires and the interviews were used to measure the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance at public higher education institutions in South Africa. The research design is discussed below.

5.2.2 RESEARCH DESIGN

Salkind (2003: 310) defines a design as the mechanism and structure of an enquiry selected by the researcher to direct data gathering and analysis. Gay, Mills and Airasian (2009: 108)

declare that a research design is a general strategy or plan for conducting a research study. McMillan (2012: 13) asserts that a research design refers to the plan for carrying out a study. Cohen *et al.* (2001) as quoted by Jansen (2007: 33) in Maree (2007) avers that a research design is used to describe the procedures for conducting a study, and its purpose is to help find appropriate answers to research questions. According to the above definitions, a research design is what the researcher plans to do and how to do it in order to carry out the planned research project.

In this study, the mixed methods designs comprising the qualitative as well as quantitative methodology will be the most suitable design for empirical investigation, as it permits contextual interpretations (Ivankova, Creswell and Clark, 2007: 260), a better understanding of the research problem (Creswell and Plano Clark (2007: 5); as well as a triangulation of data across inquiry techniques (McMillan and Schumacher, 2001: 408). The two methods which combine both interviews and questionnaires will assist in painting a conclusive picture in the investigation of the involvement and participation of student representative councils in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions of South Africa. Creswell and Plano Clark (2007: 63) assert that in this model "quantitative and qualitative data are collected and analysed separately on the same phenomenon and then the different results are converged during interpretations". Creswell (2003: 81) notes that a "mixed methods design is useful to capture the best of both quantitative and qualitative approaches".

McMillan (2012: 13) writes that "in a non-experimental research the investigator has no direct influence on what has been selected to be studied…the investigator is unable to manipulate or control any factors or phenomena that may influence the participants'(subjects) behaviour or performance…this characteristic has important implications for the conclusions that are drawn". The advantage of qualitative research is that in it, validity is the degree to which qualitative data accurately gauge what it is being measured (Gay, et al, 2009: 375). Babbie (2007: 314) notes that field research is a potentially powerful tool for social scientists as it provides a useful balance to the strengths and weaknesses of experiments and surveys.

Creswell (2014: 244) writes that mixed methods research is an approach to inquiry that combines both qualitative and quantitative forms of research and that it involves philosophical assumptions, the use of qualitative and quantitative approaches and the mixing or integrating of both approaches in a study. In a mixed methods study, both numerical and text data are collected and analysed to address different aspects of the same general research problem and a more complete understanding of the subject under study is

facilitated (Ivankova, Creswell & Clark, in Maree, 2009: 263). This will ensure that appropriate conclusions on the study of the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance at public HEIs in South Africa are well drawn. The next section examines the mixed methods design used in this study.

5.2.2.1 Mixed Methods Design

The QUAN-Qual mixed methods research was viewed as best suited for this study and as a result it was adopted in this research. In other words, both quantitative and qualitative research designs were used. Gay et al, (2009:462) note that the purpose of mixed methods research is to build on the synergy and strength that exists between quantitative and qualitative research methods to understand a phenomenon more fully than is possible using either of the above methods alone. The QUAN-Qual model, also known as the triangulation mixed methods design, where quantitative data was first collected and qualitative data was collected afterwards, was used. The QUAN-Qual method is discussed in detail below.

Bryman (2012: 629) writes that the argument against mixed methods research is that each method carries epistemological commitments and that quantitative and qualitative researches are separate paradigm. However, it is possible that both research paradigms can be used within a single project. Fraenkel and Wallen (2010: 16) emphasise that the advantage of the mixed methods approach is that by using multiple methods, researchers are better able to gather and analyse considerably more and different kinds of data than they would if they use just one approach. In this study a questionnaire was first administered to the respondents and interviews were later conducted based on the gap that resulted from the use of questionnaires. This gap was the research questions which were not answered by the respondents in the questionnaire. The two research designs are discussed below.

5.2.2.2 The QUAN-Qual Model

Gay et al, (2011: 485) write that in the QUAN-Qual model, also known as the explanatory mixed methods design, quantitative data are collected first and are more heavily weighted than qualitative data. McMillan and Schumacher (2010: 25) explain that in an explanatory design, quantitative data are collected first and, depending on the results, qualitative data

are gathered second to elucidate, elaborate on, or explain quantitative findings. Qualitative data were collected later in order to close the gaps that existed in the collection of quantitative data. The researcher first administered the questionnaire to student representative council members at the institution where the researcher was enrolled based on the formulated hypothesis, collected quantitative data and analysed it.

The questionnaire was administered to hundred and fifty-three (153) SRC members and nine (9) SRC members, three (3) from each of the three types of universities in South Africa (Universities of Technology, Traditional Universities and Comprehensive Universities), were interviewed. The two procedures were used to collect quantitative and qualitative data respectively. Below is a table that illustrates the Quan-qual design.

Table 5.2   Explanatory (QUAN followed by qual)

Type of Mixed Methods Design	
Explanatory(QUAN followed by qual)	• Following up on outliers or extreme cases: Gather quantitative data and identify outlier or residual cases. Collect qualitative data to explore the characteristics of these cases (Caracelli & Greene, 1993). • Explaining results: Conduct a quantitative survey to identify how two or more groups compare on a variable. • Using a typology: conduct a quantitative survey and develop factors through a factor analysis. Use these factors as a typology to identify themes in qualitative data, such as observations or interviews (Caracelli & Greene, 1993) • Examining multilevels: Conduct a survey at the student level. Gather qualitative data through interviews at the class level. Survey the entire school at the school level. Collect qualitative data at the district level. Information from each level builds to the next level.

Source: (Gay et al, 2009: 464)

Table 5.2 above illustrates the process involved in the collection of data when using the explanatory Quan-qual research design. In this method, quantitative data are first collected, analysed and this is followed by the collection of qualitative data that is based on the findings from quantitative data.

5.2.3 QUANTITATIVE RESEARCH

This study is a non-experimental research. Non-experimental research design describes phenomena and examines relationships between different phenomena without any direct

manipulation of conditions that are experienced. In this study, the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public HEIs was investigated (McMillan & Schumacher (2010: 22). The study used the descriptive survey. A survey design investigates whether there is a relationship between variables. The relationship between the involvement and participation of students in public higher education institutions and their effect in co-operative governance were investigated. The opinions of SRCs members on their involvement in co-operative governance in higher education institutions in South Africa were sought. This implies that it is a cross-sectional design that investigates whether the two groups, namely, the SRC and managements of universities differ in terms of their understanding of how co-operative governance ought to be interpreted and implemented as provided in the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended. Bryman (2012:710) writes that a cross-sectional design entails the collection of data on more than one case and at a single point in time in order to collect a body of quantitative or quantifiable data in connection with two or more variables, which are then examined to detect patterns of association. The next section examines the descriptive survey design.

5.2.3.1 The Descriptive Survey Design

The descriptive survey design was used as the quantitative research method for this study. Creswell (2003:154) explains that the purpose of a survey design is to generalize from a sample to a population so that inferences can be made about some characteristic, attitude, or behaviour of this population. The descriptive survey design has been selected for this study, as it should assist the researcher in obtaining information from cases in the sample population, and allow the researcher to focus on the exact characteristics under consideration (Maree, 2009:291). Anderson (2004: 164-166) states that a sample survey is a method for collecting data from a sub-sample of the whole group with the intent and purpose of sampling a sufficient number of participants, with desired characteristics, to permit a valid generalization to all cases in a group. However, Anderson (2004: 164) cautions about the importance of reliability and validity when using a sample survey. Babbie (2007: 244) writes that a survey is one of the old research techniques used for descriptive, explanatory, and exploratory purposes. He notes that a sample survey is probably the best research method available to the social researcher who is interested in collecting original data for describing a population that is too large to observe directly.

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2002: 281) proclaim that there are a number of different methods used to collect survey data from a sample. Some of these methods include personal interviews, telephone interviews, mail questionnaires, diaries and meters. The researcher will use a postal survey to mail questionnaires to the respondents who will have to read instructions and answer the questions (Maree & Pietersen, in Maree, 2009: 157). The use of a postal survey to mail questionnaire will be cheaper as the public HEIs are sparsely located throughout South Africa. Anderson (2004: 170) avers that if well-constructed, a questionnaire permits the collection of reliable and reasonably valid data in a simple, cheap and timely manner. Anderson (2004: 170) cautions that sloppy questionnaires yield unreliable data of limited validity and utility. The researcher will ensure that the questionnaire is properly constructed and subjected to a pilot study in order to get rid of any sloppiness and inaccuracies. Babbie (2007: 244) asserts that careful probability sampling provides a group of respondents whose characteristics may be taken to reflect those of the larger population, and carefully constructed standardized questionnaires provide data in the same form from all respondents. The next paragraph examines the qualitative data collection instruments used in this study.

5.2.4 QUALITATIVE RESEARCH

Hermeneutics was used as a qualitative research method in this study. Below is a discussion of hermeneutics.

5.2.4.1 Hermeneutics

Hermeneutics refers to a study and principles of interpretation aimed at a particular discovery of hidden meanings in written texts and in social action and existence as a whole (Rohmann, 2000: 174). Hermeneutics emphasizes that a phenomenon should be understood within its proper context and in its actual meaning and intention of its participants. This process of understanding and interpreting texts is known as deconstruction or interpretation. In Biblical terms, hermeneutics is a close study of a scripture intended to reveal cryptic secrets through a close textual analysis of its obscure meanings of God's true intent. Thus, Martin Heidegger and Hans Georg Gadamer became known as the front runners distinguishing language as a medium or *hermes* or messenger through which

people communicate to understand their existence. In this study, the effect of the SRCs in co-operative governance in public HEIs will be investigated through a textual analysis of the literature about this concept and the role of SRCs in it.

According to Lincoln and Guba (1985: 277), hermeneutics refers to the study of official documents and records. Documents could take the form of personal and official documents. Personal documents could be in the form of diaries, memos, letters or field notes (Hodder, 1996: 393). In this study, the researcher analysed official documents such as the Constitution of South Africa, the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) report of 1996, the Education White Paper 3 of 1997, the Higher Education Act, Act 101 of 1997, the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) (2001) and the Guidelines for Mergers and Incorporations of 2003 and other policy statements. Hermeneutics as a method of data collection emphasizes a detailed reading or examination of texts such as conversations, written words or pictures (Hancock, Ockleford & Windridge, and 2007: 13). Hermeneutics is further referred to as discourse analysis as it presents a particular world view in the form of recorded conversations, newspapers, policy documents, minutes and official memoranda.

The researcher has also used institutional records (of different higher education institutions) such as primary and secondary historical information on student governance and written commentary. An analysis of the above official documents helped to ascertain the extent to which SRC members were involved and participated in public higher education co-operative governance structures.

Niewenhuis (2007: 101) affirms that hermeneutics as a philosophical approach to human understanding, provides a philosophical grounding for interpretivism. Jansen (2007: 21) argues that interpretivism foregrounds the meaning that individuals or communities assign to their experiences. Since behaviour is constituted by social conventions, interpretation (hence interpretivism) is required; therefore the facts do not speak for themselves.

The reason for choosing hermeneutics as a research methodology for qualitative research in the present study was that it provided the most efficient and complete source of accurate information. Documentary analysis is examined below.

5.2.4.2 Documentary analysis

Documents are one of the important sources of data in qualitative research (Nieuwenhuis in Maree, 2009: 82). The researcher has analysed different types of written communications on co-operative governance in public higher education with the aim of shedding light on the effect of the involvement and participation of SRCs in decision making structures. The written data sources used in this research include published and unpublished documents, memoranda, agendas, administrative documents, letters, reports, e-mails messages, faxes, newspaper articles, or any document that relates to co-operative governance and SRCs in public higher education institutions. The above documents comprised both primary and secondary sources of data. Below is a discussion of the data collection procedures used in the present study.

5.3 DATA COLLECTION PROCEDURES

The data collection instruments for both quantitative and qualitative designs are
discussed below.

5.3.1 Process of gathering data

Permission to conduct research in public higher education institutions, that is, to administer a questionnaire and conduct interviews was sought from different public higher education institutions (cf. Appendix A). Permission was granted subject to the following conditions:

- The names of the institutions and SRC members involved would remain confidential in all respects;

Data were obtained through a questionnaire and interviews. In the selection of the sample, besides clustering universities into three types (Traditional Universities, Comprehensive Universities and Universities of Technology), the following were taken into consideration:

- A university that belongs to any of the above mentioned clusters as provided by legislation,

- A university with more than one campus (multi campus),
- A university that has both a local (campus) SRC and a central or institutional one.

At the time data was collected for this study, there were twenty-three (23) public HEIs in South Africa, comprising the population of this study. These public HEIs were differentiated, according to their categories, namely Universities of Technology, Comprehensive Universities and Traditional Universities. Viljoen (2007: 20) defines a population as a gathering of a particular group of people and a sample as actual participants selected to take part in the study. Babbie (2007: 190) asserts that a population is a theoretically specified aggregation of study elements from which a sample is actually selected. Blumberg *et al.* (2005:202) further assert that population is a total collection of elements about which inferences have to be made.

A request to conduct research was sent to all the 23 public HEIs in South Africa. Some universities (three (3) UoTs), (three (3) CUs) and (five (5) TUs) responded to the researcher's request and granted permission for this research to be conducted in their institutions. Other universities (3 UoTs, 3 CUs 1 institution did not respond, and 6 TUs, the researcher did not send to 1 institution) requested, in addition to the letter of request, a research proposal, the questionnaire to be used and an ethical clearance certificate from the university where the researcher was enrolled. . Failure to obtain the requested ethical clearance certificate resulted in the researcher opting to conduct research in the institutions that had granted permission. It was therefore not possible, to send questionnaires and interview to all SRC members in the 23 public HEIs in South Africa for reasons ranging from lack of consent from universities to time and financial constraints. Lack of access to all the 23 public universities limited the number of SRC participants in the study. However, the different types of universities, that is, Universities of Technology, Traditional universities and Comprehensive universities were represented in the sample of the study.

5.3.2 Data collection instrument for quantitative design

The researcher used a questionnaire as the research instrument. Leedy and Ormrod (2010:189) aver that "questionnaires can be sent to a large number of people, including those who live thousands of miles. Thus, they may save the researcher travel expenses, and postage is typically cheaper than a lengthy long-distance telephone call".

5.3.2.1 Questionnaire

Babbie (2007:246) defines a questionnaire as a document containing questions and other types of items designed to solicit information appropriate for analysis. Babbie (2007:246) further notes that questionnaires are used primarily in survey research but also in experiments, field research and other modes of observations. The researcher will use a postal survey by mailing questionnaires to the respondents who have to read instructions and answer the questions. This implies that the researcher will be physically removed from the respondents, which means non-verbal communication will be impossible and no interviewer will influence the respondents. The respondents can complete the questionnaires at a convenient time and can check personal records if necessary (Maree and Pietersen, in Maree, 2009: 157). The advantage of this method is that it is relatively cheap and easy to do.

Gay et al (2009: 605) concur with the above and say that a questionnaire is "a written collection of self-report questions to be answered by a selected group of participants." McMillan (2012: 154-155) declares that the advantage of questionnaires is that they are used extensively because they provide an effective way to obtain information about a wide range of research problems from surveys of large populations. However, questionnaires have their drawbacks as well. Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 189) maintain that "the majority of people who receive questionnaires don't return them…, there may be a low return rate and the people who do return them are not necessarily representative of the originally selected sample". However interviews were conducted to supplement and validate the data on the involvement and participation of SRCs in the cooperative governance of public HEIs in South Africa. Questionnaires were developed by the researcher and used as research instruments because of the large population of the study, which was SRCs in 23 public HEIs in South Africa. The questionnaire was both physically delivered and administered to SRC members (in the universities which are not too far) and also electronically (by e-mail) sent to the respondents (in faraway universities), through Student Development Officers (SDOs), who are university officials responsible for SRCs at public HEIs.

Maree and Pietersen, in Maree (2009: 157) concur with Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 189) and assert that one of the limitations of this method is that a low response rate is very common. The following are some of the disadvantages of this method: Firstly, the conditions under which the questionnaire is completed cannot be controlled, no one can assist with problems which the respondents may have and the respondents can give the questionnaire to

someone else to complete. As indicated above, interviews were used both to avert this drawback and to supplement the problem of low response rate. Lastly, this method needs literate respondents. This is not a problem in this study because all the respondents were literate (SRC members). This questionnaire was used to collect information about the involvement and participation of SRCs in cooperative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. The following explains how the questionnaire was constructed.

5.3.2.2   Constructing a Questionnaire

In the construction of the questionnaire for this study the researcher followed 12 guidelines that encourage people to be cooperative and yield responses the researcher can use and interpret:

- Keep it short
- Keep the respondent's task simple
- Provide clear instructions
- Use simple, clear, unambiguous language
- Give a rationale for any items whose purpose may be unclear
- Check for unwarranted assumptions implicit in your questions.
- Word your questions in ways that do not give clues about preferred or more desirable responses.
- Determine in advance how you will code the responses.
- Check for consistency.
- Conduct one or more pilot tests to determine the validity of your questionnaire.
- Scrutinize the almost-final product one more time to make sure it addresses your needs.
- Make the questionnaire attractive and professional looking.

(Leedy and Ormrod, 2010: 194-197)

The researcher further subjected the questionnaire to a pilot study to ensure that it is a valid and reliable instrument. Gay, Mills and Airasian (2009: 116) confirm the importance of a pilot study when they say that to assess the questionnaire plan formally; one can field-test some aspects in a pilot study which is a small-scale trial of a study conducted before the full-scale study.

5.3.2.3   Why a questionnaire was constructed?

The SRC questionnaire consisted of two sections (cf. Appendix D). This questionnaire was designed to determine the effect of the role of SRC members in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. Section A of the questionnaire was designed to obtain personal information of the surveyed population (cf. Appendix D). The respondents were requested to state their gender. This information was needed not only for statistical purposes and for the application of the chi-square statistic (cf. 6.2.3.1), but also to determine whether gender played a role in terms of the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance at public HEIs in South Africa. SRC members were also requested to indicate the type of institution where they studied. This information was needed for statistical purposes and for the application of an analysis of variance (ANOVA) (cf. 6.2.3.2). SRC members were also requested to indicate their designation, for statistical purposes, and to and their role in the SRC. They were also requested to indicate their race to assess the race distribution and for statistical purposes. The respondents were also requested to indicate their qualification to check their seniority and for statistical purposes. SRC members were also requested to specify their term of office to check their experience in student governance and for statistical reasons. They were also requested to say whether their institutions were in a rural or urban area for statistical purposes only. The respondents were also asked to point out the number of students in their institutions to determine the size of the institution and for statistical reasons.

The construct underpinning section B of the SRC questionnaire was informed by the research questions around which the literature of the current study revolves(cf. Appendix D).

The following paragraphs highlight the content validation of the questionnaire.

5.3.2.4   The content Validation of the Questionnaire

Section B of the SRC questionnaire was designed to establish the effect of the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance in public HEIs in South Africa. In items 9-40, SRC members were asked to indicate the extent to which they agreed or disagreed with the statements. This was done with the aid of a four point Likert scale.

The Likert scale is a format developed to ask attitude questions. Respondents are typically asked to indicate their degree of agreement with a series of statements that together form a multiple-indicator or item measure. The scale is deemed then to measure the intensity with which respondents feel about an issue (Bryman, 2012: 712).

Each choice was given a numerical value and the following categories were used to classify the items:

Table 5.3   The Likert scale categories

Strongly Disagree	1	Disagree	2	Agree	3	Strongly Agree	4

5.3.2.5   Pilot Study

Gay *et al.* (2009: 116) write that a pilot study is a small-scale trial of a study to identify problems with the research plan. It serves as a trial run that enables the researcher to identify problems in the proposed study which may be relevant regarding the subject of the study. Before the final questionnaire could be administered to the participants, a pilot study was conducted with the SRC members of a selected campus in one of the public higher education institutions in South Africa. The purpose was to test the quality and suitability of the questionnaire.

The services of a statistician were sought to examine the pilot study questionnaire (appendix), and the researcher was advised on the suitability of the items and the layout of the questionnaire. Deficiencies were detected and removed from the final questionnaire. Following the pilot study, the questionnaire was revised and adapted, the final draft was sent to the respondents.

 The researcher used 5 SRC participants to test the questionnaire items, who were by then the only serving SRC members; others had been suspended pending a disciplinary hearing. Members of this SRC were used because it was convenient in terms of distance and it was cheap. Three colleagues were also requested to assess the questionnaire items and with the help of the statistician, the final questionnaire was improved and constructed. The original questionnaire had 120 items, which were reduced to 40 after 80 items which focussed more on management than the SRC were discarded.

Data collection instruments for the qualitative part of this study are discussed below.

5.3.3 Data collection instruments for qualitative design

The researcher used face-to-face interviews and documentary analysis as research instruments for the qualitative part of the present study.

5.3.3.1 Face-to-face interviews

Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2002: 281) declare that face-to-face interviewing was the original way of gathering survey information and that it is still extensively used today. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2002: 281) assert that personal interviews are frequently used in media and market research. Babbie (2007: 264) notes that an interview is an alternative method of collecting survey data, where rather than asking respondents to read questionnaires and enter their own answers, researchers send interviewers to ask the questions orally and record the respondents' answers. Interviews are typically done in a face-to-face encounter, but telephone interviewing follows most of the same guidelines for face-to-face interviews. In this study, for qualitative data collection purposes, face-to-face interviews were used as they yield a higher response rate compared to questionnaires. Anderson (2004:167) writes that face-to face interviews used for research purposes, unlike everyday interviews, is a highly disciplined endeavour. Anderson (2004:167) notes that it involves a dynamic process where personal interaction between an interviewer and interviewee takes place normally according to a guide or a protocol. This can also involve a mechanical or electronic process through which the interviewer records the interviewee's answers or responses. The researcher requested permission to record the interviews and later transcribed them for analysis.

