

UNIVERSITY OF CAPE TOWN

445

FACULTY OF EDUCATION

THE LANGA ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME:  
A STUDY OF STUDENTS' PERCEPTIONS OF THE PERFORMANCE OF THE  
PROGRAMME, UNDERTAKEN TO IMPROVE ITS FUNCTIONING.

A dissertation presented in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the Degree of

MASTER OF EDUCATION

by

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MARCH 1993

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**TABLE OF CONTENTS**

ABSTRACT	3
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	5
ABBREVIATIONS	7
1. INTRODUCTION	8
1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH	8
1.2 AIMS AND PURPOSE OF THE STUDY	9
1.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE LANGA ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME	10
1.4 HISTORY OF THE PROGRAMME	12
2. BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY	22
2.1 THE CRISIS IN APARTHEID EDUCATION AND EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAMMES	25
2.2 LIBERALISM'S RESPONSE TO APARTHEID EDUCATION	33
2.3 THE CULTURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS	39
3. RESEARCH METHODOLOGY	44
4. RESULTS	54
5. DISCUSSION OF RESULTS	77
6. POLICY GUIDELINES ARISING FROM THE STUDY	97
BIBLIOGRAPHY	104
APPENDICES	112

## ABSTRACT

This study focuses on the Langa Enrichment Programme an educational support programme for black students studying under the Department of Education and Training in the Cape Peninsula. The study aimed to determine students' reasons for attending the programme, their perceptions of its strengths and weaknesses and their recommendations for improvements. Student expectations of the programme and reasons for the high dropout rate especially amongst Standard Nine and female students were explored.

To contextualise the study and to give further insights into student views a brief summary of the apartheid education crisis is given. Educational support programmes are reviewed as is liberalism's response to the crisis in education and the history and culture of the South African Institute of Race Relations. The methodology used was two-fold: self-administered questionnaires to 126 Standard 10 Mathematics students and a series of focus group interviews with small groups of students.

The findings may be summed up as follows. Students were generally positive towards the teachers, teaching methods and administration of the programme. They requested that teachers should teach and complete the syllabus, emphasizing exam questions, revision and scientific experiments, and explore alternative small group teaching with critical discussions. Students also requested a comprehensive career guidance programme, bursary information and increased financial assistance.

Students expressed a reluctance to pay fees and this, coupled with increasing requests for financial and educational support, raises the issue of welfarism on the programme. Reasons for the high dropout rate amongst Standard Nines included that they write an internal examination. Social pressures from boyfriends and peer groups and regarding clothes were given as reasons for female students dropping out of the programme.

The students appear to determine the direction of the school in that as a result of their demands the programme has changed from an enrichment programme to a compensatory one.

Recommendations in the concluding chapter of this study are that the Enrichment Programme should draw up clearer policy guidelines in conjunction with staff and

students; liaison with DET secondary schools, tertiary institutions and other enrichment programmes should be improved; career guidance programmes linked to bursary information should be implemented; bursaries and other incentives should be linked to attendance and academic performance on the programme; a full time co-ordinator should be employed.

## ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

I wish to thank the staff and students of the Langa Enrichment Programme for their assistance in this study, particularly Derek Joubert and Daphne Wilson for their help with primary research materials, Beverley Gillespie for her statistical expertise and Charnel Hendricks for entering the data.

I am grateful to Professor Clive Millar for his advice and encouragement as supervisor and my family for their patience and support.

**Dedicated to my husband Mark  
and to  
The staff and students of the Enrichment Programme**

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

For ease of reference the following abbreviations which occur in the text are listed here:

ASP	Academic Support Programme
ANC	African National Congress
BC	Black Consciousness
CI	Christian Institute
CHUFT	Cape Herald Urban Foundation Tramways Saturday School
DET	Department of Education and Training
DAAD	German Academic Exchange
EDASA	Education for a Democratic South Africa
EP	Enrichment Programme
ESP	Educational Support Programme
FGI	Focus Group Interview
IGS	Interview Guide Schedule
IDASA	Institute for a Democratic Alternative for South Africa
KEP	Khayelitsha Enrichment Programme
Maths	Mathematics
Matric	Matriculation
N/No	Number
PAC	Pan Africanist Congress
PE	People's Education
SAIRR	South African Institute of Race Relations
SEP	Science Education Project
SRC	Student Representative Council



## **CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION**

### **1.1 MOTIVATION FOR THE RESEARCH**

The motivation for the research is to improve the functioning of the Langa Enrichment Programme (LEP) and to inform policy development.

I have worked for 3 years in the project, initially as a matric biology teacher and since as the co-ordinator of the programme. I felt the need to explore students' perceptions of LEP especially in relation to strengths and weaknesses so as to inform possible changes in the programme.

The Langa Enrichment Programme is the biggest educational support programme (ESP) for blacks in the Cape. The need for such a programme is expressed in attendance numbers and also by its recent expansion into Khayelitsha. It appears that the programme does improve students' matriculation results. Statistics show that students who attended regularly have better chances of passing matric. In 1990 the national DET matric pass rate was 36,4%. The pass rate for the enrichment programme matric students was 69% (for those who attended 80% of the programme). Refer to appendix no. 2.

Despite its size, importance and the fact that it has been in existence for more than ten years, the programme has not had a single academic study done on it. Therefore the Director of Educational Projects and the treasurer welcomed the possibility of my researching the programme and gave me their full support. They offered to print questionnaires, to provide annual reports and statistics and the use of a computer.

This study explores student perceptions and hopes to illuminate areas for discussion and thereby assist decision making. I hope it will provide lessons to other programmes especially the newly developed Khayelitsha programme and contribute to improving the programme and therefore students' future options.

## 1.2 THE AIM OF THE STUDY

The aim of this study is to explore the perceptions of students of the Langa Enrichment Programme in order to improve the functioning of the programme. The study does not attempt a complete evaluation of the programme but hopes to highlight certain issues so that policy guidelines can be developed. It is a general study in an area not well researched and its generalizability to other secondary school support programmes is limited by the context.

Student suggestions for improvement are needed to inform policy guidelines. The study aims to inform the programme of the motivating reasons for attendance and to provide feedback for staff to see if they are meeting the needs of the students. It highlights the issues of welfarism, dependency and student demands and attempts to address the corrupting influences of welfarism through policy guidelines. It also explores the reasons for the high drop out rate generally and specifically amongst women and Std Nine students.

### STUDENT PERCEPTIONS WERE SOUGHT IN THE FOLLOWING AREAS:

- (a) Beneficial aspects of programme.
- (b) Weaknesses of the programme.
- (c) Expectations of the programme.
- (d) Improvements needed to the programme.
- (e) What is understood by good education.
- (g) Reasons for attending the programme.
- (h) Should students pay a fee?
- (i) Should there be more or fewer free handouts, free lunches, printed notes, busfares and books.
- (j) Issues of dependency and welfarism.
- (k) Reasons for the drop out rate especially amongst women and Std Nine students.

### 1.3 DESCRIPTION OF THE LANGA ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME

The Langa Enrichment Programme (LEP) is the largest educational support programme for black secondary school students in the Cape. The programme was started in 1982 due to the crisis in black education (poor schooling conditions, unqualified teachers, textbook shortages, high failure and drop out rates etc.).

It was developed to "enrich" the knowledge that students acquired at school especially in mathematics (maths) and science. "Enrichment" was defined as including extra material and providing a high quality tutorial system for these subjects. However, due to the ever-deepening crisis in Department of Education and Training (DET) education, the national crisis, political protests and boycotts, the role of the programme has changed. In the Director's annual report of April 1992 he refers to the programme as providing "supplementary" education recognizing that the programme has shifted from "enrichment" and plays a supportive role for the deficiencies in the DET schools. However I feel a more apt description is "compensatory education" as LEP fills huge gaps in the syllabus and often is the only education that students will receive for months.

The enrichment programme is held every Saturday morning from February to November (except on school/public holidays). It provides extra tuition to Std Nine and Ten students from the DET. The students come from Langa, Guguletu, Nyanga, Khayelitsha and as far afield as Mbekweni in Paarl, Ceres and Stellenbosch. The total number of registered students in 1991 was 1495 (Std Tens = 1002; Std Nines = 492). The average age of the students in Std 10 is 21 and in Std 9 20.

The programme is based at St Francis Adult Education Centre in Langa. It is funded by the German Embassy and organized and managed by staff of the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR). This programme is linked to the SAIRR bursary fund. Students attending the enrichment programme are given strong consideration when applying for bursaries for further study. Tuition is provided in the academic subjects i.e. maths, physical science, biology, geography, history and english. There is a strong focus on maths and science tuition. Recently commercial subjects have been introduced. Usually there are extra-mural activities after 1.10 pm: local plays, poetry readings, political debates or career guidance.

During the mid-year holiday a Winter school programme is held for one week and in September a Spring school is held. In these programmes, at the Centre for Continuing Education at Pentech in Belville teachers focus on scientific experiments and examination preparation. Students from as far as Ciskei and George attend. The average daily attendance is approximately 800 students.

There is no payment for the Winter and Spring school. Students coming from Mbekweni, Stellenbosch and Ceres receive train or busfares. There is no fee to attend the programme. Students on registering receive a computerized student number, a file and an A4 sized hardcover exercise book. They enter their registration numbers into the register of each class that they attend. In this way the programme has a record of attendance of each subject for each period and teacher. The data are then computerized. This record of student attendance is used when issuing bursaries and provides the SAIRR with an accurate record of the most popular subjects. During the year students receive printed notes. The maths and science students are given lunch when they attend afternoon tutorials in the last term of the year.

The programme has been so successful that the SAIRR has recently begun a second enrichment programme in Khayelitsha and a bridging year programme called Headstart.

#### Teaching staff.

There are sixteen qualified teachers who come from schools, in different areas and socio-economic conditions. They are generally highly motivated to help students pass the matric examination. The teaching method is labelled "progressive" by staff and students because it is a move away from the authoritarian approach of the DET schools in that students are encouraged to participate and be critical. Small group teaching is however limited because of the huge student population.

#### Student Representatives

Students have an elected Student Representative Council (SRC) who help to make decisions about subjects taught and the organization of the Winter and Spring school programmes.

### Non-teaching staff.

The Director of Educational Projects oversees the Langa and Khayelitsha programmes as well as the Headstart College. He is also the bursary manager for the SAIRR bursary fund. At the time of the study I was employed as a part time co-ordinator for LEP. Each enrichment programme has an assistant to help with administrative duties on Saturday mornings. The assistants are ex-EP students. An administrative secretary and treasurer are employed full-time.

### Enrichment Programme Committee

The Committee consists of 3 SAIRR representatives, 5 teacher representatives, 5 student representatives and 2 members of the administrative staff. This Committee is a decision making body. However decisions made in this Committee can be overturned by the Race Relations Committee.

### Philosophy of the Enrichment Programme

The vision of education that is emphasized by the SAIRR and teaching staff is essentially a liberal one. Education is seen as a means to improve careers, social status and general living standards. The SAIRR is seen as providing educational support that will lead towards a future non-racial democratic South Africa with a single education system.

## **1.4 HISTORY OF THE LANGA ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME**

Sources used to compile this history were the annual reports of LEP, teacher reports, and interviews with the previous coordinators of the EP(D. Wilson, A. Mager and D. Joubert).

In 1981, Hazel Moolman, then the Director of the Institute of Race Relations and in charge of the education portfolio, announced at a National Council meeting held in Johannesburg that there was a prospective funder for educational programmes. She had canvassed for funds overseas and a German Evangelical Church body the Evangelische Zentralstelle Entwicklungshilfe (EZE) was interested in funding a selected number of Std Ten African students studying maths and science. The object was to give them enrichment classes in these subjects so as to improve their chances of entering tertiary institutions and succeeding at these institutions.

Subsequently, because of the success of the programme and its expansion, more funding was needed. In 1984 the German Academic Exchange (DAAD) donated funds and at present the programme is being funded by the German Embassy. The Consul in Cape Town monitors the programme. The EP has frequent visits from the Consul and visitors from Germany including parliamentarians. In 1991, seven women parliamentarians visited the programme. Often visitors are accompanied by the German press.

Daphne Wilson, who was the SAIRR bursary manager in Cape Town, at the time came back from the 1981 meeting and asked a small group of interested educationalists to examine the feasibility of launching such an enrichment programme. A subcommittee of Dr J Moulder, Professor Michael Savage and Professor Hansi Pollack was formed. (Professor Pollack had started the bursary department.)

Mrs Wilson's motivation for an enrichment programme was " the appalling academic results in Senior Certificate examinations in Cape Town African High Schools and the difficulties this creates for young African Std Tens who are competing with others for financial assistance to continue studying at tertiary level" (Annual Report 1983). The sub-committee agreed on the need of an enrichment programme but saw it as "a temporary expedient until the recommendations of the De Lange Commission could be put into effect". Mrs Wilson became de facto co-ordinator of the programme and immediately set up contacts with the four DET high schools in Cape Town. These were Langa, Fezeka, Sizamile, and ID.Mkize High Schools.

She went directly to the schools and spoke to the principals, staff and students about the project. She then asked, the Principal Sister Monica for the use of St Francis Adult Education Centre as a venue. Sister Monica agreed but official permission had to be given by Mr Scheepers, the DET Circuit Inspector in Cape Town. Permission to use the venue was given in May 1982. The St Francis Adult Education Centre was an ideal venue.

It was situated on the edge of Langa (a black township), within easy reach, was modern, had a large lecture theatre, large well furnished classrooms and a pleasant staffroom. There was no charge for the use of the venue.

In 1992 the principal requested that R50 be paid weekly to the caretaker who opens and locks the building for the EP staff and students. At first Mrs Wilson attracted teachers by writing to a number of local or private secondary schools and by appealing for socially conscious teachers through the newspaper.

However this method of recruiting teachers changed when Anne Mager was appointed bursary manager and co-ordinator of the programme in 1985. Anne Mager stayed with the programme until mid 1987. Anne Mager sought to change the image of the EP. She recruited teachers through EDASA, the JOINT SRC, WECTU and IDASA. She wanted more black teachers on the staff. This was done especially since " Individual teachers at black high schools who were Black Consciousness (BC) inclined did not welcome Race Relations and might have felt threatened by an all white staff" (A.Mager 1992). Thereafter Derek Joubert took over the post as bursary manager and co-ordinator of the programme. Presently he is the Director of Educational Projects in Cape Town.

In the first year May 1982 the EP registered 150 students, i.e. almost all the maths and science students from the four high schools. English was taught on week days and was open to all students i.e. not only students who studied maths and science. After 1984 the EP held formal classes only on Saturday mornings. This was due to the growth of other supplementary programmes such as SHAWCO and UWC-PLATO project. The student enrollment steadily increased from 150 to 300 in '83 and in '85 a sudden jump to 1049 and at present (1993) there are approximately 2000 registered students.

The increase in the number of students is due to a number of different factors. Rapid black urbanization and growth of the population led to the building of more secondary schools. By 1990 there were 35 new black secondary schools and the matric population in black schools had grown.

In 1983 Std Nine students were also registered on the programme. In 1985 the EP was opened to all matriculants i.e. it no longer catered exclusively for maths and science students. This was a demand won by the students on the EP.

Biology, a compulsory subject for DET students, was also included in the programme in 1986. From the late 1980's more subjects were being offered on the programme such as history, geography and accountancy. Other factors that

increased the demand for tuition were the political strife (1984 to 1987) and closure of schools (1986).

Khayelitsha was the fastest growing black area. A large number of students on the LEP came from this area. Therefore a second programme was started in Khayelitsha in 1991 to relieve the overcrowding at LEP.

The co-ordinator tried in various ways to restrict attendance. In 1989, registration cards were issued to help identify LEP students but students either forgot or lost their cards. In 1990, a short list of provisional students was kept to take the places of those who dropped out or did not attend regularly. However, this system caused problems at the entrance gates and on registration days as students pushed each other to get through gates or doors or jumped over the walls. This system required policing by teachers which was harmful to the image of the programme. The large numbers at the beginning of the year cause overcrowding in classrooms and a very noisy teaching environment and when the bell rings at the end of periods, students rush to get places in the classrooms. Thus far no solution has been found to this problem. Staff have coped by "anxiously waiting for the first big numbers to drop out" (LEP teacher 1992).

### Teaching staff

The ever increasing population of EP students meant that the staff increased from 8 to 20 over a period of 4 years. Staff salaries have increased almost every year, from R10 per 45 minutes lesson, to R13 and then R25. At present teachers earn R40 per lesson and are paid for attending extra meetings or workshops.

