POLICY AGENDA-SETTING AND THE USE OF ANALYTICAL AGENDA-SETTING MODELS FOR SCHOOL SPORT AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

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KEYWORDS

Agenda-Setting

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Results-Based Monitoring and Evaluation



ABSTRACT

POLICY AGENDA-SETTING AND THE USE OF ANALYTICAL AGENDA-SETTING MODELS FOR SCHOOL SPORT AND PHYSICAL EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

This study focused on policy agenda-setting models for school sport and physical education in South Africa. The primary objective was to assess and propose options for improved agenda-setting by focussing on the use of agenda-setting models and by applying it to physical education and school sport and the policy agenda of the national government. The study has shown that pertinent school sport and physical education policy issues, as supported by key role-players and principal actors, were initially not placed on the formal policy agenda of government during the research investigation period (2005-2009). However, during 2010 and 2011 the issue of school sport and physical education received prominent attention by authorities and these developments were subsequently included in the study. The study aimed at contributing to existing policy agenda-setting models and by recommending changes to the Generic Process Model.

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The study also made a contribution by informing various role-players and stakeholders in education and school sport on the opportunities in policy agenda-setting. The study showed that policy agenda-setting is a vital step in the Generic Policy Process Model. Policy agenda-setting in South Africa is critical, as it is important to place new and emerging policy issues on the policy agenda and as a participative public policy process is relatively new in this young democracy. The reader should not confuse the study as one dealing with school sport and physical education primarily, but rather as a research investigation dealing with policy agenda-setting models as applied to school sport and physical education.

The secondary objectives of the study included the development of a historical perspective on trends and tendencies in education and sport in South Africa. A second objective was to provide theoretical perspectives on public policy and specifically on policy agenda-setting. From these theoretical perspectives, the Generic Policy Process Model was selected to use as a model that provided guidance on the overall policy process normally followed in South Africa. The Issue Attention Cycle and Principal Actor Models on Agenda-Setting were

selected to apply to the case study to specifically ascertain important factors related to policy agenda-setting such as the identification of key role players as well as key policy issues. The Generic Policy Process Model provided for both a comprehensive set of phases as well as specific requirements and key issues to be addressed during each phase of the policy process. In terms of findings the study found that a number of specific agenda-setting elements or phases needed to be added to the Generic Policy Process Model, which includes a problem stage, triggers, initiator, issue creation and actors or policy stakeholders.

The Principal Actor Model to agenda-setting was selected for application to the case as different actors have different levels of success at each policy stage. In the South African experience it is important to look at who sets the policy agenda and why, who can initiate agenda-setting and the role played by these principal actors in the agenda-setting process.

Issue emergence often places policy issues on the policy agenda. The public is initially involved in issues, but in the long term public interest declines. The government realizes the significant costs involved in placing policy issues back on the agenda. This leads to a decline in issue attention by policy-makers and the public. The Issue Attention Cycle Model of agenda setting was used to analyse this phenomenon in South African Education policy.

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The study provides a case assessment of the South African experience. From the research findings, a set of conclusions and recommendations were developed for improved policy agenda-setting models and implications for school sport and physical education, as well as tools to place it on the national policy agenda were identified. The research findings suggest that pertinent school sport and physical education policy issues, as supported by key role-players, stakeholders and principal actors were not placed on the formal policy agenda of the government as a vital step in the policy process between 2005 and 2009. Ever since, principal policy actors, civil society NGOs, and government officials placed sufficient pressure on the Minister of Basic Education to place Physical Education on the agenda. Subsequently, Minister Angie Motshega has placed physical education in the school Curriculum under the subject Life Orientation and Lifeskills. It has become evident from the research that agenda-setting is both necessary to, and a complex phase in, the policy-making process.

This study has shown that major policy issues such as physical education and school sport were neglected during the period 2005 and 2009 despite reformed and advanced policy cycles

in government. It has also shown that the role of policy agenda-setting in the overall policy-making process was revisited by government in the subsequent period 2010/2011 and placed on the policy agenda. Specific lessons of experience emanated from this process.

The study recommends that the triggers of the agenda-setting phases be added to the Generic Policy Process Model, which should include the problem stage, triggers, initiators, issue creation, actors and policy stakeholders. Principal actors in the agenda-setting model in South Africa want the issue of physical education and school sport to be part of the school curriculum, and therefore be placed back on the policy agenda by the Government on its institutional agenda. Furthermore, the study showed that actors wanted it to be compulsory in all phases of the school (Foundation, Intermediate, Senior, GET, FET) and that it should have the same legal status as other subjects.

The important findings include that:

- Comprehensive policy process models such as that of Dunn, Wissink and the Generic Process model may need to be reviewed to incorporate more fully the policy-agenda setting stages of the overall process;
- Current policy agenda setting models in use are relevant and valuable in identifying key role players as well as key issues and considerations regarding the policy process;
- Institutional arrangements to strengthen the role of NGOs and lower level institutions, such as schools to participate in policy agenda setting are important; and
- the study has shown that a number of key factors have been identified that had a key influence on policy agenda-setting in the case of physical education and school sport in South Africa. These included the influence of changing political leadership, the competency of policy capacities in government, the profile of issues in the media etc.
- The key findings of the study have shown that further potential exists to improve monitoring and evaluation and policy analysis.

The study made a set of recommendations to principal actors such as the Minister of Education, Minister of Sport and Recreation, non-governmental organisations, interest groups, department officials and pressure groups. A set of research topics was also identified for future research.

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DECLARATION

I declare that *Policy Agenda-Setting and the use of Analytical Agenda-Setting Models for School Sport and Physical Education in South Africa* is my own work, that it has not been submitted before for any degree or examination in any other university, and that all sources I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged as complete references.



Anver Desai October 2011

Signed:

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LIST OF ACRONYMS / ABREVIATIONS

AIDS Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome

ANC African National Congress

C2005 Curriculum 2005

CBO Community-Based Organisation

CABPER Central Advisory Board of Physical Education and Recreation

CABOS Commonwealth Advisory Body on Sports

CAPANS Child and Adolescent Physical Activity and Nutrition Survey

CAPS Curriculum Assessment Policy Statement

CEPD Centre for Education Policy Development

COSAS Congress of South African Students

COSATU Congress of South African Trade Unions

CONYP Committee on National Youth Programme

CSO Civil Society Organisation

DCAS Department of Culture and Sport

DISE District Information System for Education

DOE Department of Education VERSITY of the

DOSR Department of Sport and Recreation APE

DPEP District Primary Education Programme

EMDC Education Management and Development Centre

ESKOM Electrical Supply Commission

FAHPER-SD Africa Association for Health, Physical Education, Recreation,

Sport and Dance

FAO Food and Agriculture Organisation

FET Further Education and Training (Grs 10-12)

FSI Federal State Inquiry

GET General Education and Training (Grs R-9)

GNP Gross National Product
HIV Human Immune Virus
IAC Issue Attention Cycle

ICSSPE International Council for Sport Science and Physical Education

IDEFRE Institute Para Deporte Educacion Fisico y Recreation

IMF International Monetary Fund

IMG Institutional Management and Governance

IOC International Olympic Committee

JCVE Joint Council for Vocational Education

LA Learning Area
LO Life Orientation

LSM Living Standard Measures

MEC Member of the Executive Council

MP Member of Parliament

MHRD Ministry of Human Resource Development

MINEPS Ministers and Senior Officials of Sport and Physical Education

MPE Masters of Physical Education

NACOC National Coordinating Committee

NCD Non-Communicable Diseases

NCS National Curriculum Statement

NCERT National Council of Education Research and Training

NCF National Curriculum Framework

NIEPA National Institute of Educational Planning and Administration

NIS National Institute of Sports

NGO Non-Governmental Organisation

NPE National Policy on Education

NQF National Qualifications Framework

NSF National Sport Federation

NSNIS National State National Institute of Sports

NSS National Service Scheme

NSSO National Sample Survey Organisation

OBE Outcomes-Based Education
PATF Physical Activity Task Force

PDHPE Personal Development, Health and Physical Education

PE Physical Education

PES Physical Education and Sport

PESS Physical Education and School Sport

PPP Public-Private Partnerships

RDP Reconstruction and Development Programme

RNCS Revised National Curriculum Statements

SA South Africa

SACOS South African Council on Sport

SACP South African Communist Party

SADC Southern African Development Community

SADTU South African Democratic Teachers Union

SANCO South African National Civic Organisation

SANEP South African Nutritional Expert Panel

SANROC South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee

SAPs Structural Adjustment Programmes

SAQA South African Qualifications Authority

SASA South African Schools Act

SASC South African Sports Commission

SASCO South African Students Council

SASCOC South African Sports Council and Olympic Committee

SASSU South African Students Sports Union

SCORS Standing Committee on Recreation and Sport

SCTP Standards Council of the Teaching Profession

SETA Sector Education and Training Authority

SGB School Governing Body

SGE Superintendent General of Education

SRSA Sport and Recreation South Africa

SRMC Sport and Recreation Minister's Council

TAC Treatment Action Campaign

UCT University of Cape Town

UNDP United Nations Development Programme

UNESCO United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation

UNICEF United Nations' Children Fund

USSASA United School Sports Association of South Africa

UWC University of the Western Cape

WADA World Anti-Doping Authority

WCED Western Cape Education Department

WCED World Commission on Environment and Development

WHO World Health Organisation

WSPE World Summit on Physical Education

WPCA Western Province Cricket Association

YMCA Young Men's Christian Association

YWCA Young Women's Christian Association

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION AND BACKGROUND

One of the cruellest legacies of Apartheid is its distortion of sport and recreation in our society, the enforced segregation of those activities and the gross neglect in providing facilities for the majority of South Africa's people. This has denied millions of people, in particular the youth, the right to a normal and healthy life. Sport and recreation are an integral part of reconstructing and developing a healthier society (RDP, 1994).

This study investigated policy agenda-setting models and its application to physical education and school sport which is prevalent both at national and provincial government levels. It further investigated governance and management of sport at schools in a more holistic way, where sport as well as recreation become necessary requirements of any school curriculum and should be part of the mainstream school activities. This can only be achieved by introducing legislation and policy frameworks, which empower physical education and school sport as part of this mainstream school curriculum of lifelong learning and not as an extramural or extracurricular activity. Policies that are developed to move society towards the goal of equity in education should, at the very least, comprise strategies to equalise the quality of education and strategies to eliminate social and economic disadvantages. The thrust of this study will therefore be on lessons of experience regarding the policy agenda setting process and useful models in this respect and the policy formulation for a sustainable model in a new revised national curriculum.

A functioning and well-resourced school sport system is critical if we want to build this nation and be a dynamic force in world sport, where all the citizens of South Africa are given an equal opportunity. When using sport as a catalyst for nation-building, it is essential that we start at school level. With the introduction of the new school curriculum and policy to transform education, we find a weakness in our present setup - the lack of a clear school sport policy. A strong belief exists that sport programmes have the power to promote the development of sportsmanlike behaviour, ethical decision-making, and a complete curriculum for moral character development. It provides a social environment in which to acquire personal and social values as well as behaviour contributing to

developing good character and engendering good citizenship. The role that sport plays in addressing social issues such as crime, unemployment and generally the building of human and social capital needs greater emphasis.

Sport and recreation should therefore cut across all developmental programmes, and be accessible and affordable for all South Africans, including those in rural areas, persons with disabilities, women and girls (RDP, 1994: 72). The South African Democratic Teacher Union (SADTU) in their presentation at the Western Cape School Sports Indaba (2005), as a stakeholder with a deep concern for physical education and school sport, made clear recommendations regarding the importance of physical education and sport as part of the core and the extracurricular programme of our schools. These requests, according to SADTU, have been commissioned by or independently forwarded to the political leadership in both sport and in education since 1994. Since then, until today, various barriers and moratoriums have frustrated the government's responsibility to formalise the proper provisions regarding educationally sound programming, which inspires access to and meaningful participation in regular physical activity for all schoolgoing citizens of South Africa. "Particular attention must be paid to the provision of facilities at schools and in communities where there are large concentrations of unemployed youth. Sport and recreation are an integral and important part of education and youth programmes. In developing such programmes, it should be recognized that sport is played at different levels of competence and that there are different specific needs at different levels" (RDP, 1994: 73).

1.1 STATEMENT OF THE PROBLEM

When Curriculum 2005 (C2005) was unveiled as the new national curriculum for the 21st century in 1995, it was seen as a major step forward to ensure quality education. Physical Education and school sport in the old dispensation were left to educators, and the rendering of extra mural sport formed part of their conditions of service. School sport delivery was therefore regarded as an extra curricular activity and part of their duties. Due to resources, the management of school sport occurred at different levels of involvement. In some cases, the development of school sport was uneven and even disempowering to a

large degree. Therefore, school sport needs to be organized and managed in a strategic and developmental way, so that it forms part of the holistic education of children of this country. School sport reflects the anomalies in our society in the worst possible way, by only giving children of the rich and affluent access to opportunity, whilst those from the poor socioeconomic backgrounds suffer and remain without funded activities. It is also taken as a given that it is not possible within the limited available resources for sport to totally change the inequality and conditions in our society, especially as it relates to school sports. It could be argued that equity can be achieved by legislating school sport policy that will focus on equal access and opportunity for all, and from the benefits associated with school sport for all the learners in our different educational institutions.

A number of policy frameworks have been published to give guidance for sport in South Africa. A weakness in our present sport setup is the lack of physical education and a clear school sport policy. Sport can be a career, but one must also legislate for sport as recreation to cater for the masses who do not participate at an elite level. Sport governance and management have been a problem for many years, even after nearly two decades of democracy, because the 'playing fields' were never levelled. School sport is still managed by educators. Previously disadvantaged communities and so many schools still do not have resources. The Department of Sport and Recreation (DOSR) envisages that school sport be introduced as a Learning Area within the New Revised National Curriculum Statement. However, how can it be introduced as a Learning Area if no resources, policy frameworks or planning have been considered? The DOSR wants the Department of Education (DOE) to take ownership of school sport management at all levels, and the DOSR to act as a role-player within the envisaged system. In the Rainbow Paper of 1995, the DOSR of the Western Cape states that school sport should be regarded as the foundation for sports development and should play a significant role in the whole approach to the education of the child. UNESCO's International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, Article 1.1 of 21 November 1978, states that "every learner has a fundamental right of access to physical education and school sport, which are essential for the full development of their personality. The freedom to develop physical, intellectual and moral powers through physical education and school sport must be guaranteed both within the educational system and in other aspects of social life".

In this regard, there is a definite need for physical education and school sport to be incorporated into the education system policy. In order to effect the proper development and implementation of sport and recreation programmes at school level, it will be necessary that there be close cooperation between the DOSR and DOE. School sport and recreation is thus seen as a joint responsibility of the DOSR and DOE as well as other critical role-players. The Rainbow Paper (1995) also mentions that there is a need for a more detailed policy document on specifically school sport and recreation to be drafted.

The Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, in its document on School Sport Policy (2000), also reiterates the underdevelopment and absence of a clear school sport policy framework. In the light of the above, there is a need to research the lack of policy agenda-setting and the underdeveloped school sport policy that exists at various levels. The problem under investigation in this study is that **physical education and school sport** have been neglected in the policy agenda-setting process by the Department of Education as well as the Department of Sport and Recreation and a need exists to capture the lessons of experience to ensure improved policy agenda setting processes and the use of policy agenda setting models in future.

1.2 RESEARCH OBJECTIVES

Given the problem statement, this research focused in particular on the theoretical option of underdeveloped policy and strategy on the macro and micro levels. It also looked at governance aspects with regard to intergovernmental, public, private and community partnerships. Therefore, the reader should not confuse the study as one dealing primarily with school sport and physical education, but rather the policy process with specific reference to policy agenda-setting models for school sport and physical education. This section addresses the primary and secondary objectives of the study.

1.2.1 Primary Objective

It is the primary objective of this research study to assess and propose options for improved policy agenda-setting models in school sport and physical education in South Africa.

1.2.2 Secondary Objectives

The secondary objectives of this research study are to:

- Develop a historical perspective on trends and tendencies of education and sport policy in South Africa;
- Provide a theoretical perspective on policy agenda-setting and agenda-setting models;
- Select and apply certain policy agenda setting models to the case study and to develop research findings on policy agenda-setting;
- Investigate contemporary and past policy trends and agenda-setting of school sport and physical education in South Africa; and
- Develop a set of conclusions and recommendations for the improved use of policy agenda-setting models.

It should be noted that all secondary objectives have been formulated in support of the primary objective and that these have been directly linked to the composition of the chapters in the study.

1.3 LITERATURE REVIEW

This literature review focused on policy agenda-setting, the new education curriculum, physical education and school sport in South Africa.

1.3.1 Policy Agenda-Setting

The policy process normally starts when one or more stakeholders in society, who feel that the actions of the government detrimentally affect them or another segment of society, identify a policy issue or problem. They then mobilize support to persuade policy-makers to do something in order to change the status quo in their favour. This process to change public policy is termed policy agenda-setting (Cloete & de Coning, 2011: 87).

"Problem structuring can supply policy-relevant knowledge that challenges the assumptions underlying the definitions of problems reaching the policy-making process through agenda-setting. Problem structuring can be of assistance in discovering hidden assumptions, diagnosing causes, mapping possible objectives, synthesizing conflicting views, and designing new policy options" (Dunn,1994: 17). Jones (1984: 57) correctly points out that agenda-setting, like perception, aggregation, organisation and representation, is about getting problems to the government. Policy agenda-setting refers to both formal and informal methods and procedures for gaining access to and influencing policy processes.

Agenda-setting, in the narrow sense, is preceded by problem identification and the ability to articulate those problems. "... in a wider sense, a deliberate process of planning and action which defines and prioritizes policy issues and problems, mobilises support and lobbies decision-makers to appropriate action (Cloete & de Coning, 2011: 87).

Policy evaluation assists in appraising and understanding the necessity to "... review policies and programmes through the conduct of systematic inquiry that describes and explains the policies and programmes' operations, effects, justifications and social implications. The ultimate goal of evaluation is social betterment, to which evaluation can contribute by assisting democratic institutions to better select, oversee, improve and make sense of social programmes and policies" (Mark et al, 2000: 3). The preceding definition encompasses a broad view of the field of policy and programme evaluation. Like the definitions espoused by Patton (1978), Rossi and Freeman (1993), and Weis (1998), it describes evaluation as an enterprise including many alternative approaches and activities. According to this view, evaluation can take place at any stage in the life cycle of a programme, from before a social problem has even been identified as such, to long after a programme has been put in place. It can address any of a wide range of issues, including

the needs of a potential programme's target population, the way a programme is implemented, and a programme's effects (Mark et al, 2000: 16).

The raison d'être of evaluation is to contribute indirectly to social betterment by providing assisted sense-making to the democratic institutions that are directly charged with defining and seeking that betterment. By social betterment, we mean the reduction or prevention of social problems, the improvement of social conditions, and the alleviation of human suffering. A belief in social betterment (or something like it) seems to us necessary for the enterprise of evaluation. Without it there is no plausible, defensible justification for doing policy and programme evaluation – or even having social policies and programmes in the first place (Covert, 1995: 165).

Covert (1995) implies that consistent across all the various approaches are the beliefs of the adherents that their approach to evaluation will contribute in some fashion to social betterment. It is hard to imagine anyone labouring in the field of evaluation who does not think in terms of making the world a better place. By addressing the ends and means of social interventions, evaluation contributes to the attempt to define and realize social goals, to meet human needs, and to promote social betterment. That is evaluation, which has been institutionalised as a sense-making support for efforts in modern democracies to define and strive for social betterment (Mark et al, 2000: 21).

Policy analysis is any type of analysis that "generates and presents information in such a way as to improve the basis for policy-makers to exercise their judgment. In policy analysis, the word "analysis" is used in its most general sense; it implies the use of intuition and judgment. It further encompasses not only the examination of policy by decomposition into its component parts, but also the design and synthesis of a new range from research to illuminate or provide insight into an anticipated issue or problem to evaluation of a completed programme" (Quade, E.S, 1975: 4).

Evaluation research is a large and expanding area of policy analysis devoted to collecting, testing and interpreting information about the implementation and effectiveness of existing policies and public programmes. One can distinguish between two types of agenda-setting, namely systemic and institutional. The systemic agenda is a broader set of issues facing society. Not all the issues raised in the systemic agenda receive government

attention. Issues raised in this way have a policy community and involve matters falling within the scope of the government's activities. The institutional agenda, on the other hand, is where problems receive formal attention by the government. Whereas the systemic agenda is the government's way of acknowledging the problem but doing nothing about it, institutional agendas come with government action in the form of resources, legislation and timeframes for action (Cloete & Wissink 2000: 110).

Howlett and Ramesh (1995: 113) put it eloquently: "The public agenda (i.e. systemic agenda) is an agenda for discussion with the institutional agenda as an agenda for action." Cobb et al (1976) point out that there are four major phases of agenda-setting as issues move from the systemic to the institutional agenda. Issues are first initiated, their support base expanded, then, if successful, the issues receive status on (or enter) the institutional agenda. Jansson (1994: 141) presents an agenda funnel as a way of understanding the relationship between issues and agendas. General agendas merely collect policy problems and do nothing about them. Decision agendas, on the other hand, are forwarded to a body for serious consideration (Cloete & Wissink, 2000: 110).

It is evident from the preceding discussion that agenda-setting is both necessary to, and a complex phase in, the policy-making process. It is necessary in order to separate issues from non-issues. It is complex since it deals with the competing values and preferences of different sectors of society (Cloete & de Coning, 2011: 89).

Specific to this study would be the placing of school sport and physical education in South Africa on the national institutional policy agenda-setting platform.

1.3.2 Governance and Partnerships

Public-Private Policy Partnerships speak to a division of labour between government and the private sector across policy spheres as much as to any specific collaboration between government and the private sector on particular policy projects. Concrete experience is accumulating in the policy fields of education, health care, energy policy, criminal justice, transformation, environmental policy, welfare, technology policy and many more (Rosenau, 2000: 1).

While in the past, governments have defended their turf against encroachment by free enterprise, today some governments are keen to shift more welfare provision into private hands to keep public spending under control. Historically, the role of authority that represented the broad interest of society has implied a public sector – the idea of its separateness and distinction from the private sector involved the assumption that there is a social interest broader than the individual (Rosenau, 2000: 2).

The most complex form of public/private cooperation is the partnership; a formal relationship in which one or more governmental entities jointly provide resources and maintain control over a project. The rationale for this cooperation rests on the perception that governments lack the efficiency and expertise to solve problems alone. Such partnerships are widely used in large-scale physical and social renewal (Johnson, 1996: 206).

Public-private partnerships, though potentially rewarding, are also administratively challenging. Forming them is more complex than making a simple contract, since they continuously share authority and resources, although the partnership is limited by law in how it administers its resources (Johnson, W.C, 1996: 207).

Citizen participation denotes the formal roles played by people who are not elected or full-time government officials in advising or making binding decisions on implementing public policies. These roles, and the powers vested in them, can vary widely. Often they take the form of boards and committees that meet regularly, and are entitled to receive official information and consulted on given issues. Typically, their input can be reversed or ignored by officials but they can sometimes exert significant influence (Johnson, W.C, 1996: 306).

Partnerships are complex organisations, and they may include for-profit companies, private non-profit companies (in a competitive environment or a monopoly situation), as well as public-sector non-profit organisations (government). Government contracts with private non-profit organisations are a form of partnership with advantages and disadvantages.

Each involves different levels and types of conflict of interest and different ethical responsibilities. Ironically, there is a risk that these types of partnerships involving private non-profit relationships require so much social capital that it will be exhausted. Partnerships between the government and the non profit sector may be less susceptible to some forms of conflicts of interest than the alternative, but they still present problems (Smith & Lipsky, 1992).

Many levels of citizen participation are possible, depending on the influence people can exert. At the lowest level are manipulation and therapy, used by the real power wielders to make ordinary citizens feel better about their situations without having influence. Above that is tokenism – where they are simply informed of decisions, are consulted or otherwise placated which permits a person only to be heard. Involving more significant but less common participation are the top three levels, namely partnership, delegated power, and citizen control. Where these three are used, groups of citizens have exerted enough power to become involved in high-stakes political struggles. In public school reform, major contention concerns the amount of power the parents and community leaders have vis-à-vis school boards and administrators (Johnson, 1996: 225).

Whatever the place of the policy partners on the public-private map, whatever bipolar ideal types, points on a continuum, or simple redefinition of terms, they all involve the private sector carrying out public policy purposes (Starr, 1990). There is no obvious increase in the private sector's adopting voluntary accountability and responsibility. However, there may be increased legal bonds that are generated when the private sector undertakes a policy-relevant project with public exposure (Dunn, 1981: Chapter 5).

According to Rosenau (2000: 25-32) partnerships have been viewed as a retreat from the hard-line advocacy of privatization, and they serve a strategic purpose, by enlisting the support of more moderate elements that are less opposed to state action on principle. They hold back the spectre of wholesale divestiture and, in exchange, promise lucrative collaboration with the state. This assumes that everyone sees partnerships in the same way – as a political tool – yet, once we deconstruct the partnerships in the same way the partnership idea, attending to the discursive claims made on its behalf and to the premises that support them, the meanings proliferate, conveying not just strategic aims but normative ones as well. Rosenau (2000) further states that ``for those who are sceptical

of partnerships, there are at least six distinctive users of the term, PPPs. Each use makes a claim about what partnerships are and conveys an understanding of their intended purpose and significance".

In PPPs as management reform partnerships, they are severed from their historical roots in community voluntarism and urban economic development and linked instead to the privatization movement's quest for efficiency gains. Nevertheless, as a management reform, partnerships are promoted as an innovative tool that will change the way government functions. The collaboration, however, resembles more of a mentoring relationship than a joint undertaking.

PPPs as problem conversion are a variation on the management reform. Partnerships are viewed from this perspective, not as a tool for changing managerial practices, but rather as a universal fix for most problems with regard to public service delivery.

According to Rosenau (2000), PPPs as moral regeneration, is where the neo-liberal's faith in the superiority of market-mediated relations helps reinforce whatever other influences are at work driving government. Similarly, the neo-liberal's sense of agency, holds that change for the better can be engineered through proper organised efforts to inspire the confidence in partnership arrangements. Neo conservatives view partnership as the middle ground between public and private. A more subtle distinction becomes apparent when we consider the effects that partnerships are intended to have on the people involved.

PPPs as risk-shifting portray partnerships as a means of responding to fiscal stringency on the part of the government. Its advocates are, typically speaking, from official positions within government and express concerns about leveraging public capital-intensive projects. Arrangements are a means of getting private interests to sign on and they promise profit potential for doing so. Rosenau, 2000: 19)

PPPs as restructuring the public service, according to Rosenau (2000), are part of the neo-conservatives' objection to government where they reflect concerns about its growth. Recent thinking about the engines of this growth continues to owe a debt to Lowi (1979) for singling out interest group liberalism as the culprit. Government agencies are set upon

by legions of interests demanding money and services. Agencies respond, having been given the discretion and authority to do so. The result is a government out of control, overburdened and overextended. PPPs as power-sharing reflects that although privatisation has been promoted by some as empowerment because it devolves control vertically downward toward the consumer, partnerships, according to the power-sharing partnership, spread control is horizontal, especially in regulatory matters where control has been concentrated in government and can alter government relations in a fundamental way.

"Partnerships among non-profit organisations, schools, churches, and civic organisations often fill gaps in the social service safety net left by fiscal austerity and neo-liberal thinking about government. Unlike the P-P partnerships, these public or private partnerships may have historical roots in their communities that extend across generations and are woven into the fabric of civic life and may not easily be distinguished from the communities they serve. The rhetoric of these partnerships is typically a moral one tied to meeting communal needs" (Rosenau, 2000: 32-33).

Policy partnering between the public and the not-for-profit private sectors is central to social capital. Social capital cannot always play the role of facilitating public not-for-profit private partnership relationships because social capital is underdeveloped in many areas. Where this social capital is weak, it is very difficult to develop it and sustain an undertaking that is likely to succeed only through a long-term sustained effort (Rosenau, 2000: 183). Partnership between the public and private sectors functions are on the increase at every level of government.

The researcher will investigate the role of governance and partnerships by principal actors in placing school sport and physical education on the institutional agenda and its role in policy agenda-setting of the national government.

1.3.3 Transformation of Physical Education and School Sport

For a society in transition such as ours, there is no policy cast in stone. To make progress requires that every policy is constantly evaluated. The exclusion of black youth from cricket, rugby and other sports has been justified by the "merit versus quota" argument.

This presupposed that black was antithetical to merit, whereas white was synonymous with merit (Sunday Times, 2005, 13 February: 17).

Inevitably, one of the most urgent challenges of the democratic state would be the eradication of those obstacles and to transform and reform sport in South Africa. Despite UNESCO's recognition of sports within the education system as a fundamental human right, many of South Africa's children still do not have access to sporting facilities. SADTU, as stakeholders with a deep concern for physical education and school sports, made an input on the Draft National Curriculum Statement (NCS) making clear recommendations regarding the importance of physical education and sport as part of the core and extracurricular programmes in schools.

Published data from the University of the Witwatersrand's Birth to Twenty Study shows that less than one-third of black South African children are offered any physical education at school. It is clear from their statistics that there is a need for a nationwide intervention at school level to curb this exponential rise in sedentary behaviour later in life (Cape Argus: 2005, 25 April: 13). A charter is in the pipeline to spell out childrens' right to physical activity. Among the key articles highlighted in the charter are that all South African children and young people have a fundamental right to be physically active and to play sport. Parents, sporting organisations, local and national government, nongovernmental and non-profit organisations, clubs, schools, the private sector and the key parties should work together to provide opportunities for children and young people to participate in safe physical activity and sport. Institutions providing physical activity and sport in an educational framework must assume shared responsibility for the provision of appropriate physical activity, human movement and sport for children and youth in a safe, healthy and effective environment.

The government, in partnership with the private sector and community, must provide appropriate and sustainable infrastructure and safe access, facilities, equipment and, where appropriate, transport for all children and youth to be physically active and participate in sport. The protection of the children and young people participating in physical activity and sport at all levels, including those children performing at an elite level, is essential, and participation in physical activity should be given equal recognition with winning (Cape Argus: 2005, 25 April: 13).

The South African context offers a challenge to the designers and implementers of programmes for sports development at schools as contextual factors such as chronic poverty, a dire lack of resources, level of literacy and unrealistic expectations may contribute to the limited success of such programmes. The adaptation of the marketing, training and implementation of school sport development programmes offer a unique challenge for South Africans to "Africanise" the development, feed-through process and structures for a sustainable quality product (Department of Sport and Movement Studies, 2000. Wallaby in Springbok jersey: A new game plan).

"Physical Education (PE) and sport in South Africa is a case of extremes and inequalities. Contrast is visible in all aspects of South African life, but most significantly in education. White schools are relatively problem free, whereas black schools have been adversely affected by the past government's apartheid and separate development policies" (Walter, 1994: 108).

Walter alludes to the "history of Physical Education (PE) and sports in South Africa spans many decades, from the early 19th Century to the period after multiracial independence in 1994. From 1900 to 1934, PE and sport were reorganised as important aspects of schooling, but there was no coordinated approach at the national level to integrate the subject as a curriculum offering. The establishment of PE as a compulsory subject in secondary schools in 1934 was a milestone in the history of the discipline as it promoted the introduction of the subject in the teacher-training curriculum. Several events prompted by the government and South African Olympic Committee subsequently led to the formation of the National Advisory Council for Physical Education which coordinated and promoted the teaching of PE and sports in the schools".

By 1945, PE was taught at university level, with three universities offering degree programmes in the subject. "After democracy in 1994, the South African Government reorganised the administration of sport in the country, with leadership provided by the Ministry of Sport and Recreation and the South African Sports Commission (SASCO) at the national level, and the Department of Sport, Art and Culture at provincial level. Since independence, promotion of school sports has been carried out through the following organisations: The United Schools Sports Union of South Africa (USSASA) that organizes primary and high school sports and the South African Students Sports Union

(SASSU) responsible for coordinating sports at the tertiary level" (Draft Rainbow Paper, 1995: 46). A new policy on sport and recreation was developed and published in the government White Paper in 1997. In relation to education (i.e. sport and PE versus education), the policy emphasises that PE and sport present the child with life skills in a way that is unsurpassed by any other activity.

Some of the major weaknesses in our present sport setup are the lack of a clear school sport policy, and lack of resources for school sport at both national and provincial government level (Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, 1995: 3).

"The 1994 democratic elections also marked a turning point for education and curriculum development in South Africa. The Department of Education evolved a new vision for the country through the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the first national curriculum statement, Curriculum 2005 (C2005). These innovations are articulated in the 1995 White Paper on Education Policy Act of 1996" (Department of Education, 2001).

"Curriculum 2005 is outcomes-based and includes the teaching of PE (called Physical Development and Movement) as part of Life Orientation alongside Health Promotion, Social Development, Personal Development, and Orientation to the World of Work. PE is therefore a very small component of a learning area called Life Orientation" (Department of Education, 2001).

According to Jones "Life Orientation is believed to develop learners holistically so that they can achieve their full physical, spiritual, intellectual, personal, emotional and social potentials and equip them for a meaningful and successful life in a rapidly changing and transforming society". (2003: 145). "The challenge confronting decision-makers in South Africa is how to set about achieving the global objectives of PE, sport and physical activity in order to satisfy the children and youth, and their expectations and those of the country within the varying and challenging conditions, i.e. how to operationalise and implement the various policies or lack of policy to meet the expectations regarding the educational interaction, and how to honour the right of the individual to participate in sport and physical activity" (Katzenellenbogen, 1994: 26). "If PE is going to be responsible to the needs of the new South Africa, it should reflect the culture in which it is practiced. Its focus needs to be problematised to provide impetus for transcending the

classroom, playgrounds and for becoming involved in constructing our society for the future. For PE and sport to be able to achieve their objectives in South Africa, it has to be a crucial component of the school curriculum" (Sage, 1993: 152).

In conclusion, one can say that there is a definite need to put PE and school sport on the policy agenda, and to see how partnerships contribute towards good governance. The problem of inadequate or lack of school sport policy calls for effective and sustainable policy intervention with an effective governance and sustainability model, which this research hopes to formulate by having a tool to place PE and school sport on the national policy agenda.

1.4 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

A theoretical policy evaluation or assessment is an essential part of the rational policy process for ascertaining whether a policy is effective or not (Cloete & Wissink, 2000: 232). This systemic policy evaluation or assessment will determine the scope, depth, nature and effect of the evaluation on future policies. The purpose of the interview schedule was to verify who the principal actors are in agenda setting. Post 1994 the RSA had many policies that were new. The education policy was drafted in 1996 (OBE). The interviews also informed the researcher why issues were not sustained on the policy agenda and reasons for it being removed from the policy agenda. The area of focus was policy agenda setting of Physical Education and School Sport in South Africa. The data obtained was analysed and a number of models were looked at by the researcher to apply to the South African situation. The Generic Policy Process Model was used as it best represented the policy process in South Africa. The South African case study demonstrated that the two models to be used for policy agenda setting are the Principal Actor Model of Agenda Setting and Issue Attention Cycle Model of Agenda Setting. These models represented how agenda setting by the principal actors is done in South Africa as a result of information gathered from stakeholders and role players interviewed. Keeping the issue on the policy agenda and the financial constraints in which policy is developed by the various ministers is best represented by the Issue Attention Cycle Model. A selection of policy agenda-setting models was made to provide a theoretical overview of governance and management of physical education and school sport and placing it on the policy agenda.

In recording the SA experience, use was made of interviews, questionnaires and focus groups. In-depth, unstructured and structured interviews were conducted with educators, sport administrators, community organisations and curriculum advisors in the DOE, DOSRSA, DOSRWC, USSASA as well as other service providers and role-players. The researcher collected primary and secondary data. This was done by using the techniques of questionnaires, information surveys, direct and indirect observations, and participative observations as well as structured and unstructured observations. With the collection of the data, the ethical consideration of privacy, voluntary participation, anonymity and confidentiality, which are the rights of the research participants, had been taken into account. The researcher, facilitators or even specific research assistants collected the data. The data was transcribed into meaningful information for analysis in order to complete the empirical study.

The interviews obtained information regarding the state and status of Physical Education and School sport in the South African curriculum. It further probed for explanation and principal actor involvement in policy agenda-setting. In addition the interviews probed for explanations as to why and the reasons for placing PESS on the policy agenda. The second wave of interviews gave clarity on how and who placed pressure on the Minister of Basic Education to place PESS on the policy agenda. Attending CAPS roll out informed the researcher on the changes to the policy and how agenda setting had taken place. The data analysed from the first and second wave of interviews were applied to the Principal Actor Model on agenda-setting as well as the Issue Attention cycle on agenda setting in Chapter 5 of the study. The reader is also referred to Section 5.5 of this study where a detailed overview of all interviews is provided.

I have been involved in school sport for more than 40 years. Therefore, I have an advantage as a practitioner of school sport and education policies. I have served on provincial and national school sport bodies. In addition to my experience in school sport, I have been an educator for more than 30 years, and have therefore been witness to policy

changes within education over this period. This experience enables me to have insight into school sport and physical education policies and, as a researcher; I therefore drew from my experiences.

The geographical area of this study incorporated the global situation of physical education and sport, with the emphasis on the South African model. Agenda-setting in South Africa was chosen specifically for this study. School sport and physical education at primary and secondary levels were examined. The researcher also looked at national, regional and international state and status of physical education in schools.

A research design is a plan, structure and strategy of the investigation conceived to obtain answers to the research question. The purpose of the research design is to achieve control of the variables to improve the validity of the study in examination of the research problem. In chapter 2 and chapter 3, the research developed a theoretical framework before continuing into the project. This study employed a qualitative design. It is a systematic process where indicators and data are utilised to obtain information about the phenomenon under study. A quantitative approach 'facilitates deductive reasoning whereby the researcher starts with something that little is known about so as to further explore the topic' (Clifford, Cornwell and Harken, 1997: 342).

According to Burns and Grove (2001: 766), descriptive studies attempt to describe the phenomenon in detail. Uys and Basson (1994: 38) define a descriptive study as ``the collection of accurate data on the phenomenon to be studied''. Polit and Hungler (1995: 175) describe a descriptive study as concerned with observation and documentation of aspects of a situation rather than relationships among variables. According to Wood and Webster (1994: 167) (cited in Polit & Hungler 1995: 182), descriptive research provides an accurate portrayal or account of characteristics of a particular individual event or group in real-life situations for the purpose of discovering meaning, describing what exists and obtaining information about the current status of the phenomenon.

Multiple sources from relevant stakeholders as well as information and knowledge was selected and perused. Some of the main primary and secondary sources of information for

this study are people and documents specific to policy agenda-setting, sport governance, education and sport role-players, policy-makers, policy documents, internet searches, annual reports, sport and education Indabas, legislation and numerous other relevant literatures. The thesis was put through the Turnitin process at the eLearning centre (UWC) to check the similarity index and for plagiarism. A number of interviews were held with principal actors, relevant stakeholders and role-players in PESS.

Interviews and sampling in South Africa were done with key actors in agenda-setting. The categories interviewed were those involved with partnerships, sponsors, Department of Sport, Recreation and Culture, Department of Education, teacher unions, service providers, the media and academics. Those interviewed in the school setup were school governing bodies, educators, learners and farm schools, private schools, and public as well as single-sex schools (see Annexure A). It should be noted that a full explanation of al actors whom were interviewed is provided in chapters.

The original fieldwork for the study covered the period March 2005 to July 2008. It should be noted that limited agenda-setting on PESS took place during this period. There was a sudden increase in pressure by the principal actors on Government to include PE as part of the curriculum occurred during 2010 and 2011. During the latter part of 2010, and during 2011, possible policy changes to the NCS were made.

The implication for the study was that the research investigation on policy agenda setting only covered trends and tendencies in the period with low policy agenda setting activity. It was consequently decided to extend the research investigation to 2010 and 2011. A second wave of interviews were conducted in addition to the first fieldwork period and included policy agenda setting actors from government, education officials and NGOs. The results of these interviews are provided in Chapter 5. This dynamic turn of events allowed the researcher to observe the important elements and key actors in policy agenda-setting at play and to record the important factors that triggered the review of school sport and physical education as an important policy agenda item.

1.5 SIGNIFICANCE OF STUDY

A study of this nature is important to all the policy actors and role-players in education and school sport. The findings in this study will allow key players to identify the shortcomings or lack of policy. Practitioners will also be able to alter their strategies, and policy-makers will be able to assess and evaluate policy frameworks. They will also be able to improve and introduce new policy and legislation aimed at physical education and school sport, via the process of policy agenda setting.

My investigation did provide decision-makers and other role-players within the education fraternity the opportunity to evaluate whether physical education and school sport should be introduced into the curriculum and what resources will be needed to sustain and manage school sport and physical education. Specific recommendations have been made in this regard.

Sport governance and management, as well as sport and recreation development of the target groups of girls and women, rural areas, persons with disabilities, the elderly, youth, workers and employees would have been investigated. Recommendations were made for sport and recreation programmes and projects to be integrated and be sustainable.

The formulation of policy for school sport for the different types of schools, and policy for the distribution of resources will ensure that equity is achieved. This study further developed a set of conclusions and recommendations for improved governance options for school sport.