Once the researcher has captured the quantitative data, nine participants from different types of public higher education institution were selected for follow-up interviews. In order to elaborate on the quantitative data and generate qualitative data, face-to-face and semi-structured interviews will be conducted. This helped to engender qualitative data on detailed views and opinions regarding the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance at public higher education institutions in South Africa.

The researcher used semi-structured interviews to corroborate data emerging from the other data source, namely, the questionnaire. It required the participant to answer a set of predetermined questions while also allowing the probing and clarification of answers (Niewenhuis, 2007: 87). According to McMillan (2012: 168), semi-structured questions are "open-ended yet specific in intent, yet allowing individual responses. The question is reasonably objective, yet it allows for probing, follow-up, and clarification". Semi-structured questions will assist the researcher to ask questions on the participants' views regarding the involvement and participation of SRC's in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions and to probe for clarification where possible.

In order to evaluate the effect of SRCs in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa, the researcher conducted interviews. The following were a set of predetermined open-ended questions on an interview schedule which were developed to guide the researcher during the interviews. The participants were guided and encouraged to share their experiences and views regarding co-operative governance and a possible workable model of governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa.

- What is the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of the student representative council at public higher education institutions?
- How is participative democracy practiced in public higher education institutions?
- What are the governance challenges experienced by public higher education institutions?
- How can the governance challenges be addressed?

The next section answers the question, why interviews were conducted in this study.

5.3.4 Why interviews were conducted in this study?

Qualitative research was conducted to supplement the closed questions in the questionnaire. The questionnaire did not address all the research questions of the study; therefore, the researcher also interviewed a selected number (nine) of SRC members who serve the key decision making structures of public HEIs in South Africa to improve the validity of the study. Babbie (2007: 264) notes that an interview is an alternative method of collecting survey data, where rather than asking respondents to read questionnaires and

enter their own answers, researchers ask the questions orally and record the respondents' answers. Nieuwenhuis (2007: 87) writes that "an interview is a two-way conversation in which the interviewer asks the participant questions to collect data and to learn about the ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behaviours of the participant". Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 188) argue that face-to-face interviews have the distinct advantage of enabling the researcher to establish the same kind of rapport with potential participants and therefore gain their cooperation.

In this study interviews were conducted with nine (9) SRC members, three(3) interviewees from each type of three universities (Comprehensive, Traditional and Universities of Technology). The researcher had expected to conduct the study in the twenty-three (23) public HEIs in South Africa. However, not the institutions participated because the required ethical clearance certificate for permission to conduct research was not obtained from the researcher's institution. Therefore, the researcher interviewed only SRC members whose universities did not require an ethical clearance certificate.

Data was qualitatively collected through the interviews from selected members of SRCs at the public HEIs. The purpose was to examine the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of SRCs at public HEIs. Also, the aim was also to investigate how, if ever, participative democracy is practiced in the governance of public HEIs. Moreover, interviews were conducted to establish governance challenges experienced by SRCs at public HEIs and for SRC members to suggest solutions to their challenges.

The interviewees were selected in terms of the roles SRC members play within different university governance structures. The president of the SRC sits in all key university structures, that is, Senate, Institutional Forum, and Council. The secretary, who is a sabbatical in some institutions, is the custodian of SRCs as they oversee the everyday running of the SRC office. All information and documents are kept by them. Interviews with the above two key SRC members shed light on the involvement and participation of the SRCs in the co-operative governance of HEIs. Other SRC members' views and opinions complemented the overall picture about the SRC and its effect in co-operative governance. The following section discusses the population and research sample of the study.

5.4 POPULATION AND RESEARCH SAMPLE OF THE STUDY

This section investigates the population and the sample for both the quantitative and qualitative designs of the study.

5.4.1 Population

Viljoen (2007:20) defines a population as a gathering of a particular group of people and a sample as the actual participants selected to take part in the study. According to Babbie (1998:201), a population is a theoretically specified aggregation of study elements from which the sample is actually selected. Blumberg *et al.* (2005:202) further assert that a population is the total collection of elements about which inferences have to be made. A sample is the subject of the whole population which is actually investigated by a researcher and whose characteristics will be generalized to the whole population (Bless and Higson-Smith, 1995:86).

The population of this study comprise members of the SRC in the 23 South African public higher education institutions. The choice of the SRC members was based on the premise that they play an integral part in terms of governance in public higher education institutions in accordance with the HE Act 1997 as amended. The sampling of the study is discussed in the section below.

5.4.2 Sampling

According to Maree (2009: 79) sampling refers to the process used to select a portion of the population for a study. Terre Blanche and Durrheim (2002: 483) write that sampling involves the selection of specific research participants from the entire population, and is conducted in different ways, according to the type of study.

The sample for this study was drawn from the South African public HEIs that consented for this research study to be undertaken with SRCs as participants in their institutions. Bless and Higson-Smith (1995: 86) note that a sample is the subject of the whole population which is actually investigated by a researcher and whose characteristics will be generalized to the

whole population. McMillan (2012: 95) writes that collectively, the group of subjects or participants from whom data are or have been collected is referred to as the sample. In this study the characteristics of the different types of universities as represented by the sample can be used to infer what might be the effect of the SRCs in the universities where the present research study was not conducted. Further research on all 23 universities in the country can assist to highlight the commonalities and differences amongst different types of universities for the purposes of generalizing the findings of the present study.

For the completion of the questionnaire, the researcher used convenience sampling. Fraenkel and Wallen (2009: 98) point out that a convenience sample is a group of individuals who are available for study. Convenience sampling refers to situations where population elements are selected based on the fact that they are easily and conveniently available (Maree and Pietersen, 2007:177). Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 212) write that convenience sampling makes no pretence of identifying a representative subset of a population. The advantage of this type of sampling is that it is convenient its major disadvantage is that the sample will quite likely be biased (Fraenkel and Wallen, 2009: 99). The reason for choosing convenience sampling was that, for the reason mentioned earlier, not all the 23 public HEIs in South Africa were available for their SRCs to be studied.

Table 5.4 below outline the strengths and weaknesses of convenience sampling.

Table 5.4   The Convenience Sampling

THE CONVENIENCE SAMPLING	
STRENGTHS	**WEAKNESSES**
• Less costly	• Difficult to generalize to other subjects
• Less time-consuming	• Less representative of an identified population
• Ease of administration	• Results dependent on unique characteristics of the sample
• Usually ensures high participation high rate	
• Generalization possible to similar subjects	

Source: McMillan (2012: 111)

The table above illustrates that besides the weaknesses of convenience sampling, there are also strengths. The sample of this study has the same characteristics as the population of

the SRCs at the universities where research was not conducted. Therefore, the fact that generalizing the findings is possible with similar subjects using convenience sampling enhances the quality, reliability and validity of this study.

For conducting the interviews, the researcher applied purposive non-random sampling. McMillan (2012: 105) avers that in purposeful sampling (sometimes referred to as purposive sampling), the researcher selects individuals or cases because they will be particularly informative about the topic. A purposive sampling was selected on the basis of knowledge of the population, its elements and the purpose of the study (Babbie, 2007: 184; Gay et al, 2009: 135).

5.4.2.1 Sample for quantitative research

The researcher used probability sampling for the quantitative part of the study with cluster sampling as the best suited sampling method. Maree (2009: 172) writes that probability methods are based on the principles of randomness and probability theory, where probability samples satisfy the requirements for the use of probability theory to accurately generalize to the population. There should be no human or subjective interference in this process. Terre Blanche & Durrheim (2002: 482) assert that probability sampling is a procedure for ensuring that every element in a target population has a known chance of being selected into a sample. Anderson (2004: 255) argues that a random sample is a research sample that ensures that all members of a defined population have an equal opportunity of being selected for inclusion in a study and that all combinations of the same sample size are possible. Babbie (2007: 209) writes that cluster sampling is multistage sampling in which natural groups (clusters) are sampled initially, with the members of each selected group being sub-sampled afterwards. Cluster sampling involves a random selection of a number of clusters from which either all elements or a randomly selected number form the sample to be studied (Maree & Pietersen in Maree, 2009: 176). Maree and Pietersen in Maree (2009: 176) further assert that for cluster sampling to be effective and representative of a population, the clusters that are formed should be as heterogeneous as the population itself.

For the purpose of this study, three clusters were used comprising 23 different types of universities in South Africa, namely Universities of Technology (six (6) in total), Traditional Universities (eleven (11) in total) and six (6 in total) Comprehensive Universities. Of all these

universities, only those that had consented to participate in this study were used as the sample. The sample for the qualitative design of the present study is discussed next.

5.4.2.2 Sample for qualitative research

The researcher used non-probability sampling and most specifically, purposive sampling. Maree (2009: 176) writes that non-probability methods do not make use of random selection. Non-probability sampling is any technique in which samples are selected in some way not suggested by probability theory. An example is reliance on available subjects (Babbie, 2009: 183). For the purpose of this study, convenience sampling was used to select the subjects for participation from the pool of 23 different types of public higher education institutions in South Africa. Convenience sampling refers to situations where population elements are selected based on the fact that they are easily and conveniently available (Maree and Pietersen, 2007: 177). Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 214) write that convenience sampling makes no pretence of identifying a representative subset of a population. McMillan (2012: 103) cautions that although we should be wary of convenience samples, this is often the only type of sampling possible, and the primary purpose of the research may not be to generalize but to better understand the relationships that may exist among variables. This study investigates the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of different types of public higher education institutions in South Africa. The sample was conveniently selected from the three different types of public HEIs in South Africa. The researcher had originally planned to conduct research in all the 23 public HEIs in South Africa. However, failure to obtain ethical clearance from the institution where the researcher was enrolled resulted in the usage of data collected from only the institutions that had provided the clearance. Therefore, the difficulty in accessing the required population resulted in the researcher resorting to convenience sampling.

The sample for the qualitative part of this study comprised three clusters formed by 11 of the 23 universities in South Africa, namely Universities of Technology, Traditional Universities and Comprehensive Universities. The study used SRC members as its population from the above eleven public universities in South Africa. The next section discusses how the SRC sample was selected.

5.4.3 How the SRC Sample was selected

Maree and Pietersen (2007:178) write that the size of the sample necessary for it to be representative of the population depends on the degree of the homogeneity of the population. Generally in homogeneous populations, where the members are similar with respect to variables that are important to the study, smaller samples may adequately represent the population. The researcher had initially planned to conduct research in all the 23 public HEIs in South Africa, with approximately 15 SRC members in each of the public HEIs totalling 345. The researcher was mindful that, as a result of the mergers of HEIs in South Africa, most, if not all, the universities have multi campuses (two or more) with each campus having a local SRC, comprising not less than ten (10) portfolios, and a central SRC representing all campuses. Therefore the actual population from which the sample was to be selected was much more than the estimated total of 345. As explained above, failure to obtain ethical clearance of all 23 public HEIs in South Africa resulted in the researcher deciding to use the sample from only the eleven institutions that had given him permission to conduct the study. The number of SRC members that had consented to participate in this study was estimated at 300. Therefore 300 questionnaires were sent to all SRC members of eleven institutions that had consented to participate in this study and 153 questionnaires were returned. This implies the response rate of 51 per cent of the 300 questionnaires.

Purposive sampling was used to select the SRC members who were interviewed. The selection of the participants was based on the fact that they served in key decision making structures in the public HEIs such as the IF, Senate or Council. Nine SRC members, two females and seven males, all in their second terms were individually interviewed. The researcher assumed that the SRC members interviewed, based on their portfolios and experience, were knowledgeable about the effect of co-operative governance in their institutions. Gay et al (2009:135) note that clear criteria provide a basis for describing and defending purposive samples. However, they warn that the main weakness of purposive sampling is the potential for inaccuracy in the researcher's criteria and resulting sample selections. The interview schedule of the SRC members is in appendix E.

5.5 DATA ANLYSIS TECHNIOQUES

The section below discusses the statistical data analysis techniques used in this study. The questionnaire items have been subjected to Cronbach' Alpha to test reliability of the items (cf.6.2.2).

The descriptive statistics and analysis of variance (ANOVA) are discussed below.

5.5.1 Descriptive Statistics

Statistics have two major functions; some describe what the data look like, where their centre or midpoint is, how broadly they are spread and how closely certain variables within the data are correlated with one another. Such statistics are called descriptive statistics (Leedy and Ormrod, 2010: 260). Babbie (2007: 450) declares that descriptive statistics are statistical computations describing either the characteristics of a sample or the relationship among variables in a sample. Gay et al (2009:304) assert that descriptive statistics provide basic information about the number of participants in a study, their characteristics and how they did on a test or outcome. The study used descriptive statistics, namely, Mean and Standard deviation for analyzing quantitative data. The following is a discussion of the statistical techniques used in this study.

5.5.1.1 The Mean

Most quantitative measurements in education use an interval scale. The mean, commonly known as the average, is the most commonly used measure of central tendency. Gay, Mills and Airasian (2009: 307) write that the Mean is a type of descriptive statistics used as a measure of central tendency. The mean is defined as the arithmetic average of the scores, calculated by adding up all scores and dividing them by the total number of the scores.

Fraenkel and Wallen (2010:192) argue that the mean is another average of all the scores in a distribution. An example of the mean for a set of scores comprising 52, 68, 74, 86, 95, and 105 will be 80. This is determined by adding all the scores, which amounts to 480 and then dividing the sum by 6, the total number of scores. In this study the mean was used to determine the central tendency of the responses by SRC members on different factors.

5.5.1.2 Standard Deviation (SD)

The standard deviation is a most useful index of variability. It is a single number that represents the spread of a distribution with every score in the distribution used to calculate it. Gay et al (2009: 310) write that the standard deviation is the square root of the variance of a set of scores and that it is the most stable measure of variability and includes every score in its calculation. The distinct benefit of calculating the standardized deviation is that it provides a standardized value to use to compare one set of scores with another. The standard deviation was used to get an idea of how close the entire set of data was to the average value. Data sets with a small standard deviation have tightly grouped, precise data while data sets with large standard deviations have data spread out over a wide range of values. The next section discusses inferential statistics.

5.5.2 Inferential statistics

Inferential statistics are mathematical methods that employ probability theory for deducing (inferring) the properties of a population from an analysis of the properties of data drawn from a sample. It is concerned also with the precision and reliability of the inferences it helps to draw. Both chi-square and Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) were the statistics used for analysing the data. . Chi-square is discussed below.

5.5.2.1 Chi-Square test

Babbie (2007:466) writes that chi-square is a frequently used test of significance in social science, based on the null hypothesis, that is, the assumption that there is no relationship between two variables in the total population. Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 301) argue that the chi-square test is a nonparametric statistical procedure used to determine how closely observed frequencies or probabilities match expected frequencies or probabilities.

Creswell (2012: 192) writes that if the Pearson chi-square test $=1.71$, with $df =3$, results in a p value (or significance level) of .635. At $p = .05$, .635 is not statistically significant, and the conclusion is that the Null hypothesis cannot be rejected.

Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 85) assert that the chi-square test can be used to compare the relative frequencies of people in various categories.

The Null hypotheses of this study were the following:
- There is no statistically significant relationship between the SRCs' involvement in university governance and their perceptions on the implementation of co-operative governance in the South African higher education institutions.
- There is no statistically significant relationship between the SRCs' participation in university governance and their perceptions on the implementation of co-operative governance in the South African higher education institutions.

In this study the following hypotheses were tested by means of the chi-square test:

- There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC   members of different designations, genders, who are enrolled in different programmes and who are from different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC participation in public HEIs in South Africa.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC   members of different designations, genders, who are enrolled in different programmes and who are from different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to democratization in public HEIs in South Africa.
- There is no statistical significant difference amongst SRC members' different designations, gender, programmes enrolled in and type of university with regard to their perceptions pertaining to their understanding of university governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

 ANOVA is discussed below.

5.5.2.2 Analysis of Variance (ANOVA)

Fraenkel and Wallen (2010: 232 say that when researchers desire to find out whether there are significant differences between the means of more than two group, they commonly use a technique called analysis of variance (ANOVA). Macmillan (2012: 260) writes that ANOVA

is a parametric procedure that has the same basic purpose as the *t*-test; to compare group means to determine the probability of being wrong in rejecting the null hypotheses. ANOVA compares two or more means. It can also be explained as an extension of the *t*-test that allows the researcher to test the differences between more than two group means. Pietersen and Maree, in Maree (2009: 225) argue that the ANOVA technique is used when two or more independent groups need to be compared based on their average score on a quantitative variable. Analysis of Variance (ANOVA) was used to test the following hypotheses of the study:

- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC participation in public HEIs in South Africa.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to democratization in public HEIs in South Africa.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst members of the SRC at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to their understanding of institutional governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

5.6 RELIABILITY AND VALIDITY OF THE RESEARCH

This section discusses the reliability and validity of the study.

5.6.1 Reliability

Gay *et al.* (2009: 378) write that reliability is the degree to which data research instrument consistently measures what it purports measure. They further note that although the term reliability is usually used to refer to instruments and tests in quantitative research, qualitative researchers can also consider reliability in their studies, and, in particular, the reliability of the techniques they are using to gather data. Leedy and Ormord (2013: 91) confirm and further say that reliability is the consistency with which a measuring instrument yields a certain, consistent result when the entity being measured has not changed. Fraenkel and Wallen (2010: 147) mention that reliability refers to the consistency of scores or answers from one administration of an instrument to another, and from one set of items to another.

McMillan (2012:137) writes that reliability is the extent to which participants and or rater scores are free from error. McMillan (2012:137) argues that if a measure has high reliability, there is relatively little error in the scores, and if there is low reliability, there is a great amount of error. Bryman (2004: 273) refers to reliability for quantitative research as the consistency of measurement from the same instrument under different situations. The researcher has used the Cronbach' Alpha test to ensure reliability of the study.

The researcher used an accurate representation of the total population under study in order to ensure that the study meets the standard of reliability. The results of the study can be reproduced using the same instrument and methodology. The results can therefore be replicated or repeated.

5.6.2 Validity

Fraenkel and Wallen (2010: 147) assert that validity refers to the appropriateness, meaningfulness, correctness, and usefulness of the inferences a researcher makes on the basis of research findings. McMillan (2010:131) notes that validity is an overall evaluation of the extent to which theory and empirical evidence support interpretations that are implied in given uses of the scores. McMillan (2010:131) says that validity is a judgement of the appropriateness of a measure for the specific inferences or decisions that result from the scores generated by the measure.

Gay *et al.* (2011: 191) state that validity is the degree to which qualitative data accurately gauge what we are trying to measure. Creswell (2012:630) points out that validity is the development of sound evidence to demonstrate that the intended test interpretation (of the concept or construct that the test is assumed to measure) matches the proposed purpose of the test. Creswell (2012:630) further argues that this evidence is based on test content, responses processes, internal structure, relations to other variables, and the consequences of testing.

To ensure validity in this study, the researcher used the Cronbach's Alpha test (cf.6.2.2). Findings on the evidence of the literature and the responses by the participants were also used. The researcher observed the following empirical conceptions: objectivity, truth,

actuality, deduction, reason, fact and statistical data. The above assisted to ensure that the inferences of the study met the expected standard of validity.

5.6.3 Trustworthiness

Gay *et al* (2011: 392) write that researchers can establish the trustworthiness of their research by addressing the credibility, transferability, dependability, and conformability of their studies and findings. Nieuwenhuis (2007: 113) states that the validity and reliability of qualitative research depends on trustworthiness. Therefore, disclosure of the research design and the stated aim of the study are central to the trustworthiness of the research.

Gay *et al* (2011: 392) argue that the trustworthiness of a research study and its understanding can be achieved by addressing the following aspects:

- **Descriptive validity**, which refers to factual accuracy of the account. That is, qualitative researchers must ensure that they are not distorting anything they see or hear or making up events based on inferences,
- **Interpretative validity**, which refers to the meaning attributed to the behaviours or words of the participants- the researcher, must interpret the participants' words or actions accurately,
- **Theoretical validity**, which refers to how well the researcher report relates the phenomenon under study to a broader theory, and,
- **Evaluative validity** which has to do with whether the researcher was objective enough to report the data in an unbiased way, without making judgments and evaluation of the data.

In this study the researcher has made an ethical commitment to the search for truth and knowledge, in an open and transparent way. The researcher has ensured that the above aspects were adhered to by checking the accuracy of the collected data; made follow-ups on questions where a clarity of interpretations was sought; reference was made to the elements of the case study against the model of multi campus student governance to be developed; and the thoughts of the participants were recorded, transcribed and reported as they were expressed and how they wanted them to be reported, objectively without any prejudices whatsoever.

5.6.4 Transferability

McMillan (2012:305) writes that transferability refers to the appropriateness of applying the results to other similar contexts and settings. It is enhanced by a thick description of the site, participants, and procedures used to collect the data. This means that the purpose of transferability is to establish the generalizability of a study's findings in other similar contexts. The researcher used a convenience sampling of the 23 public HEIs in South Africa and therefore, the findings cannot be generalized to all the institutions but to those which agreed to participate. However, Creswell (2012: 145) writes that convenience sampling can provide useful information for answering questions and hypotheses. In this study, it will be reasonable to interpret the results as valid for other different types of public HEIs in South Africa that are similar to those studied. This is because all public HEIs in South Africa are guided by the same legislation, the HE Act, 1997 as amended.

The researcher did not make any broad claims about the generalizability of the study but invited readers to make connections between public HEIs which participated and those which did not participate. This will enable the readers to juxtapose and conjecture the findings of the study and experiences in other public higher education institutions in South Africa.