### Student Participation in the programme.

Student activity on the EP reflects events in the schools, the townships and the wider socio-political arena. Political space for students on the EP was created in the period 1985 to 1990. Students chose an SRC which plays a role in the arrangements of the school especially at Winter and Spring school.

During the boycotts (which started in 1984 and reached peak periods during 1985 to 1987 and have continued sporadically in the 1990s) the LEP on Saturdays offered students the only schooling for the entire week. The LEP was a safe place



for the mass student body to meet especially when the State banned mass meetings (1985) and closed the schools (1986).

In 1985 the Joint SRC was formed. This structure consisted of representatives of the members of all the SRCs of the different black secondary schools. Because the Institute provided space for the Joint SRCs it won political legitimacy amongst the black community.

During 1985-6 the SRC and staff met regularly. The co-ordinator (Anne Mager 1992) remembers the SRC as very vocal, confident and workerist in their political opinions. She says that the SRC were to the left of the majority of students, whom she classified as conservative and not sophisticated in their political views. Derek Joubert (1992) confirms this view. In his opinion the SRC did not have the support of the broad base of students. Their meetings with the mass student body were characterized by many arguments, did not go smoothly, were too political for, and did not heed the needs of, the mass student body who wanted desperately to write and pass matric. The two co-ordinators experienced both the SRC and the majority of students as having middle class aspirations. They said that students saw better education linked to a decent standard of living and the key to success which they saw as entry into tertiary institutions and into professional life.

The existence of the Joint SRCs was important for the staff as in the turbulent times it was important to take decisions that the students sanctioned as politically correct. The Joint SRCs gave staff the means to negotiate with the students. Two examples of the importance of these negotiations are given below.

In 1985 a meeting was held between the German funders and the students. It was debated whether to open the EP to all Std Nine and Ten students i.e. "all students not only maths and science". This had already been discussed between students and staff. It was the students in this case who put forward their argument to the German funders and won the day. Students argued that apartheid education had affected all students and it was not fair to prepare an elite. The majority did not want an exclusive programme. They argued that if the EP wanted student and community support then they should open the programme to all Std Nine and Ten students.

In 1987 there was a very long boycott in which most of the school year was lost. The Std Sixes, Sevens and Eights felt that the EP should not have a Winter School

because Winter School was open to Std Nines and Tens only and the junior students felt that since all were sacrificing their education, senior students should not take advantage of the Winter school programme. Therefore the junior students asked that no Winter School be held that year. At other times the EP was also asked to abide by the school boycotts and offer alternative programmes.

### The difficulties experienced on the programme

#### **1. Increasing student population and its effect on the policy of the LEP**

The increased number of students was a concern for the funders and staff. The initial purpose of the EP was obscured as it no longer catered for maths and science students only and the meaning of "enrichment" became unclear as students requested to be taught the basic concepts in their subjects. Enrichment in individual subjects was gradually replaced by syllabus teaching, especially with the closure of the schools in '86 and the school boycotts.

Enrichment slowly petered out being restricted to Saturday afternoons and to the Winter schools. The increased numbers affected the teaching style which changed from small group work to lecturing. Monitoring individual student progress became difficult as tests were impossible to administer.

A few workshops were held from 1988 to 1991 to clarify the policies and aims of the EPs. The first two workshops were held in Johannesburg in 1988 and in 1989. Present at these workshops were the co-ordinators from the EPs in Durban, Johannesburg and Cape Town. These workshops revealed that the aims of the programme in Cape Town had changed as new demands were placed on the programme.

The following aims were given for the Cape Town EP.

- to bridge the gap between DET schools and university;
- to give students a broader view than DET schools;
- to encourage student participation in the learning process through a student centered methodology;
- to concentrate on the acquisition of language skills and solving of conceptual problems;

- to expose students to different teaching methods using study aids and to develop more effective study skills;
- to give students more realistic career guidance and ensure that potential bursars apply to relevant institutions;
- to enable students from different areas to meet.

The above aims had to take into account that not all students attend the same schools or are at the same level, the physical constraints of the programme and the educational system available to black students. In 1991 the staff of both programmes in Cape Town were called to another workshop to discuss the aims of the programme and to clarify objectives.

Workshop held at St Francis in 1991.

The teachers discussed their views of the aims of the programmes. Teachers also discussed the disparity between their perception of the "enrichment" aims of the programme and what it is in reality. The following concerns were expressed.

Other concerns expressed by teachers during the workshop:

The workload had to be reduced as Teachers were trying to cover the whole syllabus. Concerns about methodology were expressed in that teachers felt that they were "chalk and talk" teachers, that they did most of the work and that too little time was spent on written work. The student problems encountered were irregular attendance, passivity, lack of basic knowledge in subjects, low confidence and poor knowledge of career options.

In my view it appears that the two statements of aims and goals did not take into account day to day functioning of the programmes. The EP has to take into account the unstable environment, the problems that open-ended goals can have and that the initial aims may well be beyond the capacity of the EP.

## **2. Attendance and Dropout**

There is no hold over regular attendance due to the voluntary nature of the programme. Attendance is erratic and in winter many students drop out. The result is that by the end of the year the numbers have halved. See statistics in appendix no. 1.

**3. Other difficulties include:** the wide range of attainment of students in the classes; the tendency to flock to popular teachers and overcrowd these classes; resentment at written work and tests; the lack of basic knowledge and inadequate grasp of concepts in maths and the sciences; and the poor liaison with the teachers at black secondary schools.

#### Solutions to the attendance and drop out rate.

Most teachers feel that the key to planning effective teaching and curbing the high drop out rate lies in improving contact and exchanging ideas with the teachers in DET secondary schools. Other important incentives to encourage regular attendance and to curb the drop out rate are bursaries and busfares. Students have been told that attendance is a criterion used when issuing these "prizes".

#### Liaison with DET secondary school teachers

Initially it seems that teachers in the DET secondary schools were responsive to the programme but gradually distanced themselves from it. Mrs Wilson says she managed to keep contact with teachers through a debating society. She says that this meant she was constantly seen in the DET schools and was able to build support for the EP. Mrs Thornburn, the science teacher, tells of how at the invitation of the teachers she helped set up laboratory equipment and met with them to discuss work scheduled for the following week.

Mrs Wilson says that the distancing probably happened at the time of school boycotts as she "experienced a definite cold shoulder from the staff of Fezeka High"(1992). Anne Mager confirms that the more BC orientated schools were not happy with the Institute's presence. She cites explanations for the hostility, ranging from BC arguments that the Institute was reformist and sugar coating apartheid education, to saying that because students receive tuition on the programme they are inclined to extend the boycotts.

Another factor in the difficulty of liaison was that in the apartheid education system then holidays of different education departments were at different times of the year so teachers on the EP worked for different departments which made for practical difficulties in setting dates for meetings. The co-ordinator, who was also the bursary manager, did not have the time to arrange joint meetings for teachers. However the EP staff tried to maintain contact throughout with DET school

teachers. At the beginning of the year joint meetings were held to discuss a plan of work for the year.

#### Liaison with tertiary institutions

Co-operation between the Institute and tertiary institutions was formalized in March 1985. A small sub committee of tertiary educationists was convened as a referral body for the co-ordinator. However this sub-committee lost its function as people could not meet due to time constraints.

#### Payment on the programme

The programme was not always free. In the early days funding was limited and there was no printing facility. Then students paid toward set books of revision questions and maths instruments. Payment of transport costs was made on individual application. As requests for transport increased money was given as a prize either at the end of year or end of term. This prize was based on attendance. Later when the Paarl students attended, a bus was provided.

However their numbers increased and students from areas further away such as Ceres and Stellenbosch started to attend. This made it impractical and expensive to provide transport. From 1988 busfares and train fares were paid out in cash. Care was taken to ensure that the recipient was eligible for a bus subsidy by having principals send a list of their students and by issuing deserving students with certified letters as well as computerizing names of recipients to provide a checklist.

However the programme does experience problems in this area. Students not eligible for the fares try to obtain money in various dishonest ways. Related to this problem are the unlimited financial and teaching demands by the students on the Institute and the tendency to demand rather than request assistance.

#### Success of the LEP

The success of the programme has partly been measured by comparing the regularity of attendance on the EP to the pass rate. These results are then compared to the DET pass and exemption rates.

The LEP pass rates were much higher than DET pass rates for example in 1987, of the students who attended 70% of the time 98% passed and 45% obtained matriculation exemption. See appendix no. 2 for figures of 1991.

Another measure of success was indicated by the number of students who received bursaries and the number who entered tertiary institutions. In 1987, 17 students received DAAD scholarships and 20 SAIRR bursaries. A number of these students were accepted into courses such as medicine, dentistry and engineering.

Teachers and co-ordinators say that they feel a real sense of achievement when students come into the office and thank them for the programme and say how much it has helped them.

## **CHAPTER TWO: BACKGROUND TO THE STUDY**

This chapter is divided into four sections. The first section contextualises the study and provides the rationale for educational support programmes. This section argues that apartheid education functions to control and limit the economic, political and social advancement of black people and seeks to reinforce the rules of apartheid power. The protests and national rebellion against apartheid and apartheid education played its role in the weakening of the apartheid State. However as the struggle for a decent education continues, the learning environment at black schools deteriorates and the students become the victims of their own struggles. The educational support programmes act as a reformist measure to provide educational opportunities against a backdrop of continuing educational crises which one hopes will be resolved in a future democratic non-racial SA.

The second section is a review of educational support programmes in SA. It sketches their important features, similarities between them and the LEP and problems these programmes have experienced, and concludes with short critical overview of ESPs.

The third section attempts a definition of the term liberalism and its features in the SA context. I felt it was important to include this section as it is a liberal philosophy of education that underpins and drives the LEP. The response of liberalism to apartheid education is traced from the 1940s to the present. It also comments on the challenges liberalism faces and the ways it attempts to address the inequalities of the apartheid system.

The fourth section outlines the role of the SAIRR as it is the organization which manages and controls the LEP. It describes the role that the SAIRR has as a liberal organization in educational activities which seeks to "uplift" black people. It comments on the association between liberalism and welfarism which is a feature of SA history.

### **2.1. THE CRISIS OF APARTHEID EDUCATION**

The educational support programmes for secondary school students and those at tertiary institutions are a response to apartheid education and the socio-economic conditions of the political system of apartheid.

The crisis in education has been deepened by the current economic crisis and a growing awareness of the illegitimacy of the State and its various Education Departments. Poverty, poor housing, menial jobs, extreme exploitation of labour, poor nutrition and medical facilities amongst the black population from the system of racial capitalism. These conditions are exacerbated by using racial divisions in all facets of life, and racist notions of inferiority and superiority to explain exploitation.

The apartheid education system has been extensively described elsewhere and will only be briefly summarized here (see Race Relations Annual Surveys, Hartshorne 1992, Brickhill and Brookes 1980; and the pamphlet in appendix no. 3). Education was provided to the black populace with the aim of maintaining a division of labour in which black people would remain at the lower levels of society.

"This goal shaped the system in all its aspects from financing to administration from curricula to the training of teachers and the number of schools. The ills that beset black schools and colleges because of this policy were overcrowding, high drop out rates especially in the junior high schools, racist content of school programmes, inadequate facilities especially in scientific, technical and vocational fields, low standards and poor examination results, high costs to parents who have to pay fees, buy books and even contribute directly to school buildings and maintenance" (Brooks and Brickhill 1980;35).

"These factors act together to produce the characteristics visible in black classrooms viz. the authoritarian and hierarchical controls, the absence of adequate models of quality educational practice, low level of qualification, experience and professionalism among teachers. Moreover these conditions taken cumulatively produce a downward spiral of competence and achievement" (Morphet et al 1986;28).

### Student Protests

These conditions are the root causes for the student protests and rebellion since 1976. Education has now become the focus of the national crisis and the struggle for a new society. However the protests have led to the learning culture disintegrating in both rural and urban areas.



Hartshorne (1992;79-81) comments on the political protests and their effects on a learning culture. His opinion is that there is a need to call for re-establishing a learning culture. This opinion is shared by educationists, politicians, student leaders and the National Education Co-ordinating Committee (NECC). Hartshorne describes the situation as follows "Pupils came to school at different times, left when they felt like it, did not bring their books to school, refused to do homework or tests and generally increasingly rejected any kind of authority . There was an overconfidence in what they could achieve on their own without the help of teachers and when they failed there were ready made excuses at hand - everything from apartheid to poor schooling, incompetent teachers, through to untrustworthy examinations all the more seductive because of the large measure of truth in them! And so the high school leaders of the political struggle became the victims of that struggle.

This is reflected in the collapse of secondary schooling, with its deteriorating learning environment, demotivated and burnt out teachers, unsettled conditions in which violence and intimidation are rife, haphazard and spasmodic school attendance are all leading to disastrous matriculation results" (Hartshorne 1992; 81).

He quotes a few frightening statistics: In "the ten years 1980-89 just over a million black full time candidates wrote the matriculation exam; of these 12,9 % gained matriculation exemption, 37,2% a senior certificate and 49,9 % failed. Many of the latter attempted a second exam. A safe estimate would be that 400 000 left secondary school without a certificate in this ten year period. The majority joined the ranks of the unemployed in spite of having completed their secondary schooling, became disillusioned with the value of education, suffered from a sense of failure, became alienated from their communities and turned to violence and disruption of their communities" (Hartshorne 1992;81).

This is the context in which ESPs function. **They are programmes of reform**, in which donor organizations see the upliftment of black education as a social responsibility issue or, in the case of the private sector, to supply manpower needs and to maintain stability. Some of the projects e.g. Science Education Project and the Academic Support programmes on some university campuses are working for structural change within the system. This change is not linked to transforming society but remains within the institutions. It is envisaged that these programmes

will improve equality of access and opportunity for black students and will lead to better performance at tertiary institutions.

The author foresees that ESPs will still be needed for many years. The inequalities created by apartheid policies run deep and have left a poor, inefficient education system. The loss of learning due to political protests has deepened this crisis. ESPs provide one of the attempts to compensate for lost and inadequate schooling and also provide a route into tertiary education.

## **2.2. EDUCATIONAL SUPPORT PROGRAMMES (ESPS) IN SOUTH AFRICA**

Most education support programmes began after 1976 when student protests highlighted the conditions at schools. They have been called "building bridges for the future post-apartheid South Africa" (Agar et al 1990 vi).

The ESP programmes are important in the current South African context "due to the interplay of a number of factors" which are, according to Agar:

- (a) a small pool of black matriculants with mathematics and science.
- (b) high failure rates at Universities.
- (c) shortage of skilled manpower.
- (d) segregated, unequal educational systems.
- (e) the learning backlog due to school boycotts and political protests" (Agar et al 1990; vi-vii).

In my view, additional factors which play a part are:

- (f) socio-economic conditions (unemployment, poor housing, poor health facilities , gangsterism).
- (g) the desire to speed up the creation of an urban black petite-bougeoisie.

Education Support programmes for secondary schools in South Africa are poorly researched. Most of the literature on ESPs concerns tertiary education either at University, College or Technikons. A further disadvantage for this study has been that much of the literature consists of evaluative studies of specific programmes for funders or management. These reports have been useful in describing ESPs and

informative as regards policy development in an unstable political environment. However student perceptions, culture, and issues of welfarism and dependency have hardly been explored in context of ESPs for secondary schools. I will comment on the background, main features and problem areas of some educational support programmes and adult education programmes.

### A Brief Description of ESPs in the Western Cape

One of the first (1976) secondary school level ESPs in the Western Cape was the **Cape Herald Urban Tramways (CHUFT) Saturday school programme** funded by the Urban Foundation (Morphet et al 1984). The two other funders involved in this project were the Herald from the Argus newspaper group and City Tramways. The three parties saw this venture as serving a community interest and providing the necessary skills for industry as well as encouraging stability in the country. The Urban Foundation stayed in the background because its links with big business meant that it was seen by the community as collaborating with the government. The school was generally referred to as the Herald-Tramways school. The programme was held at St Savio School in Lansdowne on a Saturday morning. It was open to all population groups although specifically targeting the African population. It was linked to a bursary programme and its educational goals were to create an interest in the sciences and to increase black graduates in this field.

Students paid a registration fee of R5. Their attendance was recorded by clip cards. Attendance was voluntary, students dressed in casual clothes, the atmosphere was informal and sociable, students from different schools met and the programme was used by some students for revision. The most positive feature of the programme "was the freedom, trust and flexibility felt by students" (Morphet et al 1984;85).

The main problems for teachers were, a high drop out rate especially amongst African pupils, huge numbers in the classes at the beginning of the year, the irregular attendance, different levels of ability of students and concerns about language and terminology.