The focus was on the policy agenda-setting of school sport and physical education in South Africa and the strategies and ways employed to achieve agenda-setting. The historical perspective of physical education, school sport and education in South Africa as well as contemporary policy trends were researched.

The significance of the study and the scientific contribution made is that a programme of action for improved options for policy agenda setting in South Africa by the various

policy agenda setting actors in education and school sport was developed. It further demonstrates how these issues are placed on the national institutional policy agenda by principal actors in policy agenda setting. The purpose of the study should not be confused by the reader as a study dealing with school sports and physical education but rather as focusing on the policy process with specific reference to policy agenda-setting.

1.6 COMPOSITION, STRUCTURE AND ORGANISATION OF THE STUDY

This study consists of two parts. The first part is a theoretical exposition of underdeveloped policy strategy and governance. Information was extracted from statutory legislation from DOSR as well as DOE, published books, official publications, magazine articles, reports and official documentation.

This contextual framework provided the basis for the second part of the study, which will include the South African case study, explanation of the research results and the presentation of the findings.

Chapter 1 is the introduction and gives the background of the study. This chapter will focus on introducing the study, the problem statement, research objectives, a literature review and the significance of the study. Attention will be given to the research methodology employed.

Chapter 2 looks at the theoretical aspect of public policy with special reference to policy analysis, typology, policy models and how they are used to analyse policy.

Chapter 3 deals with the theoretical focus on policy agenda-setting, the expansion and control of the agenda, problems or issues, Principal Actor Model, Rogers and Dearing's Model as Well as Issue Attention Cycle Model.

Chapter 4 starts with a discussion of physical education and school sport in South Africa. Then it will look at the historical perspective of the school curriculum from 1652 to 1910 and post-1993. The importance of physical education and sport in South Africa will

follow, as well as the agenda-setting process. A discussion will follow of the key actors in the agenda-setting model. An agenda-setting model will then be put forward for our unique South African situation.

Chapter 5 will be on the research results and findings. It discusses the interpretation of the results as well as the interviews. Furthermore, it will look at the application of the Principal Actor Model to agenda setting in South Africa and an application of the Issue Attention Cycle to the South African case study. It concludes with findings on policy agenda setting.

Chapter 6 contains the conclusion and recommendations regarding policy agenda-setting in South Africa.

1.7 CONCLUSION

It is concluded that adequate preparation and planning had been completed to embark on the research study following the problem statement and research objectives. The research methodology makes it clear that this study has a very particular focus and that, through the suggested composition of the study, the research objectives will be achieved as adequate literature is accessible.

In the next chapter the theoretical aspects of public policy will be discussed, and there will be an introduction to public policy, policy analysis, typology, policy models and its use in policy analysis with specific reference to the Generic Policy Process Model.

This Chapter focuses on the core research problem, the research objectives as well as related matters concerning research methodology. The study has shown that the research investigation on policy agenda-setting revealed a number of important findings.

These included that:

- Comprehensive policy process models such as that of Dunn, Wissink and the Generic Process Model may need to be reviewed to incorporate more fully the policy-agenda setting stages of the process;
- Current policy agenda setting models in use are relevant and valuable in identifying key role players as well as key considerations regarding the policy process;
- Institutional arrangements to strengthen the role of NGOs and lower level institutions, such as schools are important; and last that
- the study has shown that a number of key factors have been identified that had a key influence on policy agenda-setting in the case of physical education and school sport in South Africa.

These factors will be discussed in Chapters 5 and 6 of the study. The subsequent chapters will focus on the theoretical background in public policy as well as on the specific policy models available for policy agenda setting before the case study is presented.

WESTERN CAPE

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW WITH A FOCUS ON THE THEORETICAL ASPECTS OF PUBLIC POLICY

2.1 INTRODUCTION TO PUBLIC POLICY

This chapter will discuss the theoretical aspects of public policy. The main points discussed in this chapter will be the concept of public policy, definitions of policy, policy types, levels and instruments. The theories of policy-making and models for analysing public policy will be included. A policy model will be chosen that best represents the policy process in South Africa. This policy model will have to represent the policy process of South Africa as the South African experience of policy is a relatively young one. The two types of policy we are going to investigate are Education Policy and Sport Policy, with specific reference to policy agenda setting of these policies.

Public policy, as other forms of political analysis, uses metaphors or models as devices to explore the 'unknown' (Landau, 1961: 353). A broad definition permits the exploration of the variety of meanings that have historically been attached to the process of producing policy relevant knowledge. Dunn (1981: 8) points out that etymologically the term "policy" comes from Greek and Sanskrit roots; "polis" (city-state) and "pur" (city) developed into the Latin "politia" (state) and later into the Middle English "policie", which meant the conduct of public affairs or the administration of government. It is important to note that the etymological origin of "policy" is the same for two other important concepts: police and politics. Many modern languages such as German and Russian have only one word "politik" or "politika" to refer to both policy and politics (Cloete, Wissink, De Coning, 2006: 14-15).

The idea of public policy may be understood by the notion of a public sphere, and how the changing conceptualization of public and private has shaped the study of public policy. I then examine the idea of policy, how the concept has changed over time, and discusses its modern usage. A major concern in the study of policy is the actual 'process' of policy-making (Parsons, 1995: 2). According to Parsons (1995), the starting point for a discussion of public policy must be to consider what we mean by the development of the

concept in theory and practice. Parsons (1995) further argues that public policy has to do with those spheres that are designated as "public" as opposed to the idea "private". The idea of public policy presupposes that there is a sphere or domain of life, which is not private or purely individual, but held in common. The public comprises that dimension of human activity that is regarded as requiring governmental or social regulation or intervention or, at least, common action (Parsons, 1995: 3).

In studying public policy, I set the present argument in the wider historical context of ancient Greece and Rome. It is from the Romans that we derive the concept of "public" and "private". They defined the two realms in terms of "res publica" and "res priva". The Greek idea of public and private may be expressed as "Koinion" (public) and "Idion" (private). It is in the work of Aristotle that we find the earliest attempt to find some kind of resolution to the conflict between the public and private in the ideas of the "polis" as the highest form of human association. As Habermas argued in the early 19th century, the public sphere developed in Britain out of a very clear demarcation between public power and the realm of the private (Habermas, 1989). Public intervention was primarily desired to secure a framework of law, rights and order, rather than to interfere with the natural equilibrium, which was the outcome of self-interest. Private interests were convergent with the public interest.

Hogwood and Gunn identify the following elements in the use of the term "public policy". Though policy is to be distinguished from 'decision', it is less readily distinguishable from administration. Policy involves behaviour as well as intentions, and inaction as well as action. Policies have outcomes that may or may not have been foreseen. While policy refers to a purposeful course of action, this does not exclude the possibility that purposes may be defined retrospectively. Policy arises from a process over time, which may involve both intra- and inter-organisational relationships. Public policy involves a key, but not exclusive, role for public agencies. Any public policy is subjectively defined by an observer as being such and is usually perceived as comprising patterns of related decisions to which many circumstances and personal, group, and organisational influences have contributed (Hogwood and Gunn, 1984: 23-24). Public

policies are those policies developed by governmental bodies and officials (Heclo, 1977: 3).

"Public policy is thus studied for the attainment of scientific understanding, professional advice, and policy recommendation. Policy studies can be undertaken not only for scientific and professional purposes but also to inform political discussion, advance the level of political awareness, and improve the quality of public policy" (Dye, 2005). "Citizens need to understand that public policies have a direct impact on the quality of our freedom and our pocketbook. Thus, the everyday person, not just the social scientist and analyst, needs to be even more knowledgeable about public policy issues so that one may influence public policy if one so desires" (Stewart, Hedge and Lester 2008).

"Analysis and assessment of the nature of definitions in the field reveal that no universally accepted definition theory or model exists" (De Coning, 2006: 14). However, an adequate framework of definitions enables one, according to De Coning 2006, to explore the multidimensional nature of policy to establish the key elements of definitions in the field and to develop a working definition. Thomas R. Dye defines public policy as "what governments do, why they do it and what difference it makes. Dye also defines public policy as the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activity" (Dye, 2002). Austen Rauney sees public policy as "a selected line of action or a declaration of intent". David Easton (1953: 129) defines policy as the authoritative allocation through the political process of values to groups or individuals in society.

Hanekom (1987: 7) says that policy-making is the activity preceding the publication of a goal, while a policy statement is the making known/ the formal articulation/ the declaration of intent/ or the publication of the goal to the pursued. Policy is thus indicative of a goal, a specific purpose, and a programme of action that has been decided upon. Public policy is therefore a formally articulated goal that the legislator intends pursuing with society or a societal group.

"What these various definitions have in common is that they are talking about a process or a series or pattern of governmental activities or decisions that are designed to remedy some public problem either real or imagined. Perhaps the simplest way to define public policy is to say that when the government chooses to solve a problem in society then that particular problem becomes a public policy. For example, the government knows that poverty can cause great turmoil in the country" (Lester and Stewart, 2008: 4).

According to Lester and Stewart (2008: 85) "A very high level of poverty over an extended period of years or decades can lead to civil unrest, which can lead to civil war. Therefore, the government seeks to solve the problem of poverty through welfare policy. However, the government does not seek to solve all problems in the country. Thus, some problems will not become public policy, but rather the problem will remain a private issue to be solved by individuals, NGOs or private groups".

"It is important to know that public policy is created at a national, regional, and local level. The public policies that effect citizens the most directly are those implemented at the regional and local levels. Public policy at the regional and local levels range from such issues as the designing of school districts to issues that determine the amount a citizen pays when a vehicle is registered for licence plates and the frequency thereof' (Lester and Stewart, 2008).

Recent paradigm shifts regarding institutional development and development management have shed new light on understanding certain policy issues. An example in this respect concerns policy levels and types of policy. Barber (1983: 59-60); Cloete (1983: 71-77) and Gladden (1964: 72-74) argue that public policy can be examined based on, for example, the political, executive and administrative levels. Types of policy are also often seen in terms of three main categories of players on the policy scene: public policy, non-governmental (NGO) type policy and private sector policy. Within public policy one can identify further types, namely political policy (legislation or policies of political parties), executive policy (Cabinet decisions or implementation policies as determined by political office bearers, assisted by or working in conjunction with high-ranking public officials. Administrative policy pertains to various aspects of a policy such

as the income and expenditure of a particular government department inclusive of stores, provisions, development utilisation and maintenance of personnel and other factors (e.g. through departmental circulars, memoranda, statements, etc.).

This approach distinguishes between extractive policies (e.g. taxes), allocative or redistributive policies (e.g. education, health, welfare budgets), regulatory policies (e.g. traffic, building, health and other regulations and standards), and symbolic policies (e.g. nation-building initiatives) (De Coning, 2006: 19). The above classification of public policy is conceptualised as different policy instruments. Policy instruments are therefore different approaches to address perceived policy issues or problems in society.

Policy studies are when political scientists have shifted their focus from public policy to the description and explanation of the causes and consequences of government activity (Dye, 1995: 3). Public policy is normally studied systematically for those reasons, according to De Coning and Cloete (2006); namely, to gain better academic knowledge about and insight into public policy to try to improve policy process, contents and outcomes, and to try and influence or control policy process and content in order to ensure desired outcomes.

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Public policy can be examined on four levels. These levels represent types of policy that are different but closely related, often so interrelated that determining an absolute dividing line is practically impossible. Because they are actually stages in policy-making and implementation, the different levels or types cannot in reality be separated from each other (Hanekom, 1994: 10). According to Hanekom, the four types or levels of public policy are the political policy or political party policy that originates within a political party and is the policy advocated by a particular political party regarding a specific issue. It is usually of a general nature and is often idealistic. Secondly, we have government policy or national policy that is the policy of the political party in power. It is a translation into practical objectives of the ideas of the party on how to govern the country and in which direction the country should be steered. Government policy is therefore more specific than political party policy. Thirdly, we have executive policy or implementation policy which is determined by political office bearers, assisted by or working in

conjunction with high-ranking public officials, and is concerned with the setting of priorities and with the compilation of a budget. Executive policy is of a more specific nature than government policy. Fourthly, we have, according to Hanekom, administrative policy that pertains to the policies on important issues such as the income and expenditure of a particular government department. Administrative policy could also deal with the trivial matters that will not affect government or executive policy because they are of an operational nature, relating to routine office work done at the lower levels of hierarchy. This is sometimes referred to as operational policy or as the operational level of policymaking (Ibid: 10).

Political Policy (or political party policy)
(General and idealistic)

Government Policy
(Somewhat more specific than political policy)

Executive Policy
(More specific than government policy)

Administrative Policy
(detailed)

FIGURE 2.1: LEVELS OF DIFFERENT TYPES OF POLICY

Source: Hanekom 1994:11

As pointed out in the diagram, we see that public policy finds its roots in political party policy and is therefore inextricably linked to political ideology. This is clearly illustrated

with policy flowing from the top level (political policy or political party policy) to a second or intermediate level (government policy) in South Africa.

In the South African context, delegates from the ANC national, provincial, regional and branch level structures such as the ANC Youth and Women's leagues, COSATU, the SACP, SANCO, COSAS and SASCO attend the ANC National Party Policy Conference. It marks high levels of active participation, discussion and debate. A comprehensive process precedes these conferences. This policy process is preceded in the democratic traditions of the ANC. Preparations for these policy conferences begin with requests for submissions from all structures of the ANC, governmental departments and parliamentary study groups. Regional and sub-regional policy workshops are held throughout the country. This workshop actively involves the participation of the Alliance partners (SACP, COSATU and SANCO) as well as the organs of progressive civil society. Provincial policy conferences are held in all provinces, bringing together delegates from ANC and other progressive structures. The policy department of the ANC receives the submissions from branches and regions. These discussion documents are then made available to the public for contributions and comments.

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In reviewing strategy and tactics, and in assessing key ANC and government policies, these policy conferences re-affirm the general thrust of ANC policy and perspectives. These policy conferences identify many new challenges as well as a need to intensify implementation of existing policies. Democratic policy development and evaluation is an ongoing task. This is especially so in the case of the ANC being the ruling party, a mass-based movement, the leading formation in a dynamic Alliance and at the head of all progressive forces for change, for transformation and for nation-building. The party's task is to develop policies that are able to address problems faced by the people of South Africa at a variety of levels, from the local tasks of a ward councillor to the challenges of providing leadership in Africa and in a globalising world.

In his closing statement delivered by ANC Deputy President Jacob Zuma in 2002, he stated that the policy conference had affirmed the challenge on the domestic front that a determined effort is needed to ensure that policies are implemented effectively and with

more strategic coordination. Engaging in this ANC policy-making process is to take part in the future of South Africa.

2.2 POLICY ANALYSIS

Relating to the theoretical debate, policy analysis is about finding out what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes (Dye, 2005: 5). Policy analysis has three important aspects: descriptive, causative and consequential. The descriptive aspect is where public policy is described. Dye states that we can learn what government is doing (and not doing) in welfare, defence, education, civil rights, health, the environment, taxation and more. He states that the factual basis of information about national policy is really an indispensable part of everyone's education. The following questions affect all US citizens: What does the Civil Rights Act of 1964 actually say about discrimination in employment? What is the condition of the National Social Security Programme? How much money are we paying in taxes? These are examples of causative questions (Ibid: 5).

Finally, Dye (2005) explains that analysis can be consequential. He states that we can enquire about the consequences or impact of public policy. In fact, learning about the consequences of public policy is often referred to as policy evaluation (Dye, 2005: 5). Questions about consequences ask what difference, if any, public policy makes in people's lives. For example, does capital punishment help to deter crime? Are welfare programmes a disincentive to work, and does increased educational spending result in higher scores being produced by students? Thus, these are examples of consequential questions (Dye, 2005: 5).

Now, it is important to distinguish between policy analysis and policy advocacy. Policy analysis is finding out what governments do, why they do it, and what difference it makes. Policy advocacy is the act of generating, influencing and implementing policy. That is, learning why governments do what they do and what the consequences of their actions are, is not the same as saying what governments ought to do or bringing about changes in what they do.

Although these two terms are different, policy analysis is important and does have impact on policy advocacy. Dye states that there is an implied assumption in policy analysis that developing scientific knowledge about the forces shaping public policy and the consequences of public policy is itself a socially relevant activity and that such analysis is a prerequisite of prescription, advocacy, and activism (Dye, 2005: 6). Thus, policy analysis involves a primary concern with explanation rather than prescription; it involves a rigorous search for the causes and the consequences of public policies; and it involves an effort to develop and test general propositions about the causes and consequences of public policy and to accumulate reliable research findings of general relevance (Dye, 2005: 7).

2.3 APPROACHES TO POLICY ANALYSIS

When Lester and Stewart (2000) speak of approaches to policy analysis, they mean the various ways political scientists go about analysing policy, i.e. the different approaches to finding out what governments do something, why they do it, and what difference it makes. The authors of the text state that an approach to policy analysis is sometimes described very broadly as policy research, and as applied social science research. However, approaches to policy analysis are also very specifically categorised (Lester and Stewart, 2000: v-iv).

The Process Approach has as its primary objective the examining of a part of the policy process. Accordingly, it identifies stages and then analyses the determinants (influencing factors) of each particular stage. Such an analysis encompasses an approach that recognises a societal problem as an issue for action, and then policies are adopted, implemented by agency officials, evaluated, and finally terminated or changed based on the success or the lack of it (Stewart, Hedge and Lester 2008: 39).

The Substantive Approach examines a substantive area. That is, an analyst acquires voluminous knowledge in a policy area where government action deals with a substantive (considerable) societal problem. Examples of substantive policy areas are environmental, educational, health care, energy, crime, welfare, economic, domestic, foreign, science and

technology. Lester and Stewart state that expertise in such an area encompasses both technical and the political aspects of a substantive policy. For example, Charles Jones used a substantive approach when he wrote a book on air quality policy. He acquired an abundant grasp of the technical and the political issues associated with clean air. Lester and Stewart believe that substantive knowledge is necessary to understand and interpret one's empirical findings accurately when an analyst studies a far-reaching public problem. Furthermore, they believe that expertise within a substantive area is highly desirable and gives an analyst more credibility (Stewart, Hedge and Lester 2008: 39).

The Logical-Positivist Approach (Behaviour or Scientific Approach) examines the causes and consequences of policy using scientific methods. Here an analyst advocates the use of deductively derived theories, models, hypothesis testing, hard data, the comparative method and rigorous statistical analysis. "Scientific" in this context means several things. Firstly, it means clarifying key concepts used in the analysis of policy. For example, concepts such as policy implementation must be defined more carefully than was the case in the past. Secondly, it means working from an explicit theory of policy behaviour and testing this theory with hypotheses. Thirdly, it means using hard data, developing good measures of various phenomena, and examining various explanations across time (Stewart, Hedge and Lester 2008: 40).

The Econometric or Public Choice or Political Economy Approach tests economic theories. The approach is based on economic theories of politics in which human nature is assumed rational or motivated by purely personal gain. This approach assumes that people pursue their own fixed weighted preferences regardless of collective outcomes. Essentially, it integrates the general insights of public policy research with the methods of public finance. For example, it assumes that the preferences of individuals are narrow and diverse, which requires that these individuals aggregate, or 'logroll', their preferences into majorities that can command governmental action. For example, John Chubb has used such an approach to study policy implementation (Stewart, Hedge and Lester 2008: 41).

The Phenomenological or Post-Positivist or Naturalistic Approach analyses events through an intuitive process. Those who oppose the scientific (behavioural) study of

public policy prefer an approach where intuition is more important than positivist or scientific approaches. This approach posits that analysts need to adopt a respect for the disciplined employment of sound intuition and use less quantification and hard data. This view is concerned with understanding rather than prediction, with working hypothesis rather than rigorous hypothesis testing, and with mutual interaction between the inquirer and the object of study rather than detached observation on the parts of the analysts. Thus, this approach favours case studies (Stewart, Hedge and Lester 2008: 41).

The Participatory Approach's primary objective is to examine the role of multiple actors in policy-making. This approach is closely related to the post-positivist challenge and involves a greater inclusion of the interests and values of the various stakeholders in the policy decision-making processes. It includes an extended population of affected citizens who would be involved in the formulation and implementation of public policy analysis through a series of discursive dialogues. The declared purpose of participatory policy analysis is to gather information so that policy-makers can make better recommendations and decisions. The participatory approach may be more useful as a guide to agendasetting, policy formulation, and policy implementation rather than any other stages in the process (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 40).

The Normative or Prescriptive Approach prescribes policy to decision-makers or others. This approach seeks to define a desirable 'end state'. This type of analysis will propose a particular prescription and announce that it is both desirable and attainable. That is, such analysts will advocate a certain policy position and use rhetoric in a very skilful way to convince others of the merits of their position. It has been found that such an analyst utilises skilful argumentation and (sometimes) selective use of data to advance a certain political position to convince others, that their position is a desirable policy choice (Stewart, Hedge and Lester 2008: 43).

The Ideological Approach seeks to analyse policy from a liberal or conservative point of view. Accordingly, analysis explicitly adopts a liberal or conservative ideological stance within its analysis. Liberal or conservative ideological perspectives are sometimes referred to as vision in such analyses. There are two types of vision, namely constrained

vision and unconstrained vision. A conservative stance is labelled as a constrained vision while an unconstrained vision is the liberal position. A constrained vision is a picture of egocentric human beings with moral limitations. The fundamental social and moral challenge is to make the best of possibilities that exist within the constraints, rather than to dissipate energies in vain. An attempt to change human nature is capable of directly meeting other people's needs as more important than their own and therefore is capable of consistently acting impartially, even when their interests or those of their family are involved (Stewart, Hedge and Lester 2008: 43).

The Historical Approach examines public policy over time. This analysis would examine, for instance, public policies from the perspective of a hundred years or more which may unveil certain patterns that were previously unrecognised due to a short timeframe analysis (i.e. analysis limited to a decade or less). Two opposing perspectives have emerged using this type of analysis. The first is that policy-making tends to follow a cyclical or zigzag pattern in which tendencies that are more conservative follow more liberal tendencies and then this pattern is repeated across time. Another perspective suggests that public policy reflects policy learning as a country evolves towards more thoughtful policy-making. Thus, with the historical approach, either the cyclical or the zigzag perspective is selected or the analyst uses an evolutionary explanation (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 41-42).

The Scientific Policy Analyst Approach's motivation is to search for theory, regularities or truth. This analysis is similar to the logical-positivist approach. Such analysis engages in the search for the causes and consequences of public policies rather than the prescription of policies (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 42-43).

The Professional Policy Analyst Approach's motivation is for the improvement of policy and policy-making. These analysts believe that policy studies will eventually develop a policy science that is capable of informing decision-makers by effectively defining and diagnosing policy problems; proposing policy alternatives; developing models that can aid in the achievement of desired ends and methods for testing those modes; as well as

establishing intermediate goals and estimating the feasibility of various policy programmes.

The Political Policy Analyst Approach is the advocacy of policy. The primary task is to give credence to certain policy positions or to challenge others. Teaching policy analysis within this perspective would stress fundamental research skills and instruction in the rhetorician's methods of rationalization and argumentation. It is much as the normative or prescriptive approach described earlier (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 43-44).

The Administrative Policy Analyst Approach is the effective and efficient implementation of policy, and tends to adopt the same methods and goals of the professional policy analyst.

The Personal Policy Analyst Approach's motivation is the concern on how policy affects life. The personal policy analyst is reflected in the citizen and layperson's use of policy skills to reach tentative solutions to some of the basic policy-related problems. In effect, this last category is a residual category that involves laypersons who adopt policy analysis, but who are not members of any other category such as scientific, professional, political, or administrative categories (Ibid: 43-44).

Thus, policy analysis is either broadly or specifically classified. Firstly, it provides discussion of policy analysis from its broadest level: policy analysis, policy research, and applied social science research. As stated, within the broadest category, one approach is coined "policy analysis" and it refers to a narrowly defined problem. In this instance, an analysis consists of basic data collection techniques, including the compilation of readings and the synthesis of main ideas into a coherent course of action. For example, such an analysis might be done to advise the health and human services department on whether it should recommend a particular type of welfare policy. The second type of policy research refers to a monograph on a broad problem, such as the feasibility of natural gas deregulation. This type of analysis might take a year or more to prepare, and the methods used might include decision analysis, cost-benefit analysis and systems analysis. Finally, the third type of analysis is applied social science research. It refers to a

scholarly assessment of the effects of a policy intervention on some narrowly defined set of outcomes, such as analysing the impact of using seat belts on reducing traffic fatalities (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 36). There are numerous approaches to policy analysis. In actual practice, scholars often cleverly combine several approaches in various ways. By knowing these various approaches to public policy, one acquires the ability to recognize a type of policy analysis for what it is when one sees it, then evaluate it on its own terms rather than by applying criteria that are inappropriate to a specific policy analysis or by failing to evaluate it at all (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 44).

2.4 TYPOLOGY: TYPES OF PUBLIC POLICIES

In addition to models, typologies are sometimes used to analyse public policy. It is a way of organizing phenomena into discrete categories for systematic analysis (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 58-59). For example, in 1964, Theodore Lowi proposed a typology that he thought could categorise public policy into three types: regulatory, distributive and redistributive. Since Lowi's groundbreaking categorisation, there have been many other scholars who have developed more typologies that classify public policies. Many types of public policies exist. For example, "some policies seek to distribute, or cannot prevent distributing, benefits to everyone such as highway policies that would help ease the policy problem with regard to traffic congestion. Other policies seek to redistribute benefits from the haves to the have-nots. Policies such as welfare for the poor would fit this category, and work towards solving the policy problem of poverty" (Stewart, Hedge, and Lester 2008).

The Regulatory Policy Type seeks to regulate behaviour, such as labour policy, crime policies, or environmental protection policies (Davis, 2005). For example, criminal law and regulations are imposed upon business or labour to ensure honesty or safety in the conduct of business (Davis, 2005).

The Distributive Policy Type seeks to distribute, or cannot prevent distributing, benefits to everyone (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 8). In addition, distributive policy is designed to assist economic development with incentives in the form of tax reductions, cash payments

and/or a gift of materials or training (Davis, 2005). "Thus, such a policy aims at promoting, usually through subsidies, private activities that are judged socially desirable. Accordingly, this type of public policy does not have winners or losers; there is no direct confrontation and everybody benefits equally. Redistributive Policy Type seeks to redistribute benefits such as wealth or other valued goods in society from the haves to the have-nots". (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 59). "Policies such as welfare for the poor would fit this category. Essentially, these policies redistribute benefits from one group to another. Such a policy is directed at moderating the pain of poverty through assistance in the form of free or low-cost services, food stamps, and cash payments" (Davis, 2005). Therefore, the redistributive policy tends to be characterised by ideological concerns and often involves class conflict (Stewart, Hedge and Lester, 2008).

"The Liberal Policy Type is used extensively to bring about social change usually in the direction of ensuring greater levels of social equality. The Conservative Policy Type is concerned with government bringing about social change, but may approve government action to preserve the status quo or to promote favoured interests. The Substantive Policy Type is concerned with governmental actions to deal with substantive (considerable) problems, such as highway construction, environmental protection, or payment of welfare benefits. The Procedural Policy Type relates to how something is going to be done or when it is going to take action. The Material Policy Types either provide concrete resources or substantive power to their beneficiaries or impose real disadvantages on those adversely affected. For example, welfare payments, housing subsidies, and tax credits are material. The Symbolic Policy Type appeals more to cherished values than to tangible benefits. Some examples of these policies are national holidays that honour patriots, policies concerning the flag, and religion in schools. The Collective Policy Type is concerned with collective goods and how such benefits can be given to some, but denied to others. Some examples would be national defence and public safety. The Public Goods Type of policy refers to those goods that are available to everyone, and no one may be excluded from their use. The Private Policy Type is concerned with private goods and how such goods may be divided into units and for which consumers can be charged. For example, food is for the most part a private good. Thus, private goods are divisible, in the sense that others may be kept from benefiting from their use or be charged for benefiting from their use" (Stewart, Hedge and Lester, 2008).

"The Areal Type of policy affects the total population of a geographical area through a single policy. The Segmental Policy Type is a policy that affects different people at different times in separate areas of a population. Adaptive policies are designed to meet the need of a group. Control policies are those that attempt to direct the environment" (Stewart, Hodge and Lester 2008).

2.5 POLICY MODELS

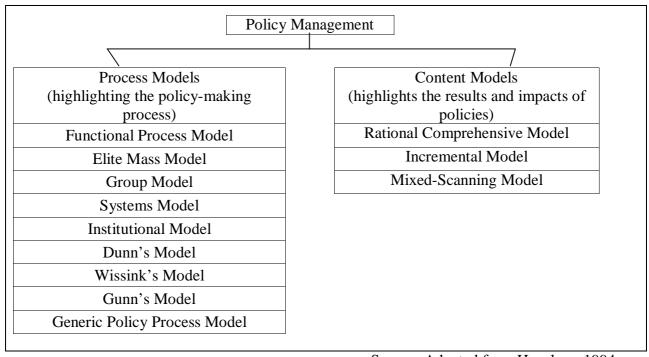
A model is a simplified representation of some aspect of the real world (Dye, 2005: 11). By simplifying policy problems, models help us to better understand reality (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 52). Similar to builders constructing a scale-down model of the entire development project to see what the project will look like when it is completed, public policy analyst employ conceptual tools that help them visualise reality. These mental constructs allow analysts to better understand the formation or implementation of policies. That is, researchers and analysts need some conception of reality to guide their analysis (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 51). Models are expressed as concepts, diagrams, graphs, or mathematical equations and are used to describe, explain, or predict elements of a particular phenomenon. Categories of models are Descriptive Models, Normative Models, Verbal Models, Symbolic Models, Procedural Models, Surrogate Models and Perspective Models.

The most common distinctions are between descriptive and normative models and between hard and soft models. The purpose of a descriptive model is to explain and/or predict the causes and consequences of policy choice. The purpose of normative models is not only to explain and/or predict but also to provide rules and recommendations for optimizing the attainment of some value (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 52). Another distinction about models is between those that are hard in which actual phenomena are being symbolised, and those that are soft in which representations are of purely theoretical or hypothetical conceptual matters (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 53). For

example, a hard model can be a topographical map that represents the actual geography of the landscape while a soft model can be a textbook diagram of a political system in which there are inputs, conversion mechanisms, and outputs. Models, whether descriptive or normative, hard or soft, verbal or symbolic are imperfect representations of reality and are only abstract tools to interpret it. Verbal (word) models are used in studying policy. These word models simplify and clarify our thinking about politics and public policy; identify important aspects of policy problems; help us communicate with each other by focusing on essential features of political life; direct our efforts to understand public policy better by suggesting what is important and what is unimportant; and suggest explanations for public policy and predict its consequences.

In public policy management, the Process Models and Content Models constitute two groups of analysis models. Thus, the models utilised for policy analysis can be divided into two broad categories: the models which are appropriate for analysing the process of policy-making and are of a process nature, and the models appropriate for analysing policy results, impacts and consequences, and which are of a content nature. The methods and categories of models can be represented diagrammatically.

FIGURE 2.2: PROCESS MODELS AND CONTENT MODELS



Source: Adapted from Hanekom 1994

The Process Model's Approach to public policy analysis is based on the functional efficiency method. They relate to but are not synonymous with empirical theory and are in effect a process of the actual method(s) used to solve a problem. Put in a time-related context, the Process Model Approach could be related to the prospective type of policy analysis, where policy-relevant information is analysed before the making of the policy.

Policy analysis may be prospective (before the making of policy) or retrospective (after policy is implemented). Various models are employed in the analysis of public policy, including the generic administrative model, which could be used to determine the relationship of policy to personnel arrangements, financing, organising, and the determination of work procedure or checking and control. Other models, which are specifically adapted to policy analysis, are the descriptive and prescriptive models. The descriptive models are based on empirical theory and include the functional process model, which is concerned with the "how", and the "who" aspects of policy-making. The group model analyses the role of interest groups in policy-making; the systems model, which views policy as the output of the political system; and in the institutional model, where attention is devoted to the relationship between public institutions in policy-making and execution.

The Content Models are based on normative theory and include the following models: The Rational-Comprehensive Model lends itself to infinite adaptations; the Incremental Model proposes that generally only marginal adaptations be made to existing policy; and the Mixed-Scanning Model, which is a combination of the good points of the Rational-Comprehensive and the Incremental Models. Application of the models may appear simple, but the policy analyst should bear in mind that the quality of policy analysis can be enhanced by knowledge of the factors influencing policy, and by following a multidisciplinary and interdisciplinary approach.

The Elite Model is based on the idea that public policy is the result of the preferences and values of the governing elite. Society is divided into the few who have power and the many that do not. The few who govern are not typical of the masses that are governed. Elites are drawn disproportionately from the upper socioeconomic strata of society. The

movement of non-elites to elite positions must be slow and continuous to maintain stability and avoid revolution. Only non-elites who have accepted the basic elite consensus are admitted to governing circles. Elites share a basic consensus on behalf of the basic values of the social system and the preservation of the system. Public policy does not reflect demands of the masses, but rather the value of the elites. Active elites are subject to relatively little direct influence from apathetic masses. Elites influence masses more than masses influence elites. Public policy is directed from the top down. Power flows upward and decisions flow downward. For policy analysis, the implication of the Elite Mass Model is that public policy is a reflection of the interests and values of the elite as opposed to the demands of society. Public policy adaptation is therefore dependent upon the changing value preferences of the elite. The masses neither govern nor decide on policy questions and have only an indirect influence on the policy-making behaviour of the elite. Their value could be symbolic only as members of political parties and on election day.

The Rational Model is one that achieves maximum social gain (Dye, 2005: 15). That is, governments should choose policies resulting in gains to society that exceed costs and governments should refrain from policies if costs are not exceeded by gain. Furthermore, among policy alternatives, decision-makers should choose the policy that produces the greatest benefit over cost (Ibid: 15).

The Rational Model for policy analysis has its roots in the Rational-Comprehensive Decision-Making Model. As a decision model, it is also applied to policy-making and implies that the policy-maker has a full range of options from which to choose. According to this model, policy-makers should know all the value preferences of society (or a section of society) and their relative importance; all possible policy alternatives; all the possible results and consequences of each alternative; the ratio of achieved to abandoned aims; and select the policy alternative that will make the greatest contribution to the common good in terms of available resources.

From the above it is apparent that rational-comprehensive policy-making requires detailed knowledge of the wants, demands, problems and goals of society and the resources available. It furthermore requires detailed information on goal determination, ranking of value preferences in order of importance, costs, benefits and consequences of alternative courses of action and, eventually, a rational approach to goal realisation with a view to ensuring the greatest degree of efficiency.

As a model for the analysis of public policy, the Rational-Comprehensive Model implies a comprehensive approach that is based on the same criteria listed previously for policy-making. Its value for policy analysis is found in the possibility that, through a comprehensive approach, the constraints imminent in rational-comprehensive policy-making and their relationship to each other can be highlighted.

Furthermore, it can focus attention on how policy ought to be formulated, and how the conversion of inputs into outputs ought to be arranged to function optimally. In other words, as a policy-analysis model, its prescriptive approach is invaluable.

The Incremental Model views public policy as a continuation of past government activities with only incremental modifications (Dye, 2005: 18). The Incremental Model recognizes the impractical nature of rational-comprehensive policy-making, and describes a more conservative process of decision-making. Policy-makers do not have sufficient predictive capacities, even in this age of computers, to know what all the consequences of each alternative will be. They are also not able to calculate cost-benefit ratios for alternative policies when many diverse political, social, economic, and cultural values are at stake. Whereas incrementalism is politically expedient (Dye, 2005: 19), agreement comes easier in policy-making when the terms in dispute are only increases or decreases in budget or modification to existing programmes. Conflict is heightened when decision-making focuses on major policy involving great gains or losses, or all-or-nothing, yes-orno policy decisions (Dye, 2005: 19).

The incremental approach to decision-making is usually associated with Charles Lindblom, who used the term in his criticism of the Rational-Comprehensive Decision-Making Model to describe an approach usually followed in decision-making. Applied to the making of public policy, the Incremental Model postulates that only a limited number

of alternatives, differing only marginally from the status quo and from which the policy-maker has to select, is available. In the Incremental Model, public policy is regarded as the continuation of existing government activities with only small (incremental) adaptations to provide for changes, which may occur. A basic assumption in the Incremental Model is that existing policy is legitimate, effective and satisfactory and that adaptation should only be slight should it be necessary at all. The assumption is, further, that rational and comprehensive change is difficult to realise because of vested interests, sunken costs and the impossibility of obtaining full data on all aspects of policy. It is argued that incremental change is more expeditious than comprehensive change, that conflict potential is considerably lower than with radical change and, because of the limited number of results for each alternative, incremental adaptation contributes to a redefinition of the policy on a continuous basis.

Incremental policy-making is conservative, fragmented and limited in scope, as opposed to rational-comprehensive policy-making that is progressive, unified and unlimited in scope. A well-known example of incremental policy-making is the national Budget. The national Budget is a public statement of the intentions of the government of the day expressed in monetary terms. Irrespective of the system of budgeting-by-objectives, which is presently in use in South Africa and which has as a basis the achieving of identified and agreed-upon objectives over a number of years, the medium-term budget is still reviewed and updated annually. In practise, this means that only marginal adaptations are made to initial estimates if and where they are necessary to provide for changing circumstances. Marginal adaptations imply a conservative approach and, in times of economic instability, the national Budget tends to become even more conservative and the adaptations even more limited.

The value of the Incremental Model for the analysis of public policy is in the possibility of continuously analysing only the adaptations made to the initial policy to determine their applicability, suitability, impact and consequences. The result is that information on the feasibility and success or failure of the changes can be supplied to the policy-maker at short notice.

In the Group or Pluralist Model, power is an attribute of individuals in their relationship with other individuals in the process of decision-making. Power relationships do not necessarily persist; rather they are formed for a particular decision. After this decision is made, they disappear, to be replaced by a different set of power relationships when the next decision is made. No permanent distinction exists between elites and masses. Individuals who participate in decision-making at one time are not necessarily the same individuals who participate at another time. Individuals move in and out of the ranks of decision-makers simply by becoming active or inactive in politics. Public policy thus reflects bargains or compromises reached between competing leadership groups (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 52-55-56).

One of the main sources of initiative for public policy derives from interest groups who are continuously interacting with the policy-makers and who act as a link between the policy-makers and the individuals who are able to influence policy. The influence of an interest group on the policy-maker determines the extent of its success in influencing policy-making.

The Process Model depicts public policy as having a pattern or process of activities. This model presents the public policy process as problem definition, agenda-setting, policy formulation, policy legitimation, policy implementation and policy evaluation (Dye, 2005: 14). There are slightly different variations on this model for public policy-making, which is agenda-setting, formulation, implementation, evaluation, change, and termination (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 5).

The Functional Process Model focuses on the functional activities involved in the process of policy-making and is concerned with the "how" and "who" aspects, *inter alia* with regard to how alternative courses of action are formulated and made known; how and by whom measures are formulated and implemented; who decides an action is contrary to the law; who demands law enforcement; how the success or failure of a policy is determined; and how initial legislation is terminated or adapted.

This particular legislation model lends itself more readily to a comparative study of policy-making than to a study of policy-making in institutions. The questions asked could create the impression that policy formulation is an intellectual process unaffected by outside factors, which may be seen as a shortcoming of the model. These questions lend themselves readily to the analysis of policy, by inquiring how, by whom and to what effect the various functions are performed.

As an alternative to both the Rational-Comprehensive and Incremental Models for decision-making, a third model, the Mixed-Scanning Model was suggested by sociologist Amitai Etzioni. Mixed-scanning decision-making integrates the good qualities of the Rational-Comprehensive Model with those of the Incremental Model, first by reviewing the overall situation or policy and, secondly, by concentrating on the deviation (the specific need, or the negative policy result or impact). Applied to the analysis of public policy, the Mixed-Scanning Model has distinct advantages. It makes a comprehensive review (albeit not to the same extent as the Rational-Comprehensive Model) of a particular policy. For example, this would be the South African policy for the provision of educational facilities to all sections of society. The model also makes it possible to concentrate on a specific aspect as it relates to the overall policy. Examples would be the policy of providing audio-visual equipment to secondary schools (the deviation), or the national policy of reviewing the teaching of Public Administration to public officials in general, and then concentrating on the role of the universities in the teaching of public administration to public officials.

The Institutional Model illustrates that public policy is described, explained, even predicted by understanding government's institutions effect on it. Accordingly, public policy is authoritatively determined, implemented, and enforced by Congress, the presidency, courts, bureaucracies, states, municipalities, and so on (Dye, 2005: 12).

The Public Choice Model studies the decision-making behaviour of voters, politicians, and government officials from the perspective of economic theory. Public choice takes the same principles that economists use to analyse people's actions in collective decision-making. Economists who study behaviour in the private marketplace assume that people

base some of their actions on their concern for others; the dominant motive in people's actions in the marketplace - whether they are employers, employees, or consumers - is a concern for them. Public choice economists make the same assumption that although people acting in the political marketplace have some concern for others, their main motive, whether they are voters, politicians, lobbyists or bureaucrats, is self-interest. A Public Choice Model focuses on the question of what government policies would produce a desirable outcome if they were implemented (Shaw, 2002).