5.6.5 Triangulation

Babbie (2007:113) says that the use of several different research methods to test the same finding is sometimes called triangulation, and should always be viewed as a valuable strategy. Nieuwenhuis (2007c: 80) states that triangulation is the traditional strategy for improving the validity and reliability of research, but fails to tell the researcher what strategy to use in order to improve the validity and reliability of the research. Gay *et al.* (2009: 377) state that triangulation is the process of using multiple methods, data collection strategies and data sources to obtain a more complete picture of what is being studied and to crosscheck the information. McMillan and Schumacher (2010:379) suggest that researchers use triangulation, which is a cross-validation of data sources, data collection strategies, time periods and theoretical schemes. The researcher has used both qualitative and quantitative research designs to ensure the reliability and validity of the study and to further nuance the study.

5.7 CONCLUSION

 The focus of this chapter was on the review of the research methodology, research design, data collection techniques and procedures used in this study. The chapter also outlined the sampling methods and data processing procedures used and finally examined the statistical techniques applied to analyse data in this study.   The next chapter provides data presentation, analysis and findings of the study.

CHAPTER SIX

DATA ANALYSIS AND FINDINGS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

This chapter provides the analysis of the data and findings on the involvement and participation of student representative councils (SRCs) in the co-operative governance of public higher education institutions (HEIs) in South Africa. The chapter is divided into three sections. The first section deals with the descriptive statistical analysis which presents sample characteristics, the procedure for the data cleansing process and explains the exploratory responses gauged through the four gradient Likert scale. Inferential statistics are discussed and the results of the chi-square statistical analysis from the tested hypotheses are reported in section two. . The aim of using the chi-square was to determine whether "a statistically significant difference exists between two variables" (Leedy and Ormrod, 2005: 274).

The other technique used in this section is the one way ANOVA (analysis of variance). ANOVA was used to determine whether there are any significant differences between the means of two or more independent (unrelated) groups. ANOVA is mostly used when there are a minimum of three, rather than two groups. It is important to realize that the one-way ANOVA is an *omnibus* test statistic and cannot tell which specific groups were significantly different from each other. It only tells the researcher that at least two groups are different. The interactive effect of the factors was investigated and measured for the purpose of locating relationships amongst the factors. The use of the chi-square and ANOVA in this study was to ensure the validity and reliability of the results. The final section dealt with qualitative data analysis where themes were formulated and responses outlined. The Statistical Package for the Social Sciences (SPSS) software was used to perform a statistical analysis of the data that was captured for this study.

6.2 QUANTITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

In this study, both descriptive and inferential statistics were used to present and analyse the data. The aim was to examine the involvement and participation of SRCs in cooperative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. Both descriptive and inferential statistics were discussed in details in chapter five (cf. 5.5.1 and 5.5.2 respectively). Validity and reliability of the study are discussed below.

6.2.1 Validity of the study

The researcher has used a questionnaire which was subjected to validity. According to Leedy and Ormrod (2013) the validity of a measurement instrument is the extent to which the instrument measures what it is intended to measure. The question to be answered is does it measure what it is supposed to measure? Creswell (2012: 303) identified the following types of validities for a study: statistical conclusion validity, construct validity, internal validity and external validity.

- **Statistical conclusion validity,** which means the appropriate use of statistics to infer whether the presumed independent and dependent variables co-vary in the experiment.
- **Construct validity**, which means the validity of inferences about constructs in the study.
- **Internal validity**, which means the validity of inferences drawn about the cause and effect relationship between the independent and dependent variables.
- **External validity**, which means the validity of the cause-and-effect relationship being generalizable to other persons, settings, treatment, variables and measures.

A pilot study was conducted with five (5) SRC members who were the only serving members at the researcher's institution. The original questionnaire had 120 items, which were reduced to 40 after 80 items, which focussed on management than the SRC were discarded. The approved questionnaire was subjected to statistical tests of validity whereby factor analysis was conducted for the forty (40) items. The principal component analysis of varimax rotation of one criterion was used to extract the categories or components of the questionnaire. Twenty two (22) items which were of the Eigenvalue above 0.5 were

extracted and categorised into three components which the researcher named **SRC Participation** (eight items), **Democratisation** (six items) and **Understanding of University Governance** (eight items).

6.2.2 Reliability of the study

Leedy and Ormrod (2013) describe reliability as the consistency with which a measuring instrument yields a certain result when the entity measured has not changed. The question to be answered here is how representative is the measurement? Gay, Mills and Airasian (2011: 165-167) identified the following forms of reliability: Test-retest reliability, equivalent forms of reliability, the equivalent-forms and test-retest reliability and internal consistency reliability.

- **The test-retest reliability**, tests the degree to which scores on the same test are consistent over time. In other words, this type of reliability provides evidence that scores obtained on a test at one time (test) are the same or close to the same when the test is re-administered some other time (re-test).

- **The equivalent forms of reliability**, tests the degree to which two similar forms of a test produce similar scores from a single group of tests takers. The two forms measure the same variable; have the same number of items, the same structure, the same difficulty level, the same directions for administration, scoring and interpretation.

- **The equivalent-forms and test-retest reliability**, if the two forms of the test are administered at two different times, the resulting co-efficient is referred to as the coefficient of stability and equivalence. In essence this approach assesses stability of scores over time, as well as the equivalence of the two sets of items.

- **The internal consistency reliability** tests the extent to which items in a single test are consistent among themselves and with the test as a whole.

For the purpose of this study the researcher conducted a pilot study (cf.5.3.2.5), and also did internal consistency reliability, which was measured through the Cronbach's Alpha as illustrated in Table 6.1 below:

Table 6.1   Cronbach's Alpha

Reliability Statistics		
Cronbach's Alpha	Cronbach's Alpha Based on Standardized Items	No of Items
.787	.815	3

Table 6.1, the Cronbach's Alpha reported 0.787, a value which is indicative of a high level of internal consistency at 79% for the scale of the questionnaire.

6.2.3   Descriptive Statistics

Descriptive statistics was used to provide biographical data of members of the SRCs regarding their responses to questionnaire items. This was also discussed in details in chapter five.

6.2.3.1 Biographical Data Analysis for the SRC members

This section illustrates the percentages of the biographical data of the members of the SRCs regarding the following variables: designation, gender, race, term of office, type of university, programmes enrolled in, geographical location and the size of their universities

Table 6.2 and Figure 6.1 below show the frequency distribution of the SRC members according to their different designations represented in the form of both a table and a graph.

Table 6.2   Table showing the frequency distribution of the SRC members by their different designations (N=153)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	President	13	8.5	8.5	8.5
	Deputy President	13	8.5	8.5	17.0
	Sabbatical/Secretary	14	9.2	9.2	26.1
	Finance Officer	9	5.9	5.9	32.0
	Academic Officer	17	11.1	11.1	43.1
	Constitutional & legal Affairs Officer	10	6.5	6.5	49.7
	Sports Officer & Culture Officer	11	7.2	7.2	56.9
	Public relations Officer	10	6.5	6.5	63.4
	Residence & accommodation officer	8	5.2	5.2	68.6
	Health & Welfare Officer	8	5.2	5.2	73.9
	Projects & Campaign Officer	9	5.9	5.9	79.7
	Student Affairs Officer	5	3.3	3.3	83.0
	Equity Officer	6	3.9	3.9	86.9
	Transformation Officer	10	6.5	6.5	93.5
	Other	10	6.5	6.5	100.0
	Total	153	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.1   Graph showing distribution of SRC members by their different designations
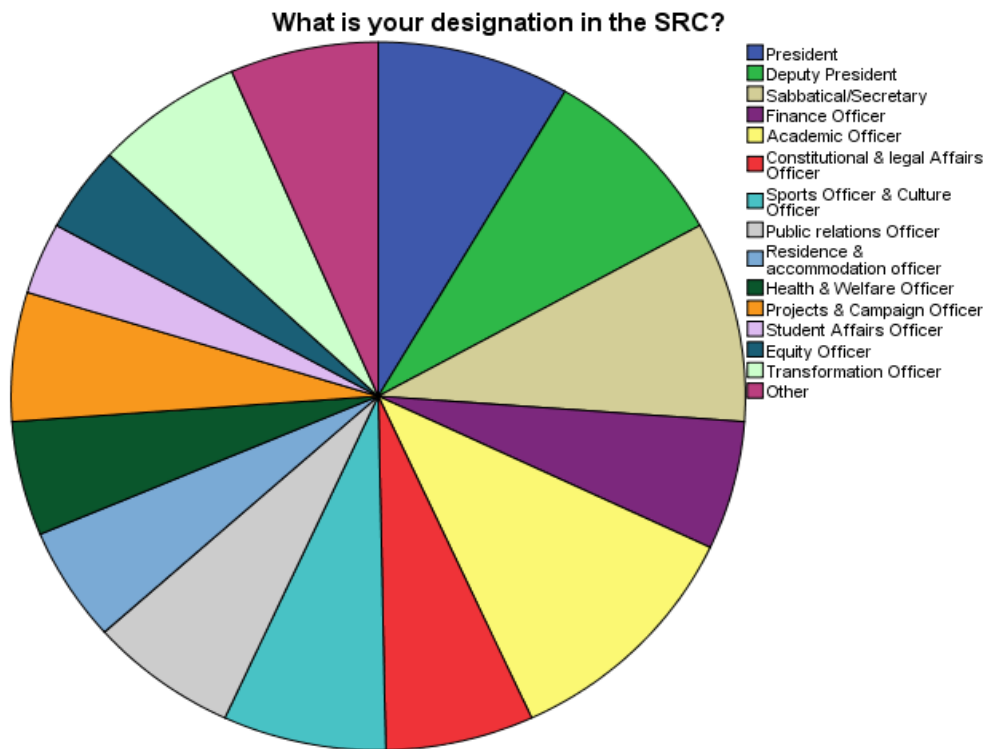
Table 6.1 and Figure 6.1 above show that the majority of SRC members who participated in the study are Academic Officers and that they constituted 11.1% of the participants. The second group was that of Sabbatical/Secretaries which constituted (9.2%) of the participants. Finally, the Presidents and their deputies constituted 13% of all the participants each. SRC presidents, their deputies, sabbatical/secretaries and in some institutions Academic Officers are key designations in SRCs that serve in university structures such as Senate, Institutional Forum and Council. These results might imply that the designations with high participation percentages are more knowledgeable about co-operative governance in public higher education institutions and know the importance of involvement and participation in student governance.

Table 6.3 and Figure 6.2 below show the frequency distribution of SRC members according to their gender, represented in the form of both a table and a graph.

Table 6.3   Table showing frequency distribution of the SRC members by gender (N=153)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Female	70	45.8	45.8	45.8
	Male	83	54.2	54.2	100.0
	Total	153	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.2   Graph showing distribution of the SRC members by gender
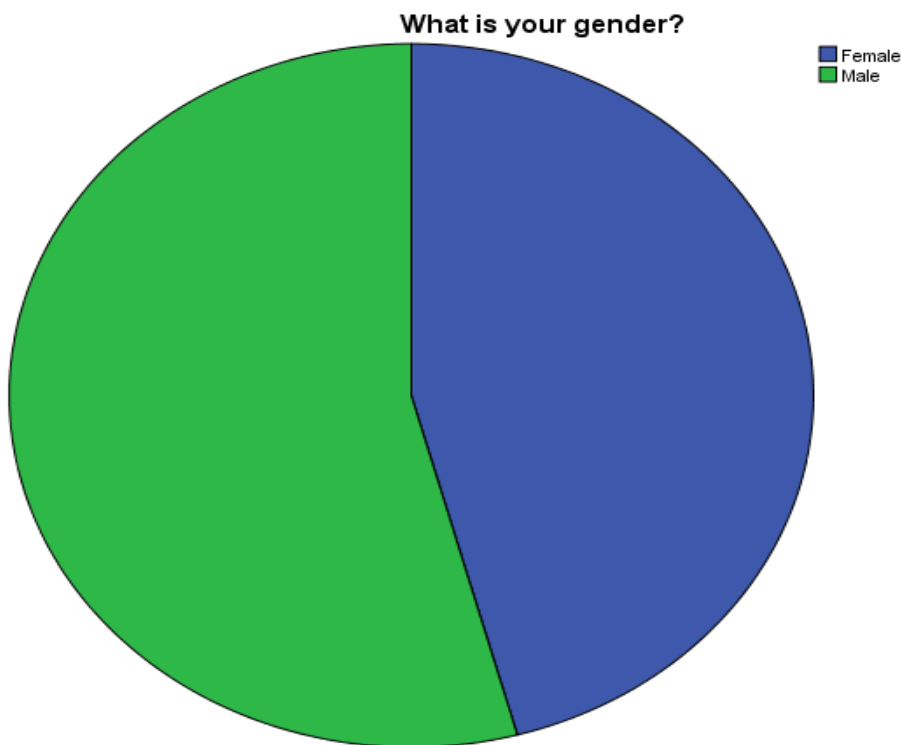
With regard to the gender distribution of SRC members, Figure 6.2 above shows that 54.2% male and 45.8% female SRC members participated in the study. The numerical difference between male and female participation in the study illustrates that more male students get voted into the SRC because they take keen interest in student governance. SRCs are, by their nature, politically charged and historically used to be male dominated, if not run by males only.   However, the slight difference in frequencies, regarding involvement and participation, might denote that gender in the SRC does not play a role anymore in terms of participation in SRCs. Also, this might signify that students in public higher education

institutions are mindful of transformation and they try to mirror gender equity which occurs in public and private institutions in South Africa.

Comparing the above frequency distribution by gender with the outcome of Census 2011, female members constituted 51.3% while males 48.7% of the South African population (Census, 2011). Therefore there is still a need for female SRC members to become more involved and participate in student governance to reflect the true demographics of the South Africa population.

Table 6.4 and Figure 6.3 below show the frequency distribution of the participants grouped according to race represented in the form of both a table and a graph.

Table 6.4   Table showing frequency distribution of SRC members by race (N=153)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Black	122	79.7	79.7	79.7
	Coloured	2	1.3	1.3	81.0
	Indian	1	.7	.7	81.7
	White	28	18.3	18.3	100.0
	Total	153	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.3   Graph showing frequency distribution of SRC members by race
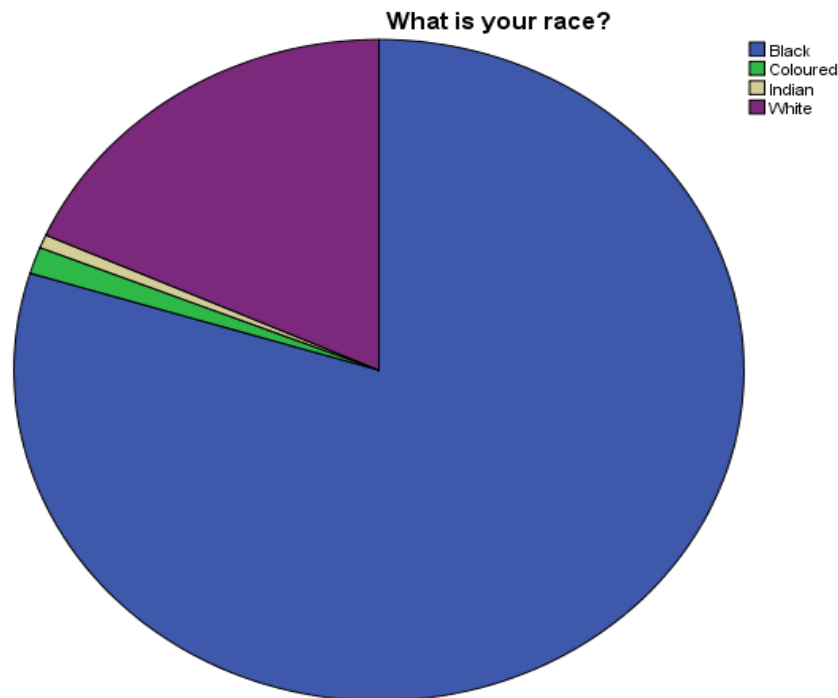
With regard to the race distribution of SRC members in HEIs, Figure 6.3 above shows that Black SRC members are in the majority, constituting 79.7%, followed by the White SRC members making up 18.3%, Coloured SRC members at 1.3% and the Indian SRC members constituting7%. The are no Chinese SRC members who participated in the study. What can be inferred is that Black students dominated in the study and that, by implication, take keen interest in student governance as compared to other racial groups. It could also be that other racial groups did not participate in the study for myriad reasons not known to the researcher. It is also fair to comment that almost all the population groups in South Africa are represented in the study, which makes it balanced.

According to the 2011 Census, South Africa's population stood at 51.77 million. Of this population Africans [Black] were in the majority making up 79.2%, followed by Coloured and White people each making up 8.9%. Indian/Asian population constituted 2.5% and other population group made up 0.5% of the total population (Census 2011).

Comparing the outcome of Census 2011 and the involvement and participation of SRC members in the governance of public HEIs in South Africa, it is evident that Blacks are well represented. The statistical representation of White SRC members at public HEIs exceeds that of the outcome of the South African Census 2011. This means that there were more

white students who took keen interest in issues affecting the student body. There is however low representation of Coloureds, Indians and other population groups. However the fact that not all the public HEIs in South Africa participated in this study could have affected these statistics.

Table 6.5 and Figure 6.4 below indicate the frequency distribution of the participants according to the term of office served in the SRC.

Table 6.5 showing frequency distribution of the SRC members by term of office

(N=153)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	One Term	113	73.9	73.9	73.9
	Two Term	40	26.1	26.1	100.0
	Total	153	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.4   Graph showing the distribution of the SRC members by term of office

How many terms have you served in the SRC?
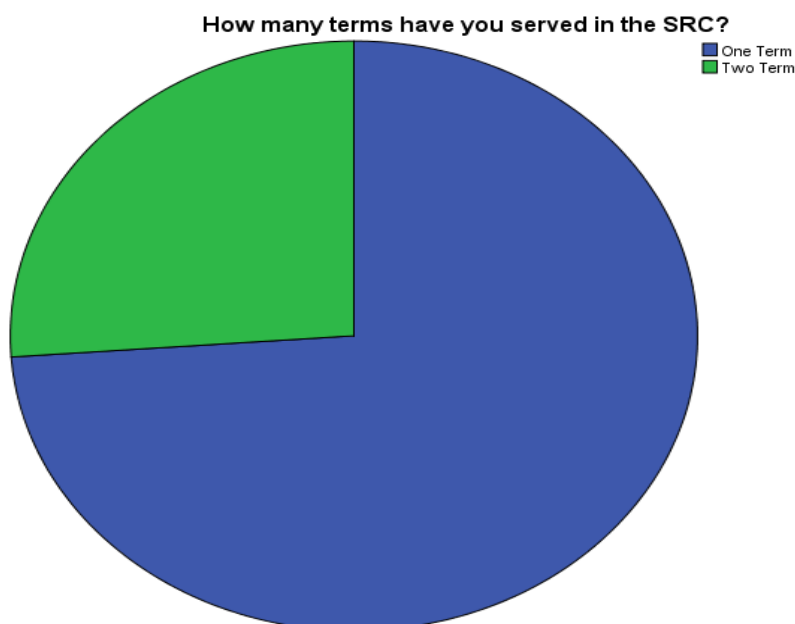
With regard to the participants' term of office, Figure 6.4 above shows that the majority (79.1%) of the SRC members served only one term while the minority (21.9%) served two terms. According to the constitutions of most public HEIs, students can only serve a maximum of two terms, at either a local or central SRC, consecutively or separately. The above statistics could imply that, despite the benefits of serving in the SRC, most students are cognizant of the primary reason for enrolling at higher education, which is to study and attain a qualification. The other inference to be made could be that SRC members realize that the effect of their role in the SRC is minimal due to the challenges of co-operative governance in public higher education institutions. This has been attested to by the responses of the participants during the interviews.

Table 6.6 and Figure 6.5 below depict the frequency distribution of the participants according to university type represented in the form of both a table and a graph.

Table 6.6   Table showing frequency distribution of SRC members by type of university (N=153)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	University of Technology	60	39.2	39.2	39.2
	Comprehensive	54	35.3	35.3	74.5
	Traditional	39	25.5	25.5	100.0
	Total	153	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.5   Graph showing SRC members' distribution by type of university

The type of university

■ University of Technology
■ Comprehensive University
□ Traditional University
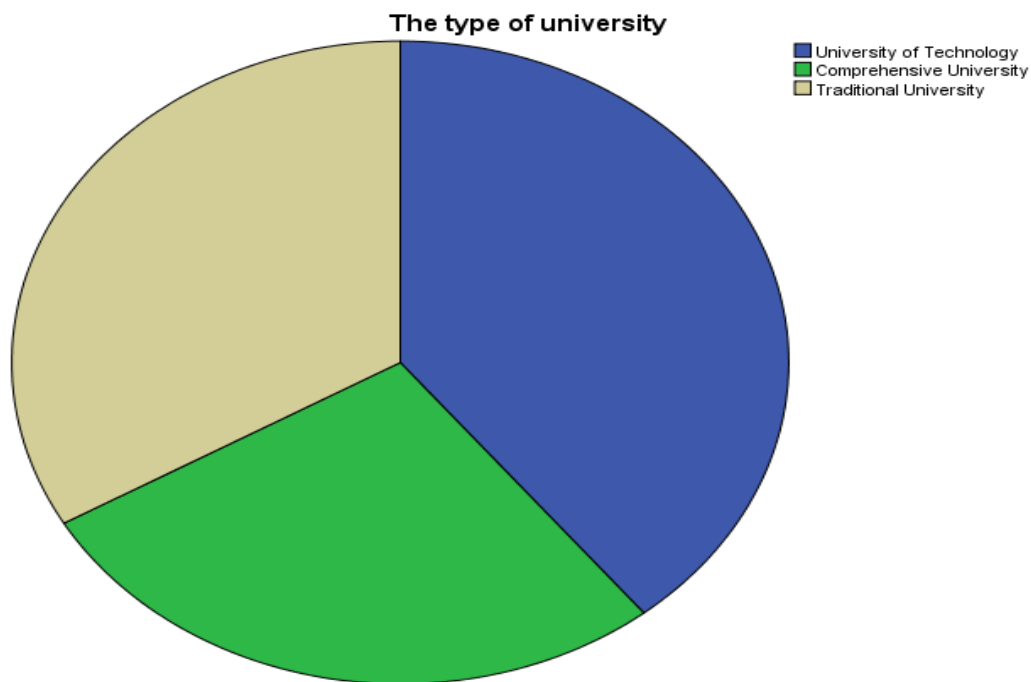
Table 6.6 and Figure 6.5 above illustrate that, 39.21% of the participants were, from Universities of Technology, 35.3% were from comprehensive universities and 25.5% were from Traditional Universities.   This indicate that SRC members in the Universities of Technology participated in greater numbers in the study and that they probably take keen interest in student governance issues in public higher education institutions.   It can also mean that students in other university types either did not participate in the study or they do not regard the SRC as a useful structure in student governance as such and that they choose to concentrate on academia instead.   According to the above, there was a fair distribution of students from the different types of universities in the study with mean being approximately 2 out of three options.