Because of these problems teachers found it difficult to plan work and the enrichment component of the programme was restricted. The teachers could not introduce new materials or monitor progress. The teachers and co-ordinator were not evaluated, acted autonomously and were not accountable to the funders or students. They taught mainly by "chalk and talk" methods interspersed with the use

of the overhead projector, films, and experiments. The teachers made no links with the schools from which the students came, thereby reducing the impact of the project.

The teachers took the content of the syllabus as their context and the individual student as their target audience and therefore could not be expected to affect the overall schools performance.

The learning problems that the CHUFT teachers experienced were similar to the LEP teacher's experiences. Students came to the project to pass matric and improve their symbols. Whether their attitude towards science became more positive as a result of the project was not measurable. The funders of the project intended to have some impact on the community but did not have sufficient credibility in the community to pursue this goal.

At that time the black community was suspicious of the Urban Foundation's motives as it connected the Foundation to one the State's strategies to "maintain stability". After the bus boycotts in 1984 the City Tramways group was less visible on the project as less media coverage was given to its role in the project. The evaluators i.e. Morphet and Schaffer recommended that the project be discontinued as they did not think it was meeting the set goals. The attendance of African pupils ceased when similar programmes started i.e. LEP and Protec (Morphet et al 1984;60).

### **Science Education Project (SEP)**

This innovative project based itself within the black school system and defined its goals in three areas. It wanted to provide for the needs of black science pupils and teachers, to introduce innovative practices in the teaching of science and to work towards closing the gap between black and white schooling. Needs were defined as material resources, curriculum development, teacher training, school administration and system parity and efficiency. It was hoped that this innovative method of teaching would gradually diffuse to other subjects and thereby give the project a developmental capacity (Morphet et al 1986; 17-22).

The evaluators felt that the project's goals were too wide and open-ended for a venture which must negotiate support within a relatively unstable environment. It was felt that because the project was situated within the school system the project

team had to negotiate with the different department officials, teachers, pupils and funders and all the different parties had different conceptions of the project. The evaluators recommended that the project team clarify and reassess the goals taking into account the context. They also recommended that the project team work to reduce the levels of misconception and confusion about goals by working towards a common strategy with the parties concerned and lay the foundation for agreements. This would professionalize the operation and reduce accountability tensions between the parties (Morphet et al 1986;62).

The SEP experience as regards policy development has important lessons for the LEP as it also has to negotiate with different parties (i.e. department officials, principals, teachers and students) which might have different perceptions of the role of the programme.

### **Alternative Matriculation Programme**

The extent of student alienation and estrangement in black secondary schools was researched by Sandy Lazarus. The students she interviewed were DET students who had not been readmitted to school because of the age restriction in DET schools. They were attending an alternative matric programme based at the St Francis Adult Centre.

She identified the following factors as leading to alienation and estrangement in the DET school setting: authoritarianism, the stunting of critical thinking, segregation of academic and non-academic students, non-participatory teaching methods, corporal punishment, indoctrination of dominant "white" ideology, lack of exposure to different views and experiences and difficulty experienced with the school language medium. The Bantu education system was seen by the students to educate them to be labourers in the capitalist class system (Lazarus 1983;xiv). She identifies these as the main reasons which cause poor motivation and lead to the high drop out and failure rates in secondary schools (Lazarus 1983; xiv).

### **Black student perceptions on the high failure rate in matric**

Two other studies which confirm Lazarus's research are Bosschieter and Cullinan's (1983) discussion on the findings of the Buthelezi Commission and Simon and Beard's (1985) study done in the rural areas of Natal amongst matriculants. These studies focussed on black matriculants' perceived reasons for the high failure rates

in their last year. The four most important reasons perceived for high failure rates were teachers, facilities and equipment, themselves and unfair exam marking (Simon and Beard 1985;82 ).

### **Adults Studying for a Second Chance**

A study of adults who studied part-time at St Anthony's Adult Education Centre on the East Rand was done by Sharon Fitzgerald in 1990. This study investigated why adults perceive education and the matriculation examination to be of importance. Fitzgerald (1990;78-108) concludes that they are motivated to study because they see education as a means of social and economic advancement, the matriculation certificate facilitates students entry into tertiary institutions, and holds the promise of better jobs or entry into professions such as nursing, medicine, law, and teaching. They are encouraged by parents or partners to study and receive little encouragement from employers.

They perceived a matriculation certificate as a symbol of intelligence and thought it was easier to secure a job if one had a matriculation certificate and that this certificate would win them more respect within their community.

Their choice of centre was important. St Anthony's had a reputation for producing high examination pass rates, had good teachers, was not in the black township and was outside the DET. The adults were aware of the inadequacies of apartheid education and felt disadvantaged by it. They perceived that their aspirations would be more successfully met in another education department.

Factors which affected their success were overcrowded homes, no electricity, noise and not understanding the language of the textbook or subject that they were studying. Some adult students could not understand the language of the teacher and sometimes this was made worse by the fact that they could not afford the textbooks. Students dropped out or did not attend regularly due to financial constraints. They could often not pay fees, busfares or buy the text books.

### **The Adult Night School Movement**

A study done by Daphne Wilson (1990) of the Cape Non-European Night Schools Association in the Western Cape reveals similar motives for black adults to embark on study i.e. for individual success and social advancement. Students attended

voluntarily and teachers were not paid. Because teachers came out of social or political commitment, these students were especially grateful to their teachers. The credibility of the school was enhanced because the school was outside of the State system.

Interestingly, Mrs Wilson who took over the African Adult Night Schools also initiated the LEP and organized and managed it in much the same way. The schools were not politically allied and emphasized individual success. The Adult Night Schools were closed by the State in December 1967.

### **Language Support Programme**

Professor Millar's (1989) evaluative study on the Nico Malan Nursing College's language support course offered to Afrikaans speaking students commented on reasons for its success. A significant reason was that teachers who taught this course came from outside the college, brought another perspective to the institution and taught in a different style. This curriculum of the "outsider" had a hidden agenda which included politics and exposure to a new culture.

Other reasons were the informal atmosphere, low interference by staff of the college and non- exam orientation. The project had the goodwill and support of the college staff. The main weakness of the language programme was its isolation from the core curriculum as this affected its developmental capacity.

### **Discussion**

From the above descriptions of different programmes it appears that the features that most ESPs and adult education programmes share with the LEP are that they are directed at black students or black adults mainly at matric level and usually specifically for mathematics and science. Attendance is voluntary, there is a social and informal atmosphere. Students find it interesting because they meet students from other schools and learning is more interesting because the teachers are "different". In some cases this difference is a cultural one at other times it is because teachers are qualified, use resources, are flexible, not authoritarian and show empathy towards the students' circumstances. The programmes are usually linked to a bursary scheme which is an incentive for regular attendance.

The weak features of the programmes and adult school are similar to those experienced at LEP. These are the high drop out rates, irregular attendance, poor command of English and learning problems, lack of basic concepts and exposure to critical teaching methods. In the case of the CHUFT programme it did not attempt to make links with secondary schools and its legitimacy within the community was poor, and its impact on the community was negligible.

The Science Education Project experiences similar problems to LEP in that they both have open-ended goals and the parties involved have different conceptions of the goals and terms of accountability. LEP could learn from SEP on how this issue is being resolved.

The voluntariness of the programmes and the perception that the matriculation certificate is the key to success are important in building a positive image for the programmes and adult schools. The success of the programmes is dependent on a number of factors i.e. legitimacy, choice of centre and the credibility of the funders. The degree of legitimacy seems dependent on the choice of teachers, centre and funders and their distance from the DET system. Significant psychological motivating factors for the popularity of the programmes are the desire for individual success and social advancement.

Much of the success of the programmes and adult night schools may be attributed to the commitment and dedication of its teachers, and not least of all the zeal, courage, hard work and vision of its co-ordinators. The success of the programme is ultimately shown by the commitment of the students. The high level of motivation and enthusiasm and determination to strive for an education which many show despite apartheid "education", political and economic difficulties are impressive.

Recommendations made by Agar, Hofmeyer and Moulder in their paper **Bridging Education in the 90s** take into account the problems in ESPs. They have written a significant and comprehensive report on ESPs in SA which "provides a thick description and analysis " (Agar et al 1990;v) of ESPs. However they have commented mainly on ESPs housed at tertiary institutions.

A crucial recommendation made by them (Agar et al 1990;43 -46) which secondary school support programmes should take into account is that ESPs should have legitimacy and credibility amongst black students. The background to this is



the hostility from black students towards ESPs especially on "white " campuses. They recommend that in the informal sector, funders should continue to fund programmes "which tackle the problem of underprepared students and where possible link programmes to bursaries" (Agar et al 1990;45). They alert ESPs to the following possible problem areas.

ESPs are minute in terms of the scale of the problem they have to address, are positioned on the periphery and operate in opposition to the norms and values of the school system. The consequence is that ESPs have marginal power in relation to the system. This marginality is reinforced by financial vulnerability. Projects are in a constant state of tension between the competing and conflicting interests of the funders and project managers. The people involved in the programmes have to mediate the different interests of the stakeholders. This task is very time consuming and exhausting. Most of the projects are growing fast, are understaffed and typically therefore staff are overloaded and operate in a crisis management mode. Thus burn out is an ever present threat on ESPs ( Agar et al 1990; 10).

### **Educational Support programmes internationally**

Educational support programmes in the United States, Britain and Australia are programmes funded by the respective governments of these countries. The emphasis of these programmes is typically either to reintegrate youth back into the school and society or to provide vocational training at school so as to extend the school leaving age. Many of the support programmes are directed at minority groups, delinquents and immigrants. I will quote comment on one typical example of these programmes.

Robert Stake (1986) commented on "**Cities in School**" project. He said that "Cities in School" was a collection of urban youthwork projects. "The goal was to find the most estranged youth of the urban ghetto and to bring them into the mainstream of urban society ultimately to become educated and employed, legally respectable and humane. This was a program with noble intent, educational and social services integration was a major part of the plan " (Stake 1986;5). Most of the literature commenting on programmes is evaluations undertaken by State employees and could be biased in favour of the interests of the State.

Rachel Sharpe (1984) criticizes programmes of this type and questions their noble intentions. She asserts that the changing policies in education are a result of what

she calls a capital accumulation crisis and these policies (e.g. multi-culturalism, schools for delinquents) are necessary for political control over the working class.

"Amelioration of disadvantage, in the absence of any changes in the underlying structure of capitalist production relationships, could only mean management, containment and control. What was aimed for was that those at the bottom should have a fairer go. Justice was seen in distributional terms and a problem of access" (Sharpe 1984;66-67). Her theory has found resonance here with Marxist theorists.

Hyslop (1990) argues that increased State expenditure on black schooling in the 1980's can be seen as a measure of social control. As unemployment was growing the aspirations of the youth could not be met in the labour market and therefore the longer they were at school, the longer the problem was stalled for the State. This theory can be extended to the educational support programmes in that the ESPs do not challenge State education and can be seen as buffers against angry and frustrated youth who feel down by apartheid education because they cannot enter tertiary institutions.

However one theorizes the function of ESPs, I feel that ESPs do help to keep alive the aspirations of black youth and this is important especially in a society where black youth have found so little encouragement.

### **2.3. LIBERALISM'S RESPONSE TO APARTHEID EDUCATION**

A review of the literature regarding the SA liberal community's response to apartheid suggests liberalism "has been for the most part the political expression of a small body of white educationalists, philanthropists, missionaries and social workers" (Rich 1984;123) who are concerned to help alleviate the harsh economic and social consequences of apartheid and capitalism as it has affected black people.

Recently theorists have said that "it is misleading to speak of the liberal tradition as the preserve of English speaking whites, for it includes Afrikaners and blacks as well" (Leatt et al 1986;;53). This opinion is probably more valid today than in the earlier history of SA.

There is agreement that SA liberalism has European roots and has therefore had a Eurocentric perspective and value system and has been preoccupied with race

relations. The notion of reforming apartheid has been a constant thread in its ideology. The value system included "freedom of the individual, rule of law, a free press, freedom of speech, association and an independent judiciary" (Legassick as quoted in Cross 1986;188). In the SA context liberal also meant to be "a friend of the native trying to convince selected Africans that grievances they felt could be ameliorated through reforms which liberals could promulgate" (Legassick op. cit.).

Liberals have generally tended to take the capitalist system for granted. They argued that apartheid inhibits economic growth and hope that economic advancement would help the demise of the apartheid system (Leatt et al 1986;57). Liberals compromised themselves by their defence of the capitalist system, their close linkage with the history of white social and economic power and their failure to halt the excesses of Afrikaner nationalism (Morphet 1987;5).

Liberal protest and efforts to minimize the oppressive political and economic system have been linked to reformist strategies of opposition since "at no point was it concerned with the abolition of the basic conditions of oppression " (Shula Marks quoted in Cross 1986;188).

The liberal view of education finds its roots in the period of the Enlightenment. It is strongly linked to freedom of the individual and the creation of the bourgeois democratic State. The liberal view of education also links education to economic growth. The argument that if levels of literacy are high then economic prosperity will follow is the guiding theory of most liberal educationists. Liberals argue too that if there is equality of educational opportunity and access then this leads to social equality.

For black people Bantu Education was education for the labour market and kept the doors of upward mobility closed. For Marxists apartheid education as well as liberal education was part of the oppressive structures of the State and used to reproduce the relations and means of production. Marxists therefore opted to function outside the State system. They saw education as a means to liberate the oppressed from the dominant ideology so that they could take control over their own lives and thereby gain freedom and hopefully build a society in which there is equity. For many oppressed people in SA the distinction between the liberal theory that provides education to fit better into society and the Marxist theory in which education is seen as a weapon against oppression was blurred as proponents of

both philosophies came from the same white world and appeared to offer similar incentives to be educated i.e. freedom from poverty.

The liberal perception of education is very alive in the present day and the aspirations of most black youth as expressed in the political protests and boycotts have been around an equal education system which promises social and economic advancement. Critiques of the liberal view of education have mainly come from the Neo-Marxists who say that such a view is a technicist, apolitical formulation of the problem and assumes that limited educational reforms can lead to a liberal capitalist democracy. Christopher Jencks (as quoted in Halsey 1975;231) has argued that equality of opportunity and access are not naturally vehicles for social mobility. He stresses that one has to examine the nature of education and not treat it as a neutral and independent force.

Authors such as Cross (1986), Rich (1984) and Morphet (1987) have pointed out that one of the strengths of the liberal philosophy is its pragmatism. Liberals have shown that they are willing to adapt to changing conditions and rely on experience to correct their position.

There is strong support for liberalism's achievements. Many of the African leaders e.g. A.B. Xuma and Chief Albert Luthuli were educated at the mission schools. Liberals highlighted the plight of urban and rural Africans and remained the moral conscience of the political parties in Parliament (e.g. Helen Suzman of the Progressive Party).

Rich (1984) in his study of liberalism outlines how liberals laid the foundation for territorial segregation. He argues that the apartheid ideology under Verwoerd and Eiselen grew out of previous liberal anthropological studies and economic analyses. He asserts that the Liberal Party after 1953 reacted timidly and defensively to apartheid policies. It is important to note here that not all liberals were in the Liberal party. Many liberals did not participate in party politics as a form of protest after 1948.

A shift in ideology came after 1960, after the Sharpeville shootings and the entrenchment of Afrikaner nationalism in Parliament. In SA liberalism began to crumble whilst in America it took a different path that of humanistic liberalism. Alan Paton preached a more radical liberalism from which developed the establishment of the Christian Institute (CI). The CI was more social democratic

and recognized that the central area of political initiative had to come from blacks not whites (Rich; 1984;130-132). Rich explains causes for the ideological shifts in liberalism being due to political changes in SA and abroad.

Cross (1986;188-189) sees that these ideological shifts were due to the mining and industrial revolution taking place in the 1930s and 1940s. Increased industrialization brought social changes i.e. the growth of an urban elite and an African proletariat. In the 1960s a new school of economic liberalism emerged due to the "unprecedented rise in local capital, followed by changes in the structure and nature of labour and the influence of human capital theory"(Cross 1986;192). This new theory postulated that a lack of educational reform will lead to a manpower crisis and that South Africa's economic problems will be resolved by educational reforms. This dominant liberal view has been the focus of critique by neo-Marxists.

In the 1970s Black Consciousness scorned liberal involvement in the "struggle" and whites were seen as the "problem", however there was not a complete break with liberalism as liberal organizations had essential resources which black political organizations needed e.g. Steve Biko's appeal to Donald Woods. During this period liberalism was politically silent. This silence is due to many liberals leaving the country, the challenge from BC and the neo-Marxists critique of liberalism.