In the Systems Model for policy-making, policy is regarded as the response by the political system to the demands, wants, needs, problems or goals of interest groups or individuals. The support the policy-maker receives for particular policies are the socalled inputs to the political system. Through the complex political process by means of inter alia debates, proposals, counterproposals, adaptation, altering the scope of what is envisaged, and consensus and decision (the so-called conversion), agreement is finally reached on the policy (the output) to be made. Eventually the results, impacts and consequences of the policies implemented (outputs) are communicated to the policymaker who then decides on the appropriateness of a particular policy and whether adaptation is necessary or not. UNIVERSITY of the

Feedback Conversion political system

FIGURE 2.3: SYSTEMS MODEL

Initiator, wants, Outputs needs, problems, (debates, proposals, (Policy) goals consensus) Feedback

Source: Parsons 1995: 138

As a model for the analysis of public policy, the Systems Model can provide information on aspects such as the effect of variables relevant to policy formulation. The influence of political policy on the environment and vice versa; the success of the political system in converting demands into public policy; the effectiveness of the feedback process; and the degree to which feedback information (results, impacts and consequences of policies) is incorporated in the adaptation of existing policies or in the devising of new policies are integral elements of the models.

The premise of the Institutional Model for the study of public policy is that public policy is the product of public institutions, which are also responsible for its implementation. As government legitimises a public policy and only government policies apply to all the members of a society, the structure of government policies also apply to all the members of a society. The structure of governmental institutions could have an important bearing on policy results. Changing only the structure of governmental institutions, however, will not bring about dramatic changes to policy. The relationship between the structure and the policy should always be taken into account. The Institutional Model could be usefully employed in policy analysis by analysing the behaviour patterns of different public institutions, for example, the legislature vs. the executive institutions (such as government departments) and its effect on policy-making.

"The Game Theory Model is the study of decisions in situations in which two or more national participants have choices to make and the outcome depends on the choices made by each. It is applied to areas in policy-making in which there is no independent best choice that one can make, in which the best outcomes depend upon what others do. The idea of 'game' is that rational decision-makers are involved in choices that are interdependent. 'Players' must adjust their conduct to reflect not only their own desires and abilities but also their expectations about what others will do. For example, consider the game of 'chicken'. Two adolescents drive their cars toward each other at high speed, each with one set of wheels on the centre line of the highway. If neither veers off course they will crash; whoever veers is 'chicken'. Both drivers would prefer to avoid death, but they also want to avoid the dishonour of being 'chicken'. The outcome depends on what both drivers do, and each driver must try to predict how the other will behave. An

important component of game theory is the notion of deterrence. Deterrence is really a psychological defence; it tries to prevent opponents from undertaking a particular action by creating in their minds the fear of costly retaliation. Thus, the Game Theory Model is the study of the ways in which strategic interactions among rational players produce outcomes with respect to the preferences or utilities of those players, none of which might have been intended by any of them" (Dye, 2005: 27).

"Each of the aforementioned identifies major models found in political science literature. These models were not derived for studying public policy, yet each offers a separate way of thinking about policy and even suggesting some of the general causes and consequences of public policy" (Dye, 2005: 12). "As equally noteworthy, these models are not competitive in the sense that any one of them could be judged 'best'. Each one provides a separate focus on political life, and each can help us to understand different aspects about public policy. Although some policies appear at first glance to lend themselves to explanation by one particular model, most policies are a combination of two or more of the aforementioned models" (Ibid: 12). Frameworks seek to organise inquiry but do not, by principle, in and of themselves offer explanations for or predictions of behaviour and outcome. Framework-bound inquiry directs the attention of the analyst to the critical features of the social and physical landscape (Schlager, 1990: 234).

De Coning, Wissink and Cloete (2006) have classified theoretical constructs. A concept is an abstract idea, frequently controversial, that serves as a thinking tool to illustrate specific attributes of intangible phenomena. A model is a representation of a complex reality that has been oversimplified in order to describe and explain the relationship among variables, and even sometimes to prescribe how something should happen. Models can therefore be used in a neutral, descriptive way, or they can be used in a normative way, expressing a preference for a particular value judgement. Models are built around specific concepts.

A theory is comprised of comprehensive, systematic, consistent, and reliable explanations and predictions of relationships among specific variables. It is built on a combination of various concepts and models, and attempts to present a full explanation and even

predictions of future events. Theories can also be used descriptively or prospectively. While theories are normally assessed in terms of their predictive validity, models are normally assessed in terms of their utility in accurately reflecting reality.

A paradigm is a collection or pattern of commonly held assumptions, concepts, models, and/or theories constituting a general intellectual framework of or approaches to scientific activities (e.g. ideologies like Liberalism, Marxism and Darwinism). A paradigm is dominant if it is widely accepted in the scientific community concerned (De Coning, Wissink and Cloete, 2000: 25).

Models and theories could be said to be the derivatives of frameworks. They could be a construct of specific concepts which represent more intricate facts that have been rendered rather simple in order to relate, explain, and predict relationship between variables. The essence of making distinctive differences between these theoretical constructs is to be able to engage in a scientific study, a suitable construct, which best suits the context of object of study. Each theory is deemed appropriate for a specific type of situation, in relation to which it aims to offer relationship, analytical framework, and generate certain contributions. De Coning, Wissink and Cloete (2006) have argued that "It is important to know the difference between these uses and to use models and theories in the correct way and for the correct reasons" (De Coning, Wissink and Cloete, 2000: 25). Both researchers have posited that public policy is normally studied for three reasons: To gain better academic knowledge about and insight into public policy (scientific, descriptive, explanatory and predictive objectives), to try to improve processes, contents and outcomes (a combination of descriptive and prescriptive objectives) and to try to influence or control policy processes and content in order to ensure the desired outcomes (prescriptive objectives) (Ibid: 25).

2.6 POLICY MANAGEMENT

Accordingly, De Coning, Wissink and Cloete (2006) explain that "It is important in policy analysis exercises to distinguish which of the above driving forces behind policy actions are the most strongest, in order to assess accurately what is going on" (Ibid: 25).

This is true of policy implementation analysis, which suggests that theories, models, paradigms, and frameworks typically provide theoretical constructs to decode policy analysis and policy implementation, in specific circumstances, and render them situational.

In 2002 Marije Schouwstra and Michael Ellman developed a 'new' explanatory model for policy analysis and evaluation. This model of policy evaluation was developed to identify factors which cause policy outcomes to diverge from the intended outcome. The explanatory factors are inherent, in this model, to the conceptual and institutional frameworks to which policy-makers adhere. These factors may be 'real world' factors such as cyclical economic problems or badly defined performance indicators.

Policy-makers can use this model to improve their policies. It can also be used by scholars to evaluate or analyse government policy as well as the policy of international organisations. This model, known as the Geelhoud-Schouwstra Framework of Policy Analysis, is a model that has the outcome of broadening the scope of policy evaluation so as to capture the most important factors that influence outcomes of a policy. Evaluators as well as academics use it as an instrument to improve the effectiveness of policy. All categories of factors are encompassed which the policy-maker can or has to take into account when making policy. Being a rational model of policy evaluation, it incorporates the usual elements of a policy-making cycle which include institutional as well as normative factors (i.e. incremental factors) or conceptual factors. It further stresses the importance of evaluation as an integral part of the ongoing and dynamic cycle of policy-making. The Geelhoud-Schouwstra framework is a rational model giving irrational or incremental elements a place in policy evaluation (Schouwstra and Ellman, 2006:32).

The most explicit level in the policy-making cycle is that of the level of activities. Specific activities that lead to realising the goals and objectives are implemented and defined on this level. These activities should be defined explicitly so that they can be implemented. The performance indicators of activities are equally explicit. Performance indicators need not just be the result of activities or about the outcome. One may also refer to input, throughput and output activities for monitoring purposes. It is the results

that count and should be evaluated ultimately and not exclusively in terms of input, throughput and output. A zero-measurement needs to be established for all indicators, so that when activities are being evaluated after a specific period, performance can be compared with the situation at the beginning of policy implementation or programme so that the effectiveness and efficiency of the policy can be established. Target measures should be defined with which the actual performances can be compared in order to determine whether the progress of a policy is occurring as planned.

Performance indicators which are predetermined are used to measure the performance of a policy. Each step in the policy-making cycle has its own performance indicators, which range from very general for the outcomes, to very specific for the activities. Performance indicators are necessary for evaluation of the outcome of a policy as well as planning and control of a policy. Policy managers need performance indicators to steer the process and to secure processes as well as performance. Performance indicators can thus refer to input, process, throughput and output.

Defining performance indicators has far-reaching consequences for a policy. A performance indicator has the capacity to shape policy and its outcome. The successful implementation of a policy is dependent on the use and formulation of the performance indicator. Good performance indicators and their definitions are the most complicated part of policy-making. Common mistakes are to use activities such as workshops or conferences as indicators of performance. These activities are only measures of output and are used to bring about an effect rather than being an end. This effect of the policy is what the evaluator wants to measure using a performance indicator. The policy-maker, official and the public want to know whether the aims and goal of a policy were achieved as opposed to what activities have taken place. It should inform the principal actors in policy-making about the impact of the policy. This impact is what performance indicators should capture.

Capturing all the critical elements of a policy with meaningless or useless indicators is difficult for implementers of a policy. According to Schouwstra and Ellman (2006), too many indicators are an administrative burden for the implementers and cause the cost of

policy to rise, as gathering data has a price. They further claim that from a pragmatic point, the number of indicators has to be as limited as possible and that indicators that are necessary to establish the efficiency or effectiveness of a policy should be defined. These performance indicators can be qualitative and quantitative. In the policy-making process, evaluation is used to improve the policy. This evaluation is used to improve the policy. This evaluation is done by using feedback on every element of the policy from the first step in the policy-making cycle. This should be repeated at regular intervals in time. The outcome of this process is that it leads to structural improvement of policy. The evaluation is done by the authorities who commissioned the policy, academics, government, NGOs, practitioners or even the policy-makers themselves who want to improve upon the policy. Generally, the aim of an evaluation is to establish whether the policy-making process has been correct or if policy agenda-setting should happen at any point of the policy cycle.

The conceptual framework influences all the steps or elements of the policy-making cycle. This happens as a result of assumptions, theories, ideology, definition, attitudes, behaviour, norms and values. The conceptual framework on which a policy is based is very important because people with different backgrounds have different views on a specific policy. Because of this difference, the intended effect of a policy may be very different.

The political, social and economic setting in which a policy has to be implemented is referred to the Institutional Framework. The Institutional Framework refers to the legal setting of a country as well as the institutions that exist in the country, including references, to all stakeholders of a policy. According to Schouwstra and Ellman (2006), when implementing a national policy, it is worthwhile to analyse the institutional framework thoroughly and important to establish what requirements should be fulfilled with regard to the institutional framework in order to implement policy successfully, and, if requirements are not fulfilled, what influence it will have on the outcomes of a policy when it is being implemented.

Evaluations in the policy-making process are important. Policy-making will become enriched when policy agenda-setting is a regular process, thereby continuously revising and improving policy.

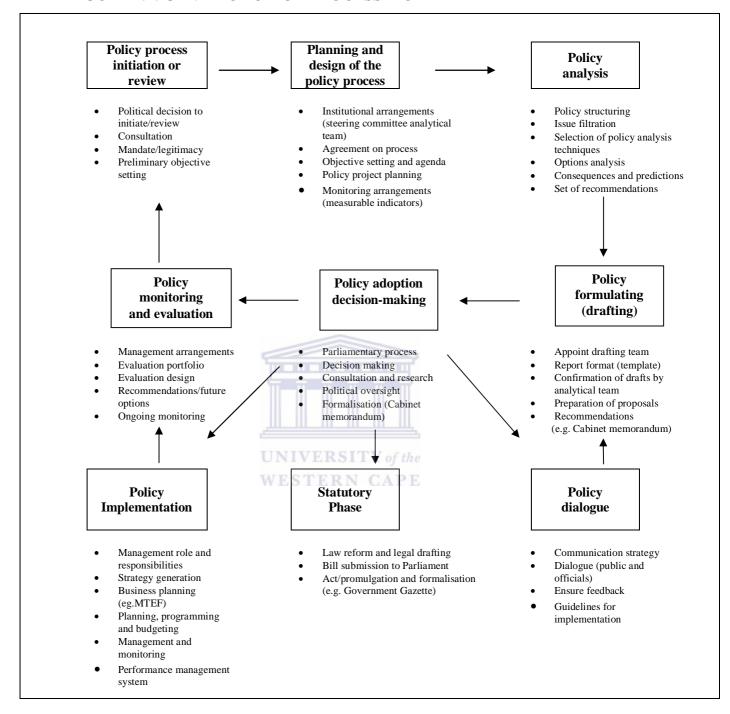
In the Generic Policy Process Model, the principles and key considerations reflect the redefinition of existing process models into a generic-type model which can accommodate the demand for a comprehensive and generic process and is specific enough to help identify key considerations in South African policy-making endeavours (De Coning, 1994b, 1995, 2006).

Particular South African circumstances prompted specific process requirements. These are depicted in the Generic Policy Process Model. Most international policy process models deal with the policy analysis phases in great detail but do not provide guidance on the events leading up to the analysis phase. In South Africa, large-scale public sector transformation was introduced at the same time as major policy-making initiatives, requiring special attention to institutional arrangements.

In South Africa macro-institutional considerations dominated. This meant that organisational change, and specifically, the institutionalisation of policy capacities at the organisational level was rapidly effected. It was important to separate process facilitation elements from the policy analysis actions in order to focus on the management arrangements of the actual facilitation of a policy process as a project (De Coning and Cloete, 2006: 52).

If one compares Hughes (1994: 152), Dye (1987: 27), Henry (1998: 307); Fox et al, (1991: 31) and Wissink (1990: 32) in essence, the Generic Policy Process Model provides a comprehensive set of phases and proposes specific requirements and key issues to be addressed during each phase.

FIGURE 2.4: GENERIC POLICY PROCESS MODEL



Source: Adapted from Cloete, Wissink, De Coning, 2006

The advantages of this model are that it identifies the major stages and considerations of the various stages through which a policy is developed. Scholars made a number of adjustments, following the application of this model to several sectors in South Africa. These include the redefinition of the initiation phase as initiation or review, given present demands, where existing policies or parts thereof often need to be reviewed. The second change to the model has been the inclusion of the statutory stage to allow for legislation. The third and final change is the monitoring and evaluation component where monitoring should occur throughout the process.

The Generic Policy Process Model (De Coning, 2006) provides for both a comprehensive set of phases and proposes specific requirements and key issues to be addressed during each of the phases. These phases consist of policy initiation, policy process design, formulation, decision-making, policy analysis, policy policy dialogue, implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation where this occurs throughout the process. Although many different application possibilities exist, the Generic Policy Process Model has been selected as the process model suited for policy application in South Africa. The generic model has the added advantage that it was brainstormed with my supervisor Professor Christo de Coning, who devised it as a representation of the policy process in South Africa and therefore applicable to my study. According to De Coning (2006), the South African circumstances prompted specific process requirements as depicted in the Generic Policy Process Model.

Most international policy process models deal with the policy analysis phases in great detail but do not provide guidance on the events leading up to the analysis phase. In South Africa, large-scale public sector transformation was introduced at the same time as major policy-making initiatives, requiring special attention to institutional arrangements, and macro-institutional considerations dominated. This meant that organisational changes, and specifically the institutionalisation of policy capacities at the organisational level, were rapidly effected. It was important therefore to separate process facilitation elements from the policy analysis actions in order to focus on the management arrangements of the actual facilitation of a policy process.

Education policy was changed from Christian National Education to Outcomes-Based Education. In this transformation and reform, physical education was left out as a subject in the school curriculum, only to be included as part of the Learning Area called Life

Orientation. Since 1993, OBE has undergone a change owing to the Revised National Curriculum Statements. The following information, obtained through interviews held with key principal actors, emphasises why Physical Education and School Sports should be placed on the agenda.

With the status of physical education still being neglected as a fully-fledged subject or Learning Area, it was reduced to basic physical activity. The policy process initiation was clearly legitimate, mandated and appropriate within the political context of the transition of South African society at the time, where opportunities existed to effect fundamental but radical changes.

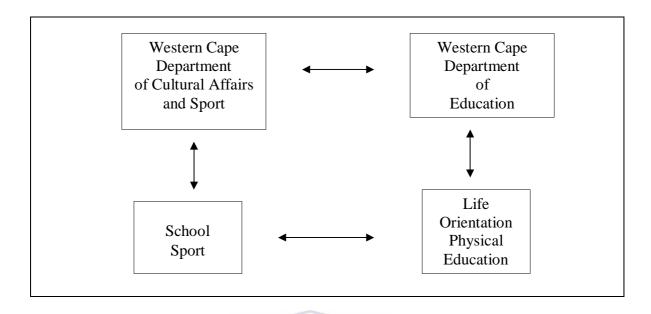
On 11 March 2005, MEC for Cultural Affairs, Sport and Recreation, Chris Stali, inspired by the Freedom Charter, which advocates that the doors of learning and culture shall be open to all, attempted to unpack this declaration by saying that the government shall discover, develop and encourage national talent for the enhancement of our cultural life.

Inspired by this provoking thought and seeking the stark realities confronting our children at schools, especially those from previously disadvantaged areas, DCAS conceived the idea of bringing together all stakeholders to develop strategies to resuscitate ailing school sport and looking at physical education out of a serious concern. Stali then further reiterates that, departmentally, there is no integrated strategy to develop sport and physical education at school level. The demographic representation in our provincial and national teams often threatens to polarize our country.

Cameron Dugmore, the MEC for Education for the Western Cape, stated on 12 March 2005 that stock should be taken of the current situation as it pertained to school sport. He further reiterated that serious consideration should be given to the challenges that affect the effective delivery of school sport and physical education, both directly and indirectly.

Jenny Rault-Smith of the WCED curriculum services, on 13 March 2005, spoke about the policy design, planning and objective setting. She graphically represented the relationship between DCAS, WCED and DOE.

FIGURE 2.5: RELATIONSHIP BETWEEN DCAS, WCED AND DOE



Source: WCED 2005

The implementation of physical education and sport in the curriculum was the responsibility of the partnership between the Department of Cultural Affairs and Sport, Department of Education, local universities, sporting bodies and international sporting bodies. The training of teachers was to be done by Curriculum Advisors, DCAS officials and other experts, including lead teachers. Teachers were to be trained in physical education, sports and coaching. Team teachers were to facilitate the utilisation of teachers' strengths. Resources in the way of basic equipment were to be supplied in addition to learning programmes, exercise charts and videos of games. There should be a blending of contact teaching time and afternoon sport activities. Learners and parents 'must call for physical education activities' as part of the teaching and learning activities of Life Orientation.

Jenny Rault-Smith (interviewed on 13 March 2005) further spoke about Life Orientation. Life Orientation demands mass participation in every sense of the word. Practicalities determined a phased-in approach to career guidance in 2004, sexuality programme in 2005 and the preparation for a physical education strand in 2006 supported by a wellness programme. The school curriculum for Grades R to 9 includes Life Orientation in

Learning Outcome 4 as Physical Development and Movement. This outcome states that the learner will be able to demonstrate an understanding of, and participate in, activities that promote movement and physical development.

The assessment standards for Grade 7 are that the learner participates in an outdoor adventure through orienteering, performs a sequence of physical activities including rotation elevation and balance movements, participates in and reports on a fitness programme design and plays a game. The learner should also investigate fair play in a variety of athletic and sport activities.

The school curriculum for Grades 10 to 12 of Life Orientation is Learning Outcome 3, which is Recreation and Physical wellbeing. The Assessment Standards for Grade 11 state that the learner should set own goals and participate in programmes both in and out of school to improve current personal level of fitness and health, and investigate how nutrition relates to these. They also have to participate in self-designed and modified sports and games that are taught to peers to develop own umpiring, administrative, organisational and leadership skills. An investigation into participant and spectator behaviour in sport and the role of sport in nation-building is a further assessment standard. Furthermore, learners should explore leadership roles through participation in a recreational group activity. Life orientation must promote careers in sports for both male and female learners.

The objective setting and challenge for implementation is the implementation of the National Curriculum Statement, preparation and training of teachers, assessment system, teacher support and 'buy in' to the new system. Allan Liebenberg, a School Governing Body Member, remarked on 10 February 2005 that the objective and challenge is to provide as many pupils as possible, regardless of ability, with enjoyable and stimulating physical activity, teaching life skills and encouraging healthy physically active lifestyles.

He added that he felt that it played a vital role in the process of nation-building, reconciliation and exposure for those whose experience of life in South Africa was different to his. Concern was expressed on the findings in policy analysis and formulation

regarding the demise of physical education as a subject taught by a specialist Physical Education teacher in that there is a significant decline in physical activity for all. Education includes access to the worlds of recreation, art, music and organised sport. A. Cowley, in his proposal to the Department Education for the inclusion of physical education and school sport in schools, stated on 10 February 2005 that early introduction to physical education, including both recreational activities and organised sport, is critical to the long-term health and wellbeing of individuals, especially those with disabilities.

Habits learned early in life are most likely to be continued, thus, early exposure to physical education has the potential for developing positive life-long consequences. He quotes the *Medicine and Science in Sports and Exercise*, Jan 1999, 31 No.1; pp.105-110 that claims that studies show that daily physical education in primary school appears to have a significant long-term positive effect on the exercise habits of women, as women who begin a daily exercise habit in Physical Education remain continuously more active as they age.

Furthermore, it is clear that the lack of participation of people in sports, recreation and physical activity begins with the lack of exposure to sport and recreation within the confines of the educational system. Thus, in order to stave off increased risk of all these devastating and costly healthy conditions as well as to ensure that persons are fully integrated into the fabric of our societies, access to physical education and related programmes within the educational system must take place. Sports, recreation and leisure are interconnected concepts, and organised sport is but one aspect of the continuum of recreation and leisure activities that must be made available to persons in South Africa. Finally, but no less importantly, in addition to the educational and physiological factors, participation in sports does amazing things for the individual's feelings of self-worth and self-esteem. In studies of adolescents, it was shown that exercise and sports participation enhanced mental health by offering positive feelings about body image, improved self-esteem, tangible experiences of competency and success and increased self-confidence (Physical Activity and Sport in the Lives of Girls, PCPFS, 1997).

Nomvula Ralorala, the secretary-general of SADTU, emphatically stated the following at the Western Cape School Sports Indaba on Saturday, 12 March 2005, that SADTU's mission and vision has and is always directed by the needs and the material conditions in the context of broader objectives. The union believes that the sports agenda starts from the cradle to the grave. As stakeholders with a deep concern for physical education and school sport, clear recommendations regarding the importance of physical education and sport as part of the core and the extracurricular programme in our schools have been requested for some time. These have been commissioned by or independently forwarded to the political leadership in both sport and in education since 1994. From then until now, various barriers and delaying embargoes have impeded the government from meeting its responsibility to formalise the proper provisions regarding educationally sound programming that inspires access to meaningful participation in regular physical activity for all school-going citizens of South Africa.

SADTU believes that a review of the curriculum is long overdue and necessary to fulfil the goals that were set by the first democratic government in 1994. Physical activity in the policy analysis and implementation of Life Orientation as a Learning Area falls short of the aims and objectives of the Berlin Agenda, which is to implement policies for physical education as a human right for all children.

A large number of participants in interviews, sport indabas, workshops, role-players, stakeholders, the practitioners of education policy and sport policy have uttered strong sentiments that physical education and school sport should be placed on the policy agenda. By using the Generic Policy Process Model, we will look at where policy agenda-setting fits in the policy process in South Africa. The first wave of policy was implemented after the election of a democratic government in 1994. Monitoring and evaluation takes place throughout the Generic Policy Process Model.

The global policy agenda was set by UNESCO's International Charter of Physical Education and Sport, Article H, on 21 November 1978, which stated that 'Every human being (learner) has a fundamental right of access to Physical Education and (school) sport, which are essential for the full development of his/her personality. The freedom to

develop physical, intellectual and moral powers through Physical Education and (school) sport must be guaranteed both within the educational system and in other aspects of social life'.

The Berlin Agenda subsequently served as a working document for the Third International Conference of Ministers and Senior Officials responsible for Physical Education and Sports (MINEPS III) in December 1999. MINEPS III issued 'The Declaration of Punta del Este', which was promulgated by UNESCO, the International Olympic Committee and the World Health Organisation. The Declaration invites the Director-General of UNESCO to urge and request heads of state and governments to consider the proposals of the three commissions, which dealt with the contribution of Physical Education and sport to sustainable economic development. Physical Education and sport as an integral part and fundamental element of the right to education and the process of continuing education. It also wants new forms of cooperation and consultation in the field of Physical Education and school sport at the national, regional and international levels.

2.7 CONCLUSION

One of the first impressions when analysing policies is the realisation that they concern a complex and intricate set of social events, framed by actors, ideas, discourses and structures. Public policy is a realm rich in different approaches, maps, models, and academic disciplines.

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Policy research in Sub-Saharan Africa has a major problem with contemporary policy analysis in that it has difficulty coming to terms with complex economic change, according to June Calestons and Norman Clark (1995). This in turn is probably influenced by a view of socioeconomic systems that still hark back to the classical mechanics of the nineteenth century and a relatively stable world in which social action could reasonably be informed by disinterested scientific research of a traditional kind. By means of a review of some recent policy analysis literature and by focusing on issues relating to development issues in contemporary Africa, the article maintains that a more

realistic approach would recognise the evolutionary nature of modern socioeconomic systems and base policy interventions accordingly. In particular, there is a need to see policy as a process of complex change requiring innovative institutional contexts and novel managerial capabilities.

Recent political and socioeconomic changes in South Africa have brought into sharp focus the role of policy reform in creating a suitable environment for change since it is becoming clear that the implementation of sustainable development programmes will depend on the degree to which policy is reformed to facilitate social innovation. The influences and actions of all groups in society, including governments, industry and individuals, have important implications for the efficiency and sustainability of development. An adjustment or even a fundamental reshaping of decision-making, in the light of country-specific conditions, may be necessary if environment and development is to be put at the centre of economic and political decision-making (UN, 1993: 95).

The politics of agenda-setting and bias mobilization may therefore be understood as the process wherein issues and priorities are defined through the regulation of conflict. When a policy proposal comes to the bottom of the decision agenda at the policy analysis stage of the Generic Policy Process Model, the problem follows the agenda-setting process until it becomes an issue and the actors as well as the policy stakeholders formulate policy (see Figure 3.7 of adapted Generic Policy Process Model).

Agenda-building can also occur after the policy implementation, monitoring and evaluation phases, because of the expansion of an issue from a specifically concerned attention group to a wider interested or attentive public. This is a public which is interested and informed about public affairs and which contains opinion leaders. Finally, the problem will reach issue creation via the agenda-setting process (problem, trigger, initiator, issue creation, issue policy process initiation by actors and policy stakeholders).

In the next chapter, there is a theoretical focus on policy agenda-setting, and agenda-setting models will be discussed and selected to apply to my case study of South Africa.

CHAPTER 3: LITERATURE REVIEW WITH A THEORETICAL FOCUS ON POLICY AGENDA-SETTING

3.1 INTRODUCTION TO AGENDA-SETTING

This chapter will address policy agenda-setting by examining what agenda-setting is and the factors influencing agenda-setting. Further, it will discuss agenda-setting models and the substantive issues of who influences the policy agenda as well as the role-players in agenda-setting. Public participation in the policy process, types and the approaches to agenda-setting will be explored.

Policy agenda-setting refers to a deliberate planning process through which policy issues are identified, problems defined and prioritised, support mobilised and decision-makers lobbied to take appropriate action. The policy process normally starts with the identification of a policy issue or problem by one or more stakeholders in society, who feel that the actions of government detrimentally affect themselves or another segment of society (Cloete and Meyer, 2006: 105).

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One constantly hears or reads about demands made by a group or individual for action by some governmental body on some problem, whether it is antiretrovirals, crime, Tibet, high prices or load shedding by ESKOM. Of the thousands and thousands of demands made upon government, only a small portion receives serious attention from public policy-makers. Those demands that policy-makers either do choose or feel compelled to act upon constitute the policy agenda (Anderson, 1975: 47). Thus, the policy agenda is distinguishable from political demands generally. It can also be distinguished from the term "political priorities", which usually designates a ranking of agenda items, with some being considered more important or pressing than others. To achieve agenda status, according to Anderson (1975), a public problem must be converted into an issue. An issue arises when the public with a problem seeks or demands government action and there is public disagreement over the best solution to the problem. Agenda-setting can be defined as the list of subjects or problems to which government officials are paying some serious attention to at any given time (Lester and Stewart, 2005: 5). Agenda-setting involves getting an issue recognised. That is, a problem is receiving attention;

government officials are considering something a problem. Lester and Stewart (2000: 66) state that there are several different conditions that can place a problem or issue on the government's agenda. This happens when it has reached crisis proportions and can no longer be ignored. The issue dramatizes a larger issue, such as ozone depletion and global warming. It attracts media attention because of the human-interest angle and therefore has wide impact when millions are affected by this problem. It also raises questions about power and legitimacy in society and whether it is fashionable.

Accordingly, if one, or a combination of the above occurs, government officials recognise the concern and state it as a problem. Thus, agenda-setting involves getting an issue to be recognised (Lester and Stewart, 2000: 67). Hogwood and Gunn stress the importance of non-political factors in determining the policy agenda. What makes an issue have sufficient importance that action is deemed necessary? Hogwood and Gunn identify reasons that place items onto the political agenda. According to them, these characteristics are inherent in the issues themselves. The problem reaches crisis proportions, and therefore, it is no longer ignored. This covers much environmental legislation and HIV/Aids. The particularity of an issue that forces its way onto the agenda seems to be symptomatic of a wider issue. This is when it is emotive, with a human-interest angle, such as high food prices and the impact made by the link between the contraceptive pill and cancer, the power and legitimacy of a political system and if it is fashionable, such as the sudden surge in environmental issues, going green, etc.

These are all things that are inherent to the issues themselves and do not explain why some people see certain issues a certain way and others do not. One has to look further than the issue itself to understand the policy agenda and indicate people's perceptions of issues rather than the objective view of how important the issue is.

Establishing an agenda for society, or even for one institution, is a manifestly political activity, and control of the agenda gives substantial control over the ultimate policy choices (Peters, 1996: 49). Therefore, to understand how agendas are determined requires some understanding of the manner in which political power is exercised. According to Peters (1996), there are a number of different conceptualizations of the manner in which

power is exercised. To enable us to understand the dynamics of agenda-setting better, we should discuss three important theoretical approaches to the exercise of political power namely pluralists, elitist, and state-centric.

The pluralist approach assumes that policy-making in government is divided into a number of separate arenas and that those who have the power in one arena do not necessarily have the power in others. Furthermore, interests that are victorious at one time or in one arena will not necessarily win at another time or place. The pluralist approach to policy-making assumes that there is something of a marketplace in policies, with a number of interests competing for power and influence, even within a single arena. These competitors are perceived as interest groups that compete for access to institutions for decision-making and for the attention of central actors in the hope of producing their desired outcomes (Peters, 1996: 50). The pluralist approach to agenda-setting would lead the observer to expect a relatively open marketplace of ideas for new policies. Any or all interested groups as a whole or within a particular public institution should have the opportunity to influence the agenda. These interest groups may not win every time, but neither will they systematically be excluded from decisions, and the agendas will be open to new items as sufficient political mobilization is developed. This style of agenda-setting may be particularly appropriate given that there are multiple points of access inherent in the structure of a system (Peters, 1996: 50).

The elitist approach to policy-making seeks to contradict the pluralist approach. It assumes the existence of a power elite who dominate public decision-making and whose interests are served in the policy-making process. In the elitist analysis, the same interests in society consistently win, and these interests are primarily those of business, the upper and middle classes. Analysts from an elitist perspective have pointed out that to produce the kind of equality assumed in the pluralist model would require relative but equal levels of organisation by all interested in society. They then point out that relatively few interests of working and lower-class individuals are effectively organised. While all individuals in a democracy certainly have a right to organise, elitist theorists point to the relative lack of resources (e.g. time, money, organisational ability, and communication skills) among members of the working and lower-economic classes. Thus, political

organisation for many poorer people, if it exists at all, may imply only token participation, and their voices will be drowned in the sea of middle-class voices. The implications of the elitist approach are rather obvious. If agenda formulation is crucial to the process of policy-making, then the ability of the elites to keep certain issues on the agenda is crucial to their power. Adherents to this approach believe that the agenda in most democratic countries does not represent the competitive struggle of relatively equal groups, as argued by the pluralist model, but that it represents the systemic use of elite power to decide which issues the political system will or will not consider (Peters, 1996: 51). Habermas, for example, argues that the elite use its power to systemically exclude issues that would be a threat to its interests and that these suppressed issues represent a major threat to democracy. According to Peters (1996), if too many significant issues are kept off the agenda, the legitimacy of the political system can be threatened along with its survival in extreme cases.

Both the pluralist and elitist approaches to policy-making and agenda-setting assume that the major source of policy ideas is the environment of the policy-makers – primarily interests groups or other powerful interests in the society. It is, however, quite possible, according to Peters (1996), that the political system itself is responsible for its own agenda. The environment in a state-centric analysis is not filled with pressure groups but with pressured groups. This approach does emphasise the role of specialized elites within government but, unlike elitist theorists, does not assume that these elites are pursuing policies for their own personal gain.

The state-centric approach places the major locus of competition over agenda-setting in government itself rather than in the constellation of interest in society. Actors within government are most relevant in pushing agenda items rather than interest groups in society (Peters, 1996: 52). Government actors may be constrained with regard to the amount of change they can advocate on their own initiative; they may instead have to wait for a time when their ideas will be more acceptable to the general public (Peters, 1996: 53). Which approach to policy-making and agenda formation is most descriptive of the process? The answer, according to Peters (1996), is probably all of them.

The genesis of a policy involves the recognition of a problem. What counts as a problem, and how a problem is defined depends upon the way in which policy-makers seek to address an issue or an event. James A. Jones expresses this succinctly in the context of social problems, when he states that, 'Whosoever initially identifies a social problem shapes the initial term in which it will be debated' (Jones, 1977: 561).

3.2 PROBLEMS OR ISSUES

Problems or issues (also known as policy problems) are placed onto systemic or institutional agendas. Lester and Stewart (2000: 69) provide different types of issues for agenda-setting. Subject issues are relatively broad, such as air pollution, water pollution, or health care issues. Policy issues are issues surrounding specific legislation, such as the Clean Air Act of 1990. Project issues relate to a specific project or locality, such as the N2 Gateway. New issues are those that are emergent issues, such as indoor air pollution issues. Cyclical issues occur regularly, such as the annual Budget. Recurrent issues, such as welfare issues, are issues that re-emerge because of the failure of previous policy choices.

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E.E. Schattschneider made one of the earliest and most significant contributions to the study of bias in agenda-setting in his book *Semisovereign People*, published in 1960. The book argues that an essential power of government is the power to manage conflict before it starts. He argues that the scope and extent of conflict is limited and framed by the dominant players in the political game. The domain of the political game is not something which is as open and pluralistic as liberal democratic theory and empirical research as Truman, Dahl, and Lindblom, et al had maintained. The management of the conflict thus displaces politics as a conflict of values, beliefs and interests. Schattschneider's model follows that public policy is essentially an activity in which issues are included or excluded and bias is mobilised to ensure that conflict is managed and contained (Parsons, 1995: 126). The definition of issues is therefore a fundamental form of political power. Moreover, from this it follows that the definition of the alternative is the supreme instrument of power (Schattschneider, 1960: 69). Because people cannot agree about what the issue actually is, 'He who determines what politics is about runs the country, because

the definition of alternatives is the choice of conflicts' (Schattschneider, 1960: 69). The Schattschneider model, which has the process wherein winners seek to contain the scope of conflict and losers expand the scale of conflict, was developed further in subsequent years by Cobb et al (1976). Cobb and Elder were concerned with the analysis of limited participation, how the agenda process provides the linking and level of analysis between the social system as a whole and decision-making. Their focus is on the way in which conflict is expanded and managed. What makes for an issue in their model? It is conflict between two or more groups over procedural matters relating to the distribution of positions and resources (Cobb and Elder, 1972: 82). Issues may be created by a number of means, such as the manufacture by a contending party who perceives unfairness or bias in the distribution of positions or resources; manufacture of an issue for personal or group gain and advantage; unanticipated events; and 'do-gooders'.

Parsons (1995) says that there are internal and external triggers, which prompt the emergence of an issue. Internal triggers, he claims, are natural catastrophes; unanticipated human events, technological changes; imbalance or bias in distribution of resources and ecological change. External triggers are acts of war, innovations in weapons technology, international conflict and patterns of world alignment. The formation of an issue however does not depend solely on a trigger. A link must be made between a trigger and a grievance or problem, which then transforms the issue into an agenda item (Parsons, 1995: 127).

Cobb and Elder characterise the agenda as being of two types namely the systemic and institutional agendas. The systemic agenda is composed of all issues that are commonly perceived by members of the political community as meriting public attention and as involving matters within the legitimate jurisdiction of existing government authority (Cobb and Elder, 1972: 85).

The institutional agenda, on the other hand, is defined as that set of items explicitly up for the active consideration of authoritative decision-makers (Cobb and Elder, 1972: 86). It is unlikely that an issue will get on the institutional agenda if it has not first found a place on the systemic agenda.

3.3 THE EXPANSION AND CONTROL OF THE AGENDA

The systemic agenda is a broader set of issues facing society. Not all the issues raised in the systemic agenda receive government attention (Jones, 1984: 59). Issues raised in this way have a policy community and involve matters falling within the scope of the government's activities. Government officials receive information on literally thousands of problems from the public and are expected to act on all of them. As Howlett and Ramesh (1995: 112) point out, only a small portion of these issues on the systemic agenda receive serious government intervention.

The institutional agenda is where the problems receive formal attention by the government (Howlett & Ramesh, 1995: 112-113). Whereas the systemic agenda is the government's way of acknowledging the problem, but do nothing about it, the institutional agenda comes with government action in the form of resources, legislation and a timeframe for action.

WESTERN CAPE Agenda of decision-makers Initiator Issue Mass media emphasis Patterns of access to larger public characteristics Issue creations Expansion Trigger device Symbol utilization SYSTEMIC AGENDA **INSTITUTIONAL** AGENDA

FIGURE 3.1: EXPANSION AND CONTROL OF THE AGENDA

Source: Cobb and Elder 1972

3.3.1 Systemic Agenda

To get access to a systemic agenda, an issue must have:

- all issues commonly perceived by members of a political community as meriting public attention of public authorities;
- widespread attention or awareness;
- shared concern of a sizeable portion of public; and
- shared perception that it is a matter of concern to a public authority.

3.3.2 Institutional Agenda

- explicitly up for active and serious consideration by decision-makers;
- may be an old item that is up for regular review or is of periodic concern;
- alternatively, it may be a new item; or
- on the other hand, it may be a governmental or formal item.

According to Wayne Parsons (1995), taken together the Schattschneider and Cobb and Elder models of agenda-setting, it may be used in an empirical way to show how the interests of those who have a dominant or monopolistic position in a policy field are motivated. It ensures that the issue is contained within tight parameters and directs how an issue must be expanded if it is to impact on the decision-making process. The politics of agenda-setting and bias mobilization may therefore be understood in Schattschneider's model as the process where issues and priorities are defined through the regulation of conflict. As the work of Cobb and Elder shows, the central factor to be considered is the participation in the political process and the scale of the political policy 'game' (Parsons 1995: 130).

There are three approaches or options for agenda-setting (Jones, 1984: 62-64). The 'let it happen' approach calls on governments to take a relatively passive role in agenda-setting. Governments using this approach will allow for access to policy machinery so that those who feel strongly about certain issues can be heard. Governments do, however, assist individuals or groups to define problems or set priorities. Jones points to the fact that this

approach simply ignores the unequal distribution of power and forces in society. This approach marginalises the poor in favour of those with access to resources. This approach is very much a laissez-faire way of agenda-setting, in which the strongest dominate and shape the process (Cloete et al, Chapter 5, 2006).

The 'encourage it to happen' approach encourages governments to reach out to policy communities by assisting them in defining and articulating their problems. This approach acknowledges the weaknesses of the laissez-faire approach and introduces efforts to equalise resources. The emphasis of this approach is to capacitate people to participate. It does not facilitate problem identification by people (Cloete et al, Chapter 5, 2006). The major problem, according to Cloete and Meyer (1996), with this approach to agendasetting is that the government decides unilaterally who (i.e. which groups in society) needs assistance, which could present a bias in favour of some groups. This approach is proactive in the sense that the government engages with its citizens.

The 'make it happen' approach is when government plays an active role in defining problems and setting goals. This approach advocates the notion that the government must define problems, set priorities and establish goals, without waiting for public demands or needs to be articulated. With this approach, the government systematically reviews public demands and their effects, but sets its own agenda for action (Cloete et al, Chapter 5 2006).

Agenda-setting is both necessary and a complex phase in the policy-making process. It is necessary in order to separate issues from non-issues. It is complex since it deals with competing values and preferences of different sectors of society. The challenge is to maintain a fine balance between proactive and reactive agenda-setting strategies.

In the policy agenda-setting process, there are a large number of potential participants (Davis, 1974: 36). These participants are interdependent (Davis, 1974: 25). Moreover, the power of the actors is not constant (Davis, 1974: 37). These three variables greatly affect policy-making.