Table 6.7 and Figure 6.6 below represent the frequency distribution of the participants in the study according to type of programmes enrolled for, represented in the form of both a table and a graph.

Table 6.7   Table showing frequency distribution of the SRC members by the programmes enrolled in (N=153)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Certificate	5	3.3	3.3	3.3
	Diploma	30	19.6	19.6	22.9
	Bachelor's Degree	84	54.9	54.9	77.8
	Honours Degree	30	19.6	19.6	97.4
	Masters & Doctorate	4	2.6	2.6	100.0
	Total	153	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.6   Graph showing distribution of the SRC members by the programmes enrolled in
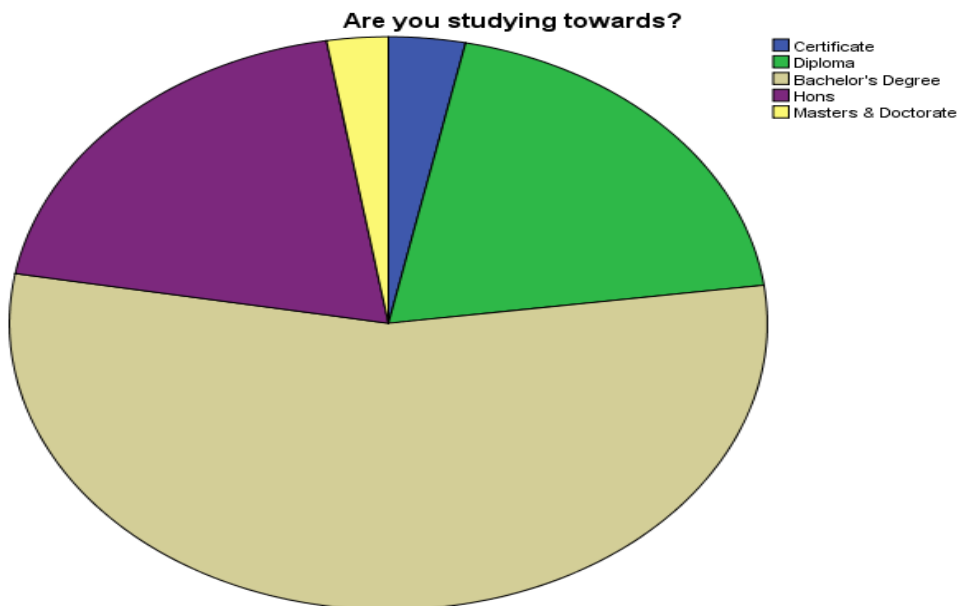
With regard to the programme for which the participants enrolled for, Figure 6.6 shows that the majority (54.9%) were studying towards bachelor's degree and that 2.6 were studying towards Masters and Doctoral degrees. 3.3% were studying towards Certificates while 19.6% were enrolled for Diplomas and Honours degrees. The conclusion to be drawn from

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the above is that there were few SRC members who were pursuing certificates and post-graduate studies; most students who participated in the study were pursuing their undergraduate studies. The above illustrate that postgraduate students seemed not to take fervent interest in student governance issues, possibly because of the pressures they experience with their studies or not regarding the SRC as an important institution. The other inference to be made is that more SRC members who participated in the study were studying towards a Bachelor's degree, a junior degree in both Comprehensive and Traditional universities.

Table 6.8 and Figure 6.7 below demonstrate frequency distribution according to the geographical location of the universities where the participants enrolled respectively.

Table 6.8   shows the frequency distribution of the SRC members by geographical location of universities

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Rural area	21	13.7	13.7	13.7
	Urban area	132	86.3	86.3	100.0
	Total	153	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.7   **Graph showing distribution of universities by geographical location**

Where is your institution situated?

Rural area
Urban area
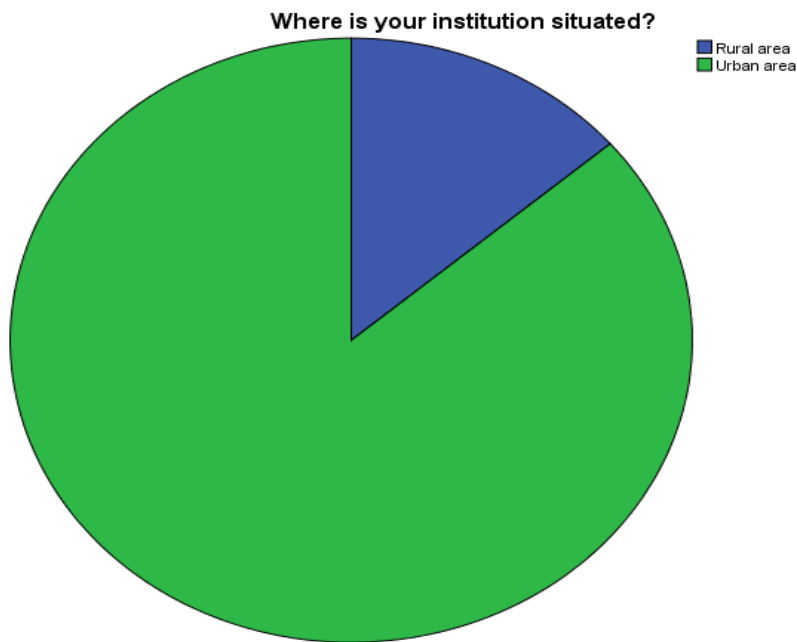
With regard to the distribution of the SRC members by the geographical location of universities, Figure 6.7 86.3% of the universities are located in urban areas while 13.7% are located in rural areas. The conclusion to be drawn from the above is that there are more universities in urban areas than there are in rural areas. This means that students in the urban areas are advantaged and most likely to study and obtain degrees than those in rural areas.

Table 6.9 and Figure 6.8 below show frequency distribution of the participants according to number of students at the institutions where they are enrolled respectively

Table 6.9   Table showing frequency distribution by number of students to determine the size of the institutions (N=153)

		Frequency	Percent	Valid Percent	Cumulative Percent
Valid	Less than 13 000	39	25.5	25.5	25.5
	Between 13 000 & 16 000	6	3.9	3.9	29.4
	Between 16 000 & 20 000	33	21.6	21.6	51.0
	Between 20 000 & 25 000	11	7.2	7.2	58.2
	More than 30 000	64	41.8	41.8	100.0
	Total	153	100.0	100.0	

Figure 6.8   Graph showing the distribution by number of students to determine the size of the institution

Number of students in your institution
- Less than 13 000
- Between 13 000 & 16 000
- Between 16 000 & 20 000
- Between 20 000 & 25 000
- More than 30 000
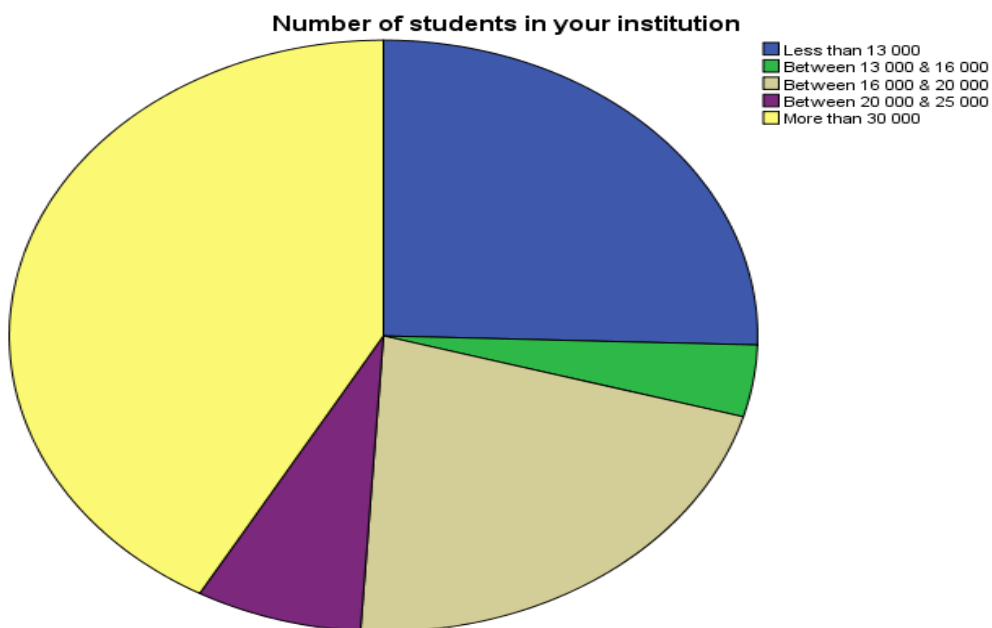
Several observations can be made from figure 6.8 above. Firstly, 41.8% of the universities have the largest number of students. Secondly, 25.5% of these institutions have less than 16 000 students. Thirdly, 21% of these universities have between 16 000 to 20 00 students. Fourthly, 7.2% of the institutions have between 20 000 and 25 000 students. Lastly, that 3.9% of these universities have between 13 000 and 16 000 students.

The fact that more institutions have large numbers of students, as demonstrated above, indicates that there might be less space to accommodate all students in those institutions. This further poses a risk on the quality of graduates from those overcrowded institutions, as proper attention to individual students is not possible in such conditions. Government's decision to build the University of Sol Plaatjie (USP) in the Northern Cape Province and University of Mpumalanga in the Mpumalanga province could have bee be a result of the above crisis of overcrowding. Research has illustrated that there is a serious challenge in South Africa regarding throughput. A graduation rate of 15% has been recorded for South African universities, with black students in the majority of those who either fail or drop out (Letseka and Maile, 2008:1). Most registered students do not attain their qualifications due to dropping out of their studies. It is possible that overcrowding has had a bearing on both high dropout and failure rates at South African institutions of higher learning. High failure rate impacts negatively on employment and the shortage of high-level skills in the labour market in South Africa. This could further impede the government from achieving its set economic development goals.

Below is a brief summary of how the SRC members responded to questionnaire items.

6.2.3.2 SRC members' response frequencies

The SRC members' responses to the questionnaire items regarding the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa are illustrated by Table 6.10 (cf. Appendix F).

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6.2.3.3 The Mean and Standard Deviation

The mean, also known as average, is obtained by dividing the sum of observed values by the number of observations, *n*. Although data points fall above, below, or on the mean, it can be considered a good estimate for predicting subsequent data points. The standard deviation gives an idea of how close the entire set of data is to the average value. Data sets with a small standard deviation have tightly grouped, precise data while data sets with large standard deviations have data spread out over a wide range of values. Table 6.11 below provides the statistical findings of the mean and standard deviation of the responses of the participants. Both the mean and standard deviation were discussed in detail in chapter five. The Mean was discussed in section 5.5.1.1 and the Standard Deviation in section 5.5.1.2.

The figure below is a scree plot from a principal component analysis to determine the optimal number of components.

Figure 6.9   Scree Plot
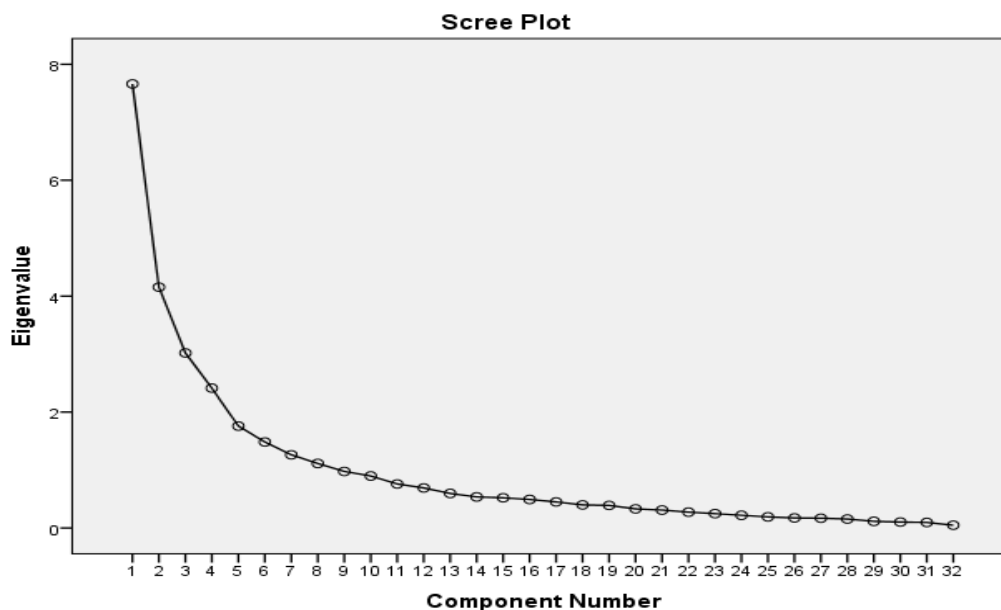
Figure 6.9 presents a scree plot from a principal component analysis to determine the optimal number of components. The researcher considered all factors that were above 2.5 Eigenvalues. Therefore three (3) components were considered. These components were named as follows:

- **SRC Participation**
- **Democratization**
- **Understanding of University Governance**

Below are the tables for the Mean and Standard Deviation:

Table 6.10   SRC Participation

Questionnaire Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
Q20. Do SRC members in various committees in your institution carry out their duties and responsibilities as prescribed by the SRC Constitution?	**2.88**	**.811**
Q22. Does the SRC form part of decision making panels in the appointment of staff?	**1.78**	**1.131**
Q23. Does the SRC give input in the admission requirements of students in your institution?	**2.01**	**1.003**
Q24. Does the SRC in your institution become involved in determining its budget?	**2.06**	**1.047**
Q29. Does your SRC serve in the South African Union of SRCs (SAUS)?	**2.24**	**.992**
Q35. Do you attend international conferences on SRC governance issues?	**1.88**	**.903**
Q37. Are workshops arranged in your institution to help the SRC develop its ability to co-govern with management?	**2.99**	**.782**
Q39. Does the SRC in your institution hold regular meetings with management on issues of co-operative governance?	**3.31**	**.739**
Average of the Means	**2.4**	**.926**

Table 6.10 reveals that the respondents disagree (2.4) that there is involvement and participation of SRCs in the national and international activities. This might impact on the SRC to operate effectively on co-operative governance. They said there is little interest in the South African Union of Students (SAUS). This implies that there is no benchmarking of SRCs that occurs and there is no link with international student unions, not even within the continent. SRC members do not serve in all key university structures, thereby impacting on its effect in student governance. The above has a negative impact on the effect of the SRCs

in carrying out their functions as a statutory body. There is also a challenge in terms of the resources allocated to the SRC which are not enough in order for them to function effectively. Despite acknowledging that SAUS is an important structure the respondents do not serve in it and they are hardly involved. A positive aspect is that the SRC members are involved and participate in co-operative governance in their institutions. The overall impression is that the SRCs take keen interest in the affairs of the students that they lead.

Table 6.11   Democratisation

Questionnaire Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
Q11.Is the participation and involvement of the SRC in co-operative governance effective in your institution?	2.41	.757
Q14.Does university management in your institution clearly explain the meaning of co-operative governance to the SRC?	2.36	.900
Q15.Does the university management support the SRC in order for co-operative governance to be realised?	2.52	.828
Q17.Does university management in your institution view the SRC as co-governors?	2.38	1.101
Q19.Is the SRC representation in various committees adequate in your institution?	2.49	.916
Q40.Does management in your institution provide the SRC with resources necessary to govern?	2.52	1.101
Average of the Means	**2.4**	**.933**

Table 6.11 reveals that the respondents neither agree nor disagree that there is democratisation in public higher education institutions. Though the average of the means is 2.4, most are clustered around the middle category of 2.5. Firstly, this demonstrates that participation and involvement of the SRC in co-operative governance is still a challenge in most public HEIs. Effective democratisations, if effectively implemented, would ensure that there is dialogue, consultation, efficiency and effectiveness and partnership amongst the SRCs, stakeholders and managements of universities. Democratic processes in institutions legitimise resolutions and ensure that there is a buy-in in projects undertaken by institutions. Lack of democracy implies that there is no good working relation between management and the SRC. There seem to be lack of support by management and failure to explain what co-operative governance means at the institutional level. Secondly, the SRC members do not feel adequately represented in all the key decision-making structures in the institutions.

Table 6.12   Understanding of University Governance

Questionnaire Items	Mean	Standard Deviation
Q9.Do you understand what co-operative governance means in higher education institution?	3.14	.735
Q10.Does the SRC in your institution know its role with regard to co-operative governance?	2.75	.757
Q13.Does the student body in your institution understand the role of the SRC in co-operative governance?	2.59	.782
Q16.Does the student body in your institution understand the role of the SRC in co-operative governance?	2.29	.826
Q18.Is there a common understanding of co-operative governance amongst the 23 public higher educational institutions in SA?	2.07	.695
Q28.Do you know about the South African Union of SRCs (SAUS)?	2.97	.910
Q32.Do you know the role and responsibilities of the SRC in accordance with the Higher Education Act of 1997 (as amended)?	2.19	.830
Q 38.Does the SRC know the mission and vision of your institution?	2.99	.782
Average of the Means	**2.6**	**.789**

Table 6.12 above reveals that 2.6 of the respondents agree that they understand what governance means in public HEIs in South Africa. Optimistically, there is a clear indication that the roles of the SRCs are vividly outlined in the universities statutes of public higher education institutions and they know the mission and visions of their institutions. There are, however differences in terms of SRCs' understanding of co-operative governance in different institutions. This might be because of different material conditions on campuses that result in different interpretation and implementation of the concept. Positively, workshops and meetings are held at universities between the SRCs and management regarding issues of co-operative governance. This further implies that students in public higher education institutions have insight into the governance of higher education institutions. They understand what co-operative governance practically means in terms of how they should operate as a structure that represents the needs of the students. It confirms the vital role played by students during the apartheid era in using universities as the site of the struggle for democracy. Also, it implies that students think that they can continue to play a pivotal role in transforming public higher education from its past edifices. Knowledge of the mission and vision of institutions may assist the SRC in furthering the aim and objectives of their institutions.

The next section discusses factor analysis.

6.2.4   FACTOR ANALYSIS

A factor analysis is used to determine whether all items in a questionnaire are correlated (Rambuda, 2002). The purpose of factor analysis is to establish the construct validity of a measurement. Items that dealt with the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public HEIs were subjected to a factor analysis (cf. 6.2.1.2.). For the purpose of determining the construct validity of the questionnaire Eigenvalues were used to extract principal components for the study. The principal components show a variation in the descending order of the eigenvalues. For the purpose of this study, 0.4 was set as the benchmark for filtering those factors which are closely related to each other and whose loading was greater than 0.4. The Eigenvalues which were lower than 0.4 in significance were eliminated from the instrument because they demonstrated a low correlation amongst the items and this would impact the validity of the questionnaire negatively. Below is the table about the Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's Test   which outline the circumstances under which factor analysis can be done.

Table 6.13   KMO and Bartlett's Test

KMO and Bartlett's Test

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin Measure of Sampling Adequacy.		.682
Bartlett's Test of Sphericity	Approx. Chi-Square	3170.767
	df	496
	Sig.	0.000

Kaiser-Meyer-Olkin (KMO) and Bartlett's Test measure the strength of the relationship among variables. The **KMO** measures sampling adequacy which should be greater than 0.5 for a satisfactory factor analysis to be done. If any pair of variables has a value less than this, it should be considered for elimination from the analysis. The off-diagonal elements should all be very small (close to zero) in a good model.

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Looking at the table above, the **KMO measure** is 0.682 greater than the significant value p<0.05. This demonstrates that factor analysis is significant for this particular set of data. Although, Kaisen (1974) recommends 0.5 (barely accepted) as the minimum value for statistical significance values between 0.7-0.8 are also acceptable, and those above 0.9 are superb. **Bartlett's test** is another indication of the strength of the relationship among variables. This tests the Null hypothesis that the correlation matrix is an identity matrix. An identity matrix is one in which all diagonal elements have a value of 1 and all off diagonal elements have a value of 0. From the same table, we can see that the **Bartlett's test** of sphericity is statistically significant, that is, its associated probability is less than 0.05, in fact, it is 0.000. This means the significance level of the finding is small enough to reject the null hypothesis. This also means that the correlation matrix is not an identity matrix.

Table 6.14 Inter-Item Correlation Matrix

Inter-Item Correlation Matrix

	SRC Participation	Democratisation	Understanding of University Governance
• **SRC Participation**	1.000	.628	.508
• **Democratization**	.628	1.000	.650
• **Understanding of University Governance**	.508	.650	1.000

Table 6.14 above presents Inter-Item Correlation Matrix where the covariance matrix is calculated and used in the analysis of items. All the values in Matrix Inter-Item Correlation must be positive. This means all items in one same characteristic. The purpose is to measure the correlation of each item in a test with each other and every other item in a test. for reliability.