The 1970s and 1980s saw the emergence of new schools of thought in education, Louis Althusser's reproduction theory which explained State repression by Ideological State Apparatuses and Repressive State Apparatuses. Theorists like Bowls and Gintis took the reproduction analysis into the school.

They argued that schools function to reproduce the social order and thereby maintain the status quo. These theories were applied to South African society especially by people wanting to explain the continued existence of the Nationalist State.

However the resistance in the schools since 1976, the wave of popular and worker struggles, the weakening of the State, the crumbling economy and the shortage of skilled labour have brought the reproduction model under scrutiny. Theorists revised their explanations to take into account resistance and integrated history and people. Theorists moved away from explaining the existence of society by

structures only and incorporated the concept of agency to account for change in society. The rejection of the apartheid education system by blacks found expression in the articulation of People's Education and other various other forms of Alternative Education.

"The goal of People's Education is a free, compulsory, unitary, nonracial and democratic South Africa. It aims to achieve this through the collective strength of the community. People's Education (PE) is intended to mobilize and empower black communities to take control of their schools and their own lives" (Hofmeyer 1987;302).

Liberalism's response to PE was mixed, some e.g. Hartshorne (1992) saw it as a challenge and an opportunity to debate and negotiate the future while others sought to make it a reality by offering skills and critical expertise in the field of developing curricula, resources and policy development.

Certain problems were experienced by liberals i.e. tension between the individual ethic of liberalism and the collective ethic of PE. I agree with Hofmeyer that this tension is increased by the use of terms such as "left", "community" and "the struggle" and conveys a monolithic sense of these entities (Hofmeyer 1987;310-312).

Tony Morphet (1987;5) argues that this tension between individualism and the collective guided and limited liberalism's contribution to PE. He says that liberals did not find it easy to come to terms with PE. Therefore they were preoccupied with broadening the definition of needs of blacks and reforming institutions instead of laying more stress on innovation, development and the transformation of the education system.

From the late 1980s to the present liberals have often expressed confusion in their response to the continued crisis. This confusion is expressed by writers such as Charles Simkins, Ken Owen and Simon Bekker when they speak of liberalism "regaining the middle ground and reconstructing SA liberalism" (Bekker 1986;17). They express fear at the current onset of violence and also criticize liberals for not condemning past forms of violence and "suffering from a collapse of nerve in the face of pressure from the left" (Wentzel 1986;17).

The solution offered by liberals is to keep liberal principles alive e.g. Penny Enslin argues that people have misinterpreted the concept of individual liberty and she says that there is a lot that is inherently good in this concept. She believes that the liberal theory of education has much to contribute to the education debate (Hofmeyer 1987;308). Charles Simkins emphasizes the principle of equality and says that liberals should adapt to include equality of opportunity and access in all walks of life. He says that liberals should oppose acting as a first line defence for white domination and they further explicitly oppose acting as a first line defence for capitalism (Bekker 1986;18). Overall there seem to be consensus in liberal circles that they cannot stay in the middle ground and have to take sides either with the liberation movements or with conservatism.

In general liberals in education have identified four broad strategies available to them. The first is engagement with the left regarding radical education debates. The second is pressurizing the government which would involve public protest, building alliances with communities to act in concert, civil disobedience and legal challenges to the government using the courts. The third strategy is to exploit the gaps in government policy such as private schools, farm schools and pre-schools. The fourth strategy is to prepare for education beyond apartheid for example training for life skills, training in leadership, nonformal education and youth opportunities programmes (Hofmeyer 1987;312-316).

The Langa Enrichment Programme would fall into the fourth category as a youth opportunities programme. It is a programme that gives black students an extra chance of passing matric and gaining entry into tertiary institutions with financial support. It offers the promise of upward mobility and a way out of poverty.

Liberal values evident on LEP include its emphasis on individual success; voluntary attendance on the programme illustrates the respect for individual liberty and freedom of choice. The understanding of how the programme will contribute to societal change is reformist as the Institute uncritically hold fast to the philosophy that educational improvement will lead to general societal advancement and stability.

## **2.4 THE CULTURE OF THE SOUTH AFRICAN INSTITUTE OF RACE RELATIONS (SAIRR).**

In 1929 C.T.Loram founded the Institute of Race Relations with the aid of American funding. His rationale for establishing the Institute came "from the idea of different races in South African society with inherently different interests which could best be resolved by a process of bargaining and mediation" (Rich 1984;125).

The SAIRR has been described as the bastion of liberalism (Cross 1986;192) and Bekker (1986;18) describes the Institute in this way "Liberalism with its values of individualism and democracy which are the common coinage of the Institute, the foundation of the ethical way of life underpins the SAIRR" (Bekker 1986;18).

It meets the description of being mostly white, Eurocentric in its outlook, capitalist, reformist, Christian, paternalistic (Rich 1984), pragmatic, involved in exposing the hardship of apartheid (Morphet 1987), protesting against infringement of individual's rights and working toward the social upliftment of people by instilling values of hard work and upholding the rule of law (Hellman 1979). The Institute is associated with protest: through its debate and publications it exposes the horrors of apartheid and infringements of individual rights. However the Institute is criticized for not taking direct action itself and has shown an incapacity to mobilize its support base into action.

Generally theorists (Rich, Leatt) argue that the Institute alienated radical black opposition because it was perceived to have vested interests in the status quo through its links with British colonialism expressed through its Eurocentric value system and its insistence on the individual ethic. They have often accused the Institute of obscuring white and black polarization by sugar-coating a bitter pill because of its association with welfare institutions. These institutions provide material support to destitute black families in the urban and rural areas.

### **The SAIRR's resistance to Apartheid**

The SAIRR from its inception to the present has contributed to educational debate and accumulated factual data relating to the living conditions of Africans, Coloureds and Indians, their legal status and civil rights. This has included the study of reports of government departments, commissions and committees of enquiry and results of legislation. Its publications highlight the hardship of



apartheid. It gave financial assistance to mission schools, bursaries and recently has administered funds for innovative educational support programmes (Hellman 1979; 6-10).

### **Educational debate and Publications**

In the 1930s and 1940s Rheinalt Jones, an influential figure in SAIRR, opposed the concept of "primitive mentality" and attacked these conceptions as pseudo-scientific racism. E.H. Brookes took these debates further in his book *Native Education in South Africa*. Much of the debate was to find a solution to problems of native education, a solution sought in some form of adaptive education drawing its inspiration from American Tuskegeeism.

In the 1960s the SAIRR commissioned E.H. Brookes and J.B. Macauley to investigate the violations of various freedoms including educational freedom following the University Act of 1959 which prevented blacks from attending open universities. This publication drew extensively on the American experience of integrated education.

Muriel Horrell and E.G. Malherbe and the Education Panel of the University of Witwatersrand documented the effects of Bantu Education (as quoted in Cross 1986;191-192). The Education Panel articulated the view that education should be related to economic growth and manpower needs. This is referred to by Marxists and neo-Marxists as a technicist solution. The advantage of the publications of the Education Panel was that greater attention was focussed on Bantu Education and conditions in the black schools.

The publication of the *Survey of Race Relations* first undertaken by Muriel Horrell, presents a comprehensive account of all matters affecting the different population groups in the country. Under the auspices of the SAIRR various conferences relating to the current political and economic crises have been hosted by the SAIRR, most notably the 1986 Symposium on Liberalism. The focus was on liberalism's reassertion in the political field and the reconstruction of SA liberalism. Most notable was Charles Simkins statement: "and if substance is given to rhetoric we must move away from our obsession with RACE and make HUMAN rights the basis of our society" (Simkins 1986;16) (my emphasis). This move away from race relations is significant as it finally distanced liberals from the

Nationalists, though despite this call and the repeal of the Population Registration Act the Institute has not changed its name.

### **Financial Assistance for Education**

According to Hellman (1979) the first impetus to bursary work started in 1954 with the Morris Isaacson Education Trust (MI Trust Fund). However Hartshorne (1987) records that the SAIRR gave small grants to mission schools for building purposes and bursaries for individual students before that. After the establishment of the MI Trust fund the Institute made public appeals for its bursary fund and in this way the bursary funds grew. Hartshorne records that in 1975 the Institute alone was administering 1400 bursaries at a cost of R551650. After 1977 administration was decentralized and the allocation of bursaries was made to regions. Up to the 1980s "considerable emphasis was placed on financial support. There was little questioning of the quality or relevance of education, what went on in the classroom was felt to be the business of the department" (Hartshorne 1987;37).

### **Education Support Programmes**

The Enrichment Programme was started mainly due to the poor performance of black graduates in the science and engineering fields. Investigations into reasons for this pointed to the situation in the schools, unqualified teachers, inadequate resources, overcrowding, poor teaching methods and the low morale amongst black students. These factors contribute to the high failure and drop out rate of black students.

Since the school was seen as the main site of opposition and since student protests had highlighted the horrors of apartheid education, foreign funding was made available for the establishment of the EP. Similarly in the 1990s the Headstart Programme was introduced to bolster the growth of a black graduate population especially in the scientific and technical fields.

The SAIRR 's education initiatives still remain in the realm of reformist measures. Though criticizing the apartheid educational system and providing resources as mentioned for black students, however it is not involved in the reconstruction of the education system and this I think is its major shortcoming.

## **"Welfarism" and Liberalism**

There is a close association between these two ideologies in SA. In the SA context both have the meaning of alleviating harsh social, political and economic conditions of the oppressed black people. Hellman says that the SAIRR was not a social welfare organization though it did assist a number of such organizations. This aspect of its work increased over the years. At first it assisted the Legal Aid Bureau, then the Penal Reform League and recently the Domestic Workers and Employers Project.

The activities of the Institute remained primarily in exposing the horrifying conditions of apartheid capitalism but it was also an institution that maintained the principle of law and order, and would not incite people to rebellion. On the other hand due to the extreme conditions of poverty, the guilt felt by many liberals because they were linked to the system of white minority rule and benefitted materially from such a system, coupled with their inability to change the system, meant that liberal organizations often gave aid in the form of money or food parcels or clothing as an immediate solution for poverty.

This kind of welfarism is more commonly referred to as charity. It is given on an individual basis, where individuals are arbitrarily chosen and the amount of charity you received depended to a certain extent on luck.

This type of welfarism has been criticized most vehemently during the BC period in the 1970s as creating dependency amongst the recipients and alleviating people's immediate social conditions so that they would not rebel against their oppressors and cause social instability. This welfarism must be distinguished from the Welfare State policy as found in Britain and Sweden. In the case of these countries taxes are used to subsidize a system that gives all the citizens access to a free public health and education system. In this system people who are unemployed receive a living allowance until they find employment. This system has not escaped critique; in fact the strongest criticism against it is that it too cultivates dependency.

Welfarism and charity interlinked frequently result in creating dependency. Whilst it is essential to have financial assistance and support such as notes and Winter school and busfare subsidies within the Langa Enrichment programme this provision should form part of a negotiated contract amongst the different parties. Recently in the Enrichment Programme, individual students were given financial

assistance that was unconnected with a system of selection for financial aid. Students make forceful requests and expect these to be met in a short time. This behaviour of students in demanding increased financial and material support can be linked to their perception of the Institute as a white liberal organization that needs to redress the wrongs of apartheid and to their view of themselves as victims of apartheid. These perceptions have been theorized as constituting a "culture of entitlement" amongst people who see themselves as disadvantaged by apartheid (Ramphela 1992).

Ramphela argues that individual entitlement demoralizes those on the receiving end, treats them as inferior and limits their capacity to act as agents of social change. However Ramphela also emphasizes that the victim image amongst township youth is also a strategy for survival against the disintegration of township life, poor economic conditions and the rising expectations of youth not being met by the government. She offers guidelines towards greater awareness of the problem and calls for the inclusion of the youth in making decisions that affect their lives in developmental processes and for assistance to be based on individual performance and responsibility. Welfarism that is practised without an adequate social contract can lead to the problems Ramphela has outlined and have a corrupting quality.

## CHAPTER THREE: RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Two methods of investigation were used; the reasons for this were to validate and verify data, also to explore and clarify questionnaire data. The instruments chosen were a questionnaire and focus group interviews.

### 1) QUESTIONNAIRE

A copy of the questionnaire can be found in the appendix no. 4.

#### Motivation for this research method.

The questionnaire is a quick method of obtaining data from a large group of students at one sitting with a high response rate. The data gathered in the questionnaires provided me with a student profile on which to build and explore during the interviews.

Generally students do not respond well to attending interviews during school time because it means loss of lesson time. There is a greater sensitivity about loss of time because of the June mid-year exam. In my experience students do not respond well to interviews after classes.

The population of the study was all Std Ten students registered with the enrichment programme for 1992.

The sample consisted of all Std Ten students present at the 8.30 am Mathematics lecture.

#### Reasons for choosing this particular sample.

This sample was chosen for practical reasons.

Considerations such as time had to be taken into account. These students have an hour of maths in the early morning and thereafter a choice of attending one of four tutorials. They could make up the lost time in the tutorials. Instead of disturbing all the matric classes for a sample I confined this disturbance to only one class, numbering 128 students.

The Maths students are very important on the programme. Therefore it is most important that their views are canvassed. They are the reason for continued and generous funding. They are prioritized in the bursary scheme of Race Relations, Headstart, DAAD and private companies.

### **Development of the questionnaire**

When drawing up the questionnaire I referred to many research guides, research and evaluation literature (see references). I also consulted with teachers and gave them an opportunity to suggest questions. I took into account errors made in a questionnaire issued to all the EP students in November 1991. These errors included problems with the language of the questionnaire, open-ended questions, length, time of issuing i.e. in November near their final exam, and that they had to be returned by the students. Not many were returned, many were incomplete and not properly answered. I consulted with the treasurer and thesis supervisor before finalizing the questionnaire. Refer to appendix no. 4 for a copy of the questionnaire.

The questions 1 -6 were included to determine student profile. Question 1 was asked to strengthen links with the schools where necessary. Question 8 was included to see if the programme's advertising strategy was effective. Questions 8 and 13 were included to determine the factors which motivate students to attend the programme. Questions 10 and 11 were asked to determine the popularity of LEP. Questions 9 and 12 were asked to see if there was continuous attendance from Std Nine to Std Ten and to see whether attendance was consistent. It was asked to test which percentage of Std Nines are taught the basic concepts at LEP and then go on to Std Ten at LEP.

The open ended questions 15, 16, 17, 18, 23, 24, and 25 were asked to initiate a more individual response about the strengths and weaknesses of the programme and to explore student ideas and suggestions for the programme. Questions 19, 20 and 21 were included to gauge the opinion of payment of a larger sample than could be obtained in interviews. It was also included to initiate discussion on this topic during interviews. An error in question 20 was not to include time i.e. payment per year or term. Questions 22 a and b were included to give the staff an idea of student political opinion and whether they saw the programme as a constant feature in their lives.

Questions specifically relating to dependency and welfarism were not included as these were too sensitive to ask in a questionnaire and I felt that students could not adequately answer these questions using the questionnaire method. These questions required explanation, sensitivity and needed a context in which they could be explored. I did not include age on the questionnaire as this might have been embarrassing to adult students.

### Ethics

Permission was given to issue the 30 minute questionnaire during the 8.30 am lecture. The maths teachers agreed to issue the questionnaires, supervise completion, collect them and return them to me in the staff-room. I had explained to the teachers and students the purpose of the research and that responses were confidential.

### Questionnaire issued

126 out of 128 Std Ten maths students filled in the questionnaire in the maths lecture at 8.30 am on 6th June 1992. These questionnaires were completed under teacher supervision, collected by teachers and returned to the author in the staff-room. This method proved quick and efficient with no difficulties in returning the questionnaire. The response rate was 98.4%.

### Analysis of Data

The data were computerized using a D.Base programme. I checked that the data were accurately entered and analysis was done correctly. Further analysis was done by tally sheets and Epi-Info.

### Problems with the questionnaire as a method of data gathering.

I agree with Fitzgerald (1990;69) that this method "involves selection at every point beginning with the selection and phrasing of questions". Responses given in the open-ended questions illustrated a weak literacy level in English. Many responses consisted of one word e.g. "better" or "worse". Or written in a sentence open to many interpretations e.g. "Everything is done in order". These responses were difficult to code and affected the quality of the analysis. Responses may have been biased in favour of the subject maths and maths teachers, as the

questionnaire was completed in the maths lecture period and supervised by maths teachers.