3.4 KINGDON'S AGENDA-SETTING MODEL

In 1972, Cohen et al developed their Garbage Can Model, which is a theoretical abstraction of the decision-making process in a type of organisation called 'Organised Anarchy'. Inherent in this type of organisation are the properties of problematic preference, unclear technology and fluid participation.

Kingdon (1995) finds the similarity between the organised anarchy and that of the American Federal Government and argues that even though it is not the exact kind of organised anarchy the Garbage Can Model describes, the general logic underlying the organisation is the same. Separate streams run through the organisation, each with its own life. These streams are coupled at critical junctures, and that coupling produces the greatest agenda change (Kingdon, 1995: 87). He called his theory a Revised Garbage Can Model. The Revised Garbage Can Model can be summarised as three independent streams, namely the Problem Stream, Policy Stream and Political Stream (one window – Policy window; one mechanism – Coupling, and one type of player – Public Entrepreneurs).

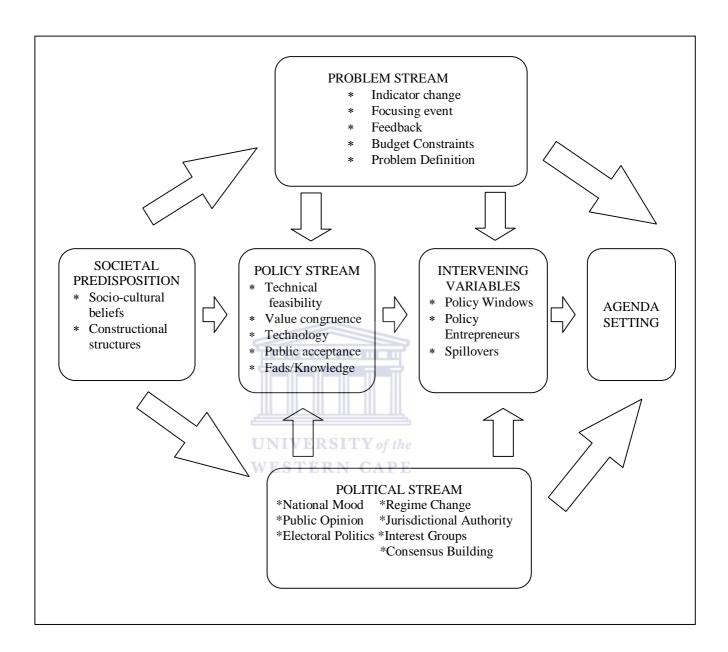
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According to Kingdon (1995), the policy entrepreneur is someone who brings several key resources into the fray such as their claims to a hearing, their political connection, negotiating skills and their sheer persistence. An item's chance of moving up on the agenda is enhanced considerably by the presence of a skilful entrepreneur. Kingdon uses the analogy of a surfer waiting on the board to catch the wave.

Policy entrepreneurs, according to Kingdon, are storytellers, networkers, engineers and fixers. Storytellers are practitioners, bureaucrats and policy-makers who often articulate and make sense of complex realities through simple stories, which are sometimes misleading, yet with very powerful narratives.

Networkers come into play since policy-making usually takes place within communities of people who know each other and interact. If one wants to influence policy-makers, you need to join their networks.

FIGURE 3.2: KINGDON'S MODEL



Source: Kingdon 1994

Engineers are often those who bridge the huge gap between what politicians and policy-makers say they are doing, and what actually happens. Researchers or analysts need to work not just with the senior level policy-makers, but also with the 'street-level bureaucrats'.

Kingdon (1995) further states that policy-making is essentially a political process and that fixers need not be a Machiavelli, but that successful policy entrepreneurs need to know how to operate in a political environment, when to make their pitch, to whom and how. A successful argument depends partly on recognising how the policy or political climate shapes effectiveness, recognising frames, perception, awareness of the complexity and potential tensions, recognising and taking advantage of policy windows which are the couplings of the problem, the solutions and the political climate.

A policy entrepreneur is someone willing to invest time and energy for policy change and has the ability to integrate different types of knowledge for policy relevance. These policy entrepreneurs have power, position, reputations, prestige, political power, credibility (ethos), ability to appeal to the emotions of the audience (pathos) and the ability to present good reason or logic (logos).

3.4.1 Agenda-setting

The agenda is the list of subjects or problems to which government officials and people outside of government who closely associate with those officials are paying some serious attention at any time. The agenda-setting process narrows [a] set of conceivable subjects to the set that actually becomes the focus of attention (Kingdon, 1984: 3).

The governmental agenda is a list of subjects to which serious attention is being paid to by governmental officials and those around them. The decision agenda is a list of subjects within the governmental agenda that are up for active decision.

Factors that affect agenda-setting ("interact" on a Garbage-Can Model of organisational choice) are participants who are active and the processes by which agenda items and alternatives come into prominence. These processes can serve as an impetus in situations where items are promoted to a higher agenda prominence or as a constraint where items are prevented from rising on the agenda. Problems are coupled with solutions when policy windows are open. If the three streams are joined together, the chance of an issue being placed on the decision agenda is highest.

TABLE 3.1: KINGDON'S AGENDA-SETTING MODEL GRAPHICALLY REPRESENTED

		AGENDA	ALTERNATIVES
Participants	Inside of government	President, political appointees, congress (members)	Presidential staff, congress (staffers), career civil servants
	Outside of government	Elections-related participants, public opinion (VISIBLE)	Interest groups, academics, researchers, consultants (INVISIBLE)
Approach		Agenda change is discontinuous and non incremental	Incrementalism could explain alternatives
		Garbage-can model explains development of both agendas and alternatives	
Processes	ç	Problems Politics	Policy

Source: Kingdon 1984

3.5 THE PRINCIPAL ACTOR MODEL IN AGENDA-SETTING

WESTERN CAPE

This section deals with the principal actors in the agenda-setting process and the role they play in the agenda-setting process of policy-making.

"Elected political office bearers receive a mandate from the electorate to shape and give content to public policies. This includes the mandate to advance public views in the legislative and policy processes. Political leaders often use public speeches, media debates or political campaigns to raise issues. This mobilises mass support for issues. Once there is mass-based support for issues, it becomes very difficult not to address them" (Cloete and Meyer, 2006: 112).

"Legislators in the legislature, specifically the national legislators, originate some policy proposals. However, its role is viewed as weaker than originally intended. That is, at times, the legislature is a policy-initiating body; however, it has become more reactive in nature. Thus, its influence is to modify the policy initiatives of others" (Davis, 2005: 27-28).

"A bureaucrat is anyone who is employed by a large complex organisation having a chain of command, specialization of labour, with written rules and regulations. The top bureaucrats have a large impact on both policy formulation and programme implementation. They are in a position to receive continuous feedback from clients, and have a special interest in state and local officials about the programmes they administer. This puts them in a position to recommend change in a policy and programmes" (Davis, 2005: 32).

"Judges are also actors in policy-making. They greatly influence policy-making through judicial review and the ability to revitalize and/or invent new law since precedence is only weighty but it is not controlling" (Davis, 2005: 32-33). Justices at the appellate level, Supreme Court and Constitutional Court, can and do determine the direction of policy areas.

"The legal profession's contribution to policy-making and agenda-setting goes beyond the narrow interpretation of policy mandates. In their evaluation of public policies, they come in direct contact with inherent policy weaknesses. In their judgments, judicial officials draw the attention of both the legislature and the executive to issues for the public agenda. Courts of law therefore play a significant role in the agenda process" (Cloete and Meyer 2006).

The main difference between policy and law is who has the authority to create it and how it is enforced. Public policies must be formulated and implemented within a nation's legal framework. In a democratic system of checks and balances, laws passed by legislatures, executive orders, referenda and agency rules can all be declared null and void by courts (Gupta, D. 2001: 37). However, public policies can be created, revised, or deleted by the organisation involved in the administration of the policy. Public policy is a policy or set of policies which forms the foundation of public law. Public policy is expressed in the body of laws, regulations, decisions and actions of government.

Law (from the late Old English 'Lagu', probably of North Germanic origin) in politics and jurisprudence is a set of rules or norms of conduct, which mandate, prescribe or permit specified relationships among people and organisations. They are intended to provide a method for ensuring the impartial treatment of such people, and provide punishment of/for those who do not follow the establishment's rules of conduct. Law is typically administered through a system of courts, in which judges hear disputes. The manner in which law is administered is known as a legal system.

An example of an organisation's internal policy guided by external law is the new curriculum in South African Schools:

- <u>Policy Statement</u>: New Curriculum Statements will be the new educational curriculum for South Africa, and Life Orientation will be one of the eight Learning Areas.
- <u>Legal Basis</u>: Constitution of South Africa (1996); Bill of Rights (1996), South African Schools Act (1994); Education Laws Amendment Act (2004), South African Qualifications Authority Act (1995); National Educational Policy Act (1996).

The difference between law and policy is that a policy statement says, "All citizens should have access to 15 litres of water a day." The law says, "The national government has the power to regulate the use, flow and control of all water."

Appointed officials in the form of career public managers are both the receivers and the manufacturers of policy problems. They have considerable power to determine what goes onto the policy agenda. According to Cloete and Meyer (2006), "Criteria are used in assessing the status of policy problems. Officials will determine whether an issue is sufficiently urgent to receive agenda status. Not all problems brought to the attention of officials should be in the public domain, whether the nature of the problem is a private or public matter. A problem is a public matter; he must next decide at which agenda level it belongs, and direct the problem to the strategic, tactical or operational agenda level. Officials will be reluctant to place new issues on the policy agenda if it means transferring

money from their already approved budgets. They may also process new issues on the agenda as a means of legitimising budgeting allocations and process issues that could be linked directly or indirectly to strategic priority areas. It is, for example, very likely that government officials will process issues of homelessness, unemployment or access to drinking water, because they can be linked to one of the government's priority areas, namely, alleviation of poverty".

"A conservative and bureaucratic response to agenda-setting requires officials to determine whether they have the internal capacity to deal with issues before they place them on the government agenda. This approach argues that, should officials place issues on the agenda knowing they do not have the internal capacity, such behaviour will set them up for failure" (Cloete and Meyer, 2006).

"In addition to these actors, there are people and groups in the private sector with considerable influence in the agenda-setting process. Interest groups are an organized group of individuals sharing common objectives, who actively attempt to influence policy-makers" (Schmidt, Shelley, and Bardes, 2006: 583). "Interest groups play an important part in influencing the legislative and bureaucratic agendas by using lobbyists to directly communicate with legislators, by conducting research and sharing it with legislators and the public, and by holding press conferences and attempting to shape public opinion. Additional tactics include notifying members and initiating letter-writing campaigns to legislators, e-mail messaging and telephone campaigns directed at decision-makers. The power and influential reach of an interest group is determined by the presence or absence of other interest groups who are for or against its position. Additional influencing variables are the size of the group, prestige, economic resources, cohesiveness, skill of the leadership, attitudes of the decision-makers within the interest groups, and the place where the decision will be made" (Davis, 2005: 33-34).

Political parties are a group of political activists who organise to win elections, operate the government, and determine public policy (Shelley, and Bardes, 2006: 583). "The main political parties greatly influence policy-making because they are the largest parties whose candidates actually win office and become the legislators, executives, and judges

who make policy. However, third parties (a political party other than the major political parties) do not influence policy-making greatly because so few third party candidates actually win office" (Schmidt, Shelly, and Bardes, 2006: 107).

"Prominent individuals are also actors who influence public policy. Their influence varies greatly on their stature, issue, and ability to reach decision-makers. These two variables go hand-in-hand. The percentage of the public that is rallying for a particular issue and the issue itself determines whether it will reach decision-makers. I will add that the middle class is especially significant because it represents a high percentage of the voting population. Accordingly, whenever the middle class comes to a consensus on some policy matter, there is a strong probability the political system will move towards action" (Davis, 2005: 35-36).

"The media is the channel of communication with mass audiences. These audiences are both the people and public officials. Particularly by the twentieth century, the media has greatly influenced public policy through its management of news coverage, identifying public problems, and providing a political forum for the candidates and voters" (Schmidt, Shelley, and Bardes, 2006: 138-139, 220, and 312). The media, therefore, by being in the business of 'manufacturing' news are also involved in the production of problems. The media select what is 'newsworthy' and, in so selecting, include and exclude issues, events and ideas (in Estonian terms, they act as 'gate-keepers'). Hensel (1990: 58-63) notes that the role of the media must also be viewed alongside the way in which experts use and are being used by the media, the impact of bureaucratic 'propaganda', and the influence of dramas and other TV programmes that deal with social issues.

In the 1970s, a new focus emerged on the impact of the media on the political process and on the relationship between the media and public policy and public opinion. The public opinion approach to agenda-setting may be said to have begun in earnest with the work of Malcolm McCombs and Donald Shaw in 1972. They hypothesized that although the role of the media in influencing the direction or intensity of attitudes was doubtful; the mass media set the agenda for each political campaign, influencing the attitudes towards political issues (McCombs and Shaw, 1972: 177). They examined the capacity of the

mass media to set the agenda in the 1968 presidential campaign. Later, they conducted another survey of the agenda-setting role of the media by looking at the way the media influenced the public's perceptions of the Watergate Affair (McCombs and Shaw, 1972). McCombs and Shaw concluded that the media have had a key role in 'agenda-setting', that is, in the power to determine what topics are discussed. The areas that they studied included public welfare, civil rights, fiscal policy, foreign policy, and law and order (1972) and corruption (1976). They further argued that it confirmed the usefulness of the concept of agenda-setting for the public, and law and order (1972) and corruption (1976); and they argued that it confirmed the usefulness of the concept of agenda-setting for public opinion research. The model suggested by McCombs and Shaw was that the media orders what the public regards as important issues. The more attention given to an issue, the more the public regards it as being a high-agenda item.

McQuill and Windahl (1993: 106-107) have also noted the lack of clarity as to the influence of the media on the personal agendas of the audience and the need to take into account of the different kinds of agendas at work. "They expressed doubts about the relationship between the role of the media and public in initiating concern about an issue, and the importance of power in agenda-setting". Protess et al (1987) concluded that the influence of the media in setting policy agendas was far more complex than had been thought in the 1970s. The response of policy-makers to news stories was something that had to be placed in the context of other factors. These were the relationships of journalists to policy-making elites and vice versa; the timing of publications, interest group pressures; political exigencies and the costs and benefits of problems and solutions.

3.6 THE ROGERS AND DEARING AGENDA-SETTING MODEL

Rogers and Dearing (1987) put forward another comprehensive model that focuses on the range of processes that are involved in agenda-setting. Rogers and Dearing argue that one has to distinguish between three kinds of agenda namely media, public and policy. Their research suggests that, contrary to the McCombs and Shaw model, agenda-setting is a more interactive process. The mass media does indeed influence the public agenda, but the public agenda has an impact on the policy agenda, as does the media agenda. With

some issues, the policy agenda has a considerable impact on the media agenda. The media agenda is also shaped by the impact of 'real world' issues or events. McQuill and Windahl (1993) have a more complete and complex model of agenda-setting, which takes into account the arguments of Rogers and Dearing. The model represents the different kinds of effect and feedback. It reminds us that mass media, the public, and elite policy-makers all inhabit more or less the same wider environment when it comes to highly significant events and that each of the three separate worlds indicated are connected and permeated by networks of personal contacts and influenced by personal experience. Agenda-setting can be either intentional or unintentional and can be initiated by either the media or the policy-makers (Ibid: 1993). We cannot exclude the possibility that the public itself affects the media agenda, since some media look for content selection clues in their estimation of public concerns independently of events, other media or elite views (McQuill and Windahl, 1993: 109).

Personal experience and interpersonal communication

Media Agenda

Public Agenda

Policy Agenda

Real-world indicators of the importance of an agenda issue or event

FIGURE 3.3: ROGERS AND DEARING'S MODEL OF AGENDA-SETTING

Source: Adapted from McQuill and Windahl 1993

Walter Lippmann (1992), a prominent American journalist and scholar from Harvard University, was the first to analyse the impact of the media on people's perceptions. Lippman described in '*Public Opinion*' that people did not respond directly to events in the real world but instead lived in a pseudo-environment composed of 'the pictures in our heads'. The media would play an important part in the furnishing of these pictures and shaping of the pseudo-environment".

"According to the agenda-setting theory, first developed by Prof Maxwell McCombs and Prof Donald Shaw in their Chapel Hill Study (1968), mass media set the agenda for public opinion by highlighting certain issues. Studying the way political campaigns were covered in the media, Shaw and McCombs found that the main effect of news media was agenda-setting, i.e. telling people not what to think, but what to think about. Agenda-setting is usually referred to as a function of mass media and not a theory " (McCombs and Shaw, 1972).

The theory explains the correlation between the rate at which the media cover a story and the extent to which people think that the story is important. This correlation has been shown to occur repeatedly.

Agenda-setting is believed to occur because the press must be selective in reporting the news. News outlets act as gatekeepers of information and make choices about what to report and what not. What the public know and care about at any given time is mostly a by-product of media-gatekeeping.

The agenda-setting function is a three-part process in the conceptual model, namely the Media Agenda, which comprises issues discussed in the media; the Public Agenda, which comprises issues discussed and personally relevant to the public, and the Policy Agenda which has issues that policy-makers consider important.

One of the debates between researchers is the question of causality: Does the media agenda cause the public agenda, or vice-versa? Iyengar and Kinder established causality with an experimental study where they "identified that priming, vividness of presentation

and position were all determinants of the importance given to a news story. However, the question of whether there is influence by the public agenda upon the media agenda is open to question".

"Here may lay the most important effect of mass communication, its ability to mentally order and organise our world for us. In short, the mass media may not be successful in telling us what to think, but they are stunningly successful in telling us what to think about" (Shaw & McCombs, 1972).

3.7 APPLIED AGENDA-SETTING RESEARCH

Certain agenda-setting studies seek to understand the temporal dynamics of the agenda-setting process by analysing the relationships between the media agenda, the public agenda, the policy agenda, and real-world indicators over time rather than cross-sectional (at one point in time) Dearing and Rogers (1996:18). Media Tenor is an example of such a research body.

The model (Figure 2.4) of the agenda-setting process consists of three main components: (1) the media agenda, which influences (2), the public agenda, which in turn may influence, (3), the policy agenda (institutional agenda-setting).

The reality for agenda-setting is when an issue's importance on the media agenda, public agenda, and policy agenda increases or decreases. Public agendas are measured by public opinion surveys in which principal actors are asked what the most important issue facing the nation is, and less often by studying the activities of social movements, grassroots organisation, and consumer groups over a period of time.

Media Tenor (2008) "applies global agenda research. Media Tenor compares the relationship between reality and the Media's description of reality or public perception of this reality as described by the media. Its applied agenda-setting research has proved that media shapes peoples' minds, especially those with no direct connection to reality.

Consequently, topics not discussed in the media have proved to be seen as irrelevant or less relevant by public". This underscores the role the media plays in the Public Agenda.

According to Media Tenor (2008) "Public opinion, and even more importantly, human behaviour tend to follow media reporting. Ongoing up-to-date media content analysis represents the first step of agenda-setting research. Media Tenor's approach of analysing all texts published in opinion-leading media allows it to define 100% of all news reaching the people. Correlating this with public opinion polls or behaviour, Media Tenor can define how many reports are needed to make people change their opinion or behaviour".

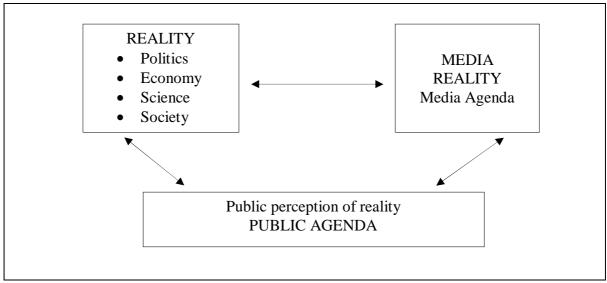
3.7.1 The Media Tenor Research

The policy agenda is measured by systemic or institutional policy agenda-setting. The media agenda is therefore used to boost the public agenda so that it can be placed on the policy-agenda (systemic or institutional).

According to Media Tenor (2006), their analysts "encode every single information unit from all articles or new stories of more than five lines per second in print or broadcast texts from the opinion-leading media of the selected country under analysis. The Media Tenor Codebook is not based on topics, protagonists, or sources appearing in the media but, rather, reflects reality. The Media Tenor Codebook has been developed over the last 13 years and has daily updates, where it has reached the stage where it contains more than 100 000 codes, each organised in logical categories reflecting the reality and the media content. Researchers then take this data and describe what was written in the opinion-leading print media, or broadcast on screen in television news programme".

Media Tenor's data is unique. This data is correlated with public opinion polls. The results of voting determine what reality will be shown in the media (Agenda-Setting). The reality not shown is called Agenda Cutting. These results are then compared with external poll results, business consumer index, consumer behaviour reports, consumer confidence index, share prices and other statistics. Media Tenor also researches the media's effects on public behaviour and perception.

FIGURE 3.4: MEDIA TENOR APPLIED AGENDA-SETTING RESEARCH



Source: Media Tenor 2008

3.8 ISSUE ATTENTION CYCLE (IACS) AGENDA-SETTING MODEL

Related to this notion that the media have a role in setting issue agendas is the idea that there is a cyclical pattern in which these issues move. In 1972, Anthony Downs published a paper that had as big an impact on the subject as the piece by McCombs and Shaw (Downs, 1972).

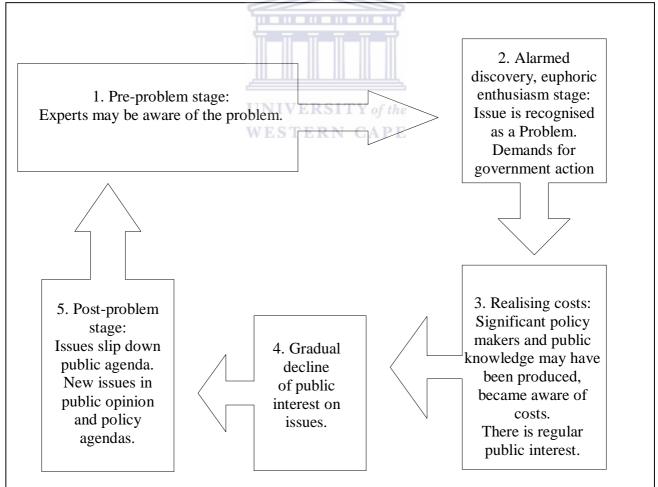
Anthony Downs suggests a theory of issue emergence that links it to public psychology that has often been taken up when looking at the rise of the environment as a political issue. This has five stages of emergence. The first is the pre-problem stage, which exists but is only recognised by experts. Secondly, is the alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm stage resulting from a dramatic event. The third is the realisation of the cost of significant progress and the full cost of solving the problem. Fourth, is the gradual decline of public interest, having realised the costs and, therefore, being discouraged and bored, the agenda issue is replaced by new issues. Lastly, we have the post-problem stage when the issues lose primary position on the agenda and only receive sporadic attention.

This theory of issue emergence by Anthony Downs is useful for government wishing to

manage the agenda to realise that, whilst the public may seem very absorbed by an issue in the short term, it is in the long term that public interest will decline. Public attention is therefore limited and transitory. There are of course problems with this pluralist view that if a problem is severe, it will get on the agenda, and that it ignores the power of certain groups and institutions.

Pressure groups might lead to issues being on the agenda. As Cobb and Elder put it, an issue might be on the systemic agenda, but not necessarily on the institutional agenda. Down's view is too dependent on groups and institutions, as one has to consider what changes government perceptions and the power that some groups have to keep items off the agenda.

FIGURE 3.5: DOWNS'S ISSUE ATTENTION CYCLE



Source: Parsons 1996:115

The cycle itself has five stages, which may vary in duration depending upon the particular issue involved, but which usually occurs in a particular sequence.

According to Downs "the pre-problem stage prevails when some highly undesirable social condition exists but has not yet captured much public attention even though some experts or interest groups may already be alarmed by it. Usually, objective conditions regarding the problem are far worse during the pre-problem stage than they are by the time the public becomes interested in it. For example, this is true of racism, poverty, obesity and malnutrition".

Alarmed discovery and euphoric enthusiasm is a result of a series of events, where for some or other reason, the public suddenly becomes aware of a particular problem. This alarmed discovery is invariably accompanied by euphoric enthusiasm about society's ability to 'solve this problem' or 'do something effective' within a relatively short time. The combination of alarm and confidence results, in strong public pressure. Downs further reflects that the implication is that every obstacle is seen as something that can be eliminated and every problem solved without any fundamental reordering of society itself, if only one devotes sufficient effort to it. In older and perhaps wiser cultures, there is an underlying sense of irony or even pessimism which springs from a widespread and often confirmed belief that many problems cannot be 'solved' at all in any complete sense. Only recently has this more pessimistic view begun to develop.

Downs says, "Realising the cost of significant progress in the third stage consists of a gradually spreading realization that the cost of 'solving' the problem is very high indeed. Really doing so would not only take a great deal of money, but would also require major sacrifices by large groups in the population. The public begins to realise that part of the problem results from arrangements that are providing significant benefits to someone – often to millions".

In certain cases, technological progress can eliminate some of the undesirable results of a problem without causing any major restructuring of society or any loss of present benefits by others (except for higher monetary costs). Downs further alludes, "Most pressing

social problems, however, usually involve either deliberate or unconscious exploitation of one group in society by another, or the prevention of one group from enjoying something that others want to keep for themselves. For example, most upper-middle-class whites value geographic separation from poor people and blacks. Hence, any equality of access to the advantages of suburban living for the poor and for blacks cannot be achieved without some sacrifice by middle-class whites of the 'benefits' of separation. The increasing recognition that there is this type of relationship between the problem and its 'solution' constitutes a key part of the third stage".

Intense public interest gradually declines. The third stage transforms into the fourth stage (see figure 3.5). Public interest shows a gradual decline in the problem. Three reactions set in as a large number of people realise how difficult and costly a solution to the problem would be. According to Downs, some people just get discouraged while others feel positively threatened by thinking about the problem. People become bored by the issue. Most people experience a combination of these feelings. The public desire to keep attention on this issue wavers and other issues usually enter stage two (alarmed discovery, euphoric enthusiasm stage) as this issue has a more powerful claim for government action.

WESTERN CAPE

The final or post problem stage is reached when an issue that has been replaced at the centre of public concern moves into 'a prolonged limbo - a twilight realm of lesser attention or spasmodic recurrences of interest'. The issue's relation to public interest/attention has changed to that of the pre-problem stage (stage 1). New institutions, programmes and policies may have been created to help solve the problem when there was a focused interest by the public. After public attention shifts elsewhere, these entities persist and often have some impact.

A problem that reaches national level recaptures public interest, or important aspects of it may become linked to other problems which dominate 'centre stage'. Problems that have gone through the cycle receive a higher level of attention, general concern and public effort than those in stage 1 (Pre-discovery stage).

Downs set out to examine the issue process in relation to environmental issues that had just come to political prominence. Downs argued that issues took the form of a cycle of attention (IAC) and that concern about the 'ecology' issue had ups and downs. Downs's model has been an influential conceptualization of the way in which issues may be seen as having highs and lows, 'ons' and 'offs'. Peters and Hogwood (1985) argue that it has applicability to issues other than that of the environmental agenda. They also contend that the model may also be used to understand something which Downs does not consider in any depth: the relationship between the issue attention cycle and the organisational activities of government; that is, initiating new organisations, adapting existing organisations or policy continuation, and the abolishing or termination of organisations. Peters and Hogwood provide a linking stage of analysis between the formation of issues and public attention and the response of government in terms of organisational change. IACs will vary between policy areas. Thus, policy-makers are confronted by public and media agendas that have their ups and downs on different issues and policy areas. IACs mean that the policy areas that are seen by public opinion to be important may vary. In addition, as policy-makers need to be seen to be 'listening to the people', the peaks of public issue attention has, according to Peters and Hogwood, considerable impact on the organisational agenda of government. WESTERN CAPE

A non-decision is a decision that results in the suppression or thwarting of a latent or manifest challenge to the values and interests of the decision-maker (Bachrach and Baratz, 1970: 7). To be more explicit, non-decision-making is a means by which demands for change in the existing allocation of benefits and privileges in the community can be suffocated before they are even voiced, kept covert, or killed to prevent them from gaining access to the relevant decision-making arena. Failing all these things, it is maintained or destroyed in the decision-implementing stage of the policy process. Non-decision-making suggests that policy-makers with power have the capacity to keep issues off the agenda, which they control. This capacity is also a function of the power and influence behind the new issues (Parsons, 1995: 135-136). The idea of agendas being shaped by non-decisional power is therefore a powerful model and a widely applied approach (Parsons, 1995: 138).

3.9 GLOBALISM AS AGENDA-SETTING

Globalism refers to those values that take the real world of approximately 5 billion people as an object of concern; the whole earth as the physical environment, and the world's citizens as consumers and producers, with a common interest in collective action to solve global problems. Globalisation refers to all processes by which the people of the world are incorporated into a single world society, a global society. Globalism is one of the factors in which society assists in the development of globalisation (Hanekom, 1994: 234).

The international environment forms much of the context of national policy-making. Policy-makers in each country share a policy context formed by the international economic cycle of prosperity, recession, depression and recovery. International organisations such as the European Community also form an increasingly important part of national policy-making. The policy agenda is also becoming international. Similar problems show up in different societies at a similar time and some solutions are considered, though by no means implemented, throughout the liberal-democratic world. The mass media and international conferences ease this process of policy diffusion. Policy-makers in one country seek to emulate the successes of colleagues overseas (Harrop, 1992: 263).

As the world economy, in particular, is transformed by new modes of production and trade, and as transnational corporations and institutions come to exercise more influence and power, so the capacity of national policy-makers to frame their own agendas is diminished (see Ray, 1990). Public policy now takes place in a world system as well as in national political systems.

What are the characteristics of this global system, and what impact does it have on how we analyse the agenda and problem-setting processes? McGrew and Lewis, 1992, suggest that global politics has five distinctive features, namely, complexity and diversity, intense pattern of interaction, the permeability of the nation state, rapid and cascading change and the fragility of order and governance.

The global policy is less robust and more fragile than that of nation states. Global compliance and the capacity of international institutions to gain compliance for their decisions vary considerably across issues. From the national perspective, this means that while the policy agenda may be more 'global', decision-making and delivery remain national.

What the idea of globalisation proposes is that there is a new kind of inter-play between transnational companies and the national and world economies; transgovernmental relations, and transnational organisations. George Modelski (1974) expressed these new relationships in terms of a layer-cake model (global, national and local).

We might also view the agenda-setting and problem definition process in this fashion. Global issues and problems interact with national issues and problems. Moreover, national issues and problems interact on the local level. Globalisation posits that these layers are becoming ever-more interactive and permeable, and that a new transnational public sphere or common ground (WCED, 1987: 261) may be emerging.

The globalisation argument taken at its most extreme would have us believe that the age of the nation state, as the context within which policy agendas are formulated, is coming to an end. Perhaps the main reason for this is that liberal democratic societies face the same issues of drugs, crime, Aids, unemployment, urban decay, an ageing population, the environment, and so forth. At the same time, the process of defining the problems may be resulting in convergence and may be driving industrial societies to exhibit the same problems.

At the level of agenda-setting, it is undoubtedly the case that the 'global village' is a reality in terms of communications technology. With major social, economic and environmental problems being analysed at a global level (hence the rise of summits as a form of agenda-setting in these and other areas), the fact remains that the power of decision and the capacity and will to implement remains largely located within nation states. There is therefore a tension between the spillover, which may be said to be occurring at a global level, wherein issues and their modes of definition are linked to

other issues and tend to leak into one another, and the reality of maintenance of national sovereignty.

Because a problem is considered international, global does not mean that international or global institutions and the policy-making and implementation process will be established to facilitate a solution. The World Commission on Environment and Development (WCED) expressed this predicament as involving an 'institutional gap', whereby the 'real' problems of the world confront national institutions and agendas which fail to deal with interlocking problems which endanger the world as a whole (WCED, 1987:9). International policy communities and networks, which encompass governmental, non-governmental and academic participants, have undoubtedly meant that problems that confront industrial societies are convergent, even if the modes of decision-making and implementation prove to be as divergent as they have ever been.

The policy sciences of democracy, concerned as they are with events on a global scale in our historical period, must proceed by creating world-encompassing hypotheses which could specify the institutional pattern from which we are moving and the pattern towards which we are going. Indeed, one of the major tasks of the policy sciences today is to follow in detail the processes of social invention, diffusion, and restriction throughout the globe for the sake of estimating the significance of specific events (Lasswell, 1951: 13-14).

As the globe shrinks into interdependence, relying more fully on science and technology, the policy sciences gain significance. Interdependence implies that every participant and every item in the social process is affected by the context in which it occurs (Lasswell, 1968: 184).

I have been considering agenda formation and problem definition within a purely national context. However, it could be argued that one of the most important changes in the politics of the late 20th century is the extent to which the policy agenda is no longer set and defined within purely national boundaries. The political system also operates within what has been described as a 'world system' (Wellerstein, 1974, 1979). 'Until our day',

that it is only in recent times that we can speak of forms of social association which spans the earth. The world has become, in important respects, a single social system, because of interdependence resulting from globalisation. The globalisation of social relations should be understood primarily as the reordering of time and distance in our lives. Our lives, in other words, are increasingly influenced by activities and events happening well away from the social contexts in which we carry out our day-to-day activities (Giddens, 1989: 519-20).

Giddens identifies three major factors that make for Globalism - transnational corporations; growing economic integration; and the globalisation of communications and media. Giddens then has three theories to explain the process of imperialism and neo-imperialism. He sees Globalism as the product of the expansion of capitalism. Dependency is when Globalism is being unevenly developed and results in the domination of the underdeveloped world by the industrialized world. The world system is where Globalism is the product of the expansion of the world economy, leading to centralization around a core, semi-periphery system of relationships.

According to Cloete and Meyer (2006), community participation in development can be defined as the involvement of members of a community in development activities in the community in order to influence the outcomes of those activities and to obtain as many benefits as possible from the results of the activities.

This acceptable community participation (as stated by Cloete and Meyer, 2006) takes place through the involvement of members of legitimate, democratically elected political representatives such as town or city councillors or other political representatives at different governmental levels. It also occurs through the involvement of leaders of legitimate organisations in the community such as civic, cultural, religious, welfare, recreational, youth, business and other organisations. The involvement of individual opinion leaders who influence prevailing opinions because they are held in high regard and respected by the community as individuals, irrespective of their position, also plays a role. It is also achieved through the direct involvement of ordinary members of the public

in mass activities such as attendance at public meetings, participation in protest marches, consumer boycotts and other types of direct mass action. The members involved in these actions are indicative of the degree of support for the cause concerned.

Participation can be initiated or stimulated by individuals or interest groups working with the community (bottom-up participation), or by an individual or organisation working as a development agency in the community members (top-down participation). The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) concludes that, in many developing countries, the planning process is not accessible to the deprived population, while the nature of the existing participation is normally just consultation, which is not binding on the planners. Planning at the local level normally means planning the implementation of policies decided at higher levels. Although this does not offer the opportunity to participate in policy-making, this form of participation can be effective if it contributes to the distribution of development (UNDP, 1981: 14-15).

The World Bank was created to encourage 'development'. The theoretical framework within which the World Bank operates does not assign any urgency or primary focus to poverty reduction. According to Muhammad Yunus (1994: X) it should create a window (like the International Development Association) with an exclusive mandate. Poverty reduction should not be mixed up with usual World Bank projects. The unwritten goal of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) (Danaker, 1994: 1) – one that has been enforced with a vengeance – has been to integrate countries into the capitalist world economy. For many in the Third World, this harkens back to colonial times.

The Third World War has already started. It is a silent war. This is echoed by Luis Inacio Lula da Silva, who is head of Brazil's Worker's Party when he remarks, "This war is tearing down Brazil, Latin America and practically all the Third World. Instead of soldiers dying, there are children. It is a war over the Third World debt, one that has as its main weapon interest, a weapon more deadly than the atom bomb, more shattering than a laser beam".

Non-governmental organisations (NGOs) play an important role in the process where popular participation is needed to reduce the environmental and social costs that large infrastructure projects may entail, and that lower-income people in particular must be given a greater say in development decisions (World Bank, 1991: 22). Leonor Briones of the Freedom from Debt Coalition states that adjustment policies demand drastic fiscal, monetary and economic measures that cannot help but raise very strong reactions from the public. IMF and World Bank structural adjustment programmes (SAPs) are designed to reduce consumption in developing countries and to redirect resources to manufacturing exports and the repayment of debt.

Basic conditions of the IMF-World Bank include drastic cuts in social expenditures, especially in health and education. According to the UN Economic Commission for Africa, in the 1980s, expenditures on health in IMF-World Bank programmed countries declined by 50 per cent and education by 25 per cent. In 1993, the IMF granted a large loan to South Africa that included secret 'conditions', and its neoliberal economic policy.

Thus, setting an economic agenda that minimises free market policies across the world favour the interests of powerful conglomerates and banks, and workers, the poor, women, youth and others are marginalised. There was a steady drift away from values of social justice and redistributive policies of the RDP, and replaced with neoliberal principles and programmes (Third World Network, 1996: 1).

Across the Third World, SAPs imposed by the IMF and World Bank and the repayment of foreign debt have led to the situation we have in our education system today and neoliberal agenda. "International solidarity is not an act of charity. It is an act of unity between allies fighting on different terrains toward the same objectives. The foremost of these objectives is to aid the development of humanity to the highest level possible" Samora Machel (1933-1986).

What is the unique contribution of the agenda-setting perspective? It 'implicitly adopts the pluralistic values of democratic theory, bringing public opinion to centre stage' (Reese, 1991: 310). Agenda-setting revolves around two main issues, firstly where certain

subjects will find their way onto the political agenda, while others will not and, secondly, certain policy solutions will be considered while others are ignored. As Kingdon points out, it is worth separating power to shape agendas from power to implement solutions to the problems raised.

3.10 GLOBAL AGENDA-SETTING OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SPORT

In 1946 UNESCO's Constitution was adopted. The Universal Declaration of Human Rights in was adopted in 1948 by the General Assembly of the United Nations, and the International Charter on Physical Education and Sport was adopted by the General Conference of UNESCO on 21 November 1978. Article 10 of this Charter on Physical Education focused on international cooperation as a prerequisite for the universal and well-balanced promotion of physical education. There is a full range of organisations giving PE greater prominence through international bilateral and multilateral cooperation, indicating that such collaboration will encourage the development of PE throughout the world. Hardman and Marshall in 1999 conducted an International Survey which empirically put PE under threat in many countries in all the continents of the world. The world crisis in physical education and sport and the global agenda-setting of PESS as evidenced by the International Survey that was commissioned by the International Council of Sports Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE) and approved by Ministers and senior officials responsible for Physical Education and Sport (MINEPS III) in 1999. Hardman and Marshall's survey highlighted the marginalisation and decline of the place, role and status of PES, even though it has a legal basis.

At the African Declaration, as well as UNESCO's Punte Del Este Declaration of December 1999, Ministers and senior officials of sport and physical education were invited to engage with the global audit on PES. The outcome of this was the Berlin Agenda which served as the third International Conference of Ministers and senior officials of sport and physical education (MINEPS III), and was sponsored by WHO, UNESCO, the Republic of Germany and ICSSPE. On this occasion there was a global reaffirmation of the importance of PE and a Worldwide Declaration of Intent. In January 2002 MINEPS again met under the auspices of UNESCO and discussed and deliberated

the implementation of the Berlin Agenda. The Agenda calls for action by governments and Ministers responsible for PE and sport to implement, invest and support PE as a human right for children as part of the school curriculum.

A meeting of European Sports Ministers was held in Warsaw, Poland from 12 to 13 September 2002. The Committee for the Development of Sport (CDDS) of the Council of Europe undertook in June 2001 to investigate the situation in Europe by means of a structured questionnaire survey. The overriding purpose of the survey was to assess the state and status of school physical education and sport in the 48 member states of the CDDS.

Examples provided showed the inferior status of physical education which included low consciousness in society; misunderstanding of its aims and goals; lack of appropriate equipment and facilities; declining financial support; the preoccupation with other priorities; a lower image, value and status (a Cinderella subject) than academic subjects; a higher rate of lesson cancellation (a sacrificial non-academic subject) than other subjects, and an undermined status reflected in exemption from lessons on medical grounds. The conclusion that the CDDS drew from the survey was that of PES not having equal status in the curriculum. This survey reinforced the significance of the Hardman and Marshall survey on Physical Education and Sport.

3.11 WORLD SPORTING EVENTS AFFECTING INTERNATIONAL AND NATIONAL AGENDAS

World sporting events help place PE, and especially sport, on the international and national agendas of governments. These sporting events are the Olympic Games, Paralympics, Commonwealth Games, All Africa Games, International Federation Body events such as table tennis, softball, karate, hockey, netball, basketball, tennis, FIFA Soccer World Cup, ICC Cricket World Cup, COSAFA, CAF, UEFA, international golfing events such as Ryder Cup and PGA tournaments, Rugby 7s, Rugby World Cup, Confederations Cup, T20 Cricket World Cup, etc.