Table 6.15 Item-Total Statistics

Item-Total Statistics

	Scale Mean if Item Deleted	Scale Variance if Item Deleted	Corrected Item-Total Correlation	Squared Multiple Correlation	Cronbach's Alpha if Item Deleted
• **SRC Participation**	**5.20**	**1.149**	**.638**	**.411**	**.720**
• **Democratization**	**5.08**	**.604**	**.735**	**.541**	**.672**
• **Understanding of University Governance**	**4.77**	**1.204**	**.656**	**.439**	**.722**

Table 6.15 above presents the value that Cronbach's Alpha would be if that particular item was deleted from the scale. It is clear that removal of any item from the table would result in a lower Cronbach's alpha. Retaining of all the times leads to the improvement in Cronbach's Alpha. Therefore, we would not want to remove any of these items.

The section below discusses inferential statistics.

6.2.5 INFERENTIAL STATISTICS

This section dealt with inferences made from the data of this study regarding the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. The chi-square test statistics was computed to determine if there were statistically significant differences amongst the participants in the study

6.2.5.1 Chi-square

Chi-square is used as a test of significance in social sciences, based on the Null hypothesis, that is, the assumption that there is no relationship between two variables in a total population. Chi-square was discussed in detail in section 5.5.2.1.

The Null hypotheses of this study are the following:

- There is no statistically significant correlation between SRC members' involvement in the governance of universities and their perceptions on the implementation of co-operative governance in the South African higher education institutions.

- There is no statistically significant correlation between the SRC members' participation in the governance of universities and their perceptions on the implementation of co-operative governance in the South African higher education institutions.

Table 6.16   Correlation between involvement and co- operative governance

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	821.851[a]	330	.000
Likelihood Ratio	480.238	330	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	19.051	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	153		

a. 368 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

Table 6.16 shows that the probability value of the chi-square test statistics (chi-square=821.851) was p=.000, which was lesser than the set alpha level significance of 0.05. This indicates that there is statistically significant correlation between SRC members' involvement in the governance of universities and their perceptions in the implementation of co-operative governance at public HEIs in South Africa. Therefore, the Null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant correlation between SRC members' involvement in university governance and their perceptions in the implementation of co-operative governance at public HEIs in South Africa is rejected.

Table 6.17   Correlation between participation and co- operative governance

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	873.727[a]	352	.000
Likelihood Ratio	464.647	352	.000
Linear-by-Linear Association	71.182	1	.000
N of Valid Cases	153		

a. 391 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .01.

Table 6.17 shows that the probability value of the chi-square test statistics (chi-square=873.727) was p=.000, which was lesser than the set alpha level significance of 0.05. This indicates that there is statistically significant correlation between SRC members' participation in the governance of universities and their perceptions in the implementation of co-operative governance at public HEIs in South Africa. Therefore, the Null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant correlation between SRC members' participation in the governance of universities and their perceptions in the implementation of co-operative governance at public HEIs in South Africa is rejected.

The study also tested the following subsidiary hypotheses:

- There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC members of different designations, genders, who are enrolled in different programmes and who are from different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC participation in public HEIs in South Africa.
- There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC   members of different designations, genders, who are enrolled in different programmes and who are from different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to democratization in public HEIs in South Africa.
- There is no statistical significant difference amongst SRC members' different designations, gender, programmes enrolled in and type of university with regard to their perceptions pertaining to their understanding of university governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

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Hypotheses testing

The following tables provide information that is used to test the following hypothesis: there is no significant difference between male and female SRC students with regard to their perception of the involvement and participation of SRC in the co-operative governance of public HEIs. The following tables show how the hypotheses were tested:

Table 6.18 Chi-square and Symmetric measures tests on statistically significant difference between male and female SRC members with regard to their involvement and participation in co-operative governance at the public HEIs in South Africa.

Chi-Square Tests

	Value	Df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	381.866[a]	350	.116
Likelihood Ratio	320.485	350	.869
Linear-by-Linear Association	5.208	1	.022
N of Valid Cases	153		

a. 390 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.

Symmetric Measures

		Value	Asymp. Std. Error[a]	Approx. T[b]	Approx. Sig.
Nominal by Nominal	Phi	1.580			.116
	Cramer's V	.422			.116
	Contingency Coefficient	.845			.116
Ordinal by Ordinal	Kendall's tau-c	.153	.060	2.556	.011
	Gamma	.162	.064	2.556	.011
	Spearman Correlation	.211	.081	2.651	.009[c]
Interval by Interval	Pearson's R	.185	.082	2.315	.022[c]
N of Valid Cases		153			

a. Not assuming the null hypothesis.

b. Using the asymptotic standard error assuming the null hypothesis.

c. Based on normal approximation.

Table 6.18 shows that the probability value of the chi-square test statistics (chi-square=381.866) was *p*=.116, which was greater than the set alpha level of significance of 0.05. This indicates that there is no statistically significant difference between male and female SRC members with regard to their perception of the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public HEIs in South Africa. The hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference between male and female SRC members with regard to their perception of the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public HEIs in South Africa is therefore accepted.

Below is an analysis of the SRC members' perceptions of their involvement and participation in the co-operative governance of public HEIs and their biographical data.

SRC members Biographical Data Analysis

The following tables answer the research question that establishes to what extent is there a relationship between biographical variables (designations, gender, programmes enrolled in and university type) and the SRC members' responses with regard to their involvement and participation in the co-operative governance of public HEIs in South Africa.

Table 6.19 A cross tabulation of the SRC biographical data

	Value	df	Asymp. Sig. (2-sided)
Pearson Chi-Square	180.840[a]	168	.236
Likelihood Ratio	183.626	168	.194
Linear-by-Linear Association	.039	1	.844
N of Valid Cases	153		

a. 195 cells (100.0%) have expected count less than 5. The minimum expected count is .03.

Table 6.19 above shows that the probability value of the chi-square test statistics (chi-Square=180.840) was p=.236, and that it was greater than the set alpha level

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significance of p= 0.05. This indicates that there is no statistically significant difference between the SRC members' perception of their involvement and participation in the co-operative governance of public HEIs in South Africa and their biographical data. The hypothesis that there is no statistically significant difference between the SRC members' perception of their involvement and participation in the co-operative governance of public HEIs in South Africa and their biographical data is therefore accepted.

Table 6.20 There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC members of different designations with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC participation in public HEIs in South Africa.

			Value	Df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
SRC Participation	**Biographical Variables**	**Pearson Chi-Square**			
	Q 1. Designations		83.707[a]	70	.126
	Q 2.Gender		2.912[a]	5	.714
	Q 5.Type of University		55.857[a]	10	.000
	Q6. Programme enrolled in		37.254[a]	20	.011

Table 6.20 illuminates that the probability value of the findings with regard to Q1 and Q2 were p=.126 and p=.714 respectively and that these were therefore greater than the set alpha level significance of 0.05. This indicates that there is no statistically significant relationship between male and female SRC members of different designations and gender on the one hand and their perception regarding the SRC participation. Therefore the researcher accepts the hypotheses. However, the probability value of the findings with regard to Q5 and Q6 were p=.000 and p=.011 respectively, lower than the set alpha level significance of 0.05. Therefore there is a statistically significant difference between male and female SRC members' studying at different types of universities and those enrolled in different programmes and their perception of SRC participation. Therefore the researcher rejects the hypotheses.

Table 6.21 There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC members of different designations with regard to their perceptions pertaining to democratization in public HEIs in South Africa.

			Value	Df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
	Biographical Variables	**Pearson Chi-Square**			
Democratisation	Q1. Designations		229.910[a]	182	.009
	Q2.Gender		15.719[a]	13	.265
	Q5.Type of University		85.790[a]	26	.000
	Q6. Programme enrolled in		104.547[a]	52	.000

Table 6.21 demonstrates that the probability value of the findings with regard to Q1, Q5 and Q6 were p=.009, p=.000 and p=.000 respectively and that they are lower than the alpha level significance of 0.05. This indicates that there is a statistically significant difference between the male and female SRC members, those in different designations, those from different types of universities and those pursuing different programmes with regard to their perception of democratisation at public HEIs in South Africa. Therefore the researcher rejects the hypotheses. On the other hand, there is no statistically significant difference between the SRC members' gender and their perception of democratisation in public HEIs in South Africa as the probability value for Q2 was p=.265, and is greater than the set alpha level significance of 0.05. This indicates that there is no statistically significant difference between the SRC members' gender and their perception of democratisation at public HEIs in South Africa. Therefore the researcher accepts the hypothesis.

Table 6.22 There is no statistically significant difference amongst SRC members of different designations with regard to their perceptions pertaining to understanding of university governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

			Value	Df	Asymp. Sig (2-sided)
	Biographical Variables	**Pearson Chi-Square**			
Understanding of University Governance	Q1.Designations		381.866[a]	350	.116
	Q2.Gender		28.368[a]	25	.291
	Q5.Type of University		137.866[a]	50	.000
	Q6. Programme enrolled in		226.583[a]	100	.000

Table 6.22 illustrates that the probability value of the findings with regard to Q1 and Q2 were p=.116 and p=.291 respectively and that these were therefore greater than the set alpha level significance of 0.05. This indicates that there is no statistically significant difference between SRC members of different designations and gender and their perception of understanding university governance. Therefore, the hypothesis that states that there is a statistically significant difference between male and female SRC members with regard to their perception of understanding university governance is accepted. Furthermore, there is a statistically significant relationship between the type of university attended by SRC members and the programmes for which they enrol. The probability value for Q5 and Q6 were p=.000 and p=.000 respectively, and are lower than the set alpha level significance of 0.05. This indicates that there is a statistically significant difference between SRC members' university type and the programmes for which they enrol in on the one hand and their perception of understanding university governance on the other. Therefore the researcher rejects the hypothesis.

- **Mean Plots**

Mean plots are used to see if the means for different groups differ. The purpose is to detect changes in location between groups. In this study, the researcher wanted to determine whether there were differences amongst different types of universities in South Africa when compared in accordance with different factors. The different universities, namely, Universities of Technology, Comprehensive Universities and Traditional Universities were graphically compared according to the following three components: **SRC participation** in the governance of public HEIs in South Africa, **Democratisation** in public HEIs in South Africa, and the **understanding of university governance** by SRCs at public HEIs in South Africa.

The mean plots were used to answer the following questions on types of universities and the above components:

- Were there any shifts in location?
- What is the magnitude of the shifts in location?
- Is there a distinct pattern in the shifts in location?

Mean Plots

Figure 6.10   SRC participation

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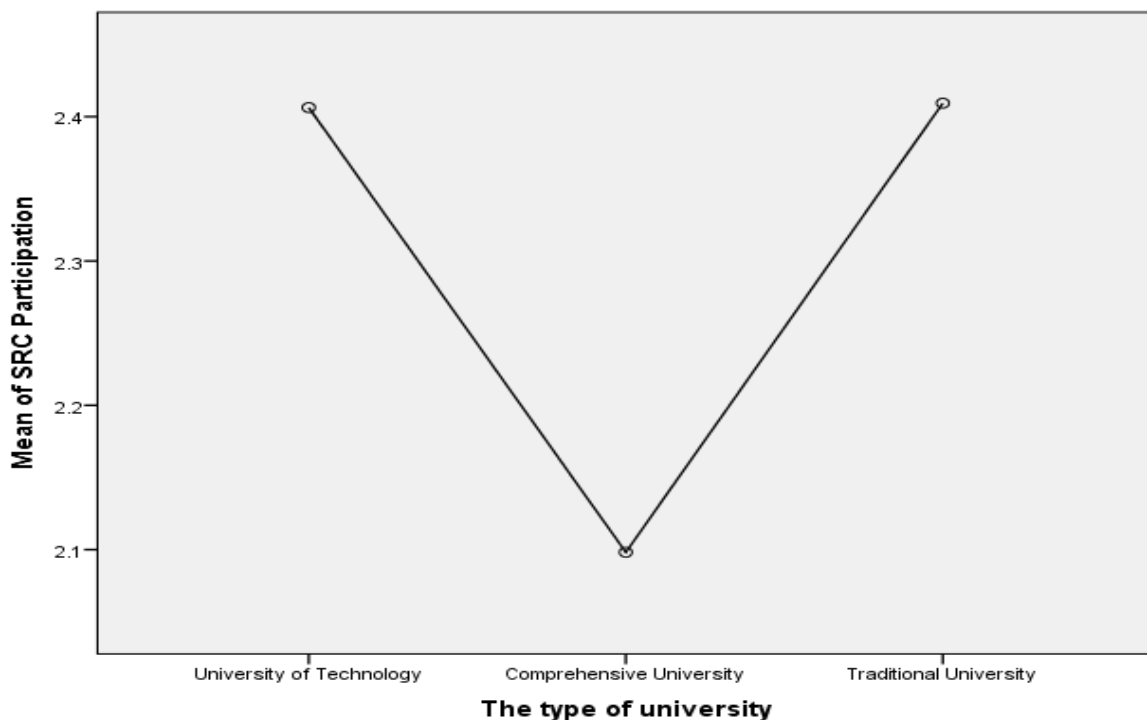
Figure 6.10 represents a skewed graph that shows that SRCs participation in the governance of different types of public universities in South Africa. Both universities of technology and traditional universities had more SRC members participating in the governance of public HEIs as compared to comprehensive universities. This illustrates that SRCs in Comprehensive Universities do not take keen interest in student governance issues. Universities of Technologies and the Traditional Universities had the highest and almost equal number of participants while Comprehensive Universities had the lowest number of participants in the study. Perceptions of the participants imply that there is unequal distribution of responses by the respondents which might imply the differences in the level of interest on issues of student governance by SRC members.

Figure 6.11   Democratisation
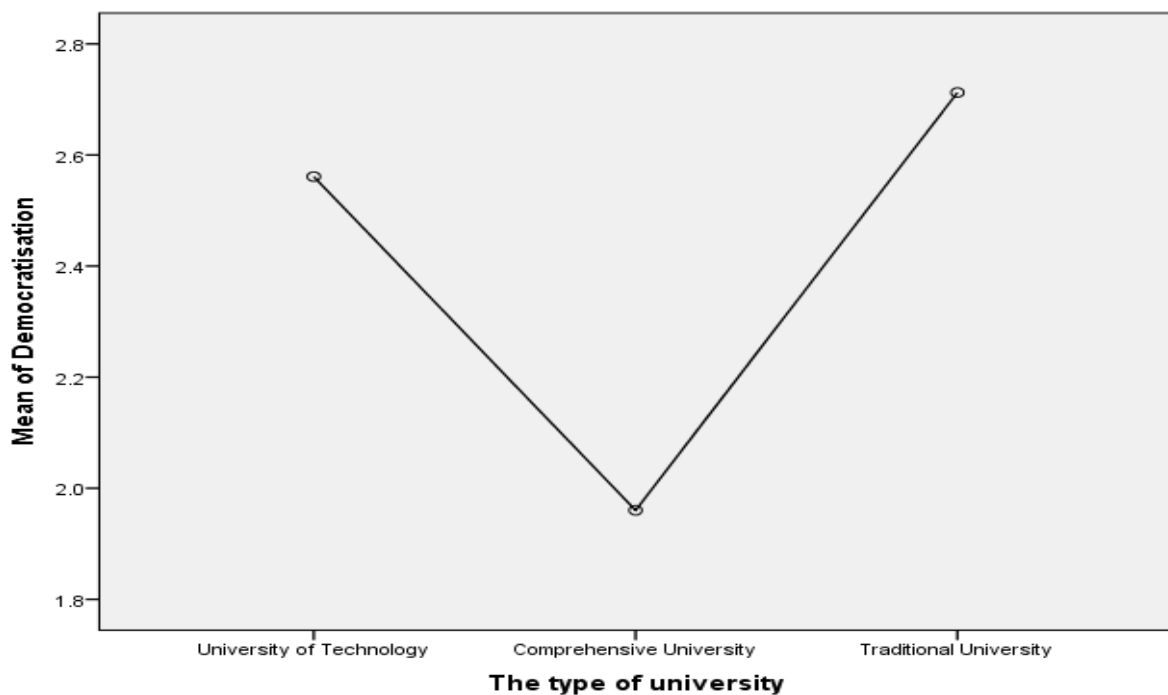
Figure 6.11 above shows that the distribution of responses by participants was skewed. This indicates that there are challenges pertaining to participatory democracy at public HEIs in South Africa. Perceptions of SRC members at these universities show an imbalance in terms of how participatory democracy took place. The graph illustrates that there were more participants from Traditional Universities, followed by the Universities of Technology, who think that there was democratisation in their institutions as compared to those in

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Comprehensive Universities, who also think that to a certain degree there is participatory democracy in their institutions. The participants from Universities of Technology did not think that there was participatory democracy in their institutions. This might further be interpreted that both the UoTs and the TUs adhere to the democratic principles of stakeholder participation and engagement on governance issues which affect their institutions. It is clear that participants at the CUs think that democratisation in public HEIs in South Africa does not take place. Contrary to this, the respondents at both UoTs and TUs think that there are great efforts in terms of ensuring that democratisation occurs at public HEIs in South Africa.

Figure 6.12   Understanding of university governance
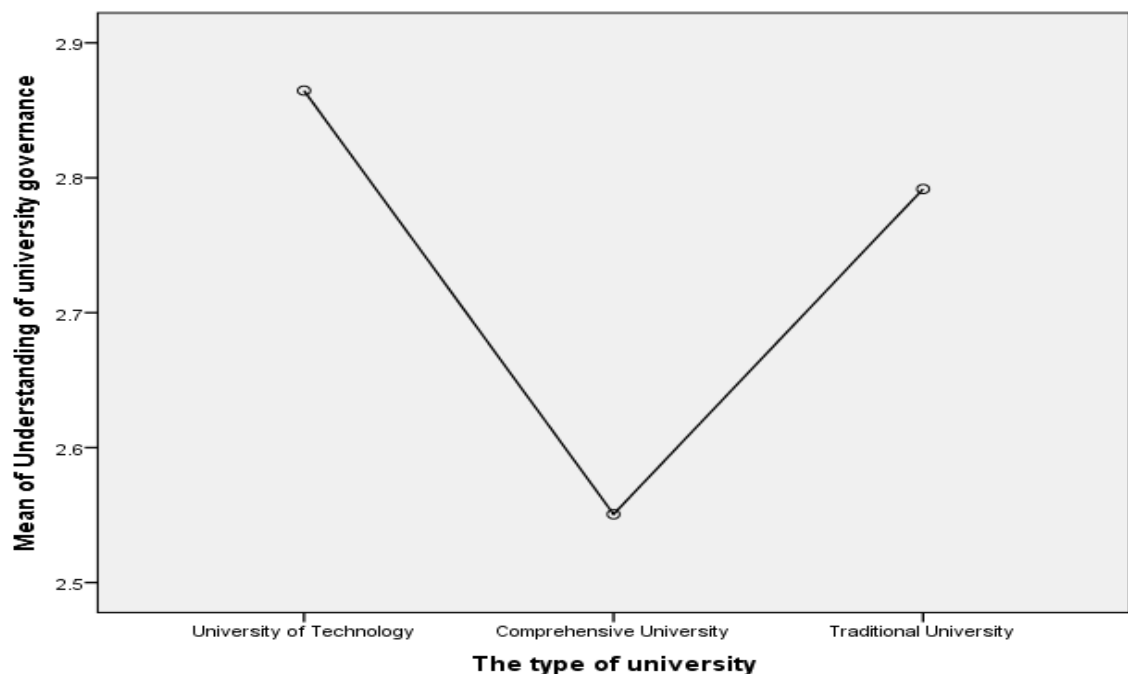
Figure 6.12 shows a slanted graph in terms of the opinions of SRC members in different university types regarding their understanding of university governance.   The graph illustrates that both UoTs and TUs either participated in majority or have a better understanding of university governance as compared to comprehensive universities. This indicates that either less SRC members from Comprehensive Universities participated in the study or there is less understanding of university governance by comprehensive universities as compared to the universities of Technology and Traditional universities.   The other implication might be that both the Universities of Technology and Traditional Universities

were adversely affected by the implementation of issues relating to legislative imperatives and compliance with the law at their institutions.

According to the graph, it is clear that there were more respondents from UoTs followed by the TUs who think that, there is better understanding of university governance as compared to CUs. This might imply that SRC members in different types of universities view university governance differently.

The section below discusses the findings of the qualitative data analysis.

6.3 QUALITATIVE DATA ANALYSIS

This section analysed the transcripts of the data collected by the researcher through recorded interviews. Babbie (2007: 320) defines content analysis as a study of recorded human communications such as books, websites, paintings and laws. Fraenkel and Wallen (2010: 472) concur and assert that content analysis is a technique that enables researchers to study human behaviour in an indirect way, through an analysis of their communications. Leedy and Ormrod (2013: 148) declare that content analysis, which is a detailed and systematic examination of the contents of a particular body of material is done for the purposes of identifying patterns, themes, or biases. Nine SRC members were selected from different types of public HEIs in South Africa for interviews and the interviews were recorded with their permission.

The following steps were followed to analyse the recorded interviews:

Leedy and Ormrod (2013:147) outline the following data analysis steps:

- **Open coding** - the data are divided into segments and then scrutinized for commonalities that reflect categories or themes. It is a process of reducing the data to a small set of themes that appear to describe the phenomenon under investigation.
- **Axial coding**   - Interconnections are made among categories and sub-categories. The researcher moves back and forth among data collection, open coding, and axial coding, continually refining the categories and their interconnections and perhaps combining or subdividing some of the categories- as additional data are collected.

- **Selective coding**- the categories and their interrelationships are combined to create a story line that describes "what happens" in the phenomenon being studied.
- **Development of a theory** - A theory, in the form of a verbal statement, visual model, or series of hypotheses, is offered to explain the phenomenon in question. The theory depicts the evolving nature of the phenomenon and describes how certain conditions lead to certain actions or interactions.