## INTERVIEW

### Focus Group Interviews (FGI)

#### Motivation for the FGI

One of the key motivating factors was the quality of the responses to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire. As I discussed this under problems of questionnaire methodology. I wanted in depth perceptions of students on which to base policy guidelines and data from the questionnaire did not make this possible.

From my reading of focus group interviews and from my experience of talking to groups of students during the Winter school I felt this interview method could yield data for the purposes outlined. FGIs "provide the framework within which people can respond comfortably, accurately and honestly to open-ended questions" (Patten 1982;109). They help "to illuminate issues and aim to sharpen discussion, disentangle complexities and raise the level of sophistication of debate" (Parlett 1976;99). The students were able to meet in a social context. In this context they could consider their own views in relation to the views of fellow students.

This recreation of the social context may "produce results that directly represent how people are feeling and give an additional aspect to data already gathered" (Skinner1991;84). At St Francis it was possible to meet in a private, comfortable place and have refreshments. Because of time constraints this method would be more efficient than individual interviews. In one hour data can be collected from 6 to 10 people thereby increasing the sample size.

The FGI provides quality controls on data collection in that participants tend to provide checks and balances on each other which weed out false or extreme views. It is fairly easy to see if views are shared and consistent. The FGI is highly enjoyable to participants (Patten 19;109-135).

#### Population

All the Std Ten students registered on the enrichment programme for 1992.



## Sample

Ten students who volunteered to come to the interview during July 1991. Sampling had to be done this way as the Director felt that the interviews should be held after school. Students' attendance on the programme is voluntary and therefore it is difficult to be certain that students would be present for pre-arranged interviews.

### Reasons for choosing this time of year.

Practical considerations affected the choice of time. By this time of year students had been involved in Winter School and had a fair amount of experience on the programme. I assumed that they would know what the programme offered them and that this knowledge and their experiences would inform their perspective of the programme.

I would have the analyses of the questionnaire data to inform me of particular areas for in depth discussion. Time anxiety regarding the final exam would not be high enough to adversely affect attendance at the FGIs.

### Problems in this method.

Since the response time is increased by the number of participants the number of questions that can be asked is limited. Unexpected diversions may occur, conflicts may arise and power struggles be played out among participants.

There may be problems in the analysis due to researcher bias and peer pressure. The results may not be generalizable due to small sample size and non-random sampling. The process can be costly (e.g. transcriptions) and time consuming (Patten 1982;140 and Skinner 1919;84).

## Ethics

Before embarking on FGIs, I discussed the method with the Director, Treasurer and Thesis supervisor. The Director gave permission for the FGIs and suggested that it be held after school in the staff-room. He agreed that if there was a poor attendance at this time of day then the FGIs could be shifted to the third or fourth period.

Teachers gave permission for their classes to be disturbed for ten minutes during the second period to notify students of the interviews. During the interviews I confirmed that all responses would be confidential, welcomed students and thanked them after the interview. Permission was obtained from the group for the interview to be audio-taped.

## **The Method of Focus Group Interviews**

### **Obtaining the sample**

I went to each Std Ten class, explained the purpose of the research i.e. to improve the functioning of the programme and for academic purposes. Students were asked to attend an informal discussion. The word interview was not used when inviting students to the FGIs. I then wrote the time and venue on the board, and informed students that a light lunch would be served.

After the first interview the same method was used to encourage students to attend the FGIs. This request was written on the general noticeboard then and every week thereafter until the end of the interviews. After the first interview despite continued visits to classes to ask for volunteers, none came. Then the campaign for interviewees was stepped up. The SRC, Co-ordinator's assistant and an ex-EP student informally obtained commitments from students to come for interviews. They appealed in Xhosa for students to come to the interviews. They recorded the names of students who agreed to come to the interviews as a method of ensuring commitment on the student's behalf. A second interview took place as a result of these new approaches. Due to the continued low response the third interview occurred when the author spontaneously asked a group of Std Ten students sitting in a classroom if they would participate in a FGI.

### **Where held**

The FGIs were held in the staff-room at St Francis. This is a quiet area with soft couches and a small kitchen. I prepared sandwiches and tea. Biscuits, chips and sweets were provided to create a relaxed atmosphere and students could snack during the interview. This venue changed for the third interview which was held in a classroom.

## **How**

The students and I were seated in a circle and I acted as facilitator and observer. The interviews were audio-taped with the permission of the students. The intention was to have an ex enrichment programme student present to facilitate discussion if there were language problems. However, due to the erratic times of the interviews, he was not present on the days of the FGIs.

At the beginning of each interview I introduced myself and the students present and again explained the purpose of the FGI. I provided an overview of the topic, explained my role as observer and facilitator and outlined the ground rules for discussion.

## **Time**

The FGIs were initially scheduled after school when there would be no interruptions and students would not have to lose valuable lesson time. The time was changed to the third period after the first interview.

## **The Interview Guide Schedule (IGS)**

The IGS is a guide so that definite areas of inquiry could be covered without sidetracking. Some of the questions were chosen because of the inadequate response in the questionnaire e.g. questions relating to teaching and teaching methods. Others because of their sensitive nature could best be spoken about in a closed social setting e.g. questions relating to possible welfarism in the programme.

## **The Questions in the IGS**

1. Why do you come to the programme?
2. What are your experiences here?
3. How different are they to your day school experience?
4. What do you mean by good teachers and good teaching methods?
5. What are your views on receiving free tuition, lunch, busfare, printed notes and free Winter School?

6. In which ways can you contribute to the programme? Financially and/or in other ways.
7. Suggest reasons for the huge drop out rate of Std Nines and women.
8. What are your future plans?
9. Does the programme help you with your future plans and how?

#### Reasons for choosing these questions.

The first question was asked to explore the factors on the programme which attract students to it. The questions relating to student experiences were asked to see whether factors other than educational motivate and keep students on the programme. The questions relating to good teaching and teaching methods were asked to see whether students could distinguish between good and bad teaching and to question the reasons for their opinion given in the questionnaire that the teaching is good on LEP. The questions relating to payment were included to explore whether students thought this was harmful to their independence and to gauge their opinion of the corrupting influences of welfarism on the programme.

The question relating to the drop out rate was included to get clarity on reasons for the drop out and to see if these reasons are linked to the programme so that effective measures could be taken to curb this behaviour. The questions relating to their future plans were included to see if the programme can and did make an impact on their future lives. All the above questions were asked to inform policy development in order to improve the functioning of the programme so that student performance could be improved.

#### Problems experienced during the FGIs.

a) The most serious problem was the non-attendance and poor attendance of students especially female students. I have described how I tried to counteract this problem, by changing time, venue and increasing ways of getting students to interviews.

However after the third interview I decided to present this problem to a seminar. The seminar group consisted of my thesis supervisor, lecturers and a masters student. I decided with the seminar group that a fourth interview should be set up, but if no students attended, then to reassess the situation. No fourth interview took

place due to the absence of students. In consultation with my thesis supervisor I decided to end the process of FGIs. Reasons for this was the non attendance of students. The data from the 3 interviews and questionnaires was not significantly different or contradictory. The sample in the interview was 10% of the population of the questionnaire therefore data could be validated and verified.

b) The teachers and students were expressing irritation at having the class disturbed every week especially since it was nearing the September examinations .

c) I was experiencing levels of frustration and demoralization as despite all efforts to arrange times, places and refreshments convenient to students there was decreasing interest and commitment amongst students to attending interviews. It took eight weeks to have three interviews.

d) The female attendance had to be specifically canvassed. During one of the interviews they had to be prompted most of the time to get a significant response.

e) The poor usage of language which I was aware of from the questionnaire results.

f) My bias, after each interview I asked the treasurer and my husband to listen to the interviews. They noted bias and thereafter I tried to correct this in the following interviews.

g) I am the co-ordinator of the programme. This may have influenced responses in the interview discussions.

h) Selection of questions as the I am guided by an interview schedule.

i) The site of the interview (at St Francis) could lead to biased responses in favour of the LEP as this is where the enrichment programme is held.

My experience of poor attendances at the interviews was not unusual as indicated by Zokufa and Mofokeng (1992). In their study with the female students who had dropped out of the LEP only 3 out of 22 students honored interviews. These interviews were conducted at times and venues suggested by the students and were held in Xhosa. They had posted 225 questionnaires with self-addressed and stamped envelopes and only 37 were returned. In view of their experience I think that my response rate was fair.

In the questionnaires the poor literacy level limited the usefulness of responses. The language problems in the interviews limited the depth of discussion, meanings of some things said were unclear therefore the analysis remained general. The methodologies together provided basic information on student perceptions. Feedback provided was generally positive and reinforced suggested improvements for the programme. The methodologies provided a systematic way of obtaining student views other than SRC structures which are sometimes not representative of student opinion as suggested by the previous co-ordinators Anne Mager and Derek Joubert. The methodologies provided important and efficient mechanisms for the exchange of ideas but cannot generalize across the whole student population.

## CHAPTER FOUR: RESULTS

### PART 1

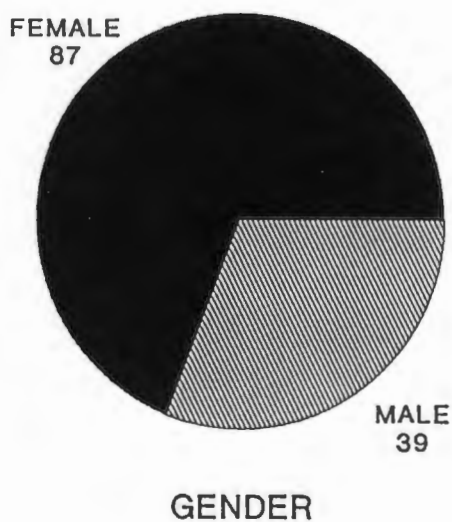
#### Questionnaire Results

126 Std Ten Maths students filled in the questionnaire in the Maths lecture at 8.30am. on the 6th June 1992.

#### GENDER

Of the 126 respondents who filled in the questionnaire 87 were female and 39 were male students. This is shown in figure 1.

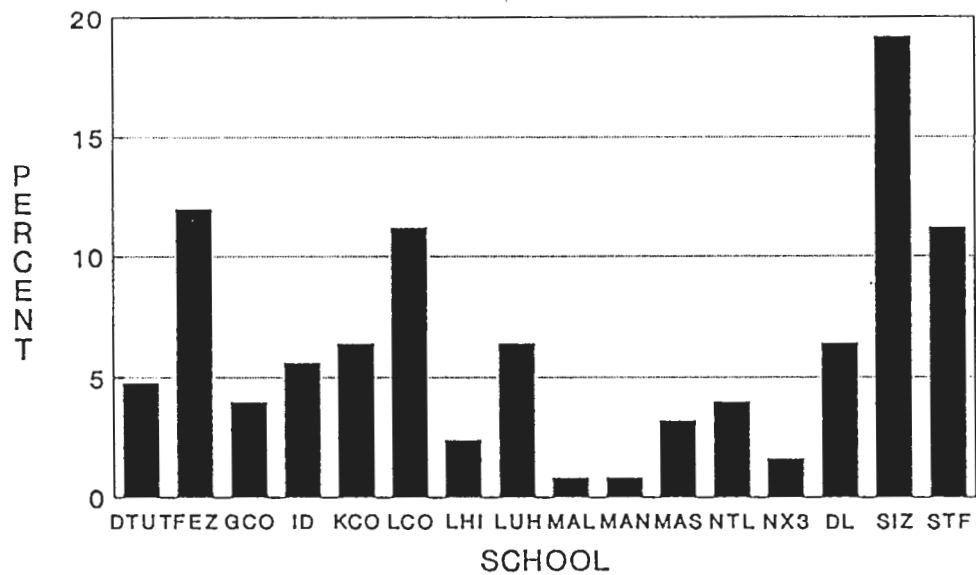
FIGURE 1  
GENDER OF STUDENTS



## DAY SCHOOLS

The students indicated that they attend a range of day schools. This is shown in figure 2. There were 121 full-time and 4 part-time students.

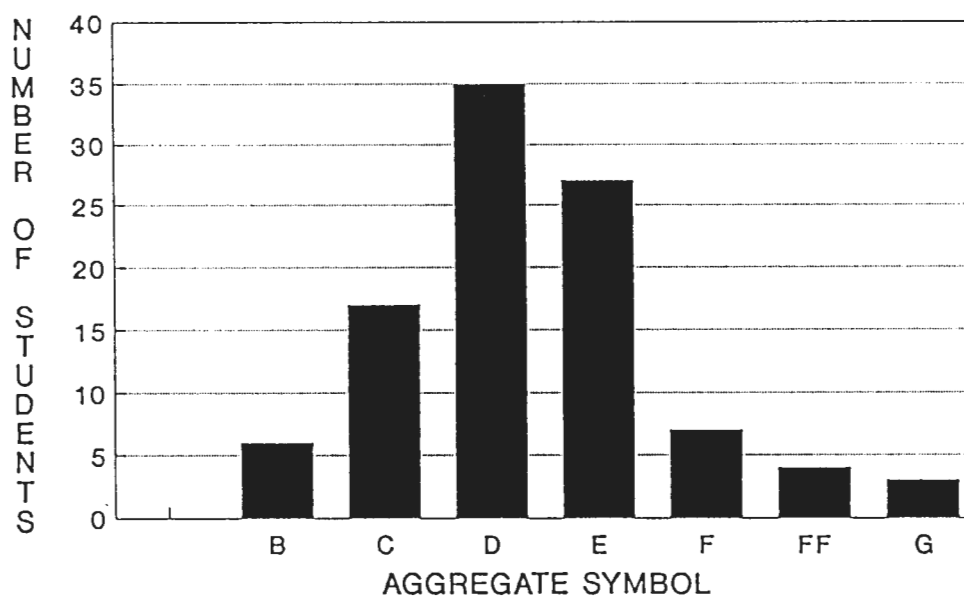
FIGURE 2  
DAY SCHOOL ATTENDED





The grades that students have attained in their previous year of study is shown in figure 3.

FIGURE 3  
PREVIOUS YEARS AGGREGATE

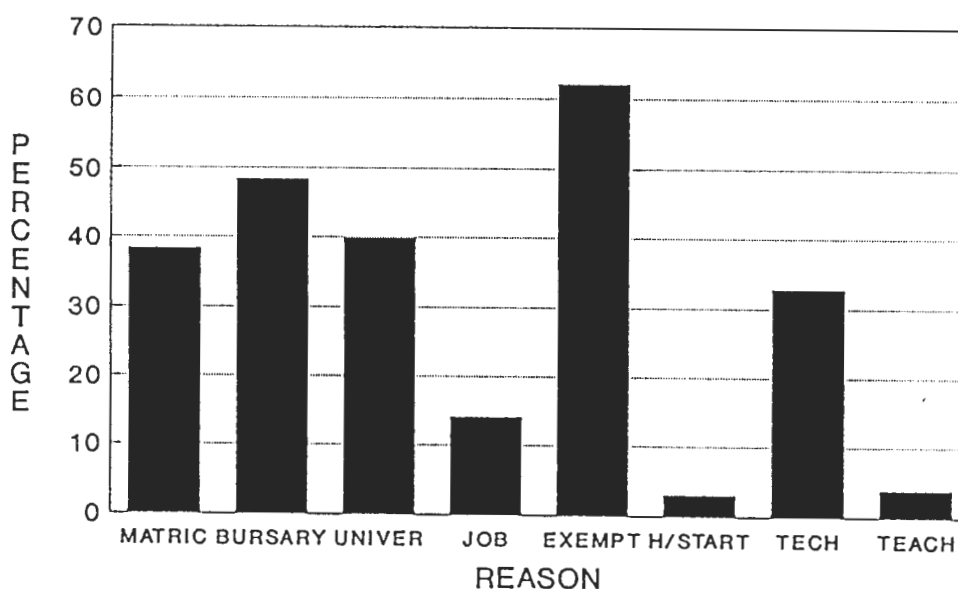


## OTHER SUPPLEMENTARY PROGRAMS ATTENDED

Most students (64,8%) had not attended other supplementary programmes. 30.5% had attended other programmes including Protec (18%), Masifundise (2.3%), Plato at University of Western Cape (UWC), Step at University of Cape Town (UCT), Physical Science programme at Pinelands High, Khayelitsha Enrichment Programme, Mobil Engineer or received lessons from private tutors (1.6%). Students initially heard about the programme from teachers (59.4%), friends (50%), posters (12.5%) or relatives (1.6%). Most students (59%) attended the programme for the first time in 1992 whereas 39.1% attended in 1991. 86.7% of students said they attended LEP regularly.