The fact that the 2010 Soccer World Cup was held in Africa and specifically Southern Africa places PE and sport on the agenda of the continent and of the participating countries. The issue emergence of these events is useful. However, the public and government are involved in these issues in the short term but, in the long term, public interest declines after the euphoria stage. Issues slip down the policy agenda and new issues are placed on the policy agenda. The financial burden placed on the taxpayer by the underutilised stadia after the 2010 Soccer World Cup is a case in point.

In order to do an assessment on the agenda-setting role of physical education and school sport in South Africa, instruments from this chapter will be used so that a model for the South African experience can be devised. The policy model that will be used will be the Generic Policy Process Model of De Coning (2006). The Generic Policy Process Model provides a comprehensive set of phases and proposes specific requirements as well as key issues that are developed during each phase. A further advantage of this model is that it identifies the major stages through which a policy is developed in the South African context.

The instruments that will be used in my case study, with the view to finding a South African model of agenda-setting, are Globalism as an Agenda-Setting Model, the Principal Actor Agenda-Setting Model, Rogers and Dearing's Model of Agenda-Setting and Down's Issue Attention Cycle Agenda-Setting Model. The two models that I have chosen to apply to the case studies are the Principal Actor Agenda-setting Model and Issue Attention Cycle Agenda-setting Model. For the South African experience, an agenda-setting model for South Africa will be assimilated into the Generic Policy Process Model of De Coning for our unique South African context where issues can be placed on the public policy agenda.

3.12 CHANGING THE WASHINGTON CONSENSUS TO A PUBLIC CONSENSUS IN AGENDA-SETTING IN SOUTH AFRICA

The term "Washington Consensus" was initially coined in 1989 by John Williamson to describe a set of ten specific economic policy prescriptions that he considered to

constitute a 'standard' reform package promoted for crisis-wracked developing countries by Washington D.C.-based institutions, such as the International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank and the U.S. Treasury Department.

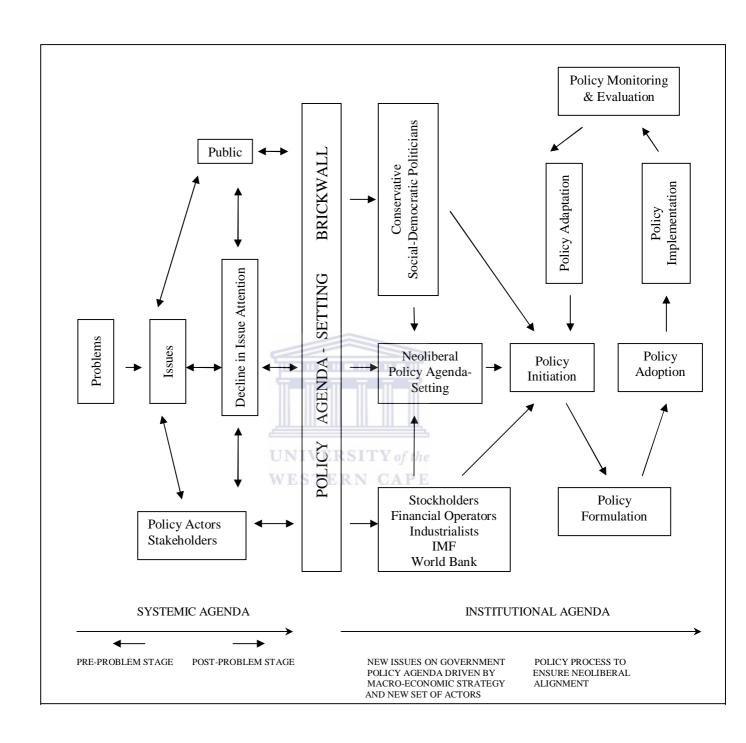
Williamson wrote that one of the least controversial prescriptions is the reduction in spending on infrastructure, healthcare and education, which is seriously neglected. The widespread adoption by governments of the Washington Consensus was to a large degree a reaction to the macroeconomic crisis, which included debt repayments that hit much of the developing countries, even South Africa.

First World countries impose what the critics describe as the consensus's neoliberal policies on economically vulnerable countries through organisations such as the World Bank and IMF and by political pressure. They further argue that the Washington Consensus has not led to any great economic boom, but rather to severe economic crisis and the crippling external debts that render the target country beholden to the First World. Many of the policy prescriptions are criticised as mechanisms for ensuring the development of small, wealthy and indigenous elite in the Third World who will rise to political power and have a stake in maintaining the local status quo (Williamson, 1989).

3.13 AGENDA-SETTING CHALLENGE

The challenge is to break the policy agenda-setting 'brick wall' so that the issue can move onto the Institutional Agenda of the governmental and not the neoliberal agenda-setting framework (see figure 3.6). The Generic Policy Process Model will be used as the policy process of this study, as the model has a trigger for the agenda-setting phase within its broader phases as well as having an interactive phase. This generic model ideally represents the policy process and its phases in South Africa.

FIGURE 3.6: POLICY AGENDA-SETTING IN SOUTH AFRICA



The 'brick wall' deflects the issue attention of the public, policy stakeholders and actors because of its macro-economic strategy component (see figure 3.6). New policy actors and stakeholders influence the neoliberal agenda-setting process. These actors are the

conservative, social-democratic politicians, stockholders, financial operators, industrialists, International Monetary Fund and the World Bank.

Policy initiation and formulation will align itself with a neoliberal macro-economic strategy, where spending is redirected from infrastructure to healthcare and education, as these areas are seriously neglected. The strategy is to convince the policy-makers and the public of the merits of socialism (RDP) through a gradual process of piecemeal permeation for social reconstruction. The Cuban Model, after the revolution, is a case in point where physical education, sport and education policies have worked in social reconstruction.

Through the permeation of socialism, one can remove a 'brick at a time' from the policy agenda-setting brick wall. This will allow the policy agenda-setting process of the public, policy stakeholders and actors to proceed to the Institutional Agenda of the government as envisaged in the objectives of the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP). Policy proposals are best described as an unhappy compromise between continuity and change. As such, policy change does not propose major shifts consistent with the objective of creating new or amending policy. For that reason, where new proposals are mooted, it is more a case of nuance and emphasis. This reflects a complex challenge of communicating policy consistency to the international investment community that something will be done to address their concerns. What emerges is a policy package that seeks to communicate to all without fully addressing the concerns raised by local policy actors and stakeholders. The physical education and school sport policies under review provide a basis for discussion within society and the principal actors as well as key stakeholders. Still, policy-makers fall far short of providing a developmental strategy to transform the policy. It is still trapped in the mode of managing the economy. As such, it fails to acknowledge the systemic features, as it is consistent with the recent post-Washington consensus concessions. Notwithstanding the complex and difficult task of changing policy, we must use the agenda-setting triggers of the Generic Policy Process Model to transform existing or underdeveloped policy (physical education).

The Generic Policy Process Model (De Coning 2006) provides for both a comprehensive set of phases as well as proposing specific requirements and key issues to be addressed during each of the phases. These phases consist of policy initiation, policy process design, policy analysis, policy formulation, decision-making, policy dialogue, and implementation as well as monitoring and evaluation where this occurs throughout the process.

Generic Policy Process Model Agenda-setting Agenda-setting Planning Policy Policy Actors and analysis Problem process design of initiation or the review policy process Initiator Issue Creation Trigger ESTERN CAPE Issue Creation Policy Policy Policy monitoring adoption formulation Issue decision and Problem evaluation making Actors Policy

FIGURE 3.7: AGENDA-SETTING IN THE GENERIC POLICY PROCESS MODEL

Adapted from the Generic Policy Process Model (De Coning 2006)

Policy

dialogue

Stakeholders

Although many different application possibilities exist, the generic model has been selected as a process model suited for the policy application in South Africa.

Statutory Phase

Policy

implementation

In applying the Generic Policy Process Model, one can then determine at what stage in the process agenda-setting will take place. The policy process has to transform South African society. In addition, here we are specifically looking at Education and Sport Policy, wherein physical education and school sport finds itself.

I have added agenda-setting phases to the Generic Policy Process Model (see diagram adapted from De Coning 2006) which includes the problem stage, triggers, initiator, issue creation and actors or policy stakeholders. Internal or external triggers prompt the emergence of an issue. A public problem must be converted to an issue that must be defined, structured and located within certain boundaries and given a name. The public with a problem seeks or demands governmental action and the public's agreement over the best solution to the problem is the link between a trigger and problem, which transforms an issue into an agenda item. Actors and policy stakeholders are the role-players who want to place an item on the agenda.

The Generic Policy Process Model best represents the policy process in South Africa. After nearly two decades of democracy, we find that policy evaluation has informed us that policy is either adequate, to be changed, obsolete, to be written or absent. In the case of education policy, with specific reference to physical education, the present NCS documents should be placed on the policy agenda so that it can formulate a new education policy, wherein physical education is a compulsory subject.

Because the NCS document is an existing policy, the diagram (figure 3.6) indicates at what specific stages policy agenda-setting can take place. It therefore allows the principal policy actors to set policy agenda at different stages of the process. Actors in the agenda-setting model want the issue of physical education and school sport to be part of the school curriculum, and therefore to be placed back on the policy agenda. Therefore, the agenda-setting of the National Curriculum Statements must include the learning area of Life Orientation, as this is the education policy to be reviewed. This model can also be applied to the policy agenda-setting process of a new policy where a school curriculum includes physical education as an equal status subject.

3.14 FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS WITH REGARD TO INSTITUTIONAL FRAMEWORKS

South Africa is a representative parliamentary democracy, in which the voters elect citizens to represent them politically in the legislatures (law-making institutions) at the three levels, namely the national, provincial and local government levels. An interim constitution was established in 1993, and South Africa's first nonracial election was held on 27 April 1994. The final Constitution was adopted on 18 December 1996 and it came into effect on 4 February 1997. The President is elected by Parliament and then forms a cabinet. Cabinet Ministers are elected MPs who are the political heads of various government departments. No other government officials are elected; they are all appointed by the Public Service Commission. The provisional legislatures each elect a premier to head the government of that province. The premier appoints members of the executive council (MECs) as the political heads of provincial government departments. At the national level, the voters support political parties which appoint members of the executive council (MECs) as the political heads of provincial government departments. At the national level, the voters support political parties which appoint a few people (Members of Parliament – MPs) to represent their views at the highest level. Parliament makes laws and policies for the whole country. At the national level, the electorate of each of the nine provinces votes for a party. At the provincial level, the electorate of the nine provinces votes for political parties in each of the nine provinces. These political parties appoint a few people (members of the provincial legislature – MPLs) to represent them in the provincial legislatures. These legislatures make their own laws on certain provincial matters, subject to national laws and policies.

At the local level, the local electorate votes for political parties and for individual candidates to represent them in city, town or rural councils. These local councils make by-laws and policies for the local area which they govern, subject to national and provincial laws. In terms of the Constitution, there are three separate 'arms' of government. These are the Legislature (Parliament, provincial legislatures and local councils), the Executive (the operational part of government) and the Judiciary (the

courts). Each of these arms has its own special responsibilities but they complement each other so that effective governance is possible.

The key function of the legislatures, especially the national Parliament, is to represent the people of South Africa and to make the laws of the country. Provincial legislatures have the power to make certain laws that affect their provinces, and local governments have the power to make certain laws that affect their cities, towns and rural areas.

The executive is made up of the President, Deputy President and the Ministers who jointly make up the Cabinet. The executive is responsible for implementing the laws and policies that have been passed. It sets up government departments, headed by the relevant Cabinet Minister, to do this. The judiciary is responsible for trying cases and administering justice. It is independent, impartial and subject only to the Constitution and the law.

Physical education in South Africa is termed as education through physical activity that involves significant movement of the body or limbs. Physical education includes sport education and school sport. School sport is all the different codes played at schools, either organised or on an informal basis. This is either played at Junior Youth Level (6 to 13 years) or at the Senior Youth Level (14 to 19 years).

Pre-1994, physical education was a school subject taught by specialist teachers even though it was not examined. Post-1994 it was removed from the OBE curriculum and the subject Physical Education is now part of the Learning Area called Life Orientation.

The teaching of Physical Education (called Physical Development and Movement) is recognized as a non-consequential addition that forms part of Life Orientation alongside Health Promotion, Social Development, Personal Development and the Orientation to the World of Work. It is further problematic and exacerbated because most of the teachers of the subject are not trained Physical Education educators.

After looking at the institutional framework of South Africa, it is interesting to note the Cuban model which finds itself in a Socialist System. The genesis of Cuba's national sports movement is attributed to the first Presidential declaration after the 1959 revolution to the effect that PE and Sport were the vehicles through which individual health, social wellbeing, intellectual development and the shaping of high-performance athletes would be achieved and, by extension, national development.

The Cuban development model has at its core the fundamental belief in the value of PE and Sport as tools for sustainable human and national development (HRD, 2003). It posits that Physical Education and Sport serve to develop the social, mental, physical and intellectual dimensions of the individual and, in so doing, enables the individual to contribute to the development of the state.

In essence, the Cuban Model represents a critical component of Cuba's culture. The sporting and physical education sub-culture functions as the vehicle that shapes each individual into an ideal citizen. National athletes are folk heroes who receive recognition and rewards for their achievements as well as free medical, social and psychological attention. The lessons learned from the Cuban model is that there should be a clearly articulated philosophy and set of values with PE and sport as a core subject on the school curriculum at all levels and given equal weight and educational objectives. Sport and PE are implemented on a multisectoral or intersectoral basis.

The National Institute of Sports in Cuba has branches at the municipal, provincial and community level, and is responsible for the delivery of all sport and PE functions. The coordination of all sports-related systems, structures and services are delivered by political, health, cultural, community development, education and sports agencies and institutions that traditionally function independently of each other.

Statistics indicate concrete achievements in Cuba's Physical Education and Sport Programme. In 1978, Cuba's athletes were ranked eighth in the world, second in the Caribbean, and first in Central America (HRD, 2003). The Cuban model further highlights the socialist objectives as opposed to the neo-liberal IMF and World Bank's capitalist objective of public policy.

The focus will be on the policy agenda-setting of school sport and physical education in South Africa and the strategies and ways to achieve agenda-setting. The approaches or options for agenda-setting, according to Jones 1984, are 'let it happen, encourage it to happen and make it happen.'

3.15 CONCLUSION

I have selected two Agenda-Setting Models for application to the South African case study. The two models selected are the Issue-Attention Cycle Agenda-Setting Model and the Principal Actor Agenda-Setting Model. These models are clearly relevant to the agenda-setting process in the South African case study and allow the principal actors responsible for agenda setting in Physical Education and School Sport in South Africa to be identified.

While we find that the scope of the IAC as a whole is limited, some parts are more generalised than others. This includes the statement of policy experts, groups and actors since part of the aim of the main groups is to highlight an existing problem that is not widely recognised. It should be pointed out that main insider groups might go the other way by trying to maintain a degree of insulation around decisions. HIV/AIDS and TAC is a good example.

The Principal Actor Model makes two assumptions: that goal conflict exists between principals and agents, and that agents have more information than their principals, which results in an information asymmetry between them. This model is supposed to be dynamic, not static. Principals in the agenda-setting phases of policy-making are obvious and necessary for agenda-setting in the public policy phase.

Anthony Downs (1972) described what he called the Issue-Attention Cycle the rise and fall of an issue on the public agenda. These problems or issues suddenly leap into prominence, remain there for a short while and then - though still largely unresolved - gradually fade from public attention.

The pre-problem stage is when some undesirable situation exists but has not yet captured public attention. During the alarmed discovery stage, a dramatic event suddenly creates public alarm about the issue, accompanied by euphoric enthusiasm about society's ability to solve the problem. At the stage when the cost of solving the problem is realised, the public gradually realizes that solving the problem is prohibitively expensive. This causes a state of decline in public interest. Now the issue begins to slip down the public agenda. In the post-problem stage, the issue drops off the public agenda, although the policies, programmes and organisations formed to cope with the problem persist.

An issue's life cycle may indeed have discernable stages in the case studies. Whether these stages are very clear-cut, or whether these stages differ, for different issues, will be determined by applying it to the case study of South Africa.

The principal actors in agenda-setting, according to Jones (1984), have three options or approaches for agenda-setting. They 'let it happen, encourage it to happen and make it happen.' As Kingdon points out, it is worth separating power to shape agendas from power to implement solutions to problems raised. Kingdon simplifies the process into the setting of the agenda by principal actors, the specification of alternatives from which a choice is to be made, an authoritative choice among those specified alternatives and the implementation of the decision.

The point is that different actors may have different levels of success at each stage. Alternatively, more simply, just because an actor is influential at the agenda-setting stage, it should not be taken to mean influence in general. Then there is also the importance of agenda-setting within a democracy.

Democracy is premised on the fact that government should be by the people, i.e. the people should have the ultimate influence upon which government should or should not act. Dahl says that a political system in which all the active and legitimate groups in the population can make themselves heard at some crucial stage in the process of decision is essential.

In agenda setting research one wants to know who places the issues on the policy agenda. The crucial role played by these role players and the influence they exert to put an issue on the policy agenda.

The most important factors to look at when examining who sets the policy agenda and why is to look at who can initiate agenda-setting and the role played by the principal actors in agenda-setting. The Principal Actor Model will be applied in the South African situation to examine who the actors are, and how these principal actors in this country influence agenda-setting of physical education and school sport.



CHAPTER 4: PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SCHOOL SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

4.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, the importance of physical education and sport, as well as the status and standing of policy on school sport and physical education in South Africa will be addressed. Dr K. Hardman and M.J. Marshall's international survey on the worldwide state and status of physical education in schools will be investigated, in addition to how it places PES on the global policy agenda. It will also discuss key actors in the agenda-setting model in South Africa.

No one can deny that a school exists for the sake of its children. Equally, the school forms a bridge between the child's life/world and the future life/world. The school situation, as a didactic-pedagogic situation, must be viewed as a bipolar structure, with the child and the teacher on the one side and the idea of adulthood on the other. Between them, learning material forms the route that the child must transverse to reach adulthood. In the didactic situation, both teacher and child are occupied with specific activities. These activities stem from learning content; the teachers instruct and the child learns.

The teacher's instruction is always a deliberate process: following a plan and striving for a goal. Specific material is therefore selected, graded, arranged, and then called a curriculum. Traditionally, the curriculum has always comprised that series of formal subjects selected by reason of their accepted 'importance' and which are used chiefly to impart abstract knowledge and to promote intellectual discipline. The curriculum must therefore be seen as instrumental in moulding people. Every curriculum implies change that is to be brought about in people. By definition, curriculum means 'whole way', or the planned route that someone must cover to progress in a specific respect from not knowing to knowing, or from unable to able.

Education must occur based on something – the curriculum that denotes what must be learned. Thus learning content is determined, even in the most primitive form of

education. Education represents the continued safe existence and survival of both individual and community and embraces the two universal types of education, namely a practical and a theoretical education. Practical education implies those activities that relate to the material aspects of daily life. Practical education includes those actions essential for the provision of daily needs, namely the simpler forms of household, career, physical, and moral education. Activities related to the spiritual and abstract aspects of human existence are covered in the theoretical education component and permeate every practical action (Verster et al, 1986: 80-81).

Malherbe (1975: 7) describes foreign influence upon ideas and practices in education (Pre 1994) succinctly: "There is perhaps no country in the world where the educational system has had so many buffetings and tampering from without as education in South Africa. At no period was education to any extent the spontaneous expression of the ethos, or genius, of the people. To a very large extent its educational system has been the result of successive superimpositions of systems or bits of systems from without." Over a period of more than 300 years, educational ideas and practices of education in the Western World gradually filtered through to this country, taking root and growing under the influence of unique South African conditions.

4.2 HISTORICAL PERSPECTIVE OF THE CURRICULUM IN SOUTH AFRICA

WESTERN CAPE

4.2.1 The Curriculum during the Dutch Period 1652 to 1806

When Europeans first began to settle at the Cape, schools were extremely elementary and had a very basic syllabus. At this stage the authorities wanted no share in/or responsibility for teaching, while both church and parents traditionally determined that every child should be accepted as a member of the church. Initially, religious teaching was therefore of paramount importance followed by proficiency in the bare basics of reading and writing. Arithmetic was sometimes included as less important. Since organised schools and syllabi were unheard of in rural districts, education there was even less rich in content than what prevailed at the Cape.

In March 1714, Governor De Chavonnes issued an ordinance that, amongst others, prescribed which subjects should be taught to pupils. Religious teaching was to be given a place of honour. In addition to the ordinary school subjects (Reading, Writing and Arithmetic), the pupil had to be instructed in the Lord's Prayer, the Ten Commandments, the articles of faith and the catechism. This ordinance was drawn up using, principally, the customs of the mother country as guidelines.

Besides the Latin school of Slicher, the primary schools in the Cape were also subjected to De Chavonnes' education laws. In twenty of the thirty schools then in existence, the syllabus comprised simply the reading and writing of Dutch, some elementary Arithmetic, Religion, Singing and occasionally French and English and – in one case – Mathematics. Instruction was always and exclusively given in the home language.

De Mist, a scholar ahead of his time as far as reformatory views are concerned, compiled a school order that was adopted as law in 1804; he seems to have regarded the study of the classics as an essential prerequisite for complete education. For this reason, he made special provision for the Latin school that was founded in 1793.

Because learning material is always determined by the objective, the teaching content was altered together with the objective. Whereas the Bible and the articles of faith had previously formed the main content of the curriculum, the emphasis now shifted to the secular or humanistic subjects. Home language teaching received priority for arousing national pride in the pupils. De Mist did not, however, banish the Bible from schools but replaced dogmatic religious instruction with a more general instruction in religion. Although his plans were never entirely implemented, his influence touched teaching in the Cape for almost the whole of the nineteenth century. Not only was he a great and creative administrator of education, but his period (1803-1806) represented a highlight in the history of teaching in South Africa.

4.2.2 Teaching content under British rule 1806 to 1910

After Britain took over the Cape in 1806, a policy of Anglicisation was implemented and education therefore became the focus of attention. Lord Somerset could not immediately execute this policy and only after 1820, with the arrival of the British settlers, could he take action. This took the form of importing English and Scottish schoolteachers. To anglicise schools, Somerset introduced a system of free English schools which taught Writing, Arithmetic, Sacred Music, Religious Principles (according to the Dutch or the Scottish catechisms) and the English language. Dutch was never officially a subject or a medium of instruction in these free English schools.

This system of state education was doomed to fail. Dutch resistance resulted in the opening of many Dutch private schools. A notable example is the 'Tot nut' (its kind) schools where the rightful place was accorded both religious instruction and home language in these schools. The curriculum was greatly expanded to include the practical arts such as drawing, singing and handwork. The Zuid Afrikaansche Athenaeum was founded in 1829 to provide for advanced teaching. The fact that both Dutch and English were taught here made this school very popular. The syllabus also included Latin, Greek, French, German, Geography, Astronomy and Mathematics, as well as Nature Study, Logic and Psychology in the senior section.

A government memorandum of May 1839 provided for a department of education under the control of a Superintendent-General of Education (SGE), who, amongst others, had the task of compiling curricula. James Rose-Innes, one of the original groups of Scottish teachers who arrived in 1820, was appointed to the post. The medium of instruction in these government schools was still exclusively English. In the elementary classes, however, the Dutch-speaking pupils were allowed to learn English through the medium of Dutch. This new system made provision for first-class schools for the larger towns, providing both primary and secondary education. The syllabus of the primary or elementary section required Reading, Writing, Arithmetic, a thorough grammatical knowledge of English, Drawing, the elementary principles of Nature Study, and Mechanics as well as Religious Instruction. Dogmatic instruction was now replaced with

non-confessional instruction entailing merely readings from the Bible. The decree pertaining to non-confessional instruction is important because it was implemented throughout the 19th century in the Cape and is still applicable today in all government schools in the RSA.

The ideas of Herbert Spencer are clearly visible in the recommendations made by the De Villiers Commission of Education of 1880. This commission recommended that the programme of Natural Sciences should receive attention, with instruction also being given in subjects such as Botany, Zoology, and Mineralogy, besides Reading, Writing and Arithmetic. This would entail limiting the teaching of both Latin and Greek to allow place for the new subjects. Langham Dale, SGE from 1859, was, however, a strong advocate of the formative value of Latin and Mathematics and therefore allowed little change to the syllabus.

In 1892, Thomas Muir succeeded Dale as SGE. He held more enlightened views on the curriculum and gave more attention to subjects which had until then been greatly neglected. Subjects such as Needlework, Singing, Woodwork Drawing, Cookery and Nature Study were promoted through the appointment of special instructors. An important contribution made by Muir was his insistence that school subjects should be approached from a South African point of view as well as an European one; however, little came of this demand.

4.2.3 Curriculum development after Union in 1910

The year following 1910 saw a more regular addition to, rather than removal of, subjects on the curriculum. Especially during and after the thirties, there was a strong Anglo-American influence, visible in the number of subjects adopted because of their utilitarian value. In this respect, one had subjects such as Needlework, Woodwork, Arts and Crafts, Drawing, Games, Singing and Music. This influence was further revealed by, for example, the merging of Geography and History into Social Studies in the early fifties, while the Natural Sciences received ever-greater attention.

After 1910, the existing subjects continued to be a basis for development and teaching, and progressed gradually until approximately 1950. Divided control over education led to each province, over time, going its own way. In the years after 1950, various state and provincial commissions gave their support to the view that while primary and secondary teaching should remain under provincial control, some type of coordinating authority had to be introduced on a national level.

Eventually, the National Educational Policy Act, (Act 39 of 1976), as amended by the Amendment Act to the National Educational Policy (Act 73 of 1969), provided for strong, central guidance. Because this new law required that teaching had to be provided in accordance with the capability, talent and interest of the pupil and the needs of the country, and in view of the recommendations of the HSRC report of 1969, a new general policy was announced in 1971 with regard to differentiated education.

Differentiated education now provided for four school phases, each three years long. These were a junior and senior primary phase. All pupils receive introductory education geared specifically towards developing the basic proficiency in literacy and calculation. The child is introduced to grammar, reading and writing and the foundations are laid for meaningful learning and understanding. The curriculum was compiled of subjects such as English, Afrikaans, Mathematics, Writing, Environmental Studies, Religion, Art, Music and Physical Education. The Senior Primary Phase was more subject orientated and included Mathematics, History, Geography, Health Education, Elementary Science, Art, Music, Physical Education and a Bantu language besides religious instruction and the two official languages. The focus of attention in the primary phase was the development of the pupil's intellectual and personal capabilities, and laying foundations that supported further study.

The junior secondary phase bridges the gap between the senior primary and senior secondary phases. This phase (Stds 5-7) is very important in that the children during these years realised their values in life and the concept of self, and had to make decisions regarding the choice of subjects that would affect their personal life and professional career. Teaching in the junior secondary phase had a broad base for general moulding,

with most of the subjects being compulsory. Although standards 5, 6 and 7 comprise the junior secondary phase, standard 5 (Gr 7) at present is still part of the primary school.

Standard 5 pupils were, however, treated differently from other primary school pupils, receiving subject teaching according to syllabi which, although stemming from those for standard 4, are also meaningfully allied to those for standards 6 and 7. During the latter two years, pupils had to write examinations on the following compulsory examination subjects: Two official languages, Mathematics, General Physics, History, Geography and Occupational subjects (Handwork and Domestic Science). In addition to these compulsory subjects, a pupil (depending on his school and upon the course of studies he intended following after std.7) still had to choose two or three of the following subjects such as Accounting, a third language, Art, Music, Typing or Agriculture. Religious Instruction, Physical Education, Music and Youth Preparedness were non-examination subjects that also formed part of the curriculum.

The senior secondary school phase allowed for comprehensive differentiation, with a choice having to be made between eight different courses of study, as well as a wide choice of subjects within the framework of each separate course of study. The pupils choose one of the following eight courses of study from the general, technical, commercial subjects, e.g. Agriculture, Human Sciences, Natural Sciences, Art (including Music, Drama, Ballet and the Creative Arts), and Domestic Science. Each course of study entailed a curriculum compiled from six examination subjects as well as certain compulsory non-examination subjects such as Religious Instruction, Physical Education and Youth Preparedness (Vocational Guidance). The six examination subjects had to include the two official languages, two of the prescribed subjects for the particular course of study, and two supplementary subjects.

Understandably, teaching during the pioneering years was directed chiefly towards practical utility and the basic knowledge necessary for a required level of morality. Although this education was meagre in content and extremely formalistic, it nevertheless met the needs of the times; great value was attached to religious instruction. De Mist's

remarks show him to have been a 'child of his era'. His School Order bears witness to the new tendencies, namely Liberalism, Rationalism and Nationalism.

Under the Muir regime, the sciences were especially valued as never before. Herbert Spencer's influence therefore redirected the course of syllabus compilation in the Cape Colony. Much of the learning material, however, was so foreign that very often child and learning material could not find each other. The influence of Naturalism also exerted a strong effect, as may be seen by the fact that certain subjects such as Physical Education were selected to promote certain abilities.

The introduction of the so-called utility subjects showed the pragmatic influence of Dewey. The fact that the curriculum was drastically overloaded left the child with no alternative but to slog his way through everything, with the result that the learner lost the opportunity to be a child in the true sense. At the same time, one must realise that the complex structure of the modern community required changes and expansion within the curriculum. This, however, occurred at the child's expense.

The knowledge explosion of the 20th century, and the almost overwhelming pace of renewal and change, has made learning an inescapable necessity for the child. There is an urgent need for young people to learn if they are to be equipped for the future and, accordingly, learning material that does not meet the needs of the times must be dropped from the curriculum. In this respect, one should note the words of Cornish (1977: 209), namely: "We should recognise that (today's) curriculum is the residue of traditions dating back thousands of years, and generally reflects what teachers want to teach more than what young people need to learn."

4.3 CURRICULUM POST-INDEPENDENCE

However strongly a curriculum may be geared for the future, it can never fully anticipate the child's future needs. In compiling a curriculum for the future, the educator must rigorously suppress any tendency towards speculation or excessive use of his imagination. The compiler of curricula for the future must always bear in mind the historical aspect

when pondering the curriculum. No past or contemporary situation should be ignored and one should never deliberately close one's eyes to the fact that every era requires adjustments and renewal (Curriculum Development, 1998).

'In 1960, Fidel (Castro) explained the facts to the Cuban people and asked for a thousand men and women who had education beyond the level of second year high school, to volunteer to go into the most remote areas of the country to teach Reading and Writing, Hygiene, and Nutrition. Five thousand people from all walks of life answered the call – including doctors and engineers who had to be dissuaded from going because the Revolution needed them in their own professions' (Socialism in Cuba – Huberman and Sweezy).

That is not going to happen in our country. We have not had a 'revolution', and the revolutionary zeal that made it possible for Cuba to achieve so much in Education and Health, is virtually nonexistent in South Africa today.

We live in a country in which the 'burden of the past' has become the 'burden of the present' not only through the legacy of apartheid since 1948, but indeed the legacy of three centuries of deprivation. The majority of the population live in poverty. The ghosts of Christian National Education are very much with us. The South African government claims to lack the necessary funds, which are essential to revolutionise education. The South African economy is under the control of those with neoliberal mind-sets, and they feel that it is not essential to revolutionise education. The South African economy is under the control of the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund with their Structural Adjustment Programmes, which demand cuts in spending on social services like education. South Africa is a multilingual country with eleven official languages, which bedevils educational reform. The culture of learning and teaching has been destroyed.

These are the realities of the South African situation, which one is confronted with when one looks at prospects for an integrated curriculum for quality education. Some of these conditions even the education authorities of a revolutionary government would have had difficulty in coping with, the truth of which is brought home to us on reading of education restructuring in some Socialist countries.

Moreover, South Africa is part of a world in which Capitalism is the dominant system, and Socialism is in retreat. Capitalist values dominate our television and cinema screens and indeed the rest of the media. We also live in an international society, in which transport and information technology have lessened distances and bound us more closely together, providing a school for all. We are increasingly becoming aware of being citizens of the world. Finally, yet importantly, we live in a world in which technology is revolutionising our lives. All these conditions, international and national, affect curriculum development. In looking at the prospects for an integrated curriculum (academic education and vocational training), one has to take into account the four main elements of curriculum development: objectives, content, teaching methodology and assessment. The content includes syllabi, knowledge, skills, values, attitudes, thoughts, behaviour, habits, teaching methodology and assessment.

Content and teaching are inexplicably linked and interdependent. The achievement of an integrated educational system depends largely on the quality of the content, teaching and methodology. The curriculum is not merely a course of study or an outline of a course of study, but all of the above.

As South Africa emerges from the years of struggle against Apartheid, its people face the challenge of transforming a society weakened and corrupted by misrule, mismanagement and exploitation into a vibrant and successful democracy. The task of transformation is greater than reconstructing the systems and structures that sustain any society. It requires a fundamental shift in attitudes in the way people relate to each other and their environment, and in the way resources are deployed to achieve society's goals (Task Team on Education, 1996: 3).

Transformation involves every aspect of South African life. Major steps are being taken to transform the economy to promote growth with equity and justice. Social institutions are being transformed through prison reform, restructuring public safety and defence

institutions, and reconfiguring social welfare, housing and health services. In each sphere, there is an urgent need to change, not simply the scale of provision and access to services, but the very nature of those services and the way they are conceptualised, resourced and delivered. We must develop an integrated system of education and training that provides equal opportunities to all, irrespective of race, colour, gender, class, language, age, religion, geographical location, political or other opinion (RDP: 60).

The education system is no exception. Far-reaching organisational and structural change was instituted to address the severe imbalances in provision and strong bureaucratic controls over the system. The new Department of Education radically shifted the direction and vision of the education system after 1994 with a series of policy initiatives and new legislation. The national policy frameworks contain clear implications for planning and effective management in the education system. The provision of the Department of Education's National Education Policy Act and the South African Schools Act as well as provincial legislation and policy documents addressed the way forward for addressing 'Education in the New South Africa.' In the process, major educational changes in South Africa with the transition from a traditional education system of the past years to a new approach resulted in Outcomes-Based Education (OBE). These changes affected the whole country, and the National Department of Education coordinated the process. These changes were introduced for Grades 1 and 7 in 1998. The White Paper on Education and Training identified as a major problem the fact that South Africa has never had a truly national system of education. The White Paper provides for a single national education system, which will, largely, be organised and managed on a provincial level.

The White Paper on Education and Training set out further reasons for the need for education transformation in South Africa. There is presently a strong emphasis on economic growth and job creation. South Africa is part of a global economy and we have to be able to compete with other countries for part of the world market. The new system must be based on not only nationally accepted outcomes, but also outcomes that are internationally accepted.

Many are of the opinion that we are educating our young people for unemployment. The demand is that young people should leave school equipped to compete in the job market. Because of this, the White Paper emphasizes the integration of education and training. It proposes that we regard education and training as a life-long process, and we have, therefore, the concept of Life-Long Learning and Development. This integrated approach to Education and Training rejects the present division between academic and applied knowledge, between theory and practice, and between knowledge and skills. We also need to reconstruct South African society. Therefore, OBE in South Africa should have had the underlying principles of Equity, Redress, Non-discrimination, Democracy, Access and Justice. For the first time, high-quality education was made available to everyone in South Africa, irrespective of age, gender, race, colour, religion, ability or language.

OBE is a learner-centered approach to education and training. In OBE, educators and learners focus attention on the results expected at the end of each learning process. These are called outcomes. Outcomes are the knowledge, skills, values and/or attitudes that a person is expected to demonstrate in a given learning situation. OBE places emphasis on achievement of outcomes and application of learning rather than on 'covering' material. What was significant about the new approach was the radical change in education jargon. Subjects became Learning Areas, teachers became educators, pupils became learners, and standards became grades.

In South Africa, there are two types of outcomes, namely Critical Outcomes and Specific Outcomes. Subjects were grouped together to form Learning Areas. This made it possible that there would be specialist educators in one or more learning areas rather than the narrower, subject-specific educators.

There are eight different Learning Areas namely Language, Literacy and Communication (LLC), Mathematical Literacy, Mathematics and Mathematical Sciences (MMS), Human and Social Science (HSS), Natural Sciences (NS), Arts and Culture (AS), Economic and Management Sciences (EMS), Technology (TECH) and Life Orientation (LO).

What is important to note about OBE is that subject teachers and especially the Physical Education teacher became redundant because the subject Physical Education was now part of Life Orientation. Within LO we have Physical Development and Movement; it is one of five subsections in the Learning Area of Life Orientation.

Exaggerated claims of success, regular boasts regarding the big slice of the national budget that is being allocated to education, and mystical claims for magical potential in the all-new learning-teaching process called Outcomes-Based Education have deafened South Africans. No attempt was made by the State and its Education Ministers (National and Provincial) to explain and expose the causes of the decrepit state of schooling that cannot in any sense be described as being what a democratic state requires. It is the inability of teachers, pupils and parents and implementers and every other middle guide in a misguided anti-educational system to cope with the problems that OBE caused year after year that has led to the catastrophic implosion of mis-education in most schools (The Educational Journal, 2006: 1).

In February 1997, the Minister of Education, Professor SME Bengu unveiled Curriculum 2005 as the new curriculum for the 21st century. A curriculum is everything planned by educators that will help develop the learner. This can be an extramural sporting activity, a debate, or even a visit to the library. When the curriculum is being planned, the physical resources, work programmes, assessment criteria and extramural programmes should all be taken into account. A good curriculum produces thinking and caring individuals. All knowledge is integrated, and teaching and learning are not sharply divided. This means that a person's intelligence, attitude, knowledge and values are easily developed. A curriculum has to be flexible and relevant, and should be planned by parents, teachers, education authorities and learners – in fact, as many people as possible are encouraged to participate.

The Learning Area of Life Orientation in the curriculum guides and prepares learners for life and its many and varied possibilities. The focus is on the development of Self-in-Society and it is therefore concerned with the social, personal, intellectual, emotional and physical growth of learners and with the way in which these facets are inter-related. This

LA develops skills, knowledge, values and attitudes that empower learners to make informed decisions and take appropriate actions regarding health promotion, social development, personal development, physical development and movement. Physical education and school sport is therefore not included as an important part of this curriculum and programmes. Physical education are skills to be learned which are necessary to perform a variety of physical activities such as making someone physically fit, lets a person participate regularly in physical activity, allows the person to know the implications of/and the benefits reaped from involvement in physical activities, and lets the person value physical activity and its contribution to a healthy lifestyle.

4.4 THE IMPORTANCE OF SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA

According to the Physical Education Department, the purpose of physical education is to involve the learner in a wide range of movement, knowledge and skill-building experiences. PE has to contribute to the learners' growing value system and development of responsible attitudes and behaviour essential to a healthy lifestyle. It promotes understanding and appreciation for differences among people in physical activity settings. PE also develops the habit of choosing to participate regularly in physical activity as part of a health-enhancing personal fitness plan and expands options for the wise use of leisure time. "The regular practice of sport offers invaluable lessons essential for life in our societies. Tolerance, cooperation and integration are necessary to succeed in both sport and everyday life. The fundamental values of sport are consistent with the principles of the United Nations Charter, which declares that sport is all-inclusive, knows no barriers, and is easily accessible. Together with governments, civil society and the United Nations system, the world of sport will help us demonstrate the value and power of sport to improve education, health, development and to reach lasting peace" (Special Adviser to the United Nations, Secretary-General Adolf Ogi).

Douglas Booth wrote an article in the *Journal of Southern African Studies*, Volume 23, Number 1, of March 1997, titled 'The South African Council on Sport (SACOS) and the Political Antinomies of the Sports Boycott'. In the article, he states that in the 1970s and 1980s, the anti-apartheid movement recognised SACOS as its domestic sports wing. As

the sports wing of the internal liberation movement, SACOS made a significant contribution to our understanding of apartheid's effect on sport. SACOS showed that every aspect of apartheid adversely touched sport. For most people this was a revelation; it gave sports the status of a sacrosanct social practice. There is no better argument for the close connection between politics and sport than apartheid South Africa. Not only were politics and sport intrinsically entwined in the country, but sport was also used as a vehicle to rid the country of the apartheid policy. South Africa was formally expelled from the International Olympic Committee in 1970. Fifa suspended the country from football in 1961. Pressure on the Nationalist South African Government increased at all levels, with sport being one of them. Internally, protest was led by the non-racial SACOS, while externally it was the exiled South African Non-Racial Olympic Committee (SANROC), which was in the forefront of organising resistance to the racist sports policies of the apartheid government. The main form of resistance used was the international sports boycott, which became a rallying point for anti-apartheid activists worldwide. Internally, the protest consisted of demonstrations and the refusal to have any contact with those involved in racist sport; thus SACOS's slogan of "no normal sport in an abnormal society". In an interview with Deutsche Presse-Agentur, former SACOS president Joe Ebrahim acknowledges the role that the sports boycott had in finally ridding the country of apartheid. "It was one of those areas which were auxiliary to the political struggle. I don't think one can place sport in such a high category as to say that it was instrumental in bringing about change, but I think what it did was that it focused people's attention on the fact that we couldn't live almost a dual life in terms of which, in everyday society, we were denied basic rights. We were denied the opportunity to exercise our universal rights, and then expected to go and play sport as if it was a normal world. So, from that point of view, the political influence in sport played a tremendous role in bringing across to people that society is far broader than simply the question of where you stay and what you are allowed to do. It also has to deal with the interaction between human beings, and you cannot be accepted, to a certain extent, as being an equal on the weekend when you play sport but then, for the rest of the week, you are treated as being unequal." Sport thus contributed towards the complete isolation of South Africa which then in turn contributed towards the unbanning of black political organisations and ultimately towards the first democratic elections in 1994.