6.3.1 Interview questions and the SRC responses

Interviews were conducted with nine SRC members to answer the following research questions:

- What is the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of student representative councils at public higher education institutions?
- How is participative democracy practiced in the governance of public higher education institutions?
- What are the governance challenges experienced by public higher education institutions?
- How can the governance challenges be addressed?

6.3.1.1   The nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of SRCs

The following was the research question:

- What is the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect student representative councils at public higher education institutions?

The interview question to answer this question is:

➢ What is the role and effect of SRCs in terms of co-operative governance in your institution?

Responses:

Interviewee 1: "There is co-operative governance at our institution but at times there is a question of being given reports about decisions which are not comprehensive."

Interviewee 2: "There are effective student structures… There is enhanced communication between the SRC and management; Student life activities are effective... the budget is not determined by the SRC… the role of the SRC is effective as we keep in touch with students".

Interviewee 3: "I think the role of cooperative governance is to mend whatever contradictions or potential conflicts and antagonism that may exist between the SRC as student leadership and the university as a whole. Currently myself as being the member of the student leadership structure for two terms I don't think is the case; primarily because of lack of certain activities which characterize cooperative governance."

Interviewee 4: "Cooperative governance in this institution generally, one cannot say it is intact because there are systems that somehow do not include or do not have insight… like for example the powers of institution itself cater for selected few not the large student population, but over and above there are system that are of good recognition with the institution, but one cannot say those particular system cater for us as an institution in general or for students in particular."

Interviewee5: "The nature of cooperative governance in our institution is not up to speed for the SRC to function in its own right as the student leadership. I can say theoretically at policy level the SRC sits in all the statutory bodies and how it operates is still along those lines; but it is not the case practically as it is not optimally operative. The SRC does not seem like a structure that can be counted on by management when certain things need to be addressed; necessarily things which affect students. I think it is more of a buffer, not necessarily a structure of mutual standing. I understand that the SRC cannot operate in the same level as management but I feel there is not enough involvement of SRC as required in the university on some critical issues. Even representation along those lines is just a window dressing and

not necessarily …how the SRC should actually be functioning as per the principles of cooperative governance".

Interviewee 6: "The nature of cooperative governance is very unclear as we have to use political mandate from the student political organisation that deployed us than using our independent thought as SRC members. We are also made to see management as the enemy whereas when they are properly engaged they are approachable.

We have never experienced problems of serving in the SRC from different political structures because we came from the political organisation. Political affiliation should also not be a hiccup as we all fighting for one course which is advancing the student interests.

Shared governance of SRC by different political structures, as some feel they can't work together with others in office. There are personality and ideological differences amongst the SRC members as they come from different student political organisation. There is also a challenge between finding the balance between student leadership and the academic obligation. The challenge we experience is the SRC treatment by management and staff as they treat us like children or people who can't reason well".

Interviewee 7: "The nature of the SRC in our institution is both political and non-political, in line with the political landscape in our country. The effect of cooperative governance is difficult to tell because the SRC does not really have access to the university management; but when it comes to student societies it is very effective because where the students can't get assistance from the university the SRC provides it".

Interviewee 8: "That will be relative to the capacity of the SRC in each year; the SRC changes every year as a new one gets elected in our institution. This year it might be effective because there were a number of independent candidates in the SRC this is what makes the SRC more diverse, so the effectiveness will be quantified by those processes. In terms of participation in various structures it is adequate because there are seats allocated in a number of committees at the university".

Interviewee 9: "The SRC in our institution is not given much platform to advice or also have a say in the management strategies and how to administer the campus. Management way to govern is too centralised in a way that student leaders are not part of the governing body but they are used by management like their lapdogs. When it comes to accountability and management of problems or dealing with issues the management blames the SRC. For instance issues regarding registration and academic exclusions. Management of the university need to start to regard themselves as managers and not just ordinary employees of the universities".

The interview results were congregated collectively as follows:

Clustering responses:

Themes which emanated from the interviewees' responses:

- **Theme 1**   Problems experienced by student societies at universities
- **Theme 2**   Factors affecting the involvement and participation of SRCs in the governance of public higher education institutions
- **Theme 3**   Implementation of cooperative governance
- **Theme 4**   Differences in ideology amongst SRC members

The themes above demonstrate that SRCs face challenges in terms of dealing with the student societies, involvement and participation in the governance of public institutions, implementation of co-operative governance and the impact of ideological differences amongst SRC members. Student societies in most HEIs are under the leadership of the SRC and their budget is to a greater extent determined by the SRC. Therefore their effect is to a larger extent reliant on the efficacy of the SRC. If SRC members are swamped with ideological differences there will be little time for them to attend to the needs of the societies and the general student body. The above situation becomes worse when cooperative governance is wanting in a public higher education institution. Compliance with legislative imperatives is necessary in public HEIs in order for cooperative governance to be realized. This will ensure that all the stakeholders will play a critical role in deciding on the affairs of an institution, especially the needs of the students without whom the institution cannot exist.

6.3.1.2 The practice of participative democracy in the governance of public higher education institutions

The following was the research question:

- How is participative democracy practiced in the governance of public higher education institutions?

The interview question to answer this question is:

➢ Is there participative democracy in the governance of your institution?

Responses:

Interviewee 1: "I think there is participative democracy in our institution because in most of the core structures the SRC is represented and each and every structure that is needed is represented, so yes there is participative democracy. "

Interviewee 2: "Participative democracy is practiced by virtue of having elections every year where two student political organizations contest fairly every year…Yes there is participative democracy in my institution, democracy is being practiced in my institution."

Interviewee 3: "That is just a myth because even in the current SRC elections we don't have all student formations participating in great numbers. For example, in other institutions you find all student bodies and organizations all of them participating indiscriminately in the SRC elections...When it comes to very important decisions, students will always be out-numbered their voice will not carry much weight in those consultative meetings."

Interviewee 4: "One will mention an incident that happened this year where the SRC constitution was reviewed without the knowledge of the SRC, particularly the student parliament because the student parliament is by far the second highest decision making body that makes decision on whether the constitution should be reviewed or not. But the institution went as far as to review the constitution without the knowledge of the student

parliament; and that in its own limits the participation of the student leaders and also limits democracy we refer to in institutions of higher learning."

Interviewee 5: "Participative democracy is theoretically like it sounds in principle, is a lot of what the university make emphasis on, but as per practice wise there are structures where the SRC presidents seat in like institutional forum, student service council, senate and council. But there is a lot of other structures that ensure a day to day running of the university whereby the SRC is not involved. The argument I once got from the vice chancellor of the institution was that there are structures that are not representative. I think the principle of the university is to ensure that we are not constituency based like council where I come from certain constituencies are represented. I think participative democracy is a very broad term and our institution has its own understanding. I think by this structure to the it is participative, but I don't think there is enough regulations to see how much effect it has on the actual running of the university; it is more window dressing it is not running deep , it is just a principle in theory, but no more no less."

Interviewee 6: "There is participative democracy as all structures participate in the SRC election, it is not only limited to the political structures. There is also great level of experience in the SRC portfolios as students mostly contest portfolios according to their previous involvement and experience with other structures. The management consultation is less on student issues and mostly some issues are those that the student leadership know how they can be solved as they are directly involved with the student. The management does not really understand the role of the SRC as some student structures do not report to the SRC but to management and it makes it difficult for the SRC to help those structures in their functions."

Interviewee 7: "Our University has the highest quorum in the country when it comes to voting. We have over 7 900 students and our quorum is formed by 1 400 which is a huge number; this is the level of participation we get from students. We have huge student structures that also participate in the student parliament which is responsible for the amendment of the SRC constitution. This participation is to a greater extent as it includes all student structures and the residence representatives. The SRC is invited to attend management committee meetings, institutional forum, residence committee and all other

management structures; so we make sure we find ourselves there so that when decisions are taken, we form part of those decisions. "

Interviewee 8: "The SRC seats in particular committees and documents are submitted and there is a process followed in terms of giving people enough time for them to go through particular documents or pass motions through the university on issues that might have great implication on students. We are given adequate time to express our disagreement on particular documents. Most of the time we discuss the documents and rational discussions happen and if you raise particular views which are good then they will be taken into account."

Interviewee 9: "Participative democracy is not exercised in the governance of our institution. The SRC is not groomed or developed to become tomorrow's manager because there is too much of a gap between management and the SRC; because management still regard us as students and also not much knowledgeable in a sense of age and experience. Management always make reference to the SRC not having the experience to manage as they are just mere kids. There is too much of a gap between the management of our institution and the SRC".

The interview results were congregated collectively as follows:

Clustering responses:

Themes which emanated from the interviewees' responses:

- **Theme 1**   The significance of adherence to democratic processes at universities
- **Theme 2**   Challenges of SRCs in their participation in university governance
- **Theme 3**   The effect of the SRC in student governance
- **Theme 4**   The importance of student parliament and constitutional imperatives

One of the tenets of co-operative governance, as a model, is to ensure that there is adherence to democratic processes by public higher education institutions. The effect of the SRC is embedded in its members being given space, proper guidance and training to participate in the governance activities of their institution and also by being allowed to make their voice heard. The participation of SRCs in public HEIs is a legislative imperative, provided in the HE Act 1997 section 35. Therefore, their participation is not reliant on the whom of the executive management who is also given powers by the same Act. The

constitutional imperatives of the SRC are key to ensuring that there is less friction between SRCs and the management of HEIs. The Student Parliament, one of the vital structures in student governance, is an important platform where all the structures in an institution assemble to reach consensus about critical matters such as the SRC constitution.

6.3.1.3 Governance challenges experienced by public higher education institutions

The following was the research question:

- What are the governance challenges experienced by public higher education institutions?

The interview question to answer this question is:

➢ Does the SRC experience any governance challenges in your institution?

Responses:

Interviewee 1: "There are challenges in terms of operations of the academic structures and the budget which is limited. There is a challenge of budget to perform our duties in terms of recreational programmes which are not academically related."

Interviewee 2: "The SRC as a student governance structure has been restricted from exercising its duties as per the constitution; we work under limited budget, we do not even control our own budget. So in terms of governance most programmes we want to implement require budget in order to make the student life vibrant. It is a challenge to us as we work under limited budget like I said."

Interviewee 3: "There are some irregularities since the student leadership is not given ample opportunity to run all student activities in areas of the university and since again the student leadership is not a legal persona ...We don't have the central SRC and that in a way work

against student interest in both campuses, because nobody addresses student matters holistically, so I feel that is one challenge of governance at the institution. "

Interviewee 4: "As a sociology student I always refer to the glass ceiling that is created by the management between the management and student. There is a glass ceiling that is a barrier and it prohibits students to go directly and engage with management"

Interviewee 5: "Yes there are times I feel like I am not on par with things as my status in the structure; there are things that I am neither aware nor even certain where to ask them. Like transformational issues, I still cannot give a definite value, because it seem they are closed out on structures I should be part of, hence I am saying I am not in par. The first one is the type of development needed for the student leaders as I feel is governance in a way, because I don't think it is sound. I think we are still trying to figure out what developments we want to see with regards to the governance model. There is a lot of experimenting, but no definite way of saying this is the route we are taking. Institutionally our campus will be marginalized and therefore one aspect of efficient governance is chopped off from the picture and equation. The other campus gets priority over certain issue of governance. There is no rotation of presidency, sabbatical and finance to other campus equally in the institutional SRC. The main campus … has many offices that work in enhancing student governance even from our side we have to consult on some issues which become problematic. The other campus always takes institutional presidency and there is no constitutional proof as to why that is happening. If there is no sound SRC you will find one c SRC campus doing its own thing and the other campus SRC doing their own; you find that there is no coherence, we need to crash that gap going forward."

Interviewee 6: "There is no shared governance of SRC by different political structures, as some feel they can't work together with others from different structures in office. There is personality and ideological difference in the SRC offices. There is a challenge of finding a balance between student leadership and carrying out academic obligation. There is also the issue of multi campus SRC which is problematic, as in our institution the president of the main campus automatically becomes the institutional SRC president even though it is not on the constitution. The main campus gets preference on sponsorships and publications than our campus and the views of the main campus are regarded as representing institutional

views. There is also a debate on independent versus organisational candidates in the SRC. I think that on the question of independent versus candidates from the organisation; the organisation come with masses and has identified student need, but independent candidates go there by their own. Independent candidates have less knowledge of what student want and they go there by themselves whereas organisation represents a collective views. Independent candidate use their discretion while organisations give mandate."

Interviewee7: "Most SRC members are not experienced when it comes to research and analysing. This makes management always think they are more knowledgeable than students and they do not take us seriously, so this limits the functioning of the SRC. "

Interviewee 8: "There is centralization of power and also mangers are very good in coming with crazy ideas and good strategies but implementation becomes an issue. Their main focus is simply to get paid. Management only care about their work they don't care about how some of their decisions affect the students. Management people protect each other, they don't want to hold each other accountable for their faults or maybe for lack of responsibility among the office bearers, every day we fight the system".

Interviewee 9: "Student leaders are at times victims of threats, indirect hatred and receive improper treatment from the management, and that limits their governance role as SRCs despite inheriting the authority from section 35 of the Higher Education Act, 1997 (Act No. 101 of 1997). Management reluctance in addressing the student's grievances is also one of the challenges which at most cases it matures in strikes within the University. SRCs are still perceived as disrespecting individuals who are corrupt and not able to lead".

The interview results were congregated collectively as follows:

Clustering responses:

Themes which emanated from the interviewees' responses:

- **Theme 1**   Determination of SRC budget at universities

- **Theme 2**   The multi-campus phenomenon and the need for effective
                     Institutional/central SRCs
- **Theme 3**   The impact of ideological differences amongst SRC members
- **Theme 4**   The capacity building of SRC members at higher education institutions

According to the above themes, it is clear that the determination of the SRC budget in public higher education institutions is a cause for concern for students. This results in the SRC not carrying out its duties as expected by the student body. The above situation is exacerbated by the multi campus nature of the public higher education sector, where the Institutional SRC/Central SRC, mainly found at the main campus gets a bigger slice of the overall institutional SRC budget. The higher education sector mirrors what takes place in the broader society and as a result, political ideological differences, are further transferred to the campuses and impact negatively on the SRC members. The other key issue is the capacity building of SRC members in order for them to be able to execute their duties effectively and judiciously.

6.3.1.4 Suggestions to address these governance challenges

The following was the research question:

- How can the governance challenges be addressed?

The interview question to answer this question is:

➢ What do you think must be done to resolve the challenges experienced by the SRC?

Responses:

Interviewee 1: "I think if the structures could be given their own sufficient budgets so that they can run their own programmes. There should be transparent information sharing between the SDOs (student development officers), Student Manager and the SRC so

that we don't have decisions imposed on the structures; rather we should have a collective decision taken on some of the issues."

Interviewee 2: "Management should honour the constitutional imperatives of the SRC in terms of allowing the SRC to determine its own budget. Improved communication should take place between the SRC and the student service."

Interviewee 3: "The University should reflect by looking itself in the mirror and see what other universities are doing, because I feel that the university itself has not benchmarked enough to see better margins of governance to improve the current margins that the university is working with. Central SRC president should be based in a campus where the largest percentage of votes went to, for example if the president of a particular campus got more votes more than other campuses"

Interviewee 4: "Our University has adopted a model of a political and non-political SRC and that is good because previously we had only political SRC that served the interest of the few, but with this new model we assume the SRC will serve the interest of the entire student population. Even if it is not the entire student population, but at least 80% of students will be satisfied, hence we as the students have adopted the model itself. The setup of the central SRC is key in making sure that problematic issues within the entire institution in all campuses are addressed; because the central SRC becomes the centre heart of the different SRCs in campuses."

Interviewee 5: "We need to let go of our different campuses mentality because as it stands one institution approach is used when giving excuse as to why there has been a particular development. Once we deal with this mentality then we can get things right, it is not only on student level but also at management level where the other campus get preferential treatment. The entire campus structures are marginalized from students to management. This issue needs to be addressed to leverage some of the powers, decision making power, but which will not make us run on our own as if we are an island. Our campus does some things that can benefit, in conjunction with Bloemfontein the relationship will be harmonized if the central SRC presidency will rotate in both campuses. It can also start on management

level where we have key offices on our campus. If the registrar is in another campus, the deputy registrar should be in our campus.

We want every student to take part in their governance, so it should not just be voting, governance does not start with voting, but taking day to day challenges they face whether being in lecture halls, in residence and wherever they exist as students. We want student governance of student by students not selected few people who just come by the majority of the organization they come from, but having demonstrated the ability as ordinary students to handle challenges."

Interviewee 6: "There must first of all be understanding of diversity amongst the student structures in terms of political and ideological differences. There is a need for the induction of the SRC after the elections. The SRC should be introduced properly to all staff to avoid conflicts and not knowing each other's roles in the institution. The SRC has a better understanding of the issues affecting students than any other structure; as a result, the SRC should always be consulted." For instance our term of office was effective as there were no clashes and bad publicity. What made the success to happen with our SRC is that there was understanding of our role as the SRC and proper communication with other structures contributed to the success. In dealing with the issue of multi-campus there must be clear constitutional guidelines to determine who serves in the central office and a criterion to elect the institutional SRC president. The views of the satellite campuses must be taken into consideration when institutional issues are being dealt with. There must be equal distribution of resources irrespective of whether is the main campus or not".

Interviewee 7: "As the SRC we seeking expect advice on issues affecting student and also trying to make sure students get information with everything happening at the university. When students are informed there is high level of participation. Every time when we approach issues we debate, engage and persuasion is the way to go, because when what we say is logical we are listened to by management."

Interviewee 8: "People must start holding each other accountable for their actions, for example people in our institution employees are so relaxed and chilled because the system is easily manipulated in favour of other people and they know that no one will hold them accountable for their actions. There is favouritism in terms of appointments of members of staff and the practice of protecting your own and those that defy the system or the member

of the factions are been dealt with by those in majority, that's how the system is been manipulated. People cover and protect each other and wont assist in production and leading the institution to its greater heights. SRC and Management must start been on the same page because management have a tendency to undermine students and always regard themselves as been untouchable, they would address you and tell you that they are here to work and that you can't tell them how to do their work, you are just a mere student. There must be an open relation for engagement and advice between management and the SRC so that we can avoid such issues as strikes and court cases".

Interviewee 9: "The chasms which are created between the management and the SRCs should be paved on through proper acknowledgement of the SRCs by the management. The University's policies should be oriented to student empowerment. The SRC should not be used as a token for legislative compliance, but should be given authority to deal with the student issues in order for co-operative governance to be realised in public higher education institutions. If given space the SRC can deal with most challenges which result in students embarking on strikes".

The interview results were congregated collectively as follows:

Clustering responses:

Themes which emanated from the interviewees' responses:

- **Theme 1**   The need for SRCs to determine their own budget
- **Theme 2**   Creating environment for transparency and engagement
- **Theme 3**   Proper induction and empowerment of SRC members
- **Theme 4**   Encourage benchmarking of best student governance practices
                          amongst SRCs at different HEIs
- **Theme 5**   Promotion of institutional coherence amongst the universities
                          campuses
- **Theme 6**   The need to review SRC election candidacy (Independent versus
                          politically deployed candidates)

The above themes were attempts to provide solutions to the challenges faced by SRCs. They illustrate that the issues of the SRC budget, empowerment of SRCs and the challenges of the multi-campus nature of HEIs are predominant in the present study. These themes were also raised in section 6.3.1.3 above. In co-operative governance, transparency and

debate are the hallmark of democracy. These values are better realised when all stakeholders in an organisation are aware and contribute to decision making processes. SRC members think that there should be more training programmes to ensure that there is proper induction of new members and that their leadership skills and knowledge are enhanced. It is only through the empowerment of SRC members that they could be able to be effective as partners in co-operative governors in public HEIs in South Africa. The multi-campus set up has challenges in terms of all the students of an institution having a sense of belonging and benefiting equitably from their institutions. The satellite campuses of the multi-campus institutions, feel left out in their institutions and that their contribution is not recognised by the main campus mostly because the executive management of an institution and the central or institutional SRCs are based there. There is a need to forge some commonalities through benchmarking in order to learn and implement good governance practices in public higher education institutions. The issue of how SRC candidates are to be determined is also a concern and needs to be addressed, especially whether SRC members should stand as independent candidates or be mandated by their student political structures. Recently, in some public HEIs, the principle of SRC members standing as independent is preferred compared to them being mandated by their political structures. The view, of independent candidates, is favoured as it is fair and just given that not all students belong to political structures.

6. 4 ANALYSIS OF INTERVIEW DATA

Nieuwenhuis (2007:87) writes that that an interview is "a two-way conversation in which the interviewer asks the participant questions to collect data and to learn about the ideas, beliefs, views, opinions and behaviours of the participant". Leedy and Ormrod (2010: 188) argue that face-to-face interviews have the distinct advantage of enabling the researcher to establish the same kind of rapport with potential participants and therefore gain their cooperation. Macmillan and Schumacher (2014:221) write that interviews involve interaction between individuals and it is a flexible and adaptable technique. The procedure for analysing interview data for this study followed the steps of data analysis as outlined by Leedy and Ormrod (2013:147). Themes are generated from the responses of the participants into categories and subcategories.

6. 4.1 Qualitative data analysis

In this section, the researcher aimed at analysing, interpreting and reporting the data that were collected qualitatively by using interviews. All the interviews were conducted by the researcher and were tape-recorded with the permission of the interviewees.

6.4.2 Summary breakdown of qualitative responses

The responses of the participants on the unstructured interview questions had some similarities with those of the gradient four Likert scale on the questionnaire. The following illustrate summarised opinions of the responses by the participants:

- Opinions about the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of the SRC in their institutions (N= 9)

The majority of the respondents (60% out of 100%) indicated that their perceptions of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of the SRC in public higher education institutions is very minimal while the minority (40% out of 100%) think their role is effective.