Students said, in response to a closed question, that they hoped the programme would help them to get: matriculation exemption (62.5%), bursaries (48,4%), into University (39,8%), into Technikon (32,8%), a job (14,1%), a teachers college (3.9%) or into the Headstart Programme (3,1%). Their hopes are shown in figure 4.

FIGURE 4  
REASONS FOR ATTENDING



The majority of students (82,4%) said they would attend the programme if they had to pay fees. The percentage of students who said they would attend for each fee category is shown in Table 1. Only 28% of students said they would attend if the fee was R20 or more.

TABLE 1. Response to proposed fee payment.

FEE	PERCENT	CUMULATIVE PERCENT
R10	54,4%	82,4%
R20	14,4%	28,0%
R50	8,0%	13,6%
R100	4,0%	5,6%
R200	0%	1,6%
R500	1,6%	1,6%

Percent\* = percent who would attend if they had to pay specified fee.

14,8% said that they would not attend if they had to pay fees but there were no written responses to the question "what is the problem with paying fees?".

#### Student views on Langa Enrichment Programme (LEP) teaching

In the comparison between LEP and day school teaching, students said that teaching at LEP is better (57,8%), a bit better (17,2%), the same (7,2%) or worse (3,9%) Responses to what is better about the teaching on the LEP as compared to the day school is shown in Table 2.

**TABLE 2.** The reasons students gave for teaching being better on the LEP

REASON	NUMBER OF RESPONSES
	N=80
Understanding is better	21
Explanations are better/clearer	13
Given more information	12
Teaching method is better	7
Periods are longer	6
Revision	3
Tutorials	3
Experiments	2
Teachers are advanced	2
Teachers are experienced	2
Teachers are patient	2

Other responses were that teachers gave individual attention, were eager, qualified, motivating, gave a good performance, asked questions, were interesting and students improved in their subjects. Specific subjects that were mentioned as being better than their day school were maths, science, english, and biology. Only 3 students agreed that **teaching is worse** and said that Accounting, Maths and Physics are "confusing".

#### Student views on the administration of the LEP

In a comparison between the administration of the LEP and their day school students said the administration is better on the LEP (49.2%), a bit better (14.8%) the same (20.3%), worse (3.7%) than their day school.

The reasons students gave for the administration being better on the LEP are shown in Table 3

**TABLE 3. Students' views on programme administration.**

STUDENTS' VIEWS	NO. OF RESPONSES N = 50
Everything is done in order	14
No problem	3
Have more time here	3
School starts on time	2
School is in the morning	2
No shortage of equipment	2
Receive handouts	2
Receive Learn and Teach	2
Social activities to relax their minds	2
Prepare for examinations	2

Other responses were that students are informed early of changes and events by notices on the board, bell rings on time, can always get to the right class, teachers are punctual, more advanced, helpful, care about the student, teachers are present, more freedom, tell us about careers, organize Winter school, employ good teachers, understand much better.

There were 5 written responses to "administration is worse than the day school". These responses were that the teacher was old (2) and that there was no lunch (3)

Students were asked whether they think there is a need for the programme in a changing SA. The majority of students (78.9%) answered positively and 2.3% answered negatively while 11.7% were unsure. Reasons given for the continuation of the programme in a changing South Africa is shown in Table 4.

TABLE 4. Reasons given for continuation of the programme.

REASON	NO. OF RESPONSES N=71
Programme helps us	26
New generation will need a brighter future	9
Gives us more information	8
SA needs a lot of education	6
Improves our education	6
Nice to have different teachers	3
See no change in SA	3
Improve standard of living	2
Education will be expensive in the future	2
Students will still have problems	2
Provide a better learning opportunity	2

Other responses mentioned were to keep youth at school on a Saturday, do not understand the teacher even if apparatus is available, do not think that teachers will change in the way that they teach us, do not know what SA is changing to, increase the pass rate of matrics, shortage of teachers, on LEP there is a relationship between teacher and student.

Reasons given for the programme not being necessary were that students do not need it (1), will have equal opportunity (1) and school will be equal (1).

Students were asked what they liked most about the programme. Their responses are shown in Table 5.

**TABLE 5.** Responses to what students like most about the programme.

<b>Like most about the programme</b>	<b>No of responses</b> N=155
Teaching method is good	40
Gives us more information	30
Helps us to improve our understanding	24
Teachers care about the students	8
The way it is organized	5
Like everything	5
Plays, music	4
Like maths	5
Receive bursaries	5
Longer periods	3
Can attend any time	3
Free education	3
Green light for the future	3
Good preparation for exams	3

Other responses and comments were that students on LEP pass with exemption, gives peace of mind , I feel good as I am among students who strive for education, Winter School, It's on a Saturday, the building is good, long periods, no uniform, tutorials, like to have different teachers, like the Lecture Hall, get presents, the atmosphere, meet friends from other schools, seeing different people getting together. Students' dislikes are shown in Table 6.

**TABLE 6. Students' dislikes about the programme.**

Dislikes	No of responses N=60
Nothing	26
No lunch	4
Maths 8.30am lecture is too early	3
Noise outside the classroom	3
No transport home	2
Overcrowding in the classes	2
Not enough time	2

Other responses were to add more subjects (Biblical Studies, Agricultural Science, Computer class, Xhosa, Afrikaans), add more afternoon tutorials, running for classes, disorder of students, teachers too fast, no uniform, spend a lot of money on transport and food, cannot attend all the subjects, students dress too attractively and this arouses sexuality.

**TABLE 7. Improvements suggested by the students.**

Improvement suggested	No of responses N=56
Add more subjects	11
Transport money	5
Nothing	5
Evaluation every month	2
Food must be served	2
Sport	2

Other responses were that it's okay, more teachers, more tours, more debates, limit no. of students, tutorial for science, issue study guides, start more programmes, more support, more experiments, voluntary teachers.



## PART 2

### Interview Results

The interview results are divided into two sections.

Section A is a description of observed behaviour of the interviewees during the interviews.

Section B is an account of the students' views on the following questions :

Why they come to the programme?

What are their experiences on the programme?

What do they mean by good teaching or good teaching methods?

What are their opinions on receiving free tuition, books, Winter school-lunches and busfares?

What can they contribute to the programme e.g. money, cleaning, straightening desks etc?

Reasons for the huge drop out rate.

How does the programme help with their future plans?

Improvements to the programme and weaknesses of the programme.

## SECTION A

### **Observed behaviour during the interviews.**

#### The First Interview

At the first interview four male students were present, three of them were Student Representatives.

They were punctual, eager and interested. They were strongly motivated to improve the functioning of the programme. They saw their participation in this interview as a responsibility they had towards the students. They spoke freely and gesticulated throughout the interview and did not watch the time. After the interview they offered to help with getting students to interviews.

#### The Second Interview

This interview started with three female students. It took them a while to relax and start talking. Then 10 minutes into the interview two male students joined us and the females became very quiet. I had to prompt them by name every time I wanted their opinions. The male students took a dominant role in this interview. However the two men left early and then the women spoke more freely. However the men returned and the same behaviour was noted from the women students i.e. they were quiet. This was the only interview in which the women objected to being recorded

#### The Third Interview

Present were two male and four female students. They were quite relaxed and this time the presence of a dominant female personality encouraged the other women in the group to participate. In fact the men and women had different views on many issues and even after much argument they could not agree with each other. They spoke freely and I did not have to prompt them to speak or answer questions. I enjoyed this interview.

## SECTION B

### Student views expressed during the interview.

The quotes included here are those most commonly expressed by students in the FGIs.

#### Why do they come to the programme?

##### a) Teachers

Students come for the teachers. They found teachers who "care about their students", are helpful, and experienced. The EP teachers do not "give problems", are present and "waiting for us", have personal contact, give attention to slow learners, give more information, guidance on exam questions.

The day school teachers are not always present, because of boycotts and stayaways or are studying and therefore learn in the class and do not complete the syllabus. Student: "At school the teachers told us they are doing their work so if they come to give us this chapter they'll give that and go".

Another student: " Yes, here they help us. Our teachers say when we are writing exams we must just correct the paper. But here they tell us to have rough work when we are doing exams. Here they know about exams, the questions and they prepare us".

Another student : "Our teachers are learning at Varsity. They do not help us and do not finish the syllabus".

Another student "Here most especially I am improving my symbols because our teachers were not attending regularly and there was sometimes stayaways and then on Saturday teachers are regular and there are no stayaways so we can come to school".

##### Good teaching methods

Students valued the small group discussions in which they are able to talk and learn to be critical.

Author: "Do you think the teachers here in the programme teach in a different teaching method? In a different style?"

Student: I can say they are teaching the same things as other teachers but they are slightly different. I don't know how I can put it. They are more interesting, they make it clear and broader".

Another student: "In our schools there are less of discussions. Even here now we are doing group discussions so I know about discussions".

Another student: "Teachers here they are different from our teachers at school because they have something that our teachers do not have".

Another student: "They teach nice".

### **b) Information**

Students were unanimous that it was on this programme that they received more information. It appears that they trust the information received on the EP compared to their day school. Information was categorized as bursaries, careers, syllabus and exam questions.

Receiving this information meant that they could plan for the future and were ahead with their school work, complete the syllabus, it made learning easy and improved their symbols.

### **b.i) Bursaries**

The fact that there is a possibility of bursaries encourages them to attend the programme. This possibility motivates them to try to pass with good symbols. All of the interviewees said that they would not be able to study further without financial aid. Information on where to apply for and how to apply for bursaries was helpful as this information is not given in the day schools.

Student: "Yes that is the first reason to come here to Race to get information on bursaries. Because in our schools there are no people who can inform us about places where you can get bursaries".

Another student: "The teachers here in the Saturday classes they give us proper information than the teachers who are at the schools. Other students say there are lots of bursary information here at Race".

### b ii) Career Guidance

Help in the form of having speakers from different careers coming to speak to them, helps them with their future plans. This helps them to choose careers and to choose their subjects and courses at University or Technikon. It helps people to organize themselves professionally. Career choices were law, journalism, social work, geology, accountancy, medical technology and occupational therapy.

Student: "Yes it has helped me make a career choice".

Another student: "Mr Bongo, he doesn't want us confused so he organized some people to speak to us, like a dietician, occupational therapist and a psychologist".

Another student: "I feel in future that I will do better in the University and even better at Technikon".

### b iii) Syllabus

On the EP they complete the syllabus and obtain information other than textbook details.

Student: "At our school we did not finish our syllabus but when we come here we finish our syllabus".

Another student: "In school they just talk to you from the textbook and they don't give us more information. And then here you find they give you more information and all things we don't hear in the schools".

Another student: "For many years I did not know geometry. I only know geometry from last year i.e. from Std Nine".

Another student: "I am coming to the programme because I am learning lots of information, for instance in physical science at school we are only doing physics and here at the enrichment we are doing chemistry".

Another student: "We gain a lot of things here like for instance at school we are doing the physical science part and here we are doing chemistry. So, when the teacher gets to chemistry at school he is doing that in a hurry so we can't understand her. Now here is better".

#### b iv) Symbols

Student: "For me to come here is to get more knowledge because you know I'm improving my symbols".

#### c) Revision

Students use the programme for revision i.e. repetition of a lesson not understood at school. If they have a problem then they ask the teacher at Saturday school.

Student: "Maybe you don't understand theory at school then here they repeat it again".

#### d) Atmosphere

The school is held regularly. They come because they want to learn, to communicate and it feels like a finishing school.

#### e) Winter School

They like Winter School, it is a very good, intensive learning period and they are exposed to practical work i.e. biology and chemistry experiments as well as map work. It makes them look forward to Spring school.

#### f) Broader education

Student: "I can say that Race is a broader education is compared to our day schools . It is not only giving us education to pass, it's mixed widely".

#### Who encourages them to come to the programme?

Student: "Our teachers in our schools and some people who have already passed Std Ten here in Race".

What are their experiences on the Programme?

**a) Social**

They meet people from different schools and have different teachers. This broadens their minds. They socialize with these different people and make personal contacts.

**b) Different teaching experience**

They have a different teaching experience, have discussions, there is more participation of students, more caring and experienced teachers. One student said, "I cannot put my finger on it but these teachers have something special that our day school teachers do not have. Please tell me what is it, what is it"?

What do they mean by good teaching and good teaching methods?

Responses to these questions are in section a and under different teaching experience.

Should the EP be free?

They did not see a "problem" with receiving free classes, free lunches before afternoon tutorials, free Winter school, free books, free Learn and Teach or busfares. They would be prepared to pay R5 towards Winter School. They felt that if they had to pay for the programme it might have the benefit of more regular attendance and have the more serious students attending. Some of them felt that the reason that the other programmes are not popular was because students had to pay. The example given was Protec.

Some of them felt that they were being spoiled and "Maybe when they grow up they will try and get things free and not work for things". Others felt that if you think positively and have personal strength nothing will happen to you irrespective of whether you pay or do not pay.

Others felt if they had good teachers at school then there would be no need to pay or come to an enrichment programme. Instituting payment could cause friction and resentment amongst students as there would always be some who would get

bursaries or who cheat, or just refuse to pay and still come. Overall the feeling was that the programme should remain free as people will regard payment as a tax especially to the poorer student. Numbers will be limited but this means the poorer student will suffer. All those in favour of non-payment sided with the poor student who would lose out. "It is correct that everyone is able to come, rich and poor, so the EP should remain open".

Extract from the interviews.

Author: "What do you feel about everything being free, do you think it is a bad idea, or do you think it doesn't matter".

Student: "I think it is bad to pay because it is some sort of taxing to those people who got nothing".

Author: "That's true but you don't think it does something to people emotionally. Do you think it makes people stronger or weaker"?

Another Student: "Yes. Like maybe when they grow up they will take advantage of always getting things free and not working for things".

Another student: "I cannot afford it".

Another student: "I will support the other students that it is right that the project must run freely".

Another student: "But people do pay to come here.

There are many students from Guguletu who pay for trains to come here, that means they want to come here".

Another student: "There are those people with nothing, so I think really it should be free".

Extract from the interview

Author: "You know there was a time in 1976 when Steve Biko spoke about Black Consciousness. He said that black people must stop taking things from charity, they must start doing something for themselves and they will find pride in themselves. Now what do you think about that"?



Long pause

Author: "Maybe you did not hear of him or his philosophy. Did you hear about him". Long pause. "Did you read things about him"?

Student: "No, I did not read things but I know some organizations use his philosophy".

Another speaker: "I know his name".

Another student: "I've only just heard him on that video cassette".

Another student : "Ya, it was the first time I saw his face. I never heard of how he died".

Another student: " I never heard someone talk about Steve Biko".

In which other ways can they contribute to the programme besides payment?

There were no answers to this question except to say that they would pay R5 or R10 towards Winter school.

Does the programme help with their future plans?

**a) Bursaries**

This was given as one of the main reasons for attending the programme. See under that section (a ii)

**b) Careers**

Students were in agreement that the EP played a major role in career awareness and decisions about career choice. See under section (a iii.)

**c) Critical Students**

They felt that discussions in class help them to be critical especially when writing essays and it broadens their knowledge about other students.

### Why the huge drop out rate ?

See appendix no. 1 for graphs on student attendances for 1991 and 1992.

#### **a) Winter**

Winter was the first reason given. Students felt that it was the cold and wet conditions that keep students from regular attendance.

Author: "Do you then think it is mainly the Winter"?

Student: "Yes I want to endorse what these two colleagues have said: when it comes to the rainy season they don't bother to come".

Another student: "I think it depends on the person, what pushes him to come. Maybe lack of encouragement".

#### **b) Lose discipline**

The fact that they missed lessons affected their discipline as they get used to not coming. Others felt that once they had "missed all those lessons" during Winter it was pointless coming back.

#### **b) Holidays**

"There are many different students coming from other places so they go home in the holidays. Most of them do not come back from the holidays".

#### **c) Internal Exam**

The Std Nines drop- out because they write an internal exam. They are therefore not interested to learn work that will not be examined.

"They are more concerned who set the papers for them so they are not concerned with what these teachers teach them".

#### **d) Motivation**

Student: "I think it depends on the person. "What pushes him to come. Maybe lack of encouragement".

#### **Reasons given for the female drop out rate**

##### **a) Domestic Chores**

Females said they had domestic chores. However this was disputed by male students. A few of the women backed down and said domestic chores were not an issue if you had an older sister. The men said they too had domestic chores, especially if you had no sister or older brother.

##### **b) Clothes**

The women thought that other women dropped out because of clothes. Apparently there is a lot of competition with clothes. "You don't like to come every week with the same clothes, if you come three times with the same clothes you feel inferior. Therefore if you can't afford new clothes you do not come regularly or you don't come at all".