4.5 WORLDWIDE AGENDA-SETTING PROCESS OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SCHOOL SPORT

Article 31, Convention on the Rights of the child states that, "Sport and physical education play an important role at the individual, community, national and global levels. For the individual, sport enhances one's personal abilities, general health and selfknowledge. On the national level, sport and physical education contribute to economic and social growth, improves public health, and bring different communities together. On the global level, if used consistently, sport and physical education can have a long-lasting positive impact on development, public health, peace and the environment. Access to and participation in sport and physical education provide an opportunity to experience social and moral inclusion for populations otherwise marginalized by social, cultural or religions barriers due to gender, disability or other discrimination. Through sport and physical education, individuals can experience equality, freedom and a dignifying means of empowerment. The control over one's body experienced while practicing sport is particularly valuable for girls and women, for people with a disability, for those living in conflict areas and for people recovering from trauma. The United Nation's Children Fund (UNICEF) and United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) incorporate the power and potential of sport and recreation into its programmes in Developing Countries. Sport is one way for UNICEF and UNESCO to defend the right of every child to a healthy start in life; the right of every girl and boy to be educated; and the right of every adolescent to have many opportunities to develop into caring and involved citizens. UNICEF views sport and recreation not only as a means to achieve the organisational core objective but also as bona fide goals that ensure every child's right to play".

4.5.1 Decline in the Position and Presence of PE Worldwide

A decline in the position and presence of physical education in school curricula worldwide was apparent in countries. "Manifestations of a deteriorating situation were evidenced by a number of conference themes, a range of journal articles reporting on the perilous position of physical education in schools, several international and national

surveys, on-going analysis of national and international trends (see Hardman 1993, 1994, 1996, 1998a, 1998b, 1999) and a plethora of international agencies and regional continental organisations position, policy, advocacy and declaration statements" (Hardman and Marshall, 2000: 1-2).

It is a matter of historical record that the widespread concerns, particularly in the 1990s, led to the International Council for Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE) initiated (with International Olympic Committee (IOC)) support, for a worldwide survey into the state and status of physical education in schools. Dr K. Hardman and Mr J. Marshall conducted The World-Wide survey of the state and status of school physical education in 1999. The International Olympic Committee (IOC) through the International Council funded this project for Sports Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE). This survey investigated the worldwide state and status of physical education in schools. By using the results of a globally administered semi-structured questionnaire an extensive literature survey the research findings reinforced previous studies of Wilcox 1996; Loopstra and van der Gugten 1997; and Hardman 1996, 1998.

The results show that physical education in schools is in a dangerous position in all regions of the world; with regard to implementation, restricted and decreasing time allocation, inadequate financial allocation, low subject status, human and material resources. There was also large scepticism about physical education's future and efforts made to sustain physical education in schools. The subject PE is under severe attack and not seen as a priority facing competition for instructional time within the curriculum. Specialist physical education teachers are not teaching the subject but rather generalist teachers who have little or no preparation in physical education methods. Budget cutbacks are also affecting negatively on the time and resources required to teach a quality physical education programme (Machendrik, 1996; 2).

In 1978 the UNESCO Charter for Physical Education and Sport stated that an essential condition for the exercise of human rights is freedom to "develop and preserve intellectual, physical and moral powers. It further states that sport and physical education access should be assured and guaranteed for all human beings". The perilous position of

Physical Education is despite scientific evidence on the values of physical activity. This provides a 'prima facie' case for regular physical education and sports in schools. Of great concern is that UNESCO's Charter for Physical Education and Sport (1978), many national governments, even the ANC, have proposed, and are proposing either removal of physical education from the curriculum, lesser status as a subject or reduced time allocation (RNCS, 2006). The selected issues from the world wide survey include legal curriculum requirements as opposed to the actual implementation, curriculum, time allocation, subject status, resource issues (financial, material, human); curriculum content, delivery and equity (Summary of finding of the World-Wide Survey of the state and status of school Physical Education by Hardman and Marshal 1999).

4.5.2 Physical Education as a curriculum requirement

The World-Wide Survey of the state and status of school Physical Education by Hardman and Marshal (2000) findings on PE as a curriculum requirement found that 92% for which the data was analysed that physical education is a legally required subject in many countries and states. Implementation of physical education as a subject does not meet with statutory expectations. Globally 71% of cases revealed that physical education seems to be implemented in accordance with legal prescription or guideline expectations. In the remaining 29% of cases physical education makes way for other subjects or dropped completely or at best, there is very little provision made for physical education as a subject.

The survey further highlighted regions for greatest concern in terms of policy implementation. These regions of great concern are Africa (75%), Asia (67%), Central and Latin America (50%), Caribbean (50%), and Southern (including Mediterranean) Europe (50%). Developing countries average 60% of non-implementation of statutory policies of inadequate policy. Factors contributing to the 'credibility gap' between statutory policy and delivery are loss of time allocation, lower importance of school physical education in general; lack of official assessment, financial constraints, diversion of resources elsewhere, inadequate material resources; and deficiencies in numbers of properly qualified personnel.

4.5.3 Curriculum Time Allocation

The data collected for physical education curriculum time allocation revealed a varied situation across school years (phases, grades). The curriculum time allocation in 56% of countries was equal in each year of schooling. In 44% of countries time allocation varied across and through school years (grades, standards, phases). Most curriculum time is allocated to the curriculum around the lower and upper middle phase of schooling. Children in these phases age from 9 to 14 years. It was also found that there was a general reduction in time allocation to physical education as the pupils age increased in the upper or final years of schooling. During this period physical education either disappeared from the timetable or became an optional subject. A significant finding from the survey is that reductions in hours allocated to physical education are been seen in all parts of the world. (Hardman, K and Marshall J.J.: 2000)

4.5.4 Subject Status of Physical Education

86 % of respondents indicated that physical education has a similar status legally to other subjects. In practice this is not the case as globally only 43% of countries the actual status is higher than that accorded within the legal framework. The sample revealed that in 57% the actual status of physical education is perceived to be lower in relation other school subjects within the legal framework. (Hardman, K and Marshall J.J.: 2000)

4.5.5 Resources

4.5.5.1 Finance

In a majority (60%) of countries or states, funding cuts are anticipated during periods of financial constraint, which will lead to future reductions in physical education programmes and this at a time when 46% of respondents commented that physical education is already facing declining financial support. Reduction in funding for physical education has a number of impacts globally resulting in quantity and quality of elementary physical education programmes being severely reduced, reduction in the hours

for PE; and the cancellation of lessons or even omission from curricula. (Hardman, K and Marshall J.J.: 2000)

4.5.5.2 Facilities and Equipment

In over two thirds of countries documented evidence portrayed serious material resource problems. This was illustrated in lack or provision of facilities and the problem exacerbated by very low levels of maintenance. In many developing countries (Africa, Asia, Latin America, Central and Eastern Europe) the provision of facilities in many schools are grossly inadequate or practically non-existent. More than 42% of schools in the Western Cape Province of South Africa are without any supporting facilities (WCED Statistics Department, 1998).

4.5.5.3 Qualified Teaching Personnel

The common practice in the world is having qualified 'specialist' physical education teachers at High/Secondary School level and 'generalist' physical educators in elementary/primary schools. The secondary/high school phase specialist is not being fulfilled in many counties whereas the generalised teacher in primary schools is often inappropriately and even inadequately prepared to teach physical education. African, Asian and Latin American respondents highlighted shortages of specialists qualified physical education teachers. Teacher training is non-existent in many counties and even presents a problem in developed counties. (Hardman, K and Marshall J.J.: 2000)

4.5.5.4 Curriculum Content And Delivery: Issues And Trends

An important fact is the quality of physical education being taught at schools. In Africa, physical education curriculum development and content lag behind other subjects and is inadequate and not planned. Fifer's (1999) reference to competitive sport raises another curriculum issue that competitive sport is the primary focus and funding for elite sport. This was also an outcome featured in Wilcox's (1998) survey. A games or sport competition – based curriculum featured in parts of the world. This was to the extent of a

'participation discourse' to that of a 'performance discourse'. The curriculum leaned toward games and development of sport skills with the aim and function being redefined to accommodate other and / or broader educational outcomes.

According to Hardman and Marshall (1999) the curriculum developments and other reforms will help educators to claim a higher status for physical education. This will result in improved time allocation qualified personnel, resources (financial, material). The future of the subject depends largely on the quality of the delivery of the physical education curriculum. This emphasises the fact that Physical Education and School Sport be placed on the policy agenda. Findings of the survey reflect that there is widespread scepticism and pessimism with regard to the future for school physical education.

Hardman and Marshal (1999) further find that contrary to some of the recent development findings reveal an increase to outside school agencies and sport dominance, with 31% responding that physical education in some instance many cease to exit in schools in the near future.

4.5.5.5 Equity Issues

There are direct references to legislature measures to ensure that gender equity be achieved in physical education. The integration of students with disabilities into physical education classes are minimal. Where conditions are conducive in some countries attempts are made to achieve full or practice integration within a non-specialist school depending on the nature and type of disability.

WESTERN CAPE

According to the results of the Hardman and Marshall Survey (1999), physical education has been pushed into a defensive position. It is suffering from decreasing curriculum time allocation, budgetary controls with inadequately financial, material and personnel resources, low subject status and esteem; and marginalisation and under-valuation by authorities. Physical education occupies a tenuous place in the school curriculum and is not accepted on par with seemingly superior academic subjects concerned with developing a child's intellect. School physical education does appear to be under threat in many countries in all continental regions of the world (Hardman and Marshall, 1999).

Ministers and senior officials responsible approved the world crisis in physical education and sport and PES's global agenda-setting, as evidenced by the international survey carried out by International Council of Sport Science and Physical Education (ICSSPE) this for Physical Education and Sport (MINEPS III) in 1999. This has highlighted the marginalisation and decline of the place, role and status of PES in educational programmes. Even though, its legal basis as a subject of instruction is recognised in educational norms and assessments and in official academic texts in the same way as other subjects within the national education system.

"There is little point in 'fiddling' whilst physical education 'burns'. The danger signals evident in this survey of the state and status of Physical education in schools is clear for all to see" (Hardman and Marshall, 1999).

4.6 KEY ACTORS IN THE AGENDA-SETTING MODEL IN SOUTH AFRICA

The South African context offers a challenge to the designers and implementers of programmes for physical education and sport in schools. South Africa needs to realise the contributions that physical education and school sport can make to the development, upliftment and redress of historically disadvantaged communities in this country. The ultimate success lay in the provision of opportunities for all and the identification and nurturing of sporting talent. Physical education (PE) and sport in South Africa is a case of extremes and inequalities. Contrast is visible in all aspects of South African life, but most significantly in education. White schools are relatively problem free, whereas black schools have been adversely affected by the past government's apartheid and separate development policies (Walter, 1994: 108). The RDP speaks of transformation, reconstruction, nation-building, and development and that physical education/activity and sport have the potential to contribute towards those important factors spoken about in the RDP. The Department of Education evolved a new vision for the country through the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) and the first national curriculum statement. The teaching of PE (called physical development and movement) as part of Life Orientation, alongside Health Promotion, Social Development, Personal Development and Orientation to the World of Work (RNCS, 2006). However, the inclusion of PE as part of Life Orientation is problematic because many teachers of the subject are not trained PE specialists. "The situation regarding PE in South African schools, in private and public schools are widely varied in terms of staffing, facilities, programmes and timetabling. Many of the teachers are not qualified to teach the subject where it is included in the timetable and a number of schools are poorly resourced" Katzenellenbogen, 1994).

Luzo Kgosana reports in The Educator's Voice (Jan/Feb 2005) on the South African Democratic Teacher's Union's (SADTU) response to the 'crisis in school sport' at the National Conference for Review and Planning of School Enrichment Programmes. SADTU, as stakeholders with a deep concern for physical education and school sports made clear recommendations regarding the importance of PE and sport as part of the core and extra curriculum programme or independently forwarded the recommendations to the political leadership in both sport and education since 1994. In this time, various barriers and delaying embargoes have frustrated the government's responsibility to formalise the proper provision regarding educationally sound programming that inspires access to, and meaningful participation in, regular physical activity for all school-going citizens of South Africa.

An example of these costly efforts to research the status quo of physical education and school sport was the Centre for Education Policy Development (CEPD) report of January 2000 (CEPD 2000) which resulted in a very important joint media statement made by the Ministers of Education and Sport on 21 February 2000. This statement unequivocally affirmed the importance of physical education and sport at schools and agreed that physical education or human movement and school sport should be reinstated in all institutions of learning as soon as possible. To facilitate implementation, a very comprehensive position report compiled by an interdepartmental education and sport task team on policy for physical education and school sport was submitted in March 2000. Since then a draft policy and implementation, protocol (especially for school sport) was commissioned in October 2000. Regrettably, these remain embargoed with no change to the status quo.

Despite UNESCO's recognition of sports within the education system as a fundamental human right, many of South Africa's children still do not have access to sporting facilities. Outside of private and ex Model C Schools, physical education is still non-existent for 80% of our children. This figure is made still more shocking when we consider that infrastructure and facilitates have not changed at previously disadvantaged schools. Bearing this in mind, the lack of sports facilitates, resources and trained personnel in schools are problems that have huge consequences, not only for South Africa's performance in international sports, transformation, but also – and more importantly – for the development and maintenance of a happy and healthy South African society.

In 2002 SADTU, with other teacher formations and all provincial departments signed a declaration for 'delivering a quality education for all'. UNESCO's Charter of Physical Education and Sport (1978) which recognised then, and still advocates today, that physical education and sport within the education system is a fundamental human right. In 1999, the All Africa Games was held in Johannesburg. The President of the Africa Association endorsed a 10-point action statement for Health, Physical Education, Recreation, Sport and Dance (FAHPER-SD). This was supported at the Games by Professor Amusa, the Secretary General of the Supreme Council for Sport in Africa. Dr Eleyae and Dr Ken Hardman, author of the global audit undertaken by the International Councils for Sport in Africa. Dr Eleyae, and Dr Ken Hardman the author of the global audit undertaken by the International Councils for Sport and Physical Education, and the representative of UNESCO. This declaration resolved that: "Physical education is a fundamental human right and that society has a collective responsibility to ensure that the quantity and quality of physical education is adequate for all children and youth on the continent of Africa."

The Africa Declaration as well as the UNESCO Punte Del Este Declaration (December 1999) at which the ministers and senior officials of sport and physical education were invited to engage with the global audit on physical education and sport at schools. The outcome, of this was the 'Berlin Agenda', which served as the third international

conference of ministers and senior officials of sport and physical education (MINEPS III) sponsored by WHO and UNESCO, the Federal Republic of Germany and ICSSPE. On this occasion, there was a global reaffirmation of the importance of physical education and a worldwide declaration of intent to promote a culture of peace through sport. In January 2002 MINEPS again met under the auspices of UNESCO, discussed, and deliberated the implementation of the Berlin Agenda. SADTU, therefore as the biggest teacher union, demanded that the government and senior officials responsible for education and sport see to it that the Berlin Agenda and its call for action be furthered to its fullest by the implementation of policies for physical education as a human right for all children.

It recognises that quality physical education depends on well-qualified educators and scheduled time within the curriculum- both these are possible even when other resources like equipment are in short supply but as long as educators are well trained. Further to invest in initial and in-service professional training and development of educators and to support research to improve the effectiveness of quality physical education. To work with international financial institutions to ensure physical education is included as part of the definition of education. To recognise the distinctive role of physical education in healthy overall development and safe, supportive communities and to recognise that failure to provide physical education costs more in health care than the investment needed for physical education.

Investing in sport is not just sports policy, its health policy, education policy, anti-crime policy and anti-drugs policy (Tony Blair 2000). The South African context offers a challenge to the designers and implementers of programmes for sports development at schools, as contextual factors such as chronic poverty, a dire lack of resources, and unrealistic expectations may contribute to the limited success of such programmes. WHO's report of the consultation in the African Region, on the global strategy on diet, physical activity and health held in Harare, Zimbabwe 2003. The African Regional Consultation on the development of the WHO global strategy on diet, physical activity and health adopted the following conclusions and recommendations among other that there is sound scientific evidence regarding the common risk factors underlying non-

communicable diseases (NCDs), the benefits to health of improvements in diet and increased physical activity throughout life. There is clear evidence that current transitions in diets and lifestyles in leading to a rapid rise in NCDs. There are encouraging signs of increased awareness of the importance of NCDs among political leaders and policymakers. Populations are not sufficiently aware of the benefits of a healthy diet, physical exercise and how to make the right lifestyle choices.

Facilities for general physical activity and sports are inadequate, and physical activity and physical education in schools are decreasing. Governments have a duty to take action on diet, physical activity and health as part of their responsibility for protecting the health of their populations in the context of nation development.

The ICSSPE – World-Wide - Audit Survey (1999) reflected that "Neglecting physical education is more expensive for public health system than investing in the teaching of physical education. The repercussions of physical inactivity on health (WHO/FAO) are obesity, diabetes, cancer, cardio-vascular ailments, dental disorders, and osteoporosis and bone fractures. Imbalances in nutrient intake and physical inactivity are the main sources of chronic diseases (WHO/FAO) expert consultation on the prevention of chronic diseases, 2003). In Aruba, for example 60% of children between 9 and 12 are overweight, while over 50% of this group do not take part in any of basic physical activities required. Physical education and sport help build confidence and self-respect, increase social development and prepare people to compete – to win or lose – and to cooperate and work together (Basic elements of democratic and civic education)".

M. Talbot (ICSSPE) makes a case for Physical Education by stating that, "Human rights, gender equality and education for peace are important issues that can be taught to children through physical education. It is necessary to go beyond considerations relating solely to the performance aspects of sport. The accent must be on the educational and ethical dimension that should be instilled at all levels. To do this, UNESCO works to promote and contribute to the development of quality sports and physical education that integrates educational and ethical values. Numerous studies have shown that when more physical activity is included in school curricula, marks for schoolwork or general tests never go

down; on the contrary, many pupils improve their marks and their ability to acquire intellectual knowledge (R. Shepard, 1997). A comparison of children aged between 6 and 12 who exercise for five hours a week with children of the same age who exercise for only 40 minutes showed that the intellectual performance of the children who exercise more is considerably better that that of the others. Sport and leisure represent 1.5% of the Gross National Product (GNP) in the European Union (1998). Neglecting physical education is more expensive than teaching it. A 25% increase in participation in a physical activity (on a basis of 33% of the population taking part in regular physical exercise) would reduce public health costs by \$778 million (reference year 1995) and would result in a productivity gain of 1-3%, in other words \$2 to \$5 for each dollar invested. The direct cost of encouraging exercise that is more physical would amount to no more than \$191 million (B. Kidd, World Summit on Physical Education, 1999). In the United Kingdom, there are more jobs in the area of sport and leisure than in the automobile, agricultural, fishing and food industries combined".

South Africa, like so many other countries, is facing a crisis when it comes to physical well being, nutrition and exercise. Our kids are getting larger, eating badly and exercising less. Regular physical education (PE) is not a feature in the majority of our government schools, and frantic working parents are seemingly nor successful in guiding their children to a healthy approach to what they eat, and what they do. These are the top line trends emerging from a recent SANEP (South African Nutrition Expert Panel – a Kellogg and Clover sponsored initiative) research study analysing the qualitative aspects of nutrition and exercise amongst children aged 8 to 13 years old, and their parents and teachers.

The SANEP study examined the participating children's activities, as well as their daily nutrition, through nationwide focus groups consisting of parents, teachers and children. The study was split into two Living Standard Measures (LSM) groupings, namely LSM 4 to 6 (the developing market, facilitated in the vernacular) and LSM 7 to 10 (the developed market). The overall aim of the SANEP study was to determine what motivated children to eat and do exercise, and to establish a qualitative framework through which parents, teachers and children themselves will be able to develop a better understanding of

physical health. Dr Karen Sharwood, of UCT/MRC Research Unit for Exercise Science and Sports Medicine, highlight some of the national statistics that provide a contextual backdrop to the SANEP study. UCT recently conducted a national survey of fitness characteristics between ages including overweight and obese children. The results were horrendous, in addition, another study (Birth to Twenty) showed that less than a third (30%) of black South African children are offered PE at school while more than 40% of South African youth do not engage regularly in vigorous physical activity (Dr Karen Sharwood).

Clearly then, South Africa has a problem with its children and their approach to food and exercise. The result of this problem is not only an increasing number of overweight children, but also a looming generation of adults with bad eating habits and culture of physical activity. According to Healthy People, 2010, the two leading health indicators for the nation are lifestyle-related namely physical activity, and overweight and obesity (The 21 Century Plague, 2008: 1).

It further states that poor nutrition and lack of physical activity are responsible for an estimated 300 000 to 600 000 preventable deaths each year. Youth-at-risk are not just a bunch of kids in trouble. All youth face some sort of risk – some more than others because of their socio-economic status, environment, friends, family situation, behavioural problems physical or mental health. No one is immune to risk. At one end of the continuum is large group of youth facing low levels of risk. At the other extreme, a small group is involved in chronic anti-social behaviour, or even suicide. In between are risk situations ranging from lesser to greater degrees of risk (Impact and Benefits of Physical Activity and Recreation, 2005).

Efforts are needed at all stages to lower the risk environment and to prevent youth from moving along the continuum to situations of greater risk. According to the study 'Impact and Benefits of Physical Activity and Recreation on Canadian Youth-at-Risk', that within all the risk factors, low levels of physical activity are generally associated with situations At-Risk Continuum or activities of higher risk. Low levels of physical activity are more common with smoking, inadequate peer support, obesity and low socio-economic status.

Research also showed that strategies involving physical activity and recreation appeared particularly promising in minimising or removing risk factors at all stages of the continuum. Participation in physical activity and recreation can provide positive benefits related to psychological health, physical health, familial interactions, peer influences, academic performance, community development and other lifestyle behaviours. The study concludes by saying that those who work in the physical activity and recreation field, and who have a great deal of contact with youth, have an exceptional opportunity to make a difference.

The Healthy Active Kids, South Africa's Report Card on Physical Activity for children and Youth (2007) concludes that children and youth are the country's greatest resource in meeting current and future health challenges. These include high rates of cardiovascular disease, such as heart attacks and strokes, diabetes, cancer, early death due to accident and injury, as well as infectious diseases. It recognises at least four major factors-determined by both social context and individual behaviour that place young people at risk such as tobacco use, poor diet, lack of physical activity, and overweight.

Physical fitness in South African urban youth appears to be on the decline, and recent studies suggest that about 40% of children and youth are getting little or no moderate to vigorous activity each week. Vulnerable groups for inactivity are girls, 16 to 19 year olds, and children from disadvantaged communities. There is a clear lack of physical activity and sports participation culture in adolescents, with 1 in 4 indicating little or no interest!

Estimates of screen time and inactivity in South Africa suggest that 25% of adolescents watch more than 3 hours of television per day. However, average time in sedentary activities has been reported to be as high as 9 hours per day. Even in smaller towns and rural areas, up to 64% of girls and 45% of boys report little or no moderate or vigorous activity.

TABLE 4.1: PERCENTAGE OF 13 TO 19 YEAR-OLDS WHO PARTICIPATED IN INSUFFICIENT OR NO PHYSICAL ACTIVITY (N=10 000)

	Males	Females	All
Black	33.4	42.4	37.5
Mixed Ancestry	36.8	56.8	45.6
White	28.2	37.0	29.4
Indian	40.8	36.0	33.0
RSA	34.0	43.0	37.5

Source: Youth Risk Behaviour Survey 2002

The youth policy of 2000 asserts that The National Youth Policy is a framework for youth development across the country. It endeavours to ensure all young men and women are given meaningful opportunities to reach their full potential, both as individuals and as active participants in society. The National Youth Policy identifies areas of development in transforming society as crucial to the survival of democracy.

It appreciates the conditions that still inhibit the youth in accessing good education and health, maintaining mental and physical well being, and pursuing meaningful sustainable employment. The 1996 census revealed that South Africa has a higher number of young people than previously recorded. According to the 1996 census, a full 36.2% of the total population are between the ages of 15 and 35 and that 33.9% of the population are between the ages of 0 and 14 and the remaining 29.9% are 35 years and older. The high youth share reflects comparatively by rapid population growth, estimated at around 2, 3 percent a year (Census, 1996).

TABLE 4.2: YOUTH AS A SHARE OF THE POPULATION (1996)

Age group	Population in millions	Percent of total population			
0 to 14	15.0	35%			
15 to 19	4.5	11%			
20 to 24	4.4	10%			
25 to 34	7.1	16%			
Over 34	12.3	28%			
Total	43.3	100%			

Source: Statistics South Africa (October Household Survey 1999)

The exclusion of black youth from cricket, rugby and other sports has been justified by the 'merit versus quota' argument. This presupposed that black was antithetical to merit, whereas white was synonymous with merit; that affirmative action was exclusive of merit (Sunday Times, 13 February: 17). Mbeki in his State of the Nation Address reminded South Africa and the world that our Transformation Agenda transverses all sectors of society.

The Department of Sport and Recreation like all other departments of State, must contribute to the national agenda to transform South Africa to the society of our dreams. By transformation, we do not simply confine ourselves to the demographics of national teams. Sport must contribute in an improved situation in the health of our people. In his Budget Speech of 12 April 2005, the Minister M.A. Stofile recognised the positive role that physical education and school sport can play in giving South Africa's black youth an opportunity to unearth their talents to represent their country.

The Department of Sport and Recreation as well as the Department of Education and other role-players, as well as stakeholders should therefore 'level the playing fields' so that resources, policy, and infrastructure as well as school curricula, can be implemented to deliver on these goals to produce black sportspersons of merit. This also includes those indulging in sport as a career. Sport tourism, sport and recreation as part of the tourism

industry are still under-utilised. All the youth of this country must adequately exercise their 'right to play'.

The African Sport Index Project (2011) in terms of the sport policy project showed that very few countries followed a sequential and comprehensive process to ensure good policy. There was also a lack of high levels of buy-in from stakeholders.

A weakness in terms of institutional arrangements for policy formulation, development, policy implementation as well as for policy monitoring and evaluation existed in the African Sport policy systems according to the UNESCO/ICESSD African Sports Index (September 2011). The UNESCO/ICESSD African Sports Index further reports that South Africa had phased physical education out of the school curricula and it has now (2011) only been reviewed to be included in the school curricula in CAPS (2012).

The research conducted for UNESCO/ICESSD Africa Sports Index Study (2011) has confirmed that policy agenda setting has taken place and that South Africa has experienced a fundamental policy shift with a comprehensive review of policies since 1994.

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Interview results of the UNESCO/ICESSD African Sports Index (2011) have stated that all sport policies in South Africa were developed after 1996 and that the first post-apartheid White Paper on Sport and Recreation was promulgated in 1996. The Sport and Recreation White Paper (1996) is currently being revised. With the policy agenda setting taking place in South Africa (2010-2011) sport and physical education is being reestablished in schools (CAPS). However, formal school sport programmes have become an optional activity at most of the disadvantaged schools in South Africa since government phased out physical education and school sport as part of the curriculum a numbfer of years ago. In interviews with principal actors in 2011 the differences in what happens at differently resourced schools are cause for concern for both the government as well as the sporting fraternity.

TABLE 4.3: POPULATION BY RACE AND AGE (1999)

The composition of the population by race varies substantially with age, as table below indicates:

Total in % of total					
Age group	Millions	African	Asian and Coloured	White	
0 to 14	15.0	82%	11%	7%	
15 to 19	4.5	81%	11%	8%	
20 to 24	4.4	80%	11%	9%	
25 to 34	7.0	77%	13%	10%	
Over 34	12.3	71%	12%	17%	

Source: Statistics South Africa (October Household Survey 1999)

The Youth Fitness and Wellness Charter (2005) is a charter of physical activity, sport, play and well-being for all children and youth in South Africa. The Exercise Science and Sports Medicine Research unit helped in compiling the Charter, in view of emerging evidence of decreasing participation in physical activity and concomitant increases in obesity levels in South African children.

The Charter highlights the importance of physical activity, specifically at school level. The Charter also assists policy-makers to make future decisions around school curricula. Once all interested parties agree on the contents, the research team will propose to the National Department of Health and Departments of Education and Sport and Recreation that the Charter been made policy.

This they hope will ensure that physical education is reintroduced as a compulsory subject in all South African Schools, and will thus contribute to ensuring a lasting commitment to a healthy lifestyle (Medical Research Council of South Africa's: Annual Report, 2005). The Vision of Sport and Recreation South Africa was put forward as

'Creating an active and winning nation'. Sport and Recreation South Africa's (SRSA) work in school sport had its beginnings in 2005.

When a Framework of Collaboration, subtitled Coordination and Management of School Sport in Public Ordinary Schools was signed by the Ministers of Sport and Recreation, and Department of Education (Sport and Recreation South Africa: 17 March 2005).

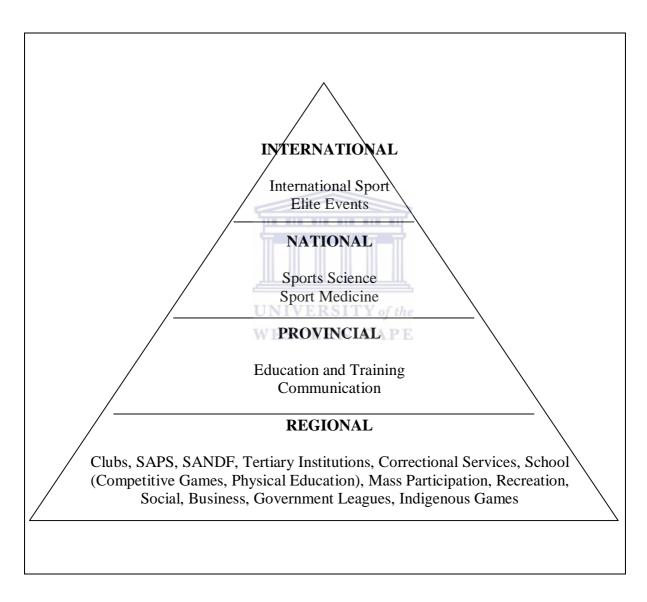
There is consensus between the Ministers of Education and Sport and Recreation that the transformation of school sport in ordinary public schools is embedded in the transformation of sport and recreation in the entire country. Similarly, the transformation of sport and recreation in South Africa is integral to the overall transformation of the South African society. Sport and recreation are important vehicles for building a transformed, non-racial, non-sexist society, united in diversity. Sport and recreation are catalysts in the promotion of national reconciliation, social cohesion and national identity.

In the statement (Framework of Collaboration, 2005) from the Minister of Education and the Minister of Sport and Recreation South Africa (SRSA) acknowledges that there are a number of factors that impede progress in this area. These include the limitations on the participation of disenfranchised communities, especially women and girls, rural communities, youth and people with disabilities. The backlog in the provisions and development of appropriate, safe and secure facilities for sport and recreation in disadvantaged communities, and the improvement of access to existing facilities, especially for youth and people with disabilities.

In ordinary public schools, there is a lack of participation by educators and learners in physical education or human movement, extramural, recreational and competitive school sport programmes. This is found especially in ordinary public schools situated in townships, rural areas, informal settlements and forums. There are constraints related to the provision and capacity of educators involved in both curricula and enrichment programmes; and insufficient financial resources with inappropriate or lack of facilities and equipment.

"Besides emphasizing the importance of providing all children with access to physical activity at school, it also touches on teacher capacity building, sports facilities, and the importance of building school sport issues of national importance such as HIV/AIDS and crime prevention" (Sport and Recreation South Africa: 17 March 2005).

FIGURE 4.4: NATIONAL MODEL FOR SPORT IN SOUTH AFRICA



Source: DCAS 2006

The Framework (2005) goes on to describe the "responsibility of each of the two government departments with regard to school sport. It matches levels of responsibility with specific activities and target groups. In broad terms, the Department of Education is responsible for intra-curricular activities, including physical education in schools; intra-

school activities, including after-school sports activities; inter-school activities, and competitions below regional level; and regional and intra-provincial activities and competitions, in collaboration with provincial sports and education authorities. SRSA is responsible for inter-provincial, national activities and competitions, in collaboration with the DOE and SASCOC; and international competitions in collaboration with SASCOC".

The DOE and representatives from SRSA make up the National Coordinating Committee (NACOC). NACOC is responsible for management, coordination and setting of policy as well as plans on how to implement the Framework's vision. NACOC comprises of five sub-committees dealing with international affairs, finding codes, talent identification and policy.

A Directorate for School Sport had been established within the Chief Directorate of Mass Participation. This was as a result of SRSA's responsibilities given to it by the Framework of collaboration of 17 March 2005. It consists of Competitive School Sport and Mass Participation in Schools. Competitive Sport concentrates on competitive events, whereas Mass Participation supports festivals with the focus on maximizing participation rather than winning.

National level sports such as netball, soccer and disabled sport is supported by the Competitive Sport section. The SA School Games and All Ages tournaments are the primary events of Competitive Sport. These two events are commonly known as the Mini Olympics. SRSA also prepares three South African teams that attend International School Sport Federation events overseas as well as participation in the COSSASA games. Nationally 1 600 schools are reached by the mass-participation school sport programme of schools in previously disadvantaged areas with high levels of poverty. This voluntary programme includes primary, secondary, rural and urban schools. Schools organized in hubs are organized by the education and sports departments of all nine provinces. Kwazulu Natal has nine hubs of the fifty hubs in existence. This programme focuses on capacity building by training and supplying coaches and referees. A total of 13 500 educators have been enskilled in the provision of sport and sport equipment for use at events, by supporting local sports events, local leagues and by providing these hubs with

logistical support. The programme has reached more than 290 000 children in 2008 encompassing six sporting codes namely netball, volleyball, basketball, athletics, soccer and cricket.

The five proposed objectives of this new model that should support the sports development system and form the basis for the White Paper as a 'National Plan for Sport' are creating an accountable, co-coordinated, responsible sport's system; developing and promoting healthy and sporting communities; ensure a winning, transformed and proud sporting nation in which all South African's take part; creating and developing a sustainable and empowered sports economy; and ensuring SA participates and influences the direction of sport in the continent and globally.

4.7 CONCLUSION

The World Summit of Physical Education, held in Berlin in November 1999 called attention to the serious decline in the state and status of physical education and school sport all over the world. Research funded by the International Olympic Committee has drawn together evidence from around the world on the benefits of PESS, and by seeking a shared framework for understanding the subject and its contributions to educational systems and to children.

A list of five main themes or domains was established, which referred to specific aspects of children's and young people's development through PESS. This being physical development, lifestyle development, affective development, social development, and cognitive development. Physical Education (PE) and school sport in South Africa demonstrate extremes and inequalities. Contrast is visible in all aspects of South African life, but most significantly in education.

'White schools are relatively problem free, whereas black schools have been adversely affected by the past government apartheid and separate development policies' (Walter, 1994). 'PE as a school subject has been neglected, misunderstood, seen as being of little importance and regarded as inferior when compared to other subjects in the school

curriculum' (Walter, 1994: 108). A new policy on sport and recreation was developed and published in a government White Paper in 1995 (van der Merwe, 1999).

This policy provides a broad framework for sport promotion and development in the country. However, the country's sports development plan, which was thought to revolve around four key areas (PE, youth and junior sport, tertiary sport and national federations), pays lip service to the issue of PE in schools. Furthermore, little cooperation exists between the Department of Sport and Department of Education at National and Provincial levels regarding the promotion of PE and sport in schools.

The 1995 White Paper on Education and Training and the National Education Policy Act of 1996 speaks about the first National Curriculum Statements which are outcomes-based and includes the teaching of PE called Physical Development and Movement as part of Life Orientation, alongside Health Promotion, Social Development, Personal Development and Orientation to the World of Work.

There are concerns about the growing incidence of physical inactivity, physical fitness and health and sedentary lifestyle among South African youth. This is mainly attributed to the absence of formal PE in schools and the negative impact of television, computer games, virtual chat rooms, cellular phones, gangsterism and drugs. This trend has also led to an increasing incidence of hyperkinetic diseases in children such as musculoskeletal dysfunction, obesity and hypotension.

Another major concern is the nation-building aspect of youth sport as well as representivity in South Africa's national teams. There is a dire need to reinstate PE as an academic subject in schools. The challenge therefore confronting decision-makers in South Africa is how to achieve the global objectives of PE, sport and physical activity in order to satisfy the youth, their expectations and those of the country within the varying and challenging conditions (Katzenellenbogen 1994). This means finding out how to operationalise and implement the various policies by policy agenda-setting.

Since 1994, South Africa has experienced the policy cycle in fast-forward mode. Policy design, legislation and policy implementation has proceeded rapidly in all sectors. Very few of the policies inherited from the Apartheid era were appropriate for the new democracy and an extraordinary degree of intellectual and political energy was harnessed to generate policy. This is clearly illustrated in the Generic Policy Process Model of De Coning (2006).

This frantic phase has now given way to the next logical step – the evaluation of policy performance implementation and sustainability. This also begs the question regarding the impact of policy evaluation and agenda-setting on future and existing policy. Agenda-setting by principal actors is of the essence as physical education and school sport is not on the agenda as clearly illustrated by South African case study.

The failure to place PESS issues on the agenda is as a direct result of the over-investment of the state in the political symbolism of policy rather than in its practical implementation. However, since 1994, it has been clear that the agenda-setting was almost always driven by political imperatives. It is therefore imperative and clear that the issue of physical education and school sport be placed on the policy agenda by the principal actors and stakeholders.

CHAPTER 5: RESEARCH RESULTS AND FINDINGS ON POLICY AGENDA-SETTING

5.1 INTRODUCTION

In this chapter, there will be an assessment of the research results emanating from the interviews with principal actors in agenda-setting for the physical education and school sport sector. The first round of interviews (2005 to 2009) took place during the period when major policy issues such as physical education and school sport were neglected despite reformed and advanced policy cycles in government. In the subsequent period 2010/2011 policy agenda setting in the overall education policy (curriculum) process was revisited by government. This second round of interviews was to obtain deeper insight on who the principal actors in the South African context were and who placed Physical education or education policy on the policy agenda of government.

The data obtained from the interviews will be analyzed against the policy agenda setting models selected by the researcher. In addition this information will be placed in tables to further illustrate the policy agenda setting models of the Principal Actor Model on agenda setting and the Issue Attention Cycle Model on policy agenda setting. I will draw from the interviews (2005 to 2009) and on the perspective of the present situation of policy agenda setting of education policy. This will inform us on who put pressure on government or what principal actors exerted pressure on the Minister of Basic Education to change the National Curriculum Statements (NCS) to Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS).

The chapter will further comprise of the research results and the interpretation of the results as findings. It will conclude with the information derived from the interviews on who the principal actors are who placed NCS on the policy agenda so that the Minister of Basic Education changed policy to a new curriculum called CAPS.

5.2 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Following a desk-top study and research on physical education and school sport (Chapter 4), this chapter will present the fieldwork results as well as the research findings. Essentially the research was conducted in the form of interviews with key stakeholders before and after the changes in policy agenda setting took place that placed physical education back on the policy agenda.

The research results and findings will interrogate what the implications are of an application of the Issue Attention Cycle and Principal Actor Model and how principal actors and specific issues changed this agenda. These two models will be applied to the physical education and sport policies in South Africa.

The researcher used the questionnaire (Annexure B) to target a broad spectrum of principal actors in agenda-setting in physical education and school sports. These principal actors were mainly Department of Sports and Recreation and Culture officials, educators, principals of schools, circuit managers, subject advisors, curriculum developers and teachers teaching physical education and involved in school sport.

There were also interviews with specific principal actors in agenda-setting (Annexure A). The target groups were Department of Sports and Recreation and Culture as well as Department of Education officials, sportswriter, service providers, CBOs, NGOs, academics and sponsors.

Interviews were held with two sponsors. One is Shaheen Ebrahim (Chairman, Oasis Group Holdings) who sponsors community clubs Scotcheskloof Walmers (Bo-Kaap) and the Collegians (Mitchells Plain). Oasis also sponsors the Blue Bulls (Gauteng). Mr C. Bekker (Coca Cola) was interviewed regarding the Khaya Majola U18 Coca Cola Week. This is an annual tournament for U18 cricketers of excellence.

The research conducted was also by way of primary observation and as a participant in the sport and education system. Being a member (treasurer) of the Western Cape Sports Association (WECASA), national secretary of USSASA high schools, chairperson of girl's cricket and WPCA representative to Women's Cricket, I was invited to many lekgotlas, sport indabas in addition to being an active participant in national executive meetings. This afforded me the opportunity to interview Department of Sports and Recreation and Culture Representatives, MECs of Sport, participants, teachers, sports administrators, representatives of NGOs, CBOs and officials of government (local, regional, national) who deal with sport and education. Some of the interviewees included Greg Fredericks (DOSRSA), Advocate Rod Solomons (DOSR, Western Cape), Chris Stali (MEC Sport, Western Cape) Andrew Bretherton (Head of Sport, Fairbairn College), Janse van der Ryst (Sport Director, Paarl Boys High), Arthur Cowley (Disability Sport); Daniel Dirks (Chairperson Farm Schools), Ursula Griffiths (Chairperson National Agriculture Schools Sport Foundation) and Nabeal Dien (Amateur Cricket Manager, WPCA).