- Opinions on how participative democracy is practiced in the governance of their institutions (N=9)

The majority of the respondents (80% out of 100%) indicated that their perceptions regarding the practice of participatory democracy in public HEIs does not occur in the governance of their institutions. On the other hand the minority (20% out of 100%) think that indeed participative democracy is being practiced in their institution.

- Opinions on the governance challenges they experience in their institutions (N=9)

All the respondents (100% out of 100%) indicated that they experience serious challenges in the governance of their institutions, and that these challenges emanate from how managements of the institutions operated. They indicated that their voice is seldom listened to regarding the needs of the students.

- Opinions on what should be done to address the challenges (N=9)

All the respondents provided suggestions (cf.6.3.1.4) on how the challenges they experienced in their institutions could be addressed. Half of the respondents (50% out of 100%) indicated that to address the challenges they face in their institutions; university management must adhere to the SRC constitution. The SRC should determine its own budget and the spirit of transparency and engagement between the SRC and Management must prevail. A portion of the respondents (40% out of 100%) indicated that there should be proper induction of SRC members and their institutions should benchmark with other public higher education institutions for best practices in co-operative governance. The remainder of the respondents (10% out of 100%) indicated that there should be coherence within the institutions especially in multi-campus set-ups.

6. 5 CONCLUSION

Chapter Six discussed both the qualitative and quantitative data analysis results and presented the findings. The results of the qualitative analysis were presented narratively and themes were used to analyse the responses of the participants in the interviews. To present and analyse the quantitative data, statistical techniques, both descriptive and inferential, were used and figures and tables assisted to determine whether the data supported or failed to support the stated hypotheses. The following three major themes emerged from the literature review and empirical survey:

- SRC participation
- Democratization
- Understanding of university

The researcher has learnt that in order for co-operative governance to be realised in public HEIs, the above themes are of cardinal importance. The understanding of the university sector through legislations and related information is central in engaging in co-operative governance as a new model of governing public HEIs. Democracy is indispensable in actualising the imperatives of co-operative governance in public HEIs. Effective SRC participation in university governance is depended on access to information and proper empowerment interventions of SRCs based on effective approaches.

The results of the above were discussed and statistically analysed. The structure of the themes based on a synthesis of the responses by the participants explained the SRCs involvement and participation in the co-operative governance of public higher education

institutions in South Africa. This chapter also highlighted the data that were presented by means of frequency distributions and both chi-square and ANOVA (cf.5.4.2.1 and 5.4.2.2) were used as means to measure and test quantitative data. The Cronbach's Alpha test was also conducted. The above techniques assisted in ensuring the validity and reliability of the findings and further assisted in terms of comparative perspectives. Therefore the study can be used to understand the role and effect of SRCs in public higher education institutions based on the SRCs' experiences and their suggested solutions to governance challenges.

Chapter Seven focuses on the discussions, conclusions and recommendations of the study. The interpretation of the results directs the picture which could be used as suggested solutions to the research problems. Furthermore, theoretical viewpoints on the involvement and participation of student representative councils in the co-operative governance of public higher education institutions were linked to empirical perspectives, implications and suggestions for future research on the topic.

CHAPTER SEVEN

SUMMARY OF FINDINGS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

7.1 INTRODUCTION

The essence of any completed research project should be to assess whether the set research questions, hypotheses, aim and objectives of the study have been addressed. It is imperative to remind the reader what the study was about and what its essence is. The study examined the involvement and participation of the SRCs in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. Its essence was to assess whether the role of SRCs in the governance of universities was effective in accordance with the HE Act 1997 as amended. The thrust of this study therefore was to assess the practical experiences of SRCs at universities regarding the implementation of co-operative governance.

Co-operative governance, espoused by the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended, is the new governance model for public higher education institutions. The essence of this governance model is that all key governance structures in public higher education institutions in South Africa, namely, the Institutional Forum (IF), Senate, Student Representative Councils (SRCs), Council and all other important structures, ought to work together to realise the vision and mission of the institutions they govern. However, there is a gap between legislation and its implementation. Following the provision of the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended, co-operative governance should be implemented in all public higher education institutions. There are challenges, however, with regard to the effect of the involvement and participation of SRCs in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa.

Chapter six analysed data and made findings of the study. This chapter discusses and interprets the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. The chapter further presents an overview of the study, provides the research findings, outlines the problems experienced during the research process and makes recommendations and suggests further research about this study.

7.2 OVERVIEW OF THE STUDY

The governance of public higher education institutions is a very topical issue and SRCs on different campuses in South Africa ask questions regarding their role, effect and efficiency in the co-operative governance of public universities. Questions are asked in every space where SRCs are involved and participate in the governance of public higher education institutions, as provided by the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended. Honest and objective answers to the questions about the role and effect of the SRCs need to be provided by all stakeholders. A clear understanding of the role of SRCs amongst the stakeholders will certainly assist in placing SRCs in South Africa in the epicentre of governance at public universities.

The study explored the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa. The purpose was to evaluate the role and the effect of SRCs in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa. The following section provides an interpretation of the coherence of the study by reflecting on the research questions and the hypotheses that necessitated and preceded the study.

7.3 THE RESEARCH QUESTIONS AND THE HYPOTHESES OF THE STUDY

This study attempted to investigate the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa. In order to accomplish the aim and the objectives of the study research questions stated in chapter one were asked (cf.1.3.2)

7.4 AIM AND OBJECTIVES OF THE STUDY

The aim of the study was to investigate the effect of the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa. In order to achieve this aim, the objectives to achieve the aim of the study were outlined in chapter one (cf.1.4).

The following section provides a summary on the findings of the study.

7.5 SUMMARY ON THE FINDINGS OF THE STUDY

The findings of the study from the literature review, questionnaire survey and interviews are provided below.

7.5.1 Findings from the literature survey

The literature review in chapter 2 explored the transformation of governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa by looking at the legislative framework. Amongst the important policy documents discussed were the following: the National Commission on Higher Education (NCHE) report of 1996 (cf.2.4.1), the Education White Paper 3 of 1997 (cf.2.5), the Higher Education Act, Act 101 of 1997 (cf.2.6), the National Plan for Higher Education (NPHE) (2001) (cf.2.4.2) and the Guidelines for Mergers and Incorporations of 2003 which determined the shape and size of HEIs (cf. 2.7). This chapter revealed that the transformation of the public higher education sector in its broadest sense would involve increased and broadened participation of stakeholders especially SRCs. There is a need for the stakeholders to be committed to the values of co-operative governance which are accountability, efficiency, responsiveness to societal interests and needs, and cooperation in partnerships and governance (cf. 3.8). These principles are vital in moving towards realising the intricate concept of transformation, thereby ensuring co-operative governance is practiced.

The findings from chapter 2 are that there have been challenges with co-operative governance from the start in public HEIs and these were aggravated by latest developments in terms of regulatory framework and legislative amendments in HE. These pose serious challenges on the validity of co-operative governance both at institutional and national level. There needs to be a debate by the different stakeholders in the education sector about this concept to ensure that its ideals and the recommendations by NCHE are realised.

The literature review in chapter 3 investigated the historical and contemporary perspectives on the governance of public HEIs in South Africa. The theoretical perspectives on the

management and governance models in public HEIs were discussed. It looked at different governance models including the bureaucratic, political, state control, state supervision, and collegial types (cf.3.3.2 to 3.3.6). Different steering models for public HE were also discussed (cf.3.4).

This chapter uncovered that the origins of co-operative governance can be traced from the concept of *bundestreue,* which is a German concept (cf. 3.6). South Africa borrowed the concept during its multi-party democratic negotiations to design its concept of co-operative governance. The German constitutional principles of a federal state were essential in determining the type of government system (unitary state) that a democratic South Africa ultimately adopted (cf. 3.10). Furthermore, the chapter attempted to situate the role of SRCs in co-operative governance and explored how the SRCs fit in terms of its role as an important stakeholder in the governance of public HEIs in South Africa.

The literature review in chapter 4 highlighted the involvement and participation of SRCs in the governance of public higher education institutions in South Africa. The aim of the chapter was to establish the role and effect of SRCs' involvement and participation in co-operative governance in the South African public HEIs as provided by the enactment of the HE Act 101 of 1997 (cf.1.2). Student political organisations, that is, the origins of SRCs and the suggested democratic theory to be considered by the SRC were also examined. This chapter disclosed the challenges emanating from the role of ideology within student political organisations in student governance and how ideology negatively impacts the running of SRCs (cf.4.4). Premised on the democratic conception of stakeholder participation, key governance structures in public HEIs give SRCs an institutional voice and make them co-responsible for the decisions affecting their constituency and also for transforming public HEIs.

7.5.2   Findings from the empirical study

The following section provides the findings based on a review, evaluation and synthesis of the data collected both quantitatively and qualitatively. Detailed discussions and findings relating to these two approaches are dealt with in the section below.

7.5.2.1 Descriptive statistics findings

In this study three factors were identified and statistically analysed (cf. 6.2.1.2).

The following tables illustrate the descriptive statistical findings of the study which were further confirmed by empirically study.

Table 7.1 SRC Participation

SRC participation as one of the factors in this study was analysed in chapter six (6.2.1.1). The following table represented the average of the means:

COMPONENT	AVERAGE OF THE MEANS
SRC Participation	2.4

Findings on the perceptions of the respondents regarding SRC participation in co-operative governance in public HEIs is that it is not effective. There are challenges pertaining to effective participation of the SRCs in university governance. Lack of SRC participation in key governance structures might impact on the SRC to operate effectively in co-operative governance.

Table 7.2   Democratisation

Democratisation as one of the key factors in this study was analysed in chapter six (6.2.1.2). The following table represented the average of the means:

COMPONENT	AVERAGE OF THE MEANS
Democratisation	2.4

The findings on the perceptions of the SRCs in terms of democratisation in university governance processes is that there is no participatory democracy in public HEIs. This implies that there are not enough platforms for the SRC's voice to be heard by management and different stakeholders in the universities. Therefore, this means that there is no adherence to the legislative imperatives of HE by the public HEIs in South Africa.

Table 7.3   Understanding of University Governance

Understanding of university governance as one of the key factors in this study was analysed in chapter six (6.2.1.1). The following table represented the average of the means:

COMPONENT	AVERAGE OF THE MEANS
Understanding of university governance	2.4

The findings on the perceptions of the SRC pertaining to their understanding of university governance are that it is comprehensive. This is imperative as it ensures that the SRCs participate meaningfully in co-operative governance in public HEIs.

7.5.2.2 Inferential statistics findings

➢   **Chi-square results**

The null hypotheses of the study were analysed in (cf.6.2.2.1).

The following were the conclusions of these hypotheses:

- There is no statistically significant correlation between SRCs' involvement in university governance and their perceptions of the implementation of co-operative governance in public higher education institutions in South Africa.

According to the results of the above hypothesis it can be concluded that the Null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant correlation between SRC members' involvement in university governance and their perceptions in the implementation of co-operative governance in public HEIs in South Africa is rejected (c.6.2.2.1)

Therefore it can be concluded that the SRC's involvement in university governance plays a major role in how they perceive the implementation of co-operative governance in their institutions.

- There is no statistically significant correlation between SRCs' participation in university governance and their perceptions of the implementation of co-operative governance at the South African higher education institutions

According to the results of the above hypothesis it can be concluded that the Null hypothesis that there is no statistically significant correlation between SRC members' participation in the governance of universities and their perceptions in the implementation of co-operative governance at public HEIs in South Africa is rejected (6.2.2.1).

Therefore it can be concluded that the SRC's participation in university governance plays a major role in how they perceive the implementation of co-operative governance in their institutions.

➢ **The ANOVA results:**

The ANOVA analysis was discussed in chapter six (cf.6.2.2.2). The following are the results of the hypotheses:

- There are no statistically significant differences amongst perceptions by SRCs at different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC participation in public HEIs in South Africa.

Table 7.4   SRC Participation

• **UoTs compared with CUs**	Hypothesis is rejected
TUs	Hypothesis is accepted
• **CUs compared with UoTs**	Hypothesis is accepted
TUs	Hypothesis is rejected
• **TUs compared with UoTs**	Hypothesis is accepted
CUs	Hypothesis is rejected

Table 7.4 above shows differences in perceptions regarding the SRC participation in co-operative governance. This implies that the type of university where the SRCs are enrolled has an impact in terms of their participation.

- There are no statistically significant differences amongst perceptions by SRCs at the different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to democratisation in public HEIs in South Africa.

Table 7.5   Democratisation

• **UoTs compared with CUs**	Hypothesis is rejected
TUs	Hypothesis is accepted
• **CUs compared with UoTs**	Hypothesis is rejected
TUs	Hypothesis is rejected
• **TUs compared with UoTs**	Hypothesis is accepted
CUs	Hypothesis is rejected

Table 7.5 above shows differences in perceptions regarding the SRC participation co-operative governance. This implies that the type of university where the SRCs are enrolled has an impact in terms of their participation.

- There are no statistically significant differences amongst perceptions by SRCs at the different types of universities with regard to their perceptions pertaining to SRC understanding of institutional governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

Table 7.6   Understanding of University Governance

• **UoTs compared with CUs**	Hypothesis is accepted
TUs	Hypothesis is accepted
• **CUs compared with UoTs**	Hypothesis is accepted
TUs	Hypothesis is accepted
• **TUs compared with UoTs**	Hypothesis is accepted
CUs	Hypothesis is accepted

Table 7.6 above shows that there are no differences in perceptions regarding the SRCs' understanding of university governance in co-operative governance. This implies that the type of university where the SRCs are enrolled has no impact in terms of their understanding of university governance.

The following recommendations are made based on the responses by members of the SRCs:

7.6   RECOMMENDATIONS

The main objective of this study was to outline the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of the student representative council in public higher education institutions in South Africa. Recommendations for this study have been derived mainly from the literature and the empirical study comprising both qualitative and quantitative findings. The responses of SRC members based on the experiences of their involvement and participation in co-operative governance of their institutions were important in formulating the recommendations.

The South African public higher education landscape has a multi-campus nature. This followed from the mergers and incorporations of diverse higher education institutions. The mergers of public HEIs occurred to create one unified higher education and to address the shape and size of the higher education sector. Following from the above process, different modes of institutions emerged, namely, UoTs, CUs and TUs with the objective of redressing the dire socio-economic conditions of South Africa from its divided past (cf. 2.7.2). The mergers and incorporations of universities meant that universities had more and diverse campuses. Before the mergers and incorporations of public higher education institutions in South Africa, in 2004, Vista University (now incorporated into different regional universities) had seven campuses. The student governance model of Vista University operated along the mode of the model proposed in this study.

This study proposes a model of student governance that will address the challenges of SRC participation, democratisation and the understanding of university governance. The researcher proposes a student governance model that will be anchored by a central or institutional SRC where all the campuses will be represented and the seat of the central office will rotate yearly among all campuses of a given institution. This model will instil a sense of belonging to all members of the student body irrespective of the location of their campus. The main campus syndrome which strips off a sense of belonging among students in satellite campuses might be alleviated. This might mean more resources in all campuses to ensure that the central or institutional SRC is well equipped. The allocation of SRC resources and budget according to this model will be proportionate to ensure a fair and just distribution.

The multi-campus structure of public HEIs needs a hybrid model that has a central SRC and campus based or local SRCs on different campuses to ensure that the student bodies are

represented on their delivery sites. The hybrid model will ensure that participatory democracy is realised at different campuses. However, this has numerous challenges which at the time of conducting this study were difficult to overcome. There is a challenge of resources allocation especially at the so called satellite campuses, which results in smaller campuses being discriminated against (cf.6.3.1).

It is clear that the public HEIs that participated in the study have multi-campuses. Therefore for the student body to be well represented in all the campuses and also to realise the ideals of co-operative governance, and be able to deal with issues pertaining to SRC participation, democratisation and the understanding of university governance; a multi-campus student governance model will be ideal. In keeping with the above empirical study and the recommendations by the interviewed SRC members, the researcher recommends a student governance model that will serve all the campuses equitably in a fair, just and wholly representative of the student body on campuses. The proposed model is referred to as a multi-campus student governance model, discussed in detail below.

### 7.6.1   Multi-campus student governance model

The current situation regarding central SRCs in most multi campus institutions is that at face value, SRC members from different campuses appear to be represented in the central structure (cf.6.3.1.3). The interviews confirmed, however, that this is not the case. Also representation in universities governance structures such as IF, Senate and Council mostly comprises, in most HEIs, the SRC president. SRC presidents and in some instances, one other SRC member, are mostly based on main campuses. It was also suggested that the SRCs must determine their own budgets (cf.6.3.1.4).

For this model to work, the interviewed participants suggested a rotational system whereby the central office would rotate amongst campuses.

Tabane has designed different models of the SRC and how each operates. The hybrid model of Tabane (2003: 25) provides some ideas on how the multi-campus student governance model can work. The researcher has adapted it for the purposes of this study.

Below is an Organogram for Tabane's et al (2003: 25) SRC Hybrid Model

Figure 7.1   The SRC Hybrid Model Organogram
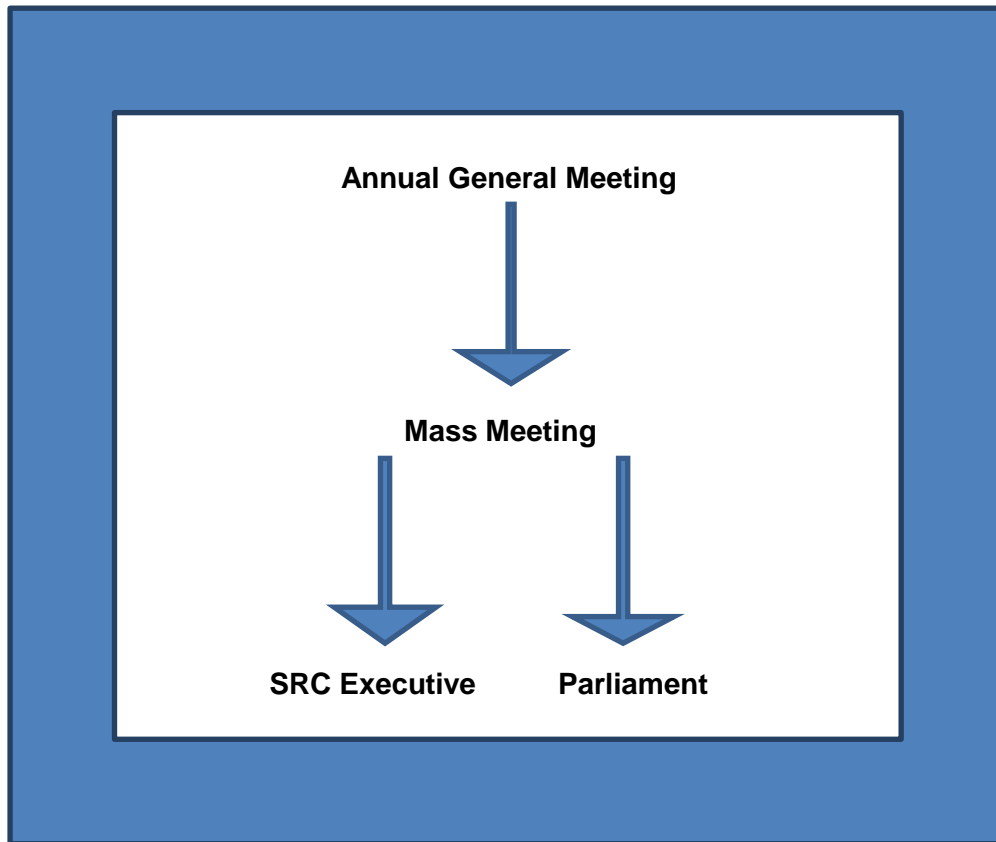
(Adapted from Tabane, et al (2003: 25)

Figure 7.1 shows the Organogram for the SRC Hybrid Model which comprises the annual general meeting (AGM), mass meeting, while the SRC executive and the student parliament are horizontal because they have the same status. Tabane *et al* (2003:25) notes that according this model, the SRC is elected directly in its entirety and has executive functions. The parliament is constituted by representatives of all student structures. The AGM is the highest decision-making body, the SRC's regular mass meetings is the second, and the SRC and Parliament are third alongside each other with clearly defined powers and duties. The hybrid model comes closer to the suggested multi- campus student governance model. However, it does not include SRCs on satellite campuses.

The following provides recommendations based on the involvement and participation of the SRCs in co-operative governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

- It is imperative for SRC members to benchmark on skills and knowledge at public higher education institutions to ensure that they are equipped with skills for best practices of student governance.

- The drafting of a constitution that will best describe the roles and functions of different portfolios.

It is evident in this study, that the legislative framework does not clearly indicate how the involvement and participation of SRCs in different types of HEIs should occur. The silence of legislative imperatives on the implementation and operations of the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended, suggests that the universities are the same and therefore it is a one size fits all system. Practically, this is a misleading notion as the material conditions of the HE sector are varied. Thus, this calls for a suitable materially customized model which could ensure efficient and effective involvement and participation by SRCs in co-operative governance. This results in haziness since public HEIs are differentiated in terms of structure given their multi-campus nature.

Given the above, the researcher proposes the following multi-campus student governance model, which will ensure that the provisions of co-operative governance, as encapsulated in the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended, are realised. The above model will be guided by a constitution with the following clauses:

The following should be the constitutional guidelines of the envisaged multi-campus student governance model:
- The preamble to the constitution should outline its intention which will be to unify all campuses and ensure that every member of the student body enjoys the same rights and privileges in a fair, just and equitable manner.
- To deal with the composition of portfolios.
- To deal with how voting should be done.
- To deal with the allocation of resources on campuses.
- To deal with the rotational basis of the Central SRC on campuses;
- To deal with how to resolve conflict.
- Effective student parliament to have former student leaders as advisory board members.
- The term of office to run for a full year, from January to December;
- The principles of the Electoral Act No 73 of 1998 of South Africa should be applied as the basis for SRC elections.
- Equity of representation by all campuses in the central SRC.
- Voter turnout during elections to be used to determine proportional representation.