##### **c) Pregnancies**

Pregnancies were not seen as a significant factor in the drop out rate. The groups came to this conclusion because they knew only of a few women at their respective schools who had dropped out because they were pregnant.

##### **d) Boyfriends**

###### **Boyfriends influence attendance**

"If your boyfriend wants to see you on Saturday then if your mother don't like him you have to meet at the school".(At St Francis). Or put like this "The only day I have to see my boyfriend is on Saturday, I am at school the rest of the week and in church on Sunday". Working boyfriends appear particularly demanding and "want their girlfriends to beat home on week-ends". Many of the women said it was better to have a boyfriend who was still at school. School boyfriends understood

the pressures of matric and time was negotiable and "anyway you see them at school".

#### **e) Male reasons for the female drop out**

##### **Peer Pressure**

The men in the groups suggested a further reasons for the female drop out rate. They said that the women "move in groups: if one of them don't come then the rest will also not come ". "Or maybe one or two come but soon they will also stop". The other women disagreed that this was a significant reason and indicated that they (3 of them) all came on their own.

##### **Other reasons**

The men said women had no courage, no confidence, are lazy, wanted to be spoon-fed and did not want extra school work.

#### **Improvements to the programme.**

##### **a) Spread information**

"Tell their high school teachers what information they are missing, teachers can spread information to the high schools to the students who don't come".

##### **b) Syllabus**

Teachers were requested to cover the whole syllabus. Students would like to start the year with Chemistry and geometry. As for many students "it is the first time that these sections are seen".

##### **c) Teaching Methods**

Teachers have more group discussions, use different teaching methods, "teachers do not rush and go too fast".

**d) Lecture Hall**

Students found the lecture hall alienating and wanted to be taught in small groups. "This will make it easier to ask questions especially for the shy students".

**e) Time table**

Students would like five periods so that students can attend poetry classes and Romeo and Juliet. Extra periods to include Biblical Studies in the programme.

**f) Bursaries**

A request that the SAIRR bursary application forms be made available to the students at the school on Saturday.

**g) Financial Assistance**

Requests for financial assistance with application fees to Universities and Technikons.

**h) Careers Guidance**

Students suggested that a more comprehensive programme of careers guidance be given throughout the year.

## CHAPTER FIVE : DISCUSSION OF RESULTS

This chapter begins with comments on the limitations of the research. It then discusses the results of the closed questions about the student profile including the schools from which the students come, the gender ratio, how students heard about the programme and which other programmes they have attended.

The results from the open-ended questions on the questionnaire did not differ significantly from the interview results, therefore these are discussed together. The discussion of the combined results begins with sections about students' likes and dislikes about the programme, their ideas for improvements and their opinions of the need for enrichment programmes in a changing South Africa. It then focuses on students' perceptions of programme administration, atmosphere on the programme and teachers and teaching methods, their current and future expectations of the programme and the issues of attendance and the drop out rate. The section ends by discussing students' requests and demands, their willingness to pay fees and "the culture of entitlement".

Each issue is placed in the context of the programme, taking into consideration the history of the programme and similar issues in other programmes. Guidelines towards finding possible approaches to solutions are suggested.

### Limitations of the research

The methodologies used in this research gave important indicators of student opinion but due to sampling limitations the results cannot be generalized to the whole student population. For logistical reasons as explained in the Methodology Section it was only possible to administer the questionnaire to one class and to set up interviews by non-random sampling.

Results from the Std Ten Maths students may represent an elite group of students who may differ from the rest of the student body. The programme does have special tutorials to cater for their needs and they are earmarked to receive bursaries from the German Embassy and Race Relations. Therefore these results may not be generalized to the student body as a whole. However this method was efficient and did ensure a quick and high response rate.

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generalized to the student body as a whole. However this method was efficient and did ensure a quick and high response rate.

In the FGIs the number of students who attended were small and the students who participated were volunteers. Therefore caution should be used in generalizing the results to the whole student body. Also in the FGIs the first group of students showed great interest in the research. However this dwindled as the research continued and this highlights the lack of commitment of students to research and improvements on the programme as well as restricting the available data. The reluctance shown in coming to the FGIs suggests that the authority of the research is questioned by the students. An additional problem was the reticence of the women students in one of two gender mixed FGIs which could mean that the views of women students on the programmes may not have been adequately captured.

Responses to the open-ended questions in the questionnaire illustrated a weak literacy level in English. Responses were brief and sometimes difficult to understand and interpret. The poor usage of spoken English had a similar result for the interviews. Much of the in depth discussion that I had hoped would happen in the FGIs was hampered by the language problem.

The questions in the questionnaire and FGIs were selected and phrased by me. I was also the co-ordinator of the programme at the time of the research therefore my own experiences on the programme could have led to biased interpretations of the results.

### Student Profile

The study shows that the majority of the students are full-time, DET high school students. That the students come from as far afield as Paarl, Crossroads and Khayelitsha shows the popularity of the programme.

Figure 2 shows that most of the students attend the surrounding day schools which are Sizamile, Fezeka, Langa Comprehensive and St Francis. Historically the above mentioned schools were the schools (except for Langa Comprehensive) from which the first students came. It appears that the good links that were set up with these schools still bear fruit.

The surprisingly low number of students from Langa High is probably due to ongoing conflict in the school between staff, students and the principal. Since the internal conflict Langa High has had a considerable number of students leaving the school.

It is interesting to see that there are more females (68%) than males (30.5%) on the programme. These day school and gender results are similar to EP records for the whole student population. See appendix no 5 for 1991 gender statistics.

Most of the students heard about the programme via their teachers (59.4%) or friends (50%). This result was confirmed during interviews in which students added that these were the people who encouraged and supported their attendance at the programme. These results suggest that the **support of the day school teacher** is important in directing and motivating students to attend the programme. This finding is contrary to the opinion of the Enrichment programme teachers who often complain about hostility from day school teachers. This hostility is sometimes reported to teachers by students. One reason for this is that students have had arguments with their day school teachers on different interpretations of problems. During these times the student expresses more confidence in the LEP teacher. Day teachers sometimes hold classes concurrently with the Saturday programme thereby affecting attendance on the EP. Mrs Wilson and Ms Mager explain the hostility of day school teachers in political terms. They said that the BC oriented schools were not in favour of the programme.

The questionnaire and interview results indicate that the EP **does attract a small number of students from other programmes.**

During the interviews students suggested that this is because other tutorial organizations charge a fee. "Some people are interested to go to other organizations but their problem is money".

#### Discussion of open-ended questions and interview results.

##### Likes and Dislikes

Responses to **likes and dislikes** related mainly to teaching and administration and will be discussed in these sections. These responses confirm the view expressed in the interviews that the teaching on the programme is of a high standard and that the



students enjoy learning in an informal setting. Students did not mention any weaknesses per se but listed requests for lunch, transport and more classes. This is discussed under the section on payment.

### Improvements

Responses consisted of suggestions on ways of increasing students' performances academically and culturally and ways to improve the functioning of the programme. It is significant that students commented on the programme reaching out to their day school teachers. Students perceived that the EP could make an impact on change to education in the formal school system.

They would like the EP to increase their chances of entry into tertiary institutions (careers guidance, exam questions, financial assistance with application fees) and to improve their chances of success at tertiary institutions (have more discussions, learn to be critical so that can write essays at university). It appears from the list of improvements given by students that they see the LEP as providing for their educational, financial and material needs.

It is interesting that students did not only view the programme as a means to pass matric but as preparation for their future. This perception is the strength of the programme that could be harnessed to move away from a remedial project to a developmental one. This could increase the EP's impact on the future of education in SA.

### Change in SA

Their opinions of change in the day school under a new government were not optimistic. Reasons given for the programme to continue indicated that they envisaged no change in the teaching method: "teachers will still teach in the same way", and there will be "no end to the shortages of equipment or textbooks in the day school". They expressed the opinion that education was important for SA and felt that this education would make a difference to their future, (improves standard of living) and perceived education to be expensive in the future. Some students expressed uncertainty about the future. The few (2.3%) who felt that the programme would not be needed in the future felt that there would be equal opportunities for all. Equal opportunities meant that whites and blacks would have the same standard of education.

### Programme Administration

The administration was considered to be fair in contrast to the day school. The comments made i.e. that "everything is in order" can be interpreted to mean that students value the routine and structured time-table. They feel respected when informed of changes in the time-table and of future events. (See Table 3). Since the EP is not usually affected by boycotts or teacher strikes it offers them a stable learning environment.

The choice of centre is important. It does have better facilities, equipment and a reputation for delivering a better standard of teaching than DET schools. Fitzgerald (1990;74) agrees that these are important reasons which affect students' attitude positively towards learning.

The problems with the administration were expressed as dislikes. Dislikes were expressed as demands e.g. for free lunch, an increased transport subsidy, more study guides and to add more subjects. These demands are linked to the issue that students like the programme because it is free. These issues are commented on under the discussion of payment.

### Atmosphere

The positive responses to teaching, teachers, administration, plays, musical events, the voluntary nature the programme and the centre (spacious classrooms) illustrates that students come to the programme because the atmosphere is conducive to learning. Similarly in the Chuft programme "pupils enjoy working in an environment different from that of the formal schools and appreciate being treated as adults" (Morphet et al 1984;75). Fitzgerald (1990;22) had the same result that "respondents revealed that choice of centre was important and it offered them a stable learning environment, good teachers who were qualified and dedicated".

During the interviews students felt that this atmosphere prepared them for life at tertiary institutions: "where you have to make your own choices". Students clearly did not want a repeat of day school. "We don't want a six day school week" was one student's comment. The same expressions were recorded in the Chuft evaluation: "It feels like Varsity"; "I like meeting friends and discussing work";

"There is more time to cover the work than in class"; "It doesn't feel like school" (Morphet et al 1984;75). The previous co-ordinators of LEP said that an easy atmosphere prevailed because the programme functioned as a team, students were given space to be heard and their requests were considered and acted on. The students had easy access to the staff who are very visible and open to discussions on a range of issues.

### Teachers and Teaching Method

The students were very positive and complimentary about the EP teachers and teaching on the programme. The students have expressed the view that they are more confident with teachers who are more caring, interested in the students and allow for questions and discussions. These qualities are emphasized by students and appear as the differences between day school teachers and the LEP teachers. The empathy expressed by the LEP teachers reflected the needs of students coupled with the fact that the LEP teachers are outside the formal system. These two factors elevate the programme's legitimacy in the community.

Students' appreciation of the LEP teachers is confirmed by past and present co-ordinators as well as office staff. When students visit the office in Mowbray they generally attribute much of their success to the LEP programme and its teachers. These findings are consistent with the Director's experience. The LEP teachers are qualified teachers in their respective subjects and have many years of experience in matric teaching. They are committed to raising the standard of black education and increasing the life chances of black matriculants. They are teachers with a social and political conscience.

Lazarus (1983;174) in her study of a group of black matriculants who had dropped out of school in the 1980's and were attending an alternative education programme at St Francis during the day concludes that "the teacher has been identified as the key potential problem in the school programme, their lack of interest in the student, authoritarian style of relating and teaching, cruel disciplinary methods, unfriendly atmosphere created, and bad human relations contributed to feelings of alienation and estrangement".

Bosschieter and Cullinan (1983;12) as well as Simon and Beard (1984;81) confirmed the opinion that black matriculants blame teachers for high failure rates. However day school teachers must not be belittled as there are many day school

teachers who sacrifice and strive to give the students of their best. Some of these day school teachers can be found on the EP and are very respected in their community. The poor quality of teacher training, unmanageable teacher pupil ratios, underfunding, lack of textbooks and other well-known consequences of apartheid education that plague black schools probably account for much of student responses to day school teachers and teaching.

Some of the students in the questionnaire said that they do like to have different teachers. During the interviews students generally agreed that having "different teachers" encouraged them to attend the programme. It appears that when students talk about different teachers they are referring to teachers from the other schools, other education departments or to university students. They feel that they get a different perspective, it makes the work more interesting and varied and they learn more than "just what's in the syllabus". Students want to "get away from the boredom of school". This was found to be the case on the Chuft Programme and on the language support programme at the Nico Malan Nursing College. Students coming from similar backgrounds enjoyed the exposure to teachers coming from differing backgrounds and were referred to by the students as the "outsiders" (Millar 1989;16). This diversity has been denied to most SA students due to apartheid as in this system the same population group is usually taught by teachers from that same group.

The results in the study could be prejudiced in favour of the LEP teachers because the students felt that this was what the author wanted to hear, since the author is the co-ordinator of LEP. The site of the interview could lead to biased responses by students.

### Teaching Method.

From questionnaire results only a few students responded positively to small group teaching. However from the interviews, students valued discussions, small group teaching and learning to be critical. This suggests that group teaching should be increased on the programme as it occurs only on a small scale. From casual observation of classes and from teacher accounts of how they teach there is very little small group teaching but for a few classes e.g maths, science, the novel and poetry. The EP teachers continually complain about the passivity of the students and their resentment at written work and class tests.

From teachers' accounts it appears that throughout the history of the programme, the LEP teachers have tried to be innovative and to address problems of language and terminology. Associated with this is students' low self confidence and self esteem. However the teachers feel they do not succeed due to the large classes and erratic attendance. The staff have full-time jobs and have not the time to adequately explore resources necessary for their subjects for the Saturday morning classes. Morphet's observation (in Hofmeyer et al 1990;10) of ESP programmes rings true for the EP: "staff are overloaded and operate in a crisis management mode. Thus burn-out is an ever present threat".

The above experiences are recorded by teachers on the CHUFT (Morphet et al 1984;80-83) programme. The inability to deal with these problems on this programme reduced the achievements of the teachers. Resources used by LEP teachers mainly consisted of the overhead projector, worksheets and some experiments in biology and chemistry. Teachers often complain that they are "chalk 'n talk teachers". Most experiments take place during Winter and Spring school.

Although students have requested small group teaching and discussions this request was more popular in the interviews than the questionnaire. Results from the questionnaire indicate that students like the lecture form of teaching. Most students appear to be comfortable with the lecture method as this is a familiar, non-threatening and passive teaching method. It focuses on the teacher and creates dependency on the teacher for "getting all the information". During the lectures they try to absorb all the information that they fear they will not receive in the day school.

#### Expectations students have of the programme.

##### **i) "Getting all the Information"**

The students seemed to be obsessed with "getting all the information". This need for all the information is also a finding of the Headstart co-ordinator. "All the information" appears to include completing the syllabus, working through examination questions, information outside the textbook, where to get bursaries and career guidance. Receiving this information means that they are ahead with their schoolwork, it makes learning easy, students can revise and gain confidence. They then feel that they will pass or improve their symbols.

## ii) Examination Questions

This need for information regarding schoolwork is linked to the external exam. From student and teacher reports most DET students do not complete the syllabus or have practice in answering exam questions. Students indicated that learning to answer examination questions gave them confidence. On the question of improvements, some students requested evaluation every month and help with answering exam questions. This response is understandable given the above reasons and that the matric examination question papers are set externally.

## iii) Syllabus

The principal of St Francis day school commented on the syllabus: " When the syllabus changes, official copies of the new syllabi are sometimes received only by the end of that year. This means that teachers have to teach the old syllabi, compare notes with other teachers or wait for subject advisors to come to their schools to advise them on new syllabi". Another reason for student obsession with completing the syllabus and the need to receive all the information is suggested by the interview results which indicate that day school maths and science teachers do not complete the syllabus. This as well as the lack of text books has created a dependency of students on printed notes from the EP. Students often attend classes only to receive printed notes.

## iv) Revision

It appears that revision is a significant reason for attending the programme.

## Future expectations of students

The students' expectations with regard to tertiary education were expressed clearly in the questionnaires. All the students interviewed wanted to have a career. This career was perceived to be attainable through further study at a university or technikon. Hopes of financial assistance from the German bursars or Race Relations appear to be an important reason for coming to the programme. Therefore the matriculation certificate's status is enhanced as this is perceived as the key for entry into tertiary education and financial assistance. The philosophy of liberal education adds to these hopes as implicit in the programme is the idea that

education is a leveller in society and a way out of poverty. This idea is held by the director, co-ordinator and many of the staff.

Students are aware of the inadequacies of the DET system and there is a strong perception that they will succeed outside this system. Students' hopes to enter tertiary institutions are not completely unfounded. SAIRR records show that 9 EP students received DAAD bursaries in 1991. Their areas of study are Medicine, Engineering, Analytical Chemistry and Bachelor of Commerce. In 1990, 10 EP students were awarded DAAD bursaries and 23 SAIRR bursaries. In addition, 7 were granted scholarships to study A levels in Zimbabwe (SAIRR Bursary Committee report 1991).