In 1982 I started teaching at Mount View High School (Hanover Park). Presently I hold the post of principal at a primary school. Because of the nature of my work and the number of years I have been teaching, I have been a practitioner of education policy (Christian National Education, Differentiated Education, Apartheid Education with Education Departments for different races, Outcomes-Based Education, Curriculum 2005, Revised National Curriculum Statements, National Curriculum Statements, CAPS). As the principal and the person who 'drives' education policy at school, one is constantly in touch with officials from the Education Department, invited to curriculum meetings, NGOs, CBOs, sponsors, parents and unions. As a result, interviews were held with Cameron Dugmore (MEC Education, Western Cape), Ronnie Swartz (Director Education, Western Cape), Jenny Rault Smith (Director Curriculum, Western Cape), Selwyn Daniels (Circuit Manager), Grant Nupen (Headmaster Bishops), Riyad Najaar (Principal Spine Road High School, Doctor Nkosi (USSASA National Chairperson) and Nomvula Ralarla (SADTU Sports Council).

Officials of NAPTOSA and SADTU, which represent the majority of teachers, dealing with sport, education and policy were interviewed. Michael Owen Smith, sports writer and the media liaison officer of the Proteas, was interviewed on 28 March 2006. Service

providers such as Sports Injury Specialist (Dr N. Jaffer), Dietician (Ms R. Khan) and Sports Physiotherapist (Ms N. Kariel) were questioned on their views regarding PESS in schools and what outcomes they would like to see arising from sport and physical education policy.

On being awarded the Sasakowa Young Leaders Fellows Fellowship in 2007, I was afforded me the opportunity to travel to India (developing country) to spend some time at the Jawaharlal Nehru University (New Delhi) in the Political Science Department under the supervision of Professor Prayala Kanango. In India I looked at how policy agendasetting takes place as well as school sport in the urban, rural and independent schools.

Significant to this study was the fact that one could gauge agenda-setting from an older democracy as well as a developing country, who the principal actors in agenda-setting are and the state and status of physical education and school sport in Indian schools.

This study concentrated on the South African case study and, therefore, results of agendasetting in the South African experience are reported on as well as the interviews and not the Indian experience. A second round of interviews were conducted to determine the level of policy agenda setting that took place, and who the principal actors were in the policy agenda setting process.

TABLE 5.1: INTERVIEW PROTOCOL

INTERVIEW QUESTION		PROBES	USE OF RESPONSES			
1.	What is the state and status of PESS within the new policy CAPS?	State and Status of PESS in CAPS	Curriculum policy change from NCS to CAPS			
		Change in policy?				
		Agenda-Setting probes				
2.	Who or What organisation/s have	Principal Actors in Agenda-Setting	Who placed pressure for agenda-setting (2010-			
	been putting pressure on	Agenda-Setting	2011)? (2010-			
	government to change PESS policy	Pressure Groups				

3.	Why has policy changed	•	Policy agenda-setting	Principal Actors in Agenda-				
	whenever a new Minister			Setting and the role played		ayed		
	of Education has	•	Issue-Attention cycle	by	those	actors	in	the
	been appointed?			age	nda-sett	ing proc	ess	
		•	Principal Actors in					
			Agenda-Setting					

These interviews targeted principal actors in agenda-setting at the local, regional and national level. Educators in the Foundation Phase (Grades 1, 2 & 3), Intermediate Phase (Grades 4, 5 & 6), General Education Training Phase (Grades 7, 8 & 9) and Further Education Training Phase (Grades 10, 11 & 12). Pertinent questions were asked regarding physical education at the different tiers in government, and about physical education policy within the educational system of different schools. The focus was on NCS and the subject Life Orientation. The objective was to determine the state and situation of physical education and school sport in the South African context.

5.3 RESEARCH RESULTS

The Minister of Basic Education, Mrs Angie Motshekga, has revised the National Curriculum Statement. This National Curriculum Statement (NCS) stipulated policy on curriculum and assessment in schooling. To improve implementation, the Minister amended the National Curriculum Statement (NCS). These amendments come into effect in January 2012. A single comprehensive Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) document was developed to replace Subject Statements, Learning Programme Guidelines and Subject Assessments Guidelines (Grades R to 12).

The National Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statement (CAPS) is a single comprehensive and concise policy document, which will replace the current subject and learning area statements for grades R to 12.

In the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) document, physical education in grades 1 to 6 (Foundation and Intermediate Phase) is part of the subject, Lifeskills. Lifeskills consists of Beginning Knowledge, Creative Arts, Personal and Social Wellbeing as well Physical Education.

In the National Curriculum Statement (NCS), Physical Education in grades 1 to 6 (Foundation and Intermediate Phases) is called Physical Development and is part of Lifeskills. Lifeskills in the National Curriculum Statement (NCS) document consist of Health Promotion, Social Development, Personal Development and movement.

The Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) document states that Lifeskills as a subject is central to the holistic development of learners. It is concerned with the social, personal, intellectual, emotional and physical growth of learners. Physical Education in the Foundation Phase and Intermediate Phase deals with the learner's gross and fine motor skills and perceptual development. The focus is on games and activities that will form the basis for participating in sports later on. The emphasis in these phases is on growth, development, recreation and play.

In the GET phase of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS), Physical Education is part of five subjects in Life Orientation. Life Orientation in the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) consists of development of self in society, health, social and environmental responsibility, constitutional rights and responsibilities, world of work and physical education.

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In the FET phase of the Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS), Life Orientation is compulsory for all learners in grades 10, 11 and 12. The subject contains the following six topics in grades 10 to 12:

- Development of the self in society;
- Social and environmental responsibility;
- Democracy and human rights;
- Careers and career choices;
- Study skills; and
- Physical Education.

In Curriculum and Assessment Policy (CAPS) Life Orientation's focus is the development of self-in-society as well as helping learners to develop through beneficial social interactions, such as respecting others rights and values as well as promoting

lifelong participation in recreation and physical activity. By looking at the Subject Life Orientation, it is difficult to see how the aim of participation and physical activity can be achieved if physical education is one of six topics in the subject.

The National Curriculum Statement (NCS) document also placed physical education as one of five subjects in LO (Grades 7 and 9). It was called Physical Development and movement. The other subjects under Life Orientation were Health Promotion, Social Development, Personal Development, Orientation to the World of Work and Physical Development and Movement. The National Curriculum Statement (NCS) document for Life Orientation in grades 10 to 12 places Recreation and Physical wellbeing as one of four subjects in Life Orientation. Life Orientation consists of Personal wellbeing Citizenship Education, career and career choices, recreation and physical wellbeing.

It is evident that when a new Minister of Education takes office, we have a change in policy. Sibusiso Bengu introduced OBE; Kader Asmal changed OBE to Curriculum 2005, Naledi Pandor C2005 to RNCS (NCS) and Angie Motshekga revised NCS to CAPS.

Over the past few years, there have been differing and sometimes contradicting physical education curricula. Physical education as a fully fledged school subject has to address many contemporary issues in society. There is a perception by many policy-makers that physical education, as a non-cognitive subject, has a lesser status than academic subjects. This perception also attributes an inferior status to physical education teachers. Therefore, education policy-makers in South Africa should have a mindset change regarding the status of physical education. The start and end years of school going children in South Africa should be associated with access to physical education, as this is significant for individual development and continuing participation in physical activity. Educational reforms are not in response to nation-building, active lifestyles, healthy population, life-long learning concepts, sedentary lifestyles, or obesity, but rather to economic restraints. Physical Education is dealt with through broad curricula activities, with little focus on sustainable physical activity. How are we going to rid ourselves of the quota versus merit discourse? There is no quality and curriculum relevance with the

present Physical Education policy (CAPS, NCS), especially to giving it its full legal and subject status. The overall situation is not only seen in curricula content but also in extracurricula (school sport) activities. Physical education and school sport policy should include a sustainable programme which does not disadvantage any group. It becomes important that the 'playing fields' should be leveled to achieve transformation and reform in the South African context.

The life-cycle of the issue is that the case of physical education and sport in South Africa progressed from changing apartheid policy to it being implemented in a new education policy (curriculum), and a school sport policy with very little agenda-setting after policy implementation. It should be constantly monitored by the principal actors in the form of indicators and statistics.

Indicators and statistics have emerged as an indispensable tool, especially in developing countries. This is further problematic in South Africa because of large numbers and inadequate resources. Principal actors must have resources made available, as well as an increase in policy actors with a 'high' interest in issues so that physical education and school sport can be placed on the policy agenda-setting stage of a policy. introduction of 'more time' for Physical Education in the CAPS (implementation 2012/2013) policy statement underscores the fact that physical education and school sport needs to be put on the policy agenda-setting of the national education government to increase the status and standing of policy on school sport and physical education in South Africa. The change from NCS to CAPS is a good example of policy agenda-setting reaching the systemic agenda-setting stage. I argued that physical education and school sport needs to be moved to the institutional policy agenda-setting framework by the principal actors in agenda-setting (see Chapter 5). Placing it on the institutional policy agenda will ensure that not only cosmetic changes are made; but that physical education will get full subject status (OBE to C2005, C2005 to RNCS, RNCS to NCS, and NCS to CAPS). Government will have to train specialist teachers, and schools should receive the resources to sustain the subject. This emphasizes the fact that physical education and school sport should be placed on the policy agenda by the principal actors in policy agenda-setting.

It was suggested that the decline in physical activity was due to the decision to remove the specialist physical education teacher from schools. It was further established that the decline was due to the integration of physical development and movement into Life Orientation. The OBE and NCS curricula made theoretical sense when speaking about achieving stated learning outcomes, but the learning area Life Orientation lacked expertise in educators, a major shortage of equipment, rationalization of educators, lack of materials, resources and high pupil-teacher ratios (Dr O. Esau, Sport Journalist/Lecturer, University of Stellenbosch, 26 September 2011).

In township schools, poverty, malnutrition and the Apartheid legacy played major factors. These factors particularly impacted on the extramural programmes of township schools. This was also found in the farm and agriculture schools and schools in the rural areas (Nabeal Dien, WPCA, Claremont, 21 September 2011).

Each school is unique. A major determinant of this uniqueness is the remnants of the apartheid system. Township schools (black/coloured) still lack the infrastructure, resources (physical, human and monetary) to deliver school sport. Post-1994, due to rationalization, human capital has diminished. This places an extra burden on school governing bodies to financially sustain schools. Their primary task of overseeing governance is being undermined because they also have to perform a fundraising function. This places an extra burden on the service delivery at schools. Employing qualified specialist physical education teachers and school sport coaches is therefore not achievable by SGBs in the townships and rural areas (S.G. Ebrahim, Athlone, 22 September 2011).

It can therefore be concluded from the interviews that a very large percentage (98%) of persons interviewed rated Physical Education as being important to a child's development. Most schools did not have qualified Life Orientation teachers. Physical Education periods were used to teach other subjects. In an interview with the Chief Education Specialist Curriculum on 25 September 2011, he stated that educators did not give it the legal status it deserves as a subject. Learners did not attach value and importance to physical activity. This was reflected by the fact that many schools attached

little value to physical education by appointing generalist teachers. In certain cases physical activity was non-existent and the focus was on HIV/AIDS.

The CEO WPCA (21 September 2011) remarked that federation and sport activists constantly press for development strategies so that government officials can change policy for transformation and reform. Federations therefore use their constituencies to exert pressure on the DOE and DOSR. NGOs, CBOs and companies that sponsor sporting events place pressure on federations to have representative teams. This is very evident in school sport in tournaments at the provincial and national levels. Dr O. Esau (26 September 2011) further reiterated that PESS does not cater for transformation, and that education policy cannot function in schools where there are no or very little resources.

CAPS is therefore not a new policy, but a revised one. Physical education still does not have equal status to other subjects, just a slight increase in time (Dr S. Naidoo, WCED, Maitland, 24 September 2011).

The challenge therefore is to place PESS on the agenda again and get the issue recognized as a problem to demand government action. Issue attention as a problem was also realized in India. Similar problems existed in developing countries such as South Africa and India with placing PESS on the policy agenda. The Indian Constitution made a commitment to make primary and middle grade education (for students ages 6 to 14) free and universal by 1960, with two national policy statements on education in 1968 and 1986 (and revised in 1992) placing much emphasis on this goal. But India's inability to allocate resources effectively and efficiently has made this goal unattainable (Prof Pralaya Kanango, JNU, New Delhi, 19 April 2007).

The importance of health education to overall development needs to be reinforced at the policy level, with participation by policy actors such as administrators, other subject teachers in schools, the health departments, parents and children. This subject should be recognised as a core subject; health and physical education must continue to be a compulsory subject from the primary to the secondary stage. Physical education is made

to be an ongoing continuous process without a break, with participation by a greater number. 'This is what is required in a country ... A mass fitness movement, a spread of sports culture'. With all that is being said and done, sports management is primarily a question of raising young people through appropriate education and judicious measures (Prof Pralaya Kanango, JNU, New Dehli, 19 April 2007). The Habitat Agenda (1999) was intended as a global call to action at all levels. Prof Kanango further stated that, according to the Ministry of Youth Affairs and Sports, the Comprehensive Sports Policy (2007) aims at building on previous sport policies with a view to accomplishing the unfinished agenda and addressing the emerging challenges of India, most particularly the national goal of emerging as a global, yet exclusive, economic power in the near future. The 2007 policy fully recognizes the contribution of physical education and sport to personal development, especially youth development, community development, health and wellbeing, education, economic development and entertainment; and to the promotion of international peace and brotherhood.

Jonathan D Jansen (2002) in his article 'Globalisation, Curriculum and the Third World State: In dialogue with Michael Apple' stated that educational reforms in South Africa, since the end of legalised apartheid in 1994, have been lodged clearly and consistently within powerful economic rationales as the overriding motivation for transforming apartheid education. Within this framework, changing education is considered a prerequisite for economic growth. Outcomes-based education is intended to develop citizens who can compete successfully in international markets.

Science and technology education is prioritised as the subject fields that will fuel the engine of economic development. The new citizen is expected to be technologically literate and able to function in a knowledge-driven economy (Department of Arts, Culture, Science and Technology, 1996). This means being multiskilled and adaptable in a modern economy linked to 'a new work order' (James et al., 1996; McLaren, 1998). "A flurry of Green Papers, White Papers, Discussion Documents and Frameworks reiterate the same rhetorical goals" (Department of Education, 1995; NCHE, 1996; Department of Education, 1997; Samoff, 1997). "This national agenda is being pursued within a distinctive set of pressures and demands characteristic of the late twentieth century, often

typified as globalisation, linked to the accelerating integration of the world economy. These economic and technological changes will necessarily have an impact on the national agenda. In particular, the South African economy is confronted with this formidable challenge" (Department of Education, 1997).

5.4 RESEARCH FINDINGS

The Department of Education concentrated on training of teachers on how to achieve the learning outcomes, assessment studies and or the assessment of the learners (OBE, RNCS). The focus of the national Department of Education and that of the Western Cape Education Department is to improve the low Literacy and Numeracy (LITNUM) levels in the country. This is as a direct result of OBE and has become the major focus of education policy and where all the resources are being utilized (LITNUM). partnership between DOE and DOSRC to administer school sport did not happen. School sport is now being administered by the local Education Management Development Centres (EMDCs). It has become the prerogative of the IMGs to oversee school sport. The sport federations for cricket and rugby play a vital role in the roll out of cricket and rugby at school level. Training of coaches and the administration of the sport has fallen largely into the federation realm. The budget of the federations is mainly for elite programmes. In the case of cricket we have sponsors (NGOs) such as Standard Bank, Coca Cola and P.G. Bison financing national events. With the disbanding of the United School Sport Association of South Africa (USSASA), school sport has diminished in many previous disadvantaged schools.

School sport is 'alive and well' in the ex-model C and independent schools. These schools still have their 'traditional programmes'. These schools also offer talented disadvantaged sportspersons bursaries to attend school and play sport at these institutions. The federations receive pre-fixtured requests from these schools, so that the status quo of derbies and 'traditional fixtures' are perpetuated (SADTU Regional Representative, Athlone, 23 September 2011).

The officials working in development are not really engaging with PESS policy. The interviews have illustrated that the partnership between the private sector, government and civil society is not happening at the grassroots level, which would have ensured that policy issues are addressed in this developing nation. These partnerships are vital for transformation and reform in our education system and sport with regard to policy. Against this background LO was investigated, not only because of physical education and the success of its implementation, but the status of physical education as a part of the education policy. The results of the interviews clearly showed that the problem was prevalent in rural, farm and agricultural as well as urban schools.

A number of initiatives have been put forward to ensure that PESS has a place in South Africa's education system (OBE, C2005, RNCS, NCS, CAPS). South African education needs a clear-cut policy on Physical Education and School Sport (PESS). The school policy within the curriculum is underdeveloped and does not give PESS its legal status as a fully fledged subject since it is part of the subject Life Orientation or Lifeskills. The South African Minister of Sport and Recreation in his budget speech as early as 1997 had already made a number of important statements regarding PESS. Very importantly, the Minister stated that he is worried about the damage that has been caused by the demise of Physical Education in South African schools, and that physical education as a subject should be high on the policy agenda of the Department of Education. In light of these previous statements by the South African government, it is time to move from the systemic policy agenda to institutional policy agenda-setting. This will ensure the legal status of school sport and physical education as a fully fledged subject.

Physical education and sport implementation as a subject with full status within the curriculum would ensure that the 'playing fields are leveled'; resources (financial and human) have to be made available as well as facilities and equipment; and teachers should be trained and qualified to teach physical education so that school sport becomes part of the school's curriculum.

Therefore we need to change this sense of déjá vu that we are still living in apartheid times to a situation where we have a transformed nation of healthy, physically active,

physically educated and sport indulgent people. There cannot be normal sport in an abnormal society. Regional and national coaches are concerned that township schools are not producing players of excellence. Those of colour are coming from ex-model C (Rondebosch Boys, SACS, Wynberg) and independent schools such as Diocesan College. Without resources and with PESS not a being compulsory subject in schools, we are not going to rid ourselves of the merit versus quota debate. The school sport and physical education discourse underscores the fact that policy agenda-setting should be set by the principal actors in policy agenda-setting in South Africa.

5.5 AN APPLICATION OF THE PRINCIPAL ACTOR MODEL TO AGENDA-SETTING IN SOUTH AFRICA

Different actors may have different levels of success at each policy stage. An actor is influential at the agenda-setting stage. It is therefore essential in a political system that all the active and legitimate groups in the population make themselves heard at some crucial stage in the process. The most important factor to look at, when examining who sets the policy agenda and why, is who can initiate agenda-setting and the role played by these principal actors in agenda-setting in South Africa.

WESTERN CAPE

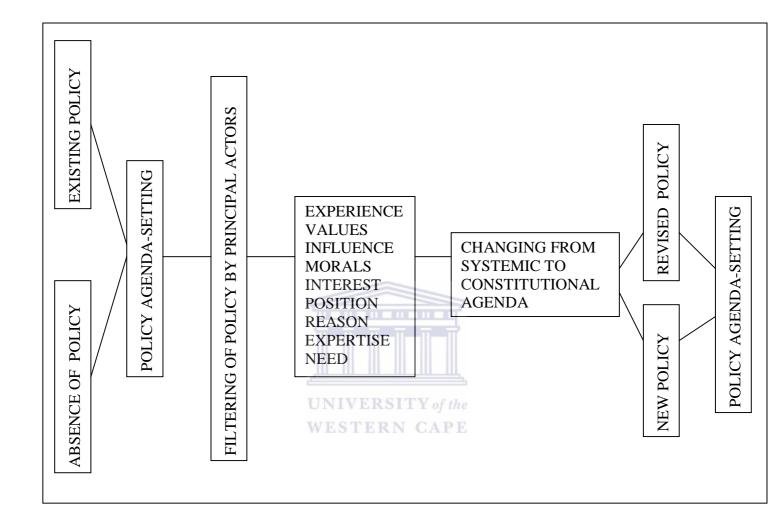
The following are principal actors in policy agenda-setting in Physical Education and School Sport in South Africa:

- Elected political office bearers such as SASCOC, NACOC, the Sport Minister, the Education Minister, National, Regional and Local Government;
- Appointed Officials in the form of Sport and Education Portfolio Committees,
 Department of Education South Africa, Sport and Recreation South Africa,
 Ministers of Sport (National, Regional, Local), and Ministers of Education (National, Regional, Local);
- Interest Groups such as the South African Sport Federations, TAC, SGBs, Educators, Learners, Parents, School Sport Structures, Teacher Unions, School Sport Structures, Curriculum Advisory Committees, Tertiary Institutions, and South African Olympic Committee;

- Electronic media, newspapers, radio, community newspapers, community radio stations, sport magazines and education journals also contribute towards agendasetting;
- In South Africa, the courts of law play a significant role in the agenda process. At the legislative level, specifically the national level, legislators originate some policy proposals;
- Political parties, especially the ruling party (ANC) and its policy conferences (²/₃ majority in Parliament 2008), alliance members, and opposition parties, also contribute through their policy conferences;
- Prominent individuals such as famous politicians (Mandela), Nobel Peace
 Laureates (Tutu); successful or famous sportspersons (Natalie du Toit, Oscar
 Pistorius) are major policy actors;
- The public, NGOs, CBOs, RBOs as well as sport academics, high performance centres and sports schools are also deemed principal actors;
- International actors in the form of UNESCO, WHO, MINEPS, ICSSPE, international conferences, declarations, the Declaration of the International Year of Sport and Physical Education place issues on the policy agenda;
- The Department of Health and Research, Academics such as Hardman and Marshall's (1999);
- International Surveys on physical education and sport, the Sport Science Institute,
 AMUSA as well as tertiary institutions contribute towards placing PESS on the policy agenda; and
- The role of the social networks such as Mxit, Twitter and Facebook can help the principal actors keep the issue on the agenda until it reaches the institutional agenda (e.g. overthrow of Hosni Mubarak in Egypt).

In the Issue-Attention Cycle, the principal policy actors are acutely aware of the problem (alarmed discovery, euphoric stage). There is either an existing policy (physical education as part of curriculum), or the absence of an education policy, or underdeveloped policy (physical education as part of Life Orientation).

FIGURE 5.1: DIAGRAM REPRESENTING APPLICATION OF PRINCIPAL ACTOR MODEL AND ISSUE ATTENTION CYCLE TO POLICY AGENDA-SETTING



The principal policy actors in agenda-setting recognise the issue as a problem and demand governmental action. This is the systemic stage of agenda-setting. These principal actors now filter the policy so that they can recommend to government what changes should be made to existing policy (Education Policy: Learning Area - Life Orientation) or write a new policy for the implementation of physical education as part of the curriculum of South African Schools. The principal actors in policy agenda-setting will then use their morals, values, reason, needs and interest to filter the problem. Some of the principal actors may even use their expertise or positions to influence government, so that interest is heightened in the policy issues. There is not a gradual decline, but a heightened interest by principal actors on these policy issues. Government will then make the necessary

resources available, so that the change from a systemic policy agenda (discussion and talking about the problem/issue) to an institutional policy agenda (one of action and implementation) can occur.

It is not so much the difference in the elements of the basic framework which cause differences in outcomes but the differences in the conceptual and institutional frameworks that lead to differences in implementation, and thus in outcomes. The extended framework is used to identify in a systemic way which elements cause differences in the outcome of the same policy namely 'physical education and school sport in school'. By using this model of policy analysis, one should compare a specific policy (Education Policy/Curriculum). First the elements of the basic framework are compared to methods or instruments, critical success factors, activities, and performance indicators. This is important as differences in the basic framework will lead to differences in outcomes. The analysis looks at the fundamental requirements, then the characteristics of the institutional and conceptual framework, and makes comparisons in respect to all fundamental requirements. According to this model, if the institutional and conceptual characteristics are not similar, it should be established what the influence is or may be of these dissimilarities on policy or programmes, and how undesired outcomes can be prevented. The use of this model would enhance the learning process in policy design and policy advice, especially the outcome of policy agenda-setting.

As a result of education policy being more than two decades old, institutional arrangements have changed (new Ministers, new MECs) but the conceptual framework of the policy has remained. This is clear with the Learning Area of Life Orientation which has not changed, but where the curriculum has undergone a name change. It was first called Outcomes-based Education (OBE), then Revised National Curriculum Statements (RNCS), and is presently known as the National Curriculum Statements (NCS). In 2012/2013, this curriculum will undergo a change to its basic framework, whereby physical education will be given 'more' time. This new policy is called Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS). The key issue of this model is who are the stakeholders and what issues are important to them, or issues that are pushed on the policy agenda by these stakeholders.

TABLE 5.2: INTERVIEW RESULTS: KEY ISSUES THAT WERE IMPORTANT TO STAKEHOLDERS IN PESS AND RECOMMENDED CHANGES TO GOVERNMENT 2005 TO 2009 BY KEY ACTORS

KEY ACTOR	POLICY ISSUE	RECOMMENDED CHANGES TO GOVERNMENT
Minister of Education	Curriculum (NCS)	AssessmentCurriculumRepackaging curriculum
Minister of Sport, Recreation and Culture	School sport	PESS to be placed on the curriculum
MEC Education	 Curriculum Improvement of Systemic Results ANA's Grade 12 results 	 Less administrative duties for teachers Assessment Policy
MEC Cultural Affairs Sport and Recreation	• PESS	Equal status to other subjects in curriculum
NGOs	School SportPhysical Education	School sport be made compulsoryLevelling the playing fields
Teachers	School Curriculum School Curriculum	Repackaging the Curriculum
Sport Administrators	School Sport	School sport
SGBs	Curriculum changes	Policy to improve results of learners
Department officials	Curriculum Sport Policy	Repackaging the curriculum
Unions	Physical EducationSportCurriculum	Repackaging the curriculum
Civil Society	 Curriculum to improve results PESS to be included in policy 	CurriculumSchool Sport
Marshall and Hardman's Survey (Status and Position of Physical Education and Sport worldwide)	Worldwide status of PE and Sport in Schools	PE legal status as other subjects in curriculum
UNESCO (International Charter of PE and Sport)	 Decline in Physical Activity Physical Education and Sport Charters 	Physical EducationSport

MINEPS	Physical EducationSport	Sport Education
WHO	Physical Education	Sport Education
Media	SportTransformationReform of Sport	Education Sport
USSASA	Sport	PE and Sport Compulsory in all schools
Curriculum Advisors	EducationCurriculum changes to improve results	Assessment PolicyCurriculum
Assessment Committees	Assessment Policy	Assessment Policy
Sport Specialists (Doctors, Physiotherapist, Sport Science Institute)	Physical Education part of Curriculum	Education PolicyCurriculum
Political Parties Policy Conferences	SportEducationCurriculum	 PESS to be place on curriculum Ministers Speeches Inclusive Curriculum

The findings regarding the reasons for the increased attention to agenda-setting in 2010 and 2011 and the key principal actors were clearly stated by the persons I interviewed in my second stage of interviews.

Pressure was put by parents and teachers on Education officials. According to the Chief Education Specialist: Curriculum (25 September 2011), parents placed pressure on policy-makers because of the very low LITNUM (Literacy/Numeracy) results in the country. Teachers who deal with education policy on a daily basis used their respective unions to exert pressure. The two major unions who placed pressure on curriculum review committees were NAPTOSA and SADTU. These principal actors also made comments to the DOE, curriculum advisors and portfolio committees. The Minister's Review Committee advised the Minister to make the changes and place it on the policy agenda.

The SADTU Regional Representative on 23 September 2011 spoke about the Curriculum and Assessment Policy Statements that were gazetted on 3 September 2010 for public comment. Sue Miller from NAPTOSA serves on the Ministerial Project Committee.

According to the unions, CAPS provides clear guidelines to teachers on content, and what to assess on a term-to-term basis. In CAPS the content to be taught is more clearly delineated. Clearly, CAPS is seen to reduce the administrative workload of teachers. Unions therefore play a leading role as a principal actor in policy agenda-setting. One should also remember that COSATU is part of the Tripartite Alliance. They are on the NEC of the party and therefore participate in the ANC's policy congress.

TABLE 5.3: INTERVIEW RESULTS: KEY ISSUES THAT WERE IMPORTANT TO STAKEHOLDERS IN PESS AND RECOMMENDED CHANGES TO GOVERNMENT 2010 AND 2011 BY KEY ACTORS

KEY ACTOR	POLICY ISSUE	RECOMMENDED CHANGES TO GOVERNMENT
Minister of Basic Education	LITNUM (Literacy and Numeracy)Curriculum	NCS to CAPSRepackaging of the curriculum
MEC Education	• Low results in the Province (LITNUM) UNIVERSITY of the	Less administrative duties for teachersCurriculumAssessment
Ministerial Task Teams	Annual National Assessments (ANAS)	Curriculum changes to number of subjects
DG Education	• Results of the province (LITNUM, Systemic, ANAS)	Assessment Policy
Educators	School Sport PolicyPhysical Education as part of the curriculum	Physical Education to be part of curriculum
Parents	Curriculum (due to low LITNUM results)	New Education Policy
NGOs	SportEducationPESS	PESS to be included in new curriculum
Assessment Committees	 Systemic Test Results (Grades 3,6 & 9) low nationally ANAS Test Results 	Assessment PolicyCurriculum
Education Portfolio Committees	Administrative duties of teachers (volume to be reduced)	Education PolicyCurriculum
Education Officials	Dysfunctional schools	New Curriculum

	Low Examination ResultsEducation	OBE did not transform Education System
Principals / School Managers	 Low Examination Results (Systemic Tests, ANAS, Matric results) School Sport and Physical Education in Schools 	 New Curriculum OBE did not transform Education System
Teacher Unions	 School Sport Extra Mural involvement Status and State of PESS in schools 	 Repackaging Curriculum PESS to be part of Curriculum
Teacher (Practitioners of Policy)	 Curriculum Change (OBE, C2005, RNCS, NCS) Information overload Qualified teachers to teach PESS PE legal status 	 Policy on Assessment Teacher Training and Workshops PESS to be made a legal subject with full status
Curriculum Advisors	 Curriculum change due to low marks obtained Grades 3,6,10 and Matric 	Repackaging Curriculum
Heads of Department	 Education Statistics Work overload of Educators Classroom management 	Repackaging Curriculum
Monitoring and Evaluation Committees	 Statistics show that curriculum is not working for SA too many subjects low results dysfunctional schools Transformation 	 Assessment policy Curriculum to reduce workload of educators Repackaging curriculum
Circuit Team Managers (CTMs)	LITNUM results to be improved(very low regionally as well as nationally)	Assessment PolicyCurriculum
Institutional Management and Governance (IMGs)	 Curriculum Management by Educators Assessment Policy 	Repackaging CurriculumAssessment Policy
Media	Statistics show low	School Sport

	achievement by learners • PESS	Physical EducationNew Curriculum for SA condition/situation
Political Parties / Policy Conferences	 Matric pass rate Assessment Policy Transformation Sport PESS Resources Free Education Teacher Qualification 	 Repackaging curriculum PE as part of curriculum with full legal status School sport compulsory in all schools Resources Levelling the playing fields

Even though physical education and school sport has reached the policy agenda of the Minister of Basic Education (NCS to CAPS IN 2011) it is not sufficient education policy change. PESS has not attained full legal status as the other subjects (part of Life Orientation or Lifeskills). Therefore the need to place it back on the policy agenda by principal actors must continue.

5.6 AN APPLICATION OF THE ISSUE ATTENTION CYCLE TO THE SOUTH AFRICAN CASE STUDY

The issue of Physical Education and Sport (PESS) was placed on the Global Agenda by the International Charter of Physical Education and Sport by the General Conference of UNESCO on 21 November 1978. Article 10 of this Charter of Physical Education focused on international cooperation as a prerequisite for the universal and well-balanced promotion of physical education.

Hardman and Marshall (2000) empirically put PE under threat, through their survey, in all the countries in all the continents of the world. This world crisis in physical education and sport led to the global agenda-setting of PES. Hardman and Marshall's international survey highlighted the marginalisation and decline of the place, role and status of physical education, even though it has legal status. PES as an issue is recognized as a problem and demands government action.

At the African Declaration as well as the UNESCO Punte Del Este Declaration of 1999, Ministers and senior officials of sport and physical education engaged with the global audit on Physical Education and Sport. This led to the Berlin Agenda which served as the Third International Conference of Ministers and senior officials of sport and physical education (MINEPS III), and was sponsored by WHO, UNESCO, international governments and the ICSSPE. MINEPS again met in 2002 under the auspices of UNESCO to discuss and deliberate the implementation of the Berlin Agenda. The Berlin Agenda calls for action by governments and Ministers responsible for PE and sport to implement, invest and support PE as a human right for children as part of the school curriculum. On this occasion there was also a global reaffirmation of the importance of physical education and sport and a worldwide declaration of placing physical education and sport on the policy agendas of governments worldwide, including South Africa.

TABLE 5.4: INTERVIEW RESULTS: ROLE PLAYED BY PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN AGENDA SETTING OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SCHOOL SPORT (2005 TO 2009 / 2010 AND 2011)

KEY ACTORS	ROLE PLAYED BY PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN AGENDA SETTING 2005 TO 2009	ROLE PLAYED BY PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN AGENDA SETTING 2010 AND 2011
Minister of Education	 OBE – C2005 – RNCS – NCS Budget Speech Speeches at UNIONS New Minister change in education policy 	 NCS changed to CAPS Draft papers for comment Speeches at SADTU and NAPTOSA by Minister of Basic Education
MEC EDUCATION	• Cameron Dugmore Interview Western Cape Sports Indaba (UWC) 12 March 2005	CAPS Training Turfhall Primary School (Donald Grant) Speech to Principals 6 Oct 2011
Ministerial Task Team	Reports to Minister of Basic Education	 Reports to Minister Comments on draft papers for government on CAPS
DG Education	Interview Ronnie Swartz 10 March 2005 Speech Western Cape Sports Indaba	 Penny Venjevold WCED newsletter 2010 Statistics ANAS,

		Systemic and Matric
Principals / School Managers Principals / School Mangers	 Poor Systemic, ANAS and Matric Results Principal meetings forums representation at national and regional forums 	Results National Principal's Forum meetings with Minister of Basic Education Meetings of Minister Interviews
Department Officials	 Statistics of National and Regional LITNUM Results Interviews Statistics 	 Interview Dr S Naidoo Statistics Representation at Regional and National level of teachers
School Governing Bodies	 Interview Allan Liebenberg Chairperson National School Governing Bodies 10 February 2005 Representation to National Government Examinations Examination Statistics Published material 	 Placing PESS on Curriculum Interview Comments on Draft papers Assessment policy
Teacher Unions	 Interview with Nomvula Ralerla SADTU Sports Council Articles in SADTU newspaper NAPTOSA articles in media Mass Action petitions (COSATU) 	 Union Representative interview 2011 teacher union's AGM ANC policy meetings Tri partite alliance (COSATU)
Curriculum Advisors	 Jenny Rault Smith (Director) Curriculum Development:WCED Interview Sport Indaba (UWC 2005) Presentation on Role of Education Department and Department of Sport and Recreation PE as part of curriculum 	Walter Mercuur (Chief Education Specialist) Interview 25 September 2011 Reports to National Department of Education Repackaging Curriculum PESS as part of curriculum
Monitoring and Evaluation Committees	 M&E of Curriculum M&E reports of Curriculum to Minister of Education 	 Repackaging of Curriculum Draft papers for comment on CAPS

	M&E published material	Improve LITNUM
	M&E published material M&E of assessment	results
	M&E Results	
	Statistics of Results	
	Interview Selwyn Daniels 16 September 2006	Interview Dr S.Naidoo 24 September 2011
Circuit Toom Managara	Reports to EMDCsReports to MEC of	Reports to EMDCPrincipals meetings
Circuit Team Managers CTMs/IMGs	Education	Curriculum Workshops
	Reports to DG of	 Comments on draft
	Education	papers
	Change curriculum	
	Interview with Doctor	• Interviews
	Nkosi (18 June 2005)	National reports to
	and Shahied Khan (18	Minister of Sport and
	June 2005) • School Sport	Recreation
NGOs/USSASA	School SportSchool Sport to be	Resources for all schools
	compulsory in schools	 Schools School sport policy
	Public Agenda	• PESS as part of the
		curriculum of all
		schools
	• Interview with Michael	Articles in printed and
	Owen Smith (28 March	visual media
	UN2008) RSITY of the	Articles in magazines
Media	 Media agenda setting of school sport 	(sport, leisure, health)
Wicuia	Media agenda setting of	PESS as part of the curriculum of all
	school sport	schools
	Media articles and	
	agenda setting of PESS	
	Interview Prof	Interview Nick Kock (ISD,
	P.Kanango (JNU) 19	UWC) 8 October 2011
	April 2007	Published material Comment on draft
Academics	Comparison Developing countries	• Comment on draft papers
Academics	Published material	Sports development
	 Research papers 	Sports de velopinent
	Prof A Odendaal (Sport	
	Historian)	
	Keep issue on the policy	Comment on draft
	agenda	papers
Civil Society	• Comments of draft	• The issue to be kept on
	papersPESS to be compulsory	the policy agenda of government
	in schools	High interest in issue
	in schools	High interest in issue

Surveys: Worldwide Position and Status of PES Surveys: Worldwide Position and Status of PES	 International Survey Survey Results Survey Findings Survey Recommendations that PES be compulsory in all schools, taught by specialists with equal status to other subjects UNESCOs International charter of PE and Sport Policy agenda of all governments 	 Pressure on governments to place PES on agenda Global agenda-setting by survey and charters PES to have legal status therefore equal status with other subjects
MINEPS	 World Summits (Berlin 1999) Published material UNESCO Reports WHO reports Physical Education and Sport on Policy Agenda 	 Global Agenda Sporting events (World Cup Soccer and cricket, Olympic Games) Placed on member countries policy agenda
Minister of Sport	Interview with Greg Fredericks (DOSRSA) 11 March 2005 Indabas Speeches Partnership between DOSRSA and DOE	 Partnership between Department of Education and Department of Sport and Recreation White paper Media
MEC Sport	Interview with Chris Stali 11 March 2005 Sport Indaba Speech School Sport policy	 School Sport Management of Sport by Department of Education Interview IMGs
Sport Service Providers	Interviews Dr Nasier Jaffer (19 January 2008), Ms R Khan (18 September 2008) and N Kariel (18 Sep 2008) • Articles • Research Findings • Published material • Importance of physical activity by children	 Articles Published material PE to be a compulsory subject with a specialist teacher Sedentary Lifestyle Obesity
Sponsors	Interview Shaheen Ebrahim (CEO OASIS) 19 April 2006 • Sport development • Transformation	 Articles in media Business Reports Transformation and Development focus

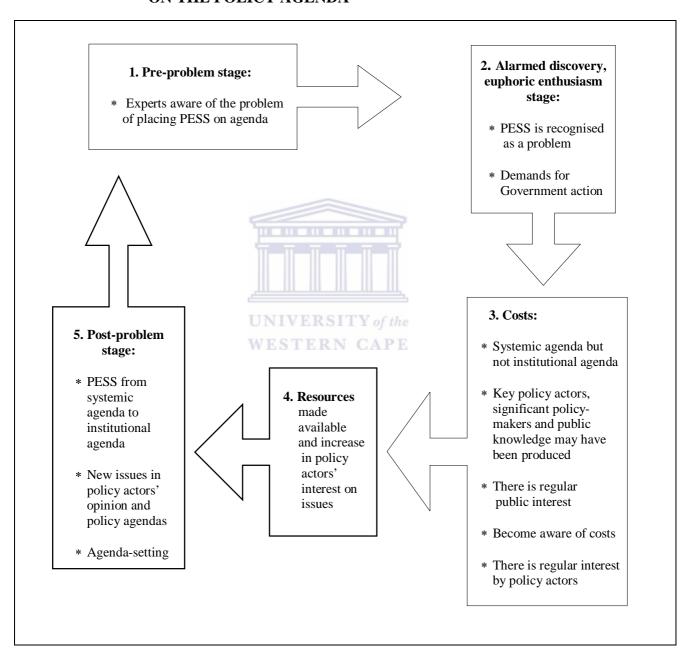
Farm School Sport and Disability Sport	 Pressure on government to change policies Reports (Financial) Development Reports Interview with Arthur Cowley (Disability Sport) Specialised Schools Resources for persons with disabilities Policy Disable Sport 	 Inclusion of disability learners into mainstream Discrimination of disabled Resources Policy
Teachers	 Interviews Statistics of Results (Systemic, ANAS, Matric) on the National and Regional level Input via teacher unions NCS training OBE system 'not working' for South Africa New Curriuculum 	 Work overload High volume administrative duties Classroom management Assessment Statistics (National, Regional) Repackaging the curriculum CAPS training PE legal status and taught by qualified teachers
CEOs Sport Federation	 CEO Cricket WPCA Interview 18 July 2008 Transformation and Reform in Sport Charters Quotas versus Merit Resources 	CEO Cricket Federation WPCA Interview 21 September 2011 Transformation in Sport Regional and National Reports on Sport

South Africa's White Paper on Education and Training (1995) and the National Education Policy Act (1996) speaks about the first National Curriculum Statements which are outcomes-based and included the teaching of Physical Education called Physical Development and Movement as part of Life Orientation, alongside Health Promotion, Social Development, Personal Development and Orientation to the World of Work.