The model is briefly outlined in Figure 7.2 below.

Figure 7.2   Co-operative Governance: Multi-Campus Universities Model
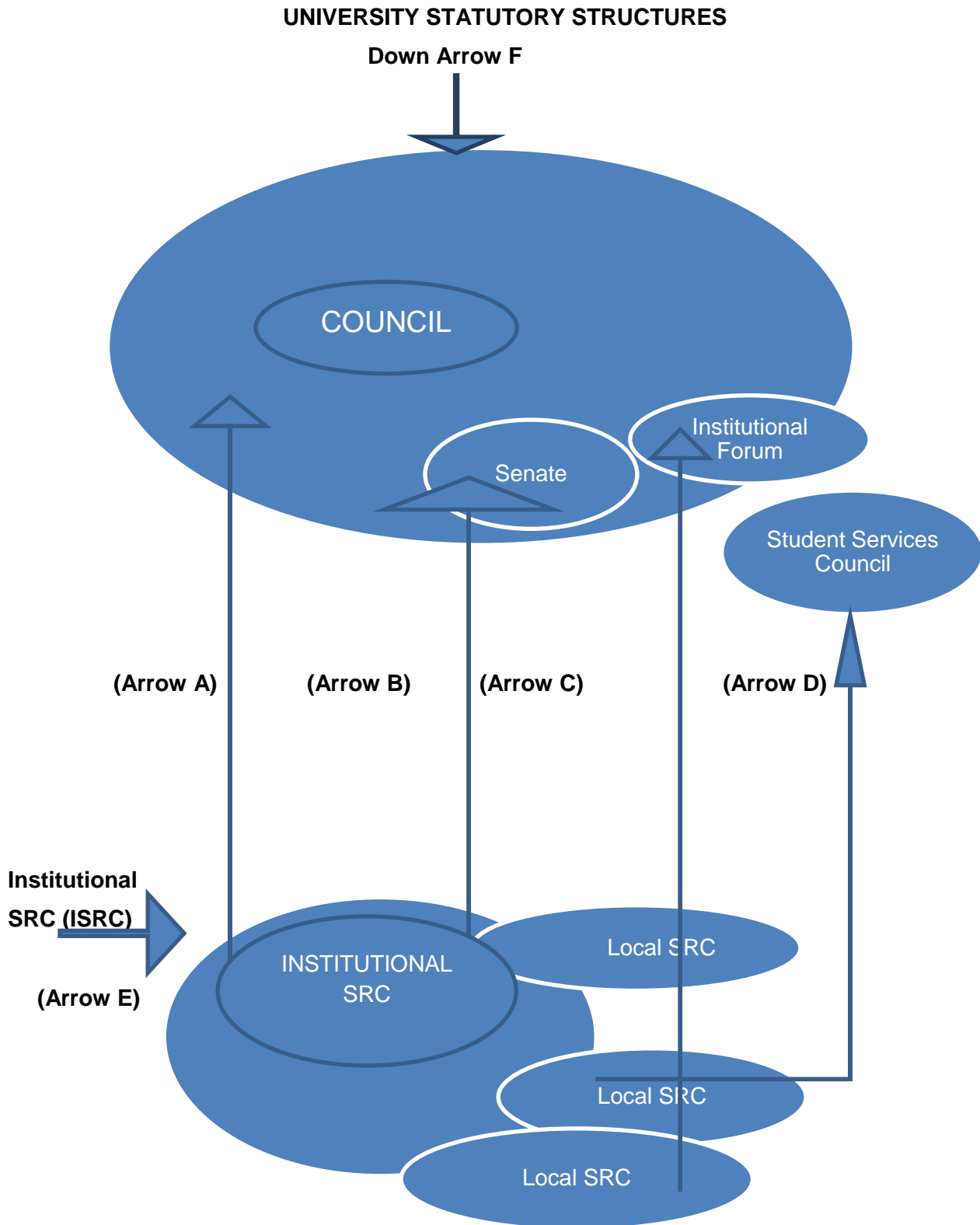
Figure 7.2 above illustrates the proposed model of co-operative governance to address student governance challenges experienced at multi-campus universities in South Africa. This structure includes key statutory university structures as outlined in the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended. They are Senate, Institutional Forum, SRC and most importantly Council. The Senate (up arrow B) institutional SRC is represented, IF (up arrow C) campus/local SRCs are represented and SRC (up arrow A) are represented in Council through the institutional SRC (down arrow F), which also has external representatives who bring various expertise into it. The external representatives include those seconded by the Ministry of the DHET. The functions of statutory structures, and how the SRC is represented, are provided in the HE Act 101 of 1997 as amended (cf.2.8). The statutes of universities also outline the functions of statutory structures within a given university and the agreement the university has with the DHET as a public entity steered by and that is accountable to the state through its council. The other important structure where the SRC is represented is the Student Services Council (bent-up arrow D above), which serves as an advisory board to the functions of the SRC and other student bodies such as clubs and societies.

The ISRC (right arrow E) is the key structure in the student governance of multi-campus universities. The model comprises the representatives from all campuses (local SRCs), who further elect the (central) Institutional SRC. Currently, in most public HEIs, (confirmed by interviews) campuses where the executive management of universities are based become the seat of the ISRC. According to the interviewees this situation results in satellite campuses being side-lined from institutional decision-making on student affairs and conflict amongst local SRCs and Managements of their local campuses (cf.6.3.1.3). This model can be applied at all public HEIs in South Africa with an equitable representation of local SRCs. This type of representation can ensure that students add their voice in the decisions affecting all of them.

This model of student governance will have a central or institutional SRC (CSRC/ISRC) comprising the SRC presidents and secretaries of all campuses. The structure will have 7 portfolios comprising the President, Deputy President, Treasurer, Campaign and Projects Officer, Education and Transformation portfolio, Secretary General and Legal and Constitutional Affairs. The composition of the portfolios will be determined by voting on proportional representation by representatives from different campuses. This is to ensure a fair, just and democratic process of representation, which will also be equitable. By virtue of leading their campuses, the Presidents of the campuses of an institution, will serve on the central SRC and the institutional SRC president will be appointed by consensus amongst

campus presidents. This will ensure that challenges of different campuses can be discussed in the ISRC through their presidents. If consensus cannot be reached, voting for the president will take place by the presidents of campuses to resolve the impasse. This model will attempt to alleviate the problem of dominance by the main campus SRC which results in satellite campus SRCs feeling being left out of student governance.

7.7 PROBLEMS EXPERIENCED DURING THE RESEARCH PROCESS

The following problems were experienced during the research process:

- Lack of a committee that deals with ethical clearance for student's research in the faculty from the researcher's institution resulted in some public HEIs not participating in the study.
- Almost half, which is 147, of the questionnaires distributed to SRC members were not returned to the researcher.
- Two Student Development Practitioners from two different public HEIs assigned by their institutions to assist with the distribution and collection of the questionnaires were not cooperative and did not return the completed questionnaires to the researcher. Attempts to find them during the study were futile.
- Trying to secure appointments with SRC members for the interviews was daunting.

7.8 SUGGESTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

The following are suggestions for future research related to the issues of this study, which is the involvement and participation of SRCs in the co-operative governance of public HEIs in South Africa:

- Dedicated research in co-operative governance on each type of public HEIs in South Africa.
- Best practices on how participative democracy can be practiced in public higher education institutions in South Africa.

- Capacitation and empowerment of student representative councils in public HEIs in South Africa.

- Development of effective and representative central SRCs in multi-campus universities.

- Investigation into the effective implementation of co-operative governance in public HEIs in South Africa.

- Research on the different youth organisations that emerged in the last decade such as DASO, SADESMO, Afriforum can nuance the role of different student formations in student governance.

- Lastly, research on the involvement and participation of SRCs in co-operative governance at private HEIs in South Africa. This will enable SRCs in both public and private HEIs to adopt best co-operative governance practices that are adopted in these institutions.

7.9   CONCLUSION

The study has emphasised the critical need for the public HEIs to create enabling environment for the SRCs to participate effectively in order to realise co-operative governance as espoused by the HE Act 1997 as amended.

Co-operative governance in public HEIs is not an option to be left to the behest of some universities management but a legislative imperative for all universities. Its implementation in public HEIs has, however, proved to be a daunting task. The central challenge to this concept is that its implementation is not well defined in the legislation but left to each public university, through its statutes, to tailor-make its operations in accordance with institutional material conditions. This has resulted in the application of co-operative governance as being obscure, resulting in conflict of interests amongst management of institutions and stakeholders who are supposed to work towards a common goal.

The SRCs of public higher education institutions need to reposition themselves in order to be a force to be reckoned with in being a key stakeholder in the governance of public higher education institutions in accordance with the principles of co-operative governance. Members of SRC are first of all students, therefore serving in the SRC means they need to represent all students. They need to rid themselves of ideological mandates and serve solely the needs of the student body in their respective institutions.

The chapter provided an overview of the research and the results of the analysed data were presented. Based on the results recommendations were made to ensure effective involvement and participation of students in co-operative governance.

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LETTER TO THE UNIVERSITIES REQUESTING PERMISSION TO CONDUCT RESEARCH

P.O. Box 1881

WELKOM

9460

16 May 2013

The Registrar

Name and address of the University

Dear Sir/Madam

RE: PERMISSION TO UNDERTAKE RESEARCH IN YOUR UNIVERSITY

I am a PhD student registered at the Central University of Technology, Free State. I am researching on the ***"the involvement and participation of student representative councils in co-operative governance in higher education institutions in South African"***

 Your university has been selected to be part of this research because it is one of the 23 institutions, which are the focus of the study. I will be grateful if you could be of assistance with the study by granting permission to administer the attached questionnaire to the members of the SRC in your university. The results of the study are expected to assist in ensuring that the Student Development Practitioners better situate the student affairs in the epicentre of their practice, thereby making SRCs effective.

Completion of the questionnaire should be a one-day exercise. Please encourage the respondents not to leave any questions unanswered. The name of your university and for the SRC members involved in the research will remain completely anonymous; respondents are not expected to write their names on the questionnaires.

The success of the research largely depends on the number of questionnaires completed and returned.

Your assistance in this regard will be greatly appreciated.

Yours sincerely

Mr C Moreku
Assistant Director: Student Recruitment

LETTER TO THE STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS MEMBERS

"THE INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE IN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS IN SOUTH AFRICAN"

P.O. Box 1881

WELKOM

9460

16 May 2013

Dear SRC Member

The Higher Education Act of 1997, as amended; prescribes that Student Representative Councils (SRCs) ought to play an integral part in the governance of higher education institutions; in the spirit of co-operative governance.

The aim of this research study is, therefore, to determine the extent to which the SRCs' participate and are involved in co-operative governance of higher education institutions in South Africa. Conversely put, the effectiveness of co-operative governance between the university management and the SRC's is at the heart of this study. The study is undertaken towards the attainment of PhD qualification.

It is against this background that the questionnaire below was designed to seek your views and opinions as an SRC member pertaining to your participation and involvement in co-operative governance. Without your contribution, as a primary source, the information regarding the role of the SRCs in higher education institutions is not credible.

May you kindly respond to all items of the questionnaire? Please bear in mind the following when completing this questionnaire:

- Do not write your name on the questionnaire
- Please answer all the questions.
- There are no correct or incorrect answers. What is required is your honest views and opinion.
- Please return the questionnaire to the person from whom it was received as soon as possible after completion.

Quite importantly, your response will remain completely confidential and anonymous. Once more, may I thank you for your cooperation and response to this questionnaire.

Thanking you in anticipation.

_____

Mr Clement Moreku
Assistant Director: Student Recruitment
Central University of Technology
Free State Province

APPENDIX C

LETTER OF CONSENT BY THE INTERVIEWEES

CONSENT TO PARTICIPATE IN RESEARCH

I, the undersigned, consent to be interviewed for a research study

"THE INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS"

The nature and general purpose of the interview have been satisfactorily explained to me by

Mr C Moreku

Mr C Moreku is authorized to interview me on the understanding that it is voluntary and I may terminate the interview session at any time I so wish.

I also understand that my name and responses to the interview schedule are confidential and will not be revealed without my consent.

Signed: -------------------------------
                    (Interviewer)
Signed: -------------------------------
                    (Interviewee)
Date: --------------------------------

Document to be retained by the interviewer: Mr C Moreku

QUESTIONNAIRE FOR THE STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCIL MEMBERS

"THE INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS"

This questionnaire comprises two sections: Section A is on demographic variables (i.e. your personal information). Section B is questions pertaining to factors associated with co-operative governance in South African higher education institutions. As a reminder; note that the purpose of the questionnaire is to determine the SRC's participation and involvement in cooperative governance in the governance of public higher education institutions.

Please indicate your responses to the questions below by writing the relevant number in the shaded square provided for in both Sections A. and B.

SECTION A

	YOUR RESPONSE	OFFICIAL USE ONLY
Q1. What is your designation in the SRC? 1. President 2. Deputy-President 3. Sabbatical/Secretary 4. Finance Officer 5. Academic Officer 6. Constitutional and Legal Affairs Officer 7. Sports Officer and Culture Officer 8. Public Relations Officer 9. Residence and Accommodation Officer 10. Health and Welfare Officer 11. Projects and Campaign Officer 12. Student Affairs Officer 13. Equity Officer 14. Transformation Officer 15. Other specify		1

Q2. What is your gender? 1.Female 2.Male		2
Q 3.What is your race? 1.Black 2.Coloured 3.Indian 4.White 5.Chinese 6. Other		3
Q4. How many terms have you served in the SRC? 1.One term 2 Two terms		4
Q5. What is the type of your institution? 1. University of Technology 2. Comprehensive University 3. Traditional University		5
Q6. Are you studying towards a…? 1.Certificate 2.Diploma 3.Bachelor's Degree 4.Honours degree 5.Master degree 6. Doctoral degree 7. Other		6
Q7.Where is your institution situated? 1. Rural area 2. Urban area		7
Q8.Number of students in your institution		

1. Less than 13000 2. Between 13000 and 16000 3. Between 16000 and 20000 4. Between 20000 and 25000 5. Between 25000 and 30000 6. More than 30 000		8

SECTION B

Below, you are required to indicate the degree to which you agree or disagree with each statement. Please respond by writing the number in the appropriate shaded block.

Rate your response according to a four point Likert Scale provided below. **The rating scale implies the following:**

Strongly Disagree 1	Disagree 2	Agree 3	Strongly Agree 4		
Q.9. Do you understand what co-operative governance means in higher education institutions?					9
Q10. Does the SRC in your institution know its role with regard to co-operative governance?					10
Q11. Is participation and involvement of the SRC in co-operative governance effective in your institution?					11
Q12. Is there a model of co-operative governance acceptable in all higher education institutions in South Africa?					12
Q.13. Does the student body have insight on how higher education institutions in South Africa ought to be governed?					13
Q14. Does university management in your institution clearly explain the meaning of co-operative governance to the SRC?					14
Q.15. Does the university management support the SRC in order for co-operative governance to be realized?					15
					16

Q.16. Does the student body in your institution understand the role of the SRC in co-operative governance?		
Q.17. Does university management in your institution view the SRC as co-governors?		17
Q.18.Is there a common understanding of co-operative governance amongst the 23 public higher educational institutions in South Africa?		18
Q.19.Is the SRC representation in various committees adequate in your institution?		19
Q.20. Do SRC members in various committees in your institution carry out their duties and responsibilities as prescribed by the SRC Constitution?		20

Strongly Disagree	Disagree	Agree	Strongly Agree	
1	2	3	4	
Q.21 Does the University management guide the SRC members on how to carry out their duties and responsibilities effectively?				21
Q.22. Does the SRC form part of the panel in the appointment of staff members?				22
Q.23.Does the SRC give input in the admission requirements of students in your institution?				23
Q.24. Does the SRC in your institution become involved in determining its budget?				24
Q. 25. Is there an SRC induction in your institution for new members?				25
Q.26.Is the SRC's term of office sufficient?				26
Q. 27.Is academic performance considered for students to stand as SRC candidates?				27
Q.28.Do you know about the South African Union of SRCs (SAUS)?				28
Q.29.Does your SRC serve in the South African Union of SRCs (SAUS)?				29
Q.30. Is SAUS an important structure in higher education institutions?				30
Q. 31.Is SAUS considered a necessary student structure in your institution?				31
Q.32. Do you know the role and responsibilities of the SRC as according to the Higher Education Act of 1997 (as amended)?				32
Q.33. Does the SRC have confidence in the management of your institution?				33
Q.34.Do you visit the SRC in another institution that successfully carry out student governance?				34

Q.35.Do you attend international conferences on SRC governance issues?		35
Q.36.Is the role of the SRC clearly outlined in the statute in your institution?		36

Q.37.Are workshops arranged in your institution to help the SRC develop its ability to co-govern with management?		37
Q.38.Does the SRC know the mission and vision of your institution?		38
Q. 39.Does the SRC in your institution hold regular meetings with management on issues of co-operative governance?		39
Q.40.Does management in your institution provide the SRC with resources necessary to govern?		40

Σ

Thank You

APPENDIX E

"THE INVOLVEMENT AND PARTICIPATION OF STUDENT REPRESENTATIVE COUNCILS IN CO-OPERATIVE GOVERNANCE AT THE SOUTH AFRICAN HIGHER EDUCATION INSTITUTIONS"

RESEARCH QUESTIONS

- What is the nature of co-operative governance with regard to the role and effect of the student representative council at public higher education institutions?

- How is participative democracy practiced at public higher education institutions?

- What are the governance challenges experienced by public higher education institutions?

- How can the governance challenges be addressed?

APPENDIX F

SRC's involvement and participation in co-operative governance at public higher education institutions in South Africa

Questionnaire Items:	Strongly Disagree (1)		Disagree (2)		Agree (3)		Strongly Agree (4)	
	F	%	F	%	f	%	f	%
9. Do you understand what co-operative governance means in higher education institutions?	5	3.3	17	11.1	83	54.2	48	31.4
10. Does the SRC in your institution know its role with regard to co-operative governance?	11	7.2	35	22.9	89	58.2	18	11.8
11. Is the participation and involvement of the SRC in co-operative governance effective in your institution	27	17.6	48	31.4	67	43.8	11	7.2
12. Is there a model of co-operative governance acceptable in all higher education institutions in South Africa?	12	7.8	49	32.0	61	39.9	31	20.3
13. Does the student body have insight into how higher education institutions ought to be governed?	9	5.9	63	41.2	62	40.5	19	12.4
14. Does university management in your institution clearly explain the meaning of co-operative governance to the SRC?	30	19.6	52	34.0	57	37.3	14	9.2
15. Does the university management support the SRC	13	8.5	67	43.8	53	34.6	20	13.1

in order for co-operative governance to be realized?							
16. Does the student body in your institution understand the role of the SRC in co-operative governance?	30	19.6	54	35.3	63	41.2	6	3.9
17. Does university management in your institution view the SRC as co-governors?	40	26.1	37	24.2	54	35.3	22	14.4
18. Is there a common understanding of co-operative governance amongst the 23 public higher educational institutions in South Africa?	31	20.3	82	53.6	39	25.5	1	.7
19. Is the SRC representation in various committees adequate in your institution?	29	19.0	36	23.5	72	47.1	16	10.5
20. Do SRC members in various committees in your institution carry out their duties and responsibilities as prescribed by the SRC Constitution?	5	3.3	45	29.4	66	43.1	37	24.2
21. Does the University management guide SRC members on how to carry out their duties and responsibilities effectively?	11	7.2	41	26.8	84	54.9	17	11.1
22. Does the SRC form part of panels in the appointment of staff members?	98	64.1	11	7.2	24	15.7	20	13.1
23. Does the SRC give input in the admission requirements of students in your institution?	67	43.8	27	17.6	50	32.7	9	5.9
24. Is the SRC in your institution involved in determining its	67	43.8	22	14.4	52	34.0	12	7.8

budget?							
25. Is there SRC induction in your institution for new members?	4	2.6	13	8.5	87	56.9	49	32.0
26. Is the SRC's term of office sufficient?	27	17.6	15	9.8	84	54.9	27	17.6
27. Is academic performance considered for students to stand as SRC election candidates?	18	11.8	1	.7	48	31.4	86	56.2
28. Do you know about the South African Union of SRCs (SAUS)?	18	11.8	11	7.2	81	52.9	43	28.1
29. Does your SRC serve in the South African Union of SRCs (SAUS)?	47	30.7	37	24.2	55	35.9	14	9.2
30. Is SAUS an important structure in higher education institutions?	18	11.8	27	17.6	57	37.3	51	33.3
31. Is SAUS considered a necessary student structure in your institution?	50	32.7	49	32.0	34	22.2	20	13.1
32. Do you know the role and responsibilities of the SRC in accordance with the Higher Education Act of 1997 (as amended)?	3	2.0	51	33.3	56	36.6	43	28.1
33. Does the SRC have confidence in the management of your institution?	42	27.5	62	40.5	36	23.5	13	8.5
34. Do you visit SRCs that successfully carry out student governance in other institution?	15	9.8	62	40.5	44	28.8	32	20.9
35. Do you attend international conferences on SRC governance issues?	63	41.2	54	35.3	27	17.6	9	5.9
36. Is the role of the SRC clearly	6	3.9	8	5.2	105	68.6	34	22.2

outlined in the university statute in your institution?							
37. Are workshops arranged in your institution to help the SRC develop its ability to co-govern with management?	9	5.9	20	13.1	87	56.9	37	24.2
38. Does the SRC know the mission and vision of your institution?	1	.7	22	14.4	58	37.9	72	47.1
39. Does the SRC in your institution hold regular meetings with management on issues of co-operative governance?	8	5.2	53	34.6	62	40.5	30	19.6
40. Does management in your institution provide the SRC with resources necessary to govern?	40	26.1	26	17.0	54	35.3	33	21.6