There are concerns about the growing incidence of physical inactivity, physical fitness, health and sedentary lifestyle amongst youth in South Africa. Principal actors in agendasetting as well as stakeholders in South Africa feel that there should be a 'levelling of the

playing fields' so that resources, policy and infrastructure as well as physical education in the school curriculum can be implemented. This is vital for transformation and reform in South Africa.

FIGURE 5.2: INSTITUTIONAL ISSUE ATTENTION CYCLE TO PLACE PESS ON THE POLICY AGENDA



Source: Adapted from Parsons 1996:115

The issue attention cycle in agenda-setting has five stages, namely, the pre-problem alarmed discovery, euphoric enthusiasm, realizing costs, gradual decline in interest and the post-problem stage. The stumbling block to change a policy in South Africa comes into play when policy-makers become aware of costs, even though significant policy actor knowledge may have been produced. The Minister of Education brings about a change in the name of the policy (OBE, RNCS, NCS, CAPS), with very little change to the actual policy (Physical Education).

This can be called the Systemic Issue Attention Cycle of policy agenda-setting. When physical education gains equal status to other learning areas (development of new policy) and is a fully fledged subject. I call this the Institutional Issue Attention cycle of Agenda-setting.

Issue emergence is useful for governments to manage the agenda. The public is initially involved in issues for the short term, but, in the long term, public interest declines. Public interest is therefore limited and transitory. The problem of physical education is severe and therefore has to get onto the agenda.

The government realizes the significant costs involved in placing the education policy back on the agenda to reintroduce physical education and sport as a compulsory subject. This has led to a decline in issue attention by policy-makers and the public. Pressure groups put issues on the agenda i.e. systemic agenda but not institutional agenda. The issue cycle is in the post-problem stage where issues slip down the public agenda and new issues in terms of public opinion are placed on the policy agenda. The neoliberal policy of the government and the power of certain pressure groups also changed government perceptions of keeping physical education and sport on the agenda.

Pressure from sport and education principal actors is what kept the issue of physical education and sport on the policy agenda of the Government. The partnership between the DOSR and the DOE, as well as who takes ownership of school sport kept policy decision makers interested in the issues of PESS. The annual hype and reporting by the media around Senior Certificate examination results, National Systemic Tests and the Annual

National Tests kept education policy on the public and media agendas. Each new Basic Minister of Education wanted to score well in their evaluation or 'Report Card' during their term of office. Thus each new Minister of Basic Education established Commissions and Ministerial Task Teams to report on Education Policy issues (OBE, C2005, RNCS, NCS, CAPS).

The final step in the Issue Attention Cycle of Policy Agenda-Setting is when the Minister moves from the Systemic to Institutional policy agenda-setting. Resources are made available and there is an increase in the interest of issues by the principal actors. This happened when Minister Angie Motshehga announced a repackaging of the National Curriculum Statements to Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS 2021/2011). The study has further concluded that Issues are kept on the Policy Attention Cycle of Policy Agenda-Setting, so that policies and legislative arrangements are in place to improve policy analysis and content.

These issues are:

- The UNESCO requirements in terms of international protocols since South Africa is a member of the United Nations;
- International Charters on PESS:
- MINEPS III and IV policies and UN Resolutions on Sport for Development and Peace;
- International Conferences, events such as World Cups, Olympic Games, UN Millennium Development Goals and UN International Year of SPORT and Physical Education;
- Non Communicable Diseases (NCDs);
- International Surveys on the State and Status of PE in schools Worldwide;
- Media Reports placing issues on the Media Agenda;
- Articles by sport writers;
- Service providers, Research articles by academics and sport institutions like the Sport Science Institute;
- Sponsors of events
- NGOs, CBOs and the public who keep issues on the public agenda;

- Transformation and reform agendas of Government;
- Representivity and representative squads (National, Provincial, Regional levels);
- Equity and Merit versus Quota debate;
- Parents, teachers, SGBs;
- Annual Assessments, Systemic Test Results (grades 3,6,10), Senior Certificate pass rates;
- Obesity and sedentary lifestyles;
- Political parties annual policy conferences;
- Reports by Ministerial Task Teams;
- Speeches by Ministers as well as media statements;
- Annual reports and the 'State of the Nation Address'; and
- The Principal Actors in Policy Agenda-Setting.

Departments of Sport and Recreation and community sporting organisations are filling the 'physical education gap' left by departments of education. Children's physical skill levels are becoming poorer and declining; children are less fit, more obese and spend less time in physical activity in schools. Children's participation in physical education and school sport appears to be declining. Several critics have been particularly vociferous in expressing their concerns about the overemphasis on elite level sport.

Williams (1999) asserts that a fortune is spent 'on a handful of elite athletes ... and a pittance on the physical health and fitness of most children ... adding that ... children's health and fitness come a very shabby last in priorities, with physical education often downgraded in schools (Greer, 2006: 580). He further expresses the view that funding for elite sport may be at the expense of basic physical education programmes.

5.7 FUNDAMENTAL REQUIREMENTS OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SCHOOL SPORT POLICY OF THE INSTITUTIONAL AND CONCEPTUAL FRAMEWORK OF THE NATIONAL CURRICULUM

Ironically, the word curriculum was derived from the Latin'curro', which means to run and to move. The 'curro' was the race track on which athletes competed or on which

chariot races were held. In the course of time, this concept of the 'track' meant the 'track' along which learners proceed to reach certain objectives. Physical education and school sport should be part of Lifelong Learning through a National Curriculum as one of the Learning Areas in the National Curriculum Statement.

The National Education Policy Act (Act 27 of 1996) provides for the development of curriculum design tools to support an outcomes-based approach such as the Critical Cross Field Outcomes later known as the Critical and Developmental Outcomes (as formulated in the South African Qualifications Authority Act of 1995); Specific Outcomes; Range Statements, Assessment Criteria, Performance Indicators; National Time and Flexi-Time; Continuous Assessment; and Recording and Reporting. Additional curriculum design tools to be included are Phase Organisers, Programme Organisers, and expected levels of Performance and Learning Programmes. The policy guidelines should provide information and guidance on integration within and across learning areas; clustering of assessment standards, relationships between learning outcomes, time allocation, assessment, barriers to learning, designing a Learning Programme, policy and legislation, training, development and delivery, resourcing and support, planning and organisation.

These guidelines will be applied within the context of existing policy and legislative frameworks such as the Six White Papers on Education, The National Education Policy Act (1996), the South African Schools Act (1996) and the Employment of Educators Act (1998). Learning Programmes guidelines must offer a framework to address specific learner and contextual needs. In terms of Section 4 of the Employment of Educators Act (1998), the formal school day for educators should be seven hours. In terms of the National Education Policy Act (1996), the formal teaching time per school week is 35 hours; and therefore physical education and school sport should operate within these institutional arrangements. There is a need for a clear school sport policy framework with equal access and opportunity to all the benefits associated with school sport for all pupils in primary and secondary schools.

Resource capacity should be implemented to deal with the extramural, extracurricula and co-curricula school sport programmes and demonstrate that these plans resonate with

physical education in the National Curriculum. Management and monitoring of the professional teacher development strategy to address the supply and demand for professionally qualified Physical Education educators should also be implemented. The role of stakeholders and role-players in the institutional framework for school sport such as national government, provincial government, local authorities, controlling bodies and federations, the private sector, NGOs, community structures and the role of foreign countries or bodies in the policy agenda-setting process of education policy should be a prerequisite.

The study argues that, in essence, agenda-setting of policy is often removed from the people they affect the most, these being civil society and the practitioners dealing with the actual or specific policy. The case study illustrates how Ministers and parliamentary legislators were influenced and ensured that key provisions were added or strengthened in draft legislation (see NCS/CAPS documents of South Africa).

Ultimately, however, these were constrained, especially in South Africa, by the limitations set by the broad neoliberal approach taken by the state, both in the policy-making process and in agenda-setting (see figure 3.6). Given the predominance of neoliberal ideology, and its pervasiveness through the structures, institutions and actors of the state and civil society may well reflect on the dilemma of the issue of participation in agenda-setting.

5.8 CONCLUSION

Agenda-building occurs as a result of the expansion of an issue from a specifically concerned attention group to a wider, interested or attentive public. This is a public which is interested and informed about public affairs and which contains opinion leaders. Finally, an issue will reach the attention of the general public. The research findings have shown that the dynamics of this expansion and control of agendas depend in the first instance on the characteristic of the issue. The research findings have also shown that with respect to the use and application of policy agenda setting models specifically, a

number of important findings show that some changes to these models have become necessary.

The findings on policy agenda-setting models in this chapter (5) have been the result of applying selected policy agenda-setting models to the case study. It is of interest to note that where this thesis utilized policy models with respect to policy-agenda setting, policy problems, policy issues, who does policy agenda-setting, as well as why and how agenda-setting works, a recent review of the publication 'Improving Public Policy; (2011) by Cloete and De Coning, widely accepted as the major policy book in South Africa, showed that although the authors encouraged practitioners to use and apply policy models in areas such as policy analysis, who the main policy makers are, functional policy stages, phases, process models, macro level systems models and other areas, the application of policy agenda-setting models may warrant increased attention in future.

The purpose of the interviews was to obtain an update on recent developments in agenda-setting. This was necessary as the initial research period was from 2005 to 2009. Since then, different players in the agenda-setting model exerted pressure on the Minister of Basic Education to address education policy, resulting in the implementation of CAPS in 2012.

It should be noted that during the original fieldwork for the period March 2005 to July 2008, limited agenda-setting on PE took place. A sudden increase in pressure on government to include PE as part of the syllabus was exerted by pressure groups during the latter part of 2010 and during 2011 for possible policy changes to this issue in 2012 (see tables 5.2, 5.3 and 5.4).

The implications for the study were therefore that follow-up interviews had to be conducted to update the research on the nature of the policy agenda-setting dynamics that were responsible for this change in policy process.

The perceived decline or marginalization of physical education was highlighted by International Surveys done on the state and status of Physical Education worldwide. An issue was the significance of a number of countries, including South Africa, of the relevance and quality of PESS in the curricula. Within the context of Education Reform as well as policy reform the research looked at policy agenda-setting of Physical Education and School Sport in South Africa. In response to pressure exerted on government by principal actors in agenda setting, the minister of Basic Education has repackaged the National Curriculum Statements to a modified curriculum called Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements (CAPS). The CAPS is being put out to the public for consultation and the Public Comment Process. The implementation process of CAPS will start in 2012 for the foundation phase.

The following actions all contributed to the agenda setting process of CAPS by Principal Actors:

- 2009 Minister of Basic Education appointed a Ministerial Task Team to review National Curriculum Statements Policy. This was due to statistics and Data that reflected low Learner Results (National Systemic Tests Grades 3,6 and 10, Annual National Assessments, and Low Grade 12 pass rates.
- Department of Basic Education held public hearings during the period 6-12 July 2009.
 National teacher unions and teachers participated; more than 500 electronic submissions were received.
- The Ministerial Task Team's (MTT) Report asked for a review of the implementation of NCS. The MTT made several recommendations to improve the curriculum (October 2009).
- Minister of Basic Education on 29 October 2009 announced her decision to implement the recommendation of the Task Team's Report due to pressure from principal actors.
- Policy agenda setting of NCS and the decision to implement CAPS from 2010 with a longer term effect for implementation during the period 2012-2014.
- Repackaging of Curriculum by Minister, and CAPS document sent out for public comment in September 2010.
- Teacher unions check on the acceptance of CAPS. Once this process is complete, CAPS will be submitted to Minister for her approval and gazetting.
- Council for Quality Assurance in General and Further Education and Training (UMALUSI) will quality assure CAPS documents.

- The Minister of Basic Education declared CAPS as National Policy (April 2011) to be incrementally implemented during the period 2012-2014.
- The National Curriculum Assessment Policy Statements Grades R-12 will be promulgated in the Government Gazette and tabled in parliament.
- As a final step, the Heads of Education Departments Committee and the council of Education Ministers make their final comments before declaration as national education policy by the Minister of Basic Education.

This policy process and policy agenda setting of the National Curriculum Statements illustrated the policy process followed as depicted by the Generic Policy Process Model. The agenda setting stages that are illustrated by the revised Generic Policy Process Model were clearly demonstrated by the process of revisiting a policy and repackaging it, as the case of policy agenda setting the NCS to CAPS (Problem, trigger, initiator, issue creation, actors). The study has shown that the research results on policy agenda–setting by applying the two selected models revealed a number of important findings.

The important findings with reference to policy agenda setting models include that:

- Comprehensive policy process models such as that of Dunn, Wissink and the Generic Process Model may need to be reviewed to incorporate more fully the policy-agenda setting stages of the process;
- Current policy agenda setting models in use are relevant and valuable in identifying key role players as well as key issues and considerations regarding the policy process;
- Institutional arrangements to strengthen the role of NGOs and lower level institutions, such as schools to participate in policy agenda setting are important; and
- the study has shown that a number of key factors have been identified that had a key influence on policy agenda-setting in the case of physical education and school sport in South Africa. These included the influence of changing political leadership, the competency of policy capacities in government, the profile of issues in the media etc.

- Interviews also revealed that in different provinces MECs for education, as well as Sport, pushed a party specific policy agenda. Provincial policy differed from National policy especially in the Western Cape.
- This was highlighted by what issues were placed on the policy agenda, who the
 policy agenda-setting actors were and the vigour and intensity that these issues
 were pursued.
- The Issue Attention Cycle Model should be reviewed to incorporate the process
 when government moves from a systemic agenda-setting position to one of an
 institutional agenda setting position; more fully including budgeting for such
 policy activity (see discussion 5.6).
- This would then show that a policy is being revisited, rewritten, revised or even a new policy put in place.
- The study concluded by identifying the principal actors of agenda setting regarding the case study in South Africa. It added agenda-setting phases to the Generic Policy Process Model as well as applying the Issue Attention Cycle of Policy Agenda Setting to the South African Case Study.
- During the study period 2005 to 2011, the researcher experienced a period where policy agenda setting was relatively non-existent (2005 to 2009) in this field.
 During 2010 and 2011 the issue of PESS was placed on the policy agenda. The research could thus interrogate both periods and concluded on policy agenda setting of PESS in South Africa during both these periods.
- The policy agenda setting process on physical education and school sports is expected to continue as the new policy is not regarded as sufficient by a large number of players. The dynamics between key role players as well as the issues that they promote are therefore expected to continue in future.
- The key findings of the study on sport and education policy in South Africa have shown that where basic education and sport policies and legislative arrangements are in place the further potential exists to improve monitoring and evaluation, policy analysis and policy content by policy agenda-setting by the principal actors.

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 INTRODUCTION

The study focused on policy agenda-setting models and school sport and physical education in South Africa. The problem that was investigated by this study was that policy agenda setting models have not yet been systematically applied to physical education and school sport. The study has shown that this issue has been neglected in the policy agenda-setting process by the Department of Education as well as the Department of Sport and Recreation and that a need existed to capture the lessons of experience to ensure improved policy agenda setting processes in future.

The study focussed on theoretical aspects of public policy as well as models in policy agenda-setting. The Generic Policy Process Model was used as a policy model that provides a fairly accurate depiction of the policy process being followed in South Africa. The theoretical aspects of agenda-setting, the Issue-Attention Cycle Model on Agenda-Setting, as well as the Principal Actor Model of Agenda-Setting, were applied to South Africa. The two agenda-setting models were used to analyse how the various principal actors of agenda-setting placed the issue of school sport and physical education on the systemic as well as the institutional agenda of South Africa (see Chapter 3).

The study included an assessment and selection of theoretical material on policy agendasetting. It has become evident from the research that agenda-setting is both necessary to, and a complex phase in the policy-making process. For a society in transition such as ours, there is no policy which is cast in stone. Inevitably, one of the most urgent challenges of the democratic state would be transformation and reform in South African society. Therefore, policy agenda-setting is the issue in South Africa, as clearly illustrated in the study.

6.2 CONCLUSIONS

The primary objective of this research investigation was to assess and apply agendasetting models for improved agenda-setting. It also investigated the agenda-setting of physical education and school sport policy that has to be reintroduced in education policy, specifically in the curriculum proposed in the present National Curriculum Statements of the Department of Education in South Africa where physical education is placed in the Learning Area of Life Orientation.

Agenda-setting is the process by which problems and alternative solutions gain or lose public and government attention. Therefore, agenda-setting is seen as the beginning of the policy process that heavily influences subsequent stages of the policy. The Generic Policy Process Model has internal or external triggers that prompt the emergence of an issue. A public problem must be converted into an issue that must be defined, structured and located within certain boundaries and given a name. In this case, it is the lack of agenda-setting for Physical Education and School Sport specifically in South Africa.

One sees that there are added agenda-setting phases to the Generic Policy Process Model (Figure 3.7), which include the problem stage, triggers, initiators, issue creation and actors or policy stakeholders. The public with a problem seeks or demands governmental action and the public's agreement over the best solution to the problem is the link between a trigger and problem and transforms an issue into an agenda item.

Actors and policy stakeholders are all the role-players who want to place an item on the agenda. Actors in the agenda-setting model want this issue of physical education and school sport to be part of the school curriculum, and therefore to be placed back on the policy agenda. Therefore, the agenda-setting of the National Curriculum Statements must include the Learning Area of Life Orientation, as this is the education policy to be reviewed.

One of the first impressions when analysing policies is the realisation that they concern a complex and intricate set of social events, framed by actors, ideas, discourses, structures

and other aspects. Public policy is a realm rich in different approaches such as maps, models and academic disciplines.

Recent political and socioeconomic changes in South Africa have brought into focus the role of policy reform in creating a suitable environment for change since it is becoming clear that the implementation of sustainable development programmes will depend on the degree to which policy is reformed to facilitate social innovation. The agenda-setting process also influences the actions of all groups in society and principal actors, including governments, will depend on placing these issues on the systemic agenda and then on the institutional agenda.

6.3 CONCLUSIONS ON AGENDA-SETTING MODELS

The study applied various agenda-setting models to the case. These included the characteristics of power and emphasised the role it plays in agenda-setting (Schattschneider, 1960) and how problems are socially constructed and defined through certain strategies (Downs, 1972, Cobb and Elder, 1983). The other models concentrated on the use of language and symbols as a way of getting an issue on the agenda or, alternatively, keeping it off. Kingdon's (1984) and Sabatier's (1991) models centre on the identity and characteristics of political actors, which examines the actors' attitudes or beliefs system, resources, and opportunities to explain the appearance of policy problems and their particular formulations at any given time.

When comparing the approaches of Schattschneider (1960), Downs (1972), Elder (1983), Kingdon (1984) and Sabatier (1991), it becomes clear that they are rather normative and philosophical. They are concerned with the nature of problems and how problems are defined or socially constructed as issues amenable to human action and to be put on the public agenda. Their primary focuses are to find underlying rationales of why problems can attract people's attention and be raised on different levels of the agenda. Kingdon's and Sabatier's approach is trying to answer 'how' questions. How do different actors get involved in the process of agenda-setting and through what mechanisms do they interact with each other that they finally raise issues onto the public agenda as its main concerns?

The two models I therefore selected to apply to my case study are the Issue-Attention Cycle Agenda-Setting Model and the Principal Actor Model in Agenda-Setting. While we find that the scope of the Issue-Attention Cycle Agenda-Setting Model as a whole is limited, some parts are more generalised than others are. These include the statement on experts, groups and actors since part of the aim of many groups is to highlight an existing problem that is not widely recognised.

In the application of the Issue Attention Cycle Model in Agenda Setting it informed the researcher why policy does not reach Institutional Policy agenda setting. The Principal Actor Model in Agenda Setting identified who the principal actors are in the South African Policy context. Government did not want to change policy due to a lack of interest by principal actors and financial restraints on the budget of government. Changing an education policy such as curriculum meant that textbooks had to be rewritten, teachers trained, workshops, policy writing process, and other dynamics related to change have enormous cost to government. Issues either were left or a serious lack of interest shown by principal actors. In order to change policy an issue had to be serious and attention sustained by principal actors in policy agenda setting.

It is concluded that Principal Actor Model in Agenda-Setting makes two assumptions: that goal conflict exists between principals and agents. Principals in the agenda-setting phases of policy-making are obvious and necessary. The Issue-Attention Cycle Agenda-Setting Model and the Principal Actor Model in Agenda-Setting were applied to the case study of South Africa. The Generic Policy Process best illustrates the policy cycle used in South Africa; therefore, I used this model in the study. The Generic Model was useful as a policy model to apply to the South African policy dynamics. It allowed me to track the policy process under discussion and allowed the researcher to propose additional policy agenda setting stages to the Generic Policy Process Model. This was applied to the existing education policy called National Curriculum Statements and illustrated that policy agenda setting can occur when pressure is exerted by principal actors on government to change or repackage existing policy (NCS during 2005 and 2009; CAPS during 2010 /2011)

Since 1994, South Africa has experienced the replacement of Apartheid policy by the implementation of appropriate policy for transformation and reform of the democracy. This frantic phase resulted in the next logical step, which was the evaluation of policy performance, implementation and review. This in turn led to new policy, implementation and review. This resulted in new policy issues and agenda-setting by principal actors in education policy, in particular in this research, of placing physical education and school sport on the policy agenda.

The study concludes that the failure to place PESS issues on the agenda is a direct result of the overinvestment of the state in political symbolism of policy rather than in its practical implementation. However, since 1994, it has been clear that agenda-setting was always driven by political and economic imperatives (GEAR, ASGISA). It is therefore clear that the principal actors and stakeholders should place the issue of physical education and school sport in South Africa on the policy agenda. The principal actors and stakeholders have to set an agenda to see the implementation of policies for physical education and sport as a human right for all children in schools, as these agenda-setting models can also be globally used.

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6.4 RECOMMENDATIONS TO ACTORS

6.4.1 Minister of Education

Since the end of legal Apartheid in 1994, educational reforms have been within an econometric rationale. Changing education within this framework was considered important for economic growth. Citizens were expected to compete in international markets through OBE. Science and Technology were seen as the key focus learning areas to economic development.

The national agenda is being pursued within the neoliberal agenda dictated by the World Bank and International Monetary Fund. It is against this background that the Department of Education envisages an alternative scenario. Such a scenario, I would argue, is inescapable, especially the policy agenda-setting for physical education and school sport in the school curriculum.

It is recommended that the Minister of Education as a principal actor has to be the chief agenda setter, together with Minister of Sport and Recreation. Enough evidence and research is evident to place Physical Education and School Sport even more prominently on the policy agenda for the benefit of the youth of this country, as well as for transformation and reform.

6.4.2 Minister of Sport and Recreation

The Framework for Collaboration between the Departments of Sports and Recreation and Education has to be implemented to transform physical education, school sport and recreation. This Framework for Collaboration should be high on the national agenda. The issues that impede the implementation of this Framework of Collaboration should be eradicated for the sake of placing Physical Education and School Sport on the policy agenda, so that policy implementation and review can take place.

The Minister of Sport and Recreation and the Minister of Education, as Key Principal Actors in agenda-setting for Physical Education and School Sport, should accept the central and, where necessary, the interventionist role that government must play in the transformation of sport and recreation. They should also develop programmes aimed at increasing the participation levels in school sport as part of moral regeneration, social cohesion and the promotion of healthy lifestyles. The Department of Education and Department of Sport and Recreation are best placed to provide the leadership that is required to achieve the vision of equity, access and quality with mass participation in curricular, extracurricular, extramural, recreational and competitive school sport and physical education programmes.

This framework for collaboration should be placed high on the agenda and should apply to all school sport and physical education programmes. Therefore, the Department of Education and Department of Sport and Recreation should place physical education and school sport on the Institutional Agenda of the Government of South Africa.

6.4.3 Non-governmental organisations

An analysis of data showed that South Africans are particularly knowledgeable about the constructive role that sport can play in their society. Almost 90% agreed that sport has an important role in bringing people of different races together and 80% agreed that sport is a public good. These high percentages are no doubt a reflection of the fact that sport has been a basic ingredient of national cohesion since 1994. Winning the Rugby World Cup in 1995 underscores the point that sport can unite a nation.

Despite vast disparities between communities and access to facilities, South Africans are generally passionate and keen to participate and support sport, even though there might be a debate about the use of apartheid symbols such as the Springbok emblem as discussed by Douglas Booth in his book *The Race Game* and the Luke Watson saga.

NGOs should continue to organise sport in the community, and as an actor keep school sport and physical education on the policy agenda. Pressure should be put on government

so that Physical Education and School Sport becomes an issue for the institutional agenda of government so that it is explicitly up for active and serious consideration by decision-makers. When Physical Education and School Sport is placed on the Institutional Agenda, it will receive formal attention by the government.

6.4.4 Interest groups

Interest groups should not underestimate their importance as a principal actor in the agenda-setting process. Teachers who are the practitioners who handle the policy frameworks everyday should play a vital role in the monitoring and evaluation part of the policy process. When interest groups find that there is a lack of policy or underdeveloped policy, they should place the issues on the public agenda.

This can be done by using the media. Using the media as an agenda-setting tool by interest groups would get the issues on the systemic agenda at least. The public agenda will then move on to the media agenda and hopefully to the policy agenda. The issue of physical education and school sport, if placed on the media and the public agenda, will gradually rise and the media will keep the issue-attention high so that the issue can reach the policy agenda.

6.4.5 Department officials

Department officials are most commonly associated with policy formulation, either through the development of new legislation or through oversight and legislative review. Career bureaucrats first develop most policy proposals in governmental agencies. These officials who have been involved in developing policy often have more expertise in specific areas of public policy than elected officials; therefore they are in a particularly good position to engage in the formulation of policy as well as policy agenda-setting. The officials of the Department of Education and Department of Sport and Recreation are particularly targeted for ongoing analysis, monitoring, review and to advise the minister on the agenda-setting of school sport and physical education and implementation of the Framework of Collaboration and other policies.

6.4.6 Pressure Groups

Another actor in the implementation in the policy process is pressure groups. Pressure groups assist in the implementation process as well as the agenda-setting process, as they are able to influence agencies. Pressure groups, such as WHO, UNICEF, MINEPS, SGBs, UNESCO, teacher unions, portfolio committees, Curriculum Advisory Committees, media and academics should apply pressure until issues reach the policy agenda.

The UNESCO/ICESSD in its country report (July/August 2011) on South Africa concluded that a draft school policy has recently been developed, which encourages sporting activities including physical education as part of a subject at school (CAPS). The Western Cape has developed a regional School Sport Policy and a formal Directorate of School Sport within the Provincial Sports Department. The objective of the Unit is to coordinate and promote sport at schools in conjunction with the Provincial Department of Education.

UNESCO/ICESSD's research conducted further concluded that the African Sports Index showed that National Government and Sport and Recreation South Africa, have been and will continue to be responsible for international, national and local sport policy challenges. The relationship between state and civil society has been vibrant and an acute awareness of human rights and rights to access equal opportunities.

Recommendations generally to all principal actors should be to maintain the issue attention so that the issue of physical education and school sport should not fall off the policy agenda and so that it reaches the institutional agenda as the Institutional Agenda comes with government action in the form of resources, legislation and timeframes for action.

6.5 AREAS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH

Further to the research findings of this study, a number of related research topics have emerged that are not regarded as being within the primary scope of this study. However, an identification of these themes or topics may prompt other researchers to further investigate or research these issues.

These topics are briefly stated below:

- A comparative study of why deliberate agenda-setting has mostly failed in developing countries;
- The value of policy agenda-setting in the context of neoliberal programmes that
 draws its social power from the political and economic power of those whose
 interests it expresses;
- The influence of the media and mass communication that makes inputs on how people think about policy issues and, therefore, influences what they think;
- Political parties in South Africa and the significance of annual policy conferences;

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- Parliamentary attention can be explained as a response to, rather than a cause of, government activity. The parliamentary issue-attention cycle should be studied;
- The question facing Africa and her donor partners is whether the new opportunities presented by debt relief will be turned into policy and implementation action. The existence of both overt and covert political agendas of the development discourse in which funding agencies frequently engage;
- Comparative experiences of agenda-setting in countries in transition such as South Africa. Dealing with the past agenda and setting a future agenda;

- Presidential public statements and their affect on agenda-setting in the South African context;
- Globalisation and neoliberalism are both ubiquitous phenomena, which influence
 policy agenda-setting of a nation. Investigate their positive and negative impacts
 on agenda-setting as a global phenomenon;
- Setting the agenda of threats of a 'one-party state' in South Africa: An Explanatory Model;
- The role of think-tanks in policy agenda-setting in South Africa;
- The autonomy of the state in the policy-making of liberal democracies. Scholars
 point to the contribution of bureaucrats and civil servants in the creation or
 reworking of public policies;
- The role of SADC in policy agenda-setting for the region;
- The role of social networks such as Mxit, Twitter and Facebook on placing issues on the policy agenda;

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- "It is not so much the weakness of the state as the overall character of political institutions and institutional arrangements that influence agenda-setting";
- In light of the above statement, investigate why policy agenda-setting initiatives often fail in the South African context.

6.6 FINAL CONCLUSION

The study focussed on the agenda-setting process within national boundaries. Physical Education and School Sport (PESS) is indeed a global issue as well as country specific. The solution to it must be a global one involving a coordinated international cooperation and national political action by turning statements of principle into specific policy-by-policy agenda-setting and action throughout the world.

The lesson for Africa is the idea of think-tanks that could contribute to the growth of African society that thinks about itself, clarifies its values and is aware and informed, rather than passive and ignorant. African think-tanks could help widen and enliven the policy agenda-setting to develop Africa with its unique circumstances and features.

It is concluded that a structured and multi-level policy discourse needs to be developed that will focus on a more inclusive and holistic approach to the policy process with special reference to policy agenda setting. In the South African policy context, the principal policy actors can continue to place physical education and school sport on the policy agenda. The policy agenda-setting role it should play is to persuade government on taking national action to address this policy issue.

Policy agenda-setting is a vital phase in the policy cycle of any country. This study has shown that major policy issues such as physical education and school sport could be omitted, despite reformed and advanced policy cycles in government. This study has further shown that the role of policy agenda-setting in the overall policy-making process needs to be revisited and disputed by the principal actors in the agenda-setting of policy as the potential exists to improve policy analysis and policy content in South Africa.

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WESTERN CAPE

ANNEXURE A: INTERVIEWS WITH PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN AGENDA-SETTING OF PHYSICAL EDUCATION AND SCHOOL SPORT

1. PARTNERSHIP AND SPONSORS

- 1.1 Interview with Shaheen Ebrahim, Chairman, Oasis, Cape Town, 19 April 2006.
- 1.2 Interview with C. Bekker, Head of Sponsorship, Coca Cola, Cape Town, 12 December 2006.

2. DEPARTMENT OF SPORTS AND RECREATION AND CULTURE

- 2.1 Interview with Greg Fredericks, DOSRSA, UWC, Bellville 11 March 2005.
- 2.2 Interview with Adv. Rod Solomons, DOSRSA, UWC, Bellville 12 March 2005.
- 2.3 Interview with Chris Stali, MEC for Sport in the Western Cape, Bellville 11 March 2005.
- 2.4 Interview with Mzandile Matthew, National Department of Sports and Recreation, UWC, Bellville 12 March 2005.

3. EDUCATION

- 3.1 Interview with Cameron Dugmore, MEC for Education Western Cape, UWC, Bellville 12 March 2005.
- 3.2 Interview with Ronnie Swartz, Director of Education Western Cape, UWC, Bellville 10 March 2005
- 3.3 Interview with Jenny Rault Smith, Director Curriculum Development WCED, UWC, Bellville 13 March 2005
- 3.4 Interview with Selwyn Daniels, Circuit Manager, WCED, Central Metropole, Mowbray, 16 September 2006.
- 3.5 Interview with Grant Nupen, Headmaster Bishops Diocesan College, Newlands, 19 October 2006.
- 3.6 Interview with Andrew Bretherton, Head of Sport, Fairbairn College, Parow, 28 January 2006.
- 3.7 Janse van der Ryst, Sport Director, Paarl Boys High School, Paarl, 28 June 2006.
- 3.8 Interview with Arthur Cowley, Disability Sport Western Cape, UWC, Bellville, 10 February 2005.

- 3.9 Interview with Daniel Dirks, Chairperson, Farm School, UWC, Bellville, 13 February 2005.
- 3.10 Interview with Ursula Griffiths, Chairperson, National Agriculture Schools Foundation, UWC, Bellville, 11 February 2005.
- 3.11 Interview with Allan Liebenberg, Chairperson, National School Governing Bodies, UWC, Bellville, 10 February 2005.
- 3.12 Interview with Nomvula Ralarla, SADTU SPORTS COUNCIL, UWC, Bellville, 12 March 2005.
- 3.13 Interview with Riyad Najaar, Principal, Spine Road High School, Mitchells Plain, 18 September 2007.
- 3.14 Interview with Mr S.G Ebrahim, Teacher, Curriculum Committee, 22 September 2011.
- 3.15 Interview with Dr S. Naidoo, IMG, Education. 24 September 2011.
- 3.16 Interview with Walter Mercuur, Chief Education Specialist Curriculum, 25 September 2011.

4. SPORT WRITERS

4.1 Interview with Michael Owen Smith, Sports writer *Argus*; Cape Town 28 March 2006.

5. SERVICE PROVIDERS, CBOs, NGOs

- 5.1 Interview with Dr Nasier Jaffer, Sports injury specialist, Claremont, 19 January 2008.
- 5.2 Interview with Ms R. Khan, Dietician, Athlone, 18 September 2008.
- 5.3 Interview with Ms N. Kariel, Physiotherapist specialising in sport injuries, Athlone, 18 September 2008.
- 5.4 Interview with Goolam Jaffer, convenor, S.A. Women's Cricket Selection Panel, UCBSA, Johannesburg, 19 December 2006.
- 5.5 Interview with Faiek Davids, Protea Western Province cricketer and Rugby Player, WPCA, Newlands, 16 July 2008.
- 5.6 Interview with Barney Mohamed, Scotland International Cricketer and Development Coach of Africa UCBSA, WPCA, Newlands, 18 July 2008.

- 5.7 Interview with Nabeal Dien, Amateur Cricket Manager, WPCA, Newlands, 18 July 2008.
- 5.8 Interview with Omar Henry, Protea / Boland cricketer / Head of Cricket Coaching University of Stellenbosch, US, Stellenbosch, 28 January 2008.
- 5.9 Interview with Stanley Naqubela, Chairperson Black Forum and Nyanga Sports Cluster, WPCA, Nyanga, 27 April 2005.
- 5.10 Interview with Rodney Theys, Chairperson Hanover Park Cluster, WPCA, Hanover Park, 30 April 2005.
- 5.11 Interview with Shahied Khan, National Chairperson USSASSA Cricket and Educator at Sports School, UCBSA, Johannesburg, 18 June 2005
- 5.12 Interview with Doctor Nkosi, USSASA National Chairperson, UCBSA, Johannesburg, 18 June 2005.
- 5.13 Interview with Nabeal Dien, CEO: Sport Federation, Cricket, 21 September 2011.

6. ACADEMICS

- 6.1 Interview with Professor Prayala Kanango, Political Science Department, JNU, New Dehli, 19 April 2007.
- 6.2 Interview with Nick Kock, Institute for Social Development, UWC, Bellville, 27 June 2007.
- 6.3 Interview with Professor Andre Odendaal, CEO, WPCA, Newlands, 26 January 2008.
- 6.4 Interview with Nick Kock, Institute for Social Development, UWC, Bellville, 08 October 2011.

ANNEXURE B : MEETINGS, PRESENTATIONS, SEMINARS AND DISCUSSIONS

	DATE	ACTIVITY	PRINCIPAL ACTOR
1.	11-15 March 2005	Western Cape School Sports Indaba (UWC) Participant, Observer and Interviewed Principal Actors UNIVERSITY of the WESTERN CAPE	 Minister Zandisili Chris Stali Mr Cameron Dugmore: Provincial Minister of Education Head of the Department Sport Art and Culture: Adv Rod Solomon Head of WCED: Ron Swartz Respective National Departments Senior Officials Office of the Premier Corporate Sector NGOs Teacher Unions Disabled Sports Women's Sport Agriculture Schools Rural Schools Independent Schools
2.	8 December 2005	USSASA 'Bosberaad' Holiday Inn (Gauteng) Principal, Observer, Interviews	 Sport Federations Unions Sport Code Coordinators SRSA DOE USSASA NEC SASCOC Educators Sponsors
3.	18 December 2008	WPCA Lekgotla Newlands Cape Town Presenter, Participant, Observer and interviews	 Media Sportswriters Principals DOE DOSR School Sport Coordinators

- Regional CoachesProvincial Players
- National Players
- Mini Cricket Coordinators
- Sponsors : Coke, Standard Bank, P.G. Bison, Bakers
- Girls Cricket
- Women's Cricket
- Black Forum
- Cluster Organisers
- WECASSA (Boland, SWD, WP)
- Oudtshoorn

 Presenter, Participant,
 Observer and in
 interviews
- Educators
- Boland representatives
- SWD representatives Educators
- Code Coordinators
- Federation CEOs
- DOSR officials
- **DOE** officials
- Unions

5. 22 October 2007

25 June 2009

4.

School Sport Meeting Rondebosch East Primary School

WECASSA School Sport

• Principals

DOE officials

• Sport Coordinators

- Principal, Interview, Participant, Observer
- 6. 3 5 October 2011

CAPS Training Workshops Mountview High School

- Principals
- Department Officials
- Curriculum Advisors
- MEC for Education

7. 6 October 2011

CAPS Training Workshop Turfhall Primary School

- Principals
- Department Officials
- Curriculum Advisors
- MEC for Education

ANNEXURE C : QUESTIONNAIRE FOR INTERVIEWS WITH PRINCIPAL ACTORS IN PHYSICAL AND SCHOOL SPORT

1.	At what level is your interest in Physical Education and Sport?
	LOCAL REGIONAL NATIONAL
2.	Do you think that Physical Education and Sport should be compulsory in schools?
	YES NO
3.	Where does the responsibility for School Physical Education lie?
3.1	National Government 3.4 Education Department
3.2	Regional Government 3.5 Department of Sport
3.3	Local Government 3.6 The school
3.7	Other (Specify)
4.	If school physical education/sport is a national/regional/local requirement, is it actually implemented/delivered in accordance with regulations? YES NO
4.1	If yes, then how does this implementation/delivery take place?
4.2	If no, then how does this implementation/delivery differ from requirements?

5.	Development since 1994:
	How has physical education been affected in relation to the following?
5.1	Time allocation:
	INCREASED SAME DECREASED
5.2	Teacher training:
	YES NO
5.3	Resources:
	INCREASED SAME DECREASED NONE
5.4	Subject Status:
	now compulsory no longer compulsory no longer compulsory
5.3	Are teachers teaching Physical Education qualified?
	YES NO
5.6	Is Physical Education done at the school?
	YES WESTERNOAPI SELDOM
5.7	Are Physical Education teachers used for teaching of other subjects?
	YES NO SOMETIMES
6.	Within the curriculum of the school programme, how much time is allocated to Physical Education/Sport each week?
	MINUTES PER WEEK mins LESSONS PER WEEK
7.	Are Physical Education/Sport programmes subjected to monitoring (inspection) for implementation by:
	EDUCATIONAL AUTHORITIES DOSR SMT
8.	Is the monitoring of Physical Education and School Sport a legal requirement, according to assessment policy?
	YES NO

9. What is addressed in the monitoring of Physical Education?								
	TEACHER	R'S WORK F	PLANS [PRACTIC	AL LESS	ons [
	ASSESSM	IENTS		EVALUA	TION			
10.	Is monitori	ing for:						
	QUALITY	ASSURAN	CE \square	PROMOT	ION AND	PROGR	RESSION	
AD'	VISORY A	ND GUIDAN	ICE \square	DEVELO	PMENT	L		
11.	Are learne classes?	ers with disa	bilities fully	included i	into norma	al schoo	l physical/s	sport
	YES			NO				
12.		e the quality lucation/spor	-	y of provision	on of faci	lities and	d equipmen	t for
12.1 Q	QUALITY	Facilities Equipment	Excellent	Good	Adeq	uate Be 	elow average	Inadequate ☐ ☐
12.2 Q	QUANTITY	Facilities Equipment	Extensive	Above averag	ge Suffi		Limited	Insufficient
13.	Has this sit	tuation impro	oved or dege	nerated post-	-1994?			
	IMPROVE	ED \square	DEGI	ENERATED	,	NO CI	HANGE	
14.	Does physi	ical education	n have the sa	me status as	other sub	jects at tl	he school?	
	YES			NO				
15.		the actual stariculum subje					-	other
	HIGHER S	STATUS [SAMI	E STATUS		LOWE	ER STATUS	s \square
16.	Are physic	al education	lessons canc	elled more o	often than	academio	e subjects?	
	MORE OF	TEN	SAME		LESS [OFTEN	
	NE	EVER	USED	TO TEACI	H OTHER	SUBJE	СТ	

17.	education/sport within your country, province, region or school:
17.1 17.2 17.3 17.4 17.5	Post-1994 Facilities Curriculum Resources Policy
	UNIVERSITY of the
	WESTERN CAPE