Fitzgerald (1990;90) recorded a similar result: "the majority of respondents were motivated to complete their formal schooling because they felt that matriculation would qualify them to enter university, college or a profession". Similarly in the Chuft report (Morphet et al 1984;76) "80% of the pupils interviewed wished to proceed to tertiary education".

However in reality the percentage of black students who gain entry into tertiary institutions and are successful is small. This is shown in appendix nos 2 and 6 respectively. I feel that students' future expectations are unrealistic and agrees with Cross (1992;4) that the apartheid system has structured young black individual life chances, determined the distribution of achievement and failure and this is unlikely to change in the near future, not least of all due to the uncertain economic and political future of the country.

The low interest shown in teaching indicates the perception students have of the profession. Teachers have lost status in the community for various reasons i.e. accused of causing boycotts, strikes, sexual abuse, laziness and drunkenness. The perception of teaching as a secure career has diminished as large numbers of teachers are retrenched or unemployed. Another reason for the poor response to teaching is cited in the Chuft report (Morphet et al 1984;76): "It is a common phenomenon among young adults who are looking forward to their release from the schooling system after at least twelve years not to want to go back to it".

Students on the Headstart programme are ex-EP students who are rewriting 3 matric subjects to improve their chances of entry into and success at tertiary institutions. The poor response to the Headstart programme suggests that students

do not envisage spending an extra year redoing matric. It also suggests that students do not know the advantages of this programme.

#### Attendance and Drop out rate

A high attendance (86.7%) is reported by students. A high and regular attendance is recorded amongst the maths and science group in the early part of the year. This can be due to a number of factors. The EP started with students from the academic stream as it was the initial objective of the programme to cater for the needs of this stream. The high attendance of this group of students could be attributed to their aspirations as described earlier in the study. At the start of the year students are told that regular attendance on the EP is a criterion used by the German bursars (DAAD and the Embassy) and the Race Relations bursary department when considering bursaries. This is probably the most important motivating factor for the good attendance of this group of students.

As recorded earlier the female numbers are much higher than the male numbers. This relates to the distribution of the sexes in the day school. Morrell (1992;8) says that "historically Africans girls have outnumbered boys in the schools and that more girls tend to proceed to secondary education and matriculate".

The government statistics (Government Gazette Statistics 1991 as quoted in Zokufa and Mofekeng 1992) show that more girls write matric than boys. This gender difference is not well understood. Suggested reasons are that the traditional careers for women i.e. teaching and nursing required further education. An additional incentive to choose nursing was that this profession offered further training with pay. The boys were forced out because of crime, political rebellion and to seek employment. EP records show a dramatic decrease in attendance after June. The graphs and figures in appendix no. 1 illustrate this problem. The students who drop out in large numbers are the women and the Std nines. It is surprising to note that attendance did not increase near the end of the year. The term drop out refers to students who have left the EP but not their secondary school.



## General Reasons for the drop out rate

### **Winter**

This was the main reason given for the high drop out rate. It appears that the weather has a profound effect on attendance. Transport is generally late and unreliable during the wet days which affect attendance. Generally informal programmes record a high absenteeism in Winter (St. Francis night school, Protec and black night schools).

### **Holidays**

It appears when students leave for their homes in the rural areas they return late or not at all.

### **Lack of Discipline and Motivation**

This is a result of irregular attendance and as confirmed by Fitzgerald (1989) and Hartshorne (1992) partly due to student boycotts and teacher strikes from 1984 to the present. Hartshorne (1992) emphasizes that due to political protests students have lost discipline and motivation. There is a high sense of failure because of the poor matric results, with the result that students do not pursue their studies. The disintegration of a learning culture is reflected on the LEP by the increased drop out rate and an increase in latecomers, irregular attendance and not having the required worksheets or notes in class.

### Reason for the high drop out rate of Std Nines

Std nines were included in the programme in 1984 because the matric teachers noted huge gaps in the knowledge of their students. The teachers felt that if important concepts could be taught in Std Nine then it would lay the foundation for Std Ten. Teachers felt this continuity would make a difference to their teaching and student performance. However throughout the history of the programme the Std nine drop out rate has been significantly high.

In 1991 the total number of registered Std Nines were 492; by the end of the year this figure had dropped to 162. A drop out of 67 percent. In 1992 the total number of Std Nine students were 932; by August a figure of 128 was recorded. A

**drop out of 86 percent** ( SAIRR, EP records). From attendance records and questionnaire results which indicate that 59% attended for the first time it appears that the rationale for including Std Nines needs a review. The drop in attendance affected Std Nine teachers. Many of them lost morale and were frustrated especially the black teachers. These teachers felt that the EP gave them a chance to teach without the disturbances of the day school. It also led funders and the Race Relations Committee to enquire into the cost effectiveness of enrolling Std Nines.

It is important to note that the major reason for the drop out is that Std Nines are more interested in the teaching of the day school teachers as these teachers set their exams. Their immediate concern is with their own exam. They appear to take a short term view and are not motivated by arguments that if they have a sound basis in Std Nine then this will help them obtain a better pass in Std Ten. This problem was noted as long ago as 1984 when a standard nine teacher Ms M.K.Gcwase said in her report that: "there is a need for motivation and building of interest amongst those who are not pressurized by external examinations".

#### Reasons for the high drop out rate of women

The statistics for the female drop out rate are as follows: in 1991 there were 331 Std Nine women and 243 dropped out of the programme (73%) and in Std 10 there were 663 women and 345 dropped out (52%) (SAIRR, EP records). The reasons for these alarming statistics were investigated by this study. Two UCT B.ED students (Zokufa and Mofokeng ) did a study in 1992 with women who had dropped out of the programme but not secondary school. The results of the two studies showed that women left because of social pressures such as clothes and boyfriends. Domestic chores and pregnancies were not significant reasons for non-attendance. Women students in the B.ED study said that they did domestic chores either before or after attending the programme.

In the B.Ed study lack of finance was given as a major reason for dropping out. Most of the women who gave this reason lived in Khayelitsha. Hopefully the Khayelitsha programme provides a solution for this group of students. In the B.Ed study, four women said that they were stopped from attending by the principal of their school. Morrell (1992) and Fitzgerald (1989) confirmed that poor economic circumstances was a problem and cited pregnancy as a significant factor.

Pregnancy was not given as a significant reason in this study, possibly because "whenever possible families prevented pregnancies from disrupting schooling. From evidence available it seems that many school girls are already mothers but their own mothers look after their children " (Morrell 1992;7). Much of the reason for the gender discrepancy in the gender drop out cannot be found within the LEP and is related to wider social and gender issues. Zokufa and Mofokeng found that the women students applauded the teaching and teachers on LEP and did not feel excluded in the teaching strategy. Reasons given by male students for the female drop out reflect the division between men and women in the black community. It shows that women's status is low in comparison to men's.

### **Peer Pressure**

Women appear to respond strongly to peer group pressure. It is within these groups that women socialize. When groups split an important reason for being together on LEP is lost. Morrell in his study accounted for "women moving in groups" in terms of violence against women in the township and at school and sexual abuse by gangs, teachers and male students. He noted that female teachers also "stick together for emotional support, to resist or deal comfortably with the demands made on them by male colleagues" (1992;9). It appears from these findings that women move in groups as a survival strategy.

### Student expectations

**The expectations as expressed by students indicate that students want compensatory schooling.** The shift away from an enrichment programme restricted to maths and science students in 1985 won the programme political legitimacy and community sanction.

Since then the German funders have played a minimal role in determining the aims of the project. Their main concerns appear to be the programme's legitimacy and performance. These concerns are crucial to the success of the programme as without community support it would not have been able to withstand the political upheavals of the 1980s. The low level of community involvement in the CHUFT programme was one of the factors which led to its closure.

The programme's legitimacy was further enhanced by its co-operation during the school boycotts of the 1980s. An example of this was in 1987 when the LEP held

no Winter school at the request of the junior students. Further examples are the political space given to the joint SRC and that LEP was known as a safe meeting place for students during the time of the emergency in 85 and 86. The history of student participation in the programme suggests that they have gained a measure of control over the functioning of the school. This is indicated too by the easy manner in which students make unlimited demands on the programme.

### Student Requests and Demands

There is a real problem that if teachers do not meet student demands then the programme loses credibility and legitimacy. The students appear to be the main actors in changing the nature of the enrichment programme. **They have changed the enrichment programme to a compensatory school which they hope will provide for their educational and material needs.** This situation has led to a number of problems such as unrealistic student expectations, problems of dependency, charity, "culture of entitlement" and the long standing teaching problems that the programme has not adequately addressed.

The **frustration experienced by teachers** as a result of the changing and unlimited demands placed on them is evident by questions asked in the workshops of the EP teachers. The questions asked are whether they are enriching or doing what they would in a "normal" secondary school illustrates the severity of the problem.

Since 1989 various workshops have outlined the aims of the EP and teachers have expressed their inability to meet these aims. They express confusion as to aims determined in the workshops and the demands made on them by students. Teachers are expressing a need for clarity on the aims of the programme since they cannot solve all the problems of apartheid education in one morning of the week. The only way to fulfil student expectations and give teachers a clear understanding of their function in providing compensatory education lies in developing a systematic and structured educational programme that can accommodate student expectations in more realistic and creative ways.

### Payment of fees and "the culture of entitlement"

Students did not view willingness to pay fees as an indicator of how much they valued the programme as illustrated by questionnaire and interview results. While students felt very easy with asking for support it is of concern that they do not feel

committed to give support to the programme, whether this be in the form of regular attendance, putting desks straight at the end of the day, or helping to clear litter. This is also shown by their reluctance to participate in interviews that were directed to improve the functioning of the programme.

This is coupled with requests for increasing support: more teachers, more subjects, more study guides and more lunch and transport money. Students appear to perceive few limits as to what the programme could offer them. The requests of students are often stated in terms of demands. This problem was also recorded by the Headstart co-ordinator who said, "It took a long time and hard work to change student demands to requests" (end of year speech 1992).

The above situation brought into question the issue of dependency on the programme. During the interviews the phenomenon of welfarism was explored. Two main approaches used to question whether it is desirable to have a free EP were:

- i. Does it hamper the growth of independence, especially if students are planning to study at tertiary institutions.
- ii Steve Biko's (or the Black Consciousness ) view that dependence on white institutions leads to a psychological and emotional dependence, takes away pride in being black, and leads to disempowerment. Only one student agreed that welfarism could lead to dependence and it could lead to a situation where a person expects everything free throughout his life.

Most of the students felt that they could not afford to pay due to poor economic circumstances. They felt that if payment was instituted cheating would increase and that fees would cause friction and resentment amongst students and that the poorer student would suffer. The general feeling was "if you were positive then nothing will happen to you". This meaning that if you were optimistic and had a strong personality you would not become dependent.

Responses to the arguments put forth by the black consciousness leader revealed a remarkable ignorance for supposedly politically conscious students. Many of the students were not familiar with his philosophy. Some had heard Biko's name or seen a video of the famous court case against the doctor who "treated" him but they generally expressed ignorance on Biko's views. From student demands and

unwillingness to pay fees or contribute to the programme as expressed in the interviews I agree to some extent with Michael Cross that "there is an emergence of a typically middle class subculture dominated by liberalism, elitism, tolerance of some aspects of dominant ideologies, concern with personal autonomy, selfishness, political indifference amongst youth in the 1990s" (Cross 1992;29).

#### Events which influence student perceptions.

The perception that the Institute can meet students unlimited demands has been formed by several circumstances. When the German Embassy personnel speak to the EP students, students are told that the German government will put more money if necessary into the enrichment programme and that the Germans believe it to be their social responsibility to uplift the educational standards of the African people. During these visits small groups of students meet with the German visitors and students speak about their lives. Students refer to themselves as "disadvantaged" and describe their desperate educational and socioeconomic living conditions. The motives for these small group discussions are complex but basically the students are ensuring that they will be funded and the Germans are being satisfied that the LEP is a worthwhile programme to fund. The Institute is applauded for organizing and managing the project and is credited with the role of caretaker. Students leave these meetings with the perception that Germany is a rich country and will fund the programme generously and indefinitely.

Another instance in which the perception under discussion is reinforced is when students ( other than those eligible for travel assistance) request individual grants of money for travel, application fees and school fees. These students are arbitrarily selected for assistance and the criterion for such assistance is not clear. In this way individuals are encouraged to request financial assistance not related to the enrichment programme.

The above coupled with the open agenda of the EP encourages students to make unlimited demands on the programme. In the EP, the Institute is widely regarded as a liberal organization. It aspires to a system of equal education for all South Africans. In the context of SA it is associated with charity, welfarism and white guilt and hopes to improve black social and economic conditions.

In this complex relationship with the students at a time when people are seeking to redress the wrongs of apartheid, the present situation opens up issues of "the culture of entitlement" and dependency.

Given this situation whereby its welfarism stems partly from white guilt the Institute is inclined to fall into the trap of entering into a social contract in the position of saviour. The danger of this relationship is that students feel a diminished responsibility to honour and uphold standards. An indicator of diminished responsibility is demonstrated by the level of dishonesty. Students who receive fare subsidies in cash often cheat. Those students who do not qualify collect subsidies using false names or sometimes fares are collected more than once. During registration students receive free books. Some students register more than once to collect extra books. At Winter school students cheat on meal cards. The cheating and theft are not reported by other students for fear of retribution and because of the attitude that "if you can get away with the extra, then good for you". The dishonesty is not dealt with as an issue for the EP and students feel the issue is being avoided. This therefore confirms their opinion that the Institute avoids conflict and they are excused because they are disadvantaged.

For example explanations offered by students when found guilty of dishonesty are that they are "victims of the system" or "not responsible: its the system". The psychology of the victim image is complex as the majority of black students have to study under poor financial circumstances and have been disadvantaged by apartheid.

Ramphele (1992) warns against reinforcing a "culture of individual entitlement" as this poses a threat to future social relations. In her opinion the articulation of white guilt together with black "entitlement" disadvantages blacks as it treats them as sub humans to whom different standards, structures and discipline apply. This treatment limits the capacity of blacks to act as agents of social change especially in a climate of demoralization, rising expectations not being addressed and a legacy of dispossession (Ramphele 1992;15-29).

I do not want to belittle the students' plight or conditions that many of them have to study in or their poor financial circumstances. Lack of finances is one of the reasons given for the high drop out rate in the programme (Zokufa and Mofokeng 1992;31) and a major reason for the drop out rate at Secondary Schools (Fitzgerald 1990 and Morrell 1992). Students said they come to the EP because it is free.

Many students bravely struggle against harsh conditions, courageously pursue their studies and are successful.

#### Other factors which influence student behaviour

I do not doubt that the dishonesty that occurs and the silence that accompanies it, is partly due to the mood in the townships. This mood is characterized by political strife, the disintegration of family life, the defiant attitude towards authority and the necessity to deal with the possibility of unemployment. Gill Straker (1992) offers a further explanation for township youth's ungrateful behaviour toward those who give them sanctuary. In her psychological study of a group of township youth who had escaped political strife in Leandra, she said that youth behaved this way because they feel threatened as a group, do not see themselves as dependents but as freedom fighters and many have become damaged by the violence in the township.

In the current political climate in which corruption has been exposed in government as well as in liberation movements and community organizations, where criminals have been pardoned for hideous crimes, this petty theft may appear unimportant to the students. However in the situation in which one is trying to right the wrongs of apartheid and to build a society based on sound values this behaviour is not acceptable.

#### A way forward

The issue on LEP is the manner in which assistance is demanded and received. This has to be altered if a situation of exploitation by some students is to be avoided. It also brings into focus the question of what the programme's legitimacy is based on. Is it based on fulfilling the demands of students and what happens when student demands are not met? These questions need further exploration. The staff should consider ways in which assistance may be given without increasing student dependence e.g. previously busfare subsidies were given once a term as a prize for good attendance and students contributed financially to teaching aids such as mathematical instruments. The student counsellor at Khanya College in Cape Town said that they had similar experiences of students demanding financial assistance. Khanya has tried to change the dependency of students by not automatically giving all students bursaries for university. Students have to apply to them and other institutions for financial aid. In this way the counsellor felt that students realized that their education is their responsibility.



The EP does give a beacon of hope to many students as this research has shown. Therefore to keep a balance between student demands and ensuring their growth towards independence, a social contract detailing policy on aims and objectives should be jointly formulated.

## CHAPTER SIX: POLICY GUIDELINES ARISING FROM THE STUDY

This chapter explores the issues and problems highlighted in the discussion and suggests possible policy guidelines. Policy guidelines are suggested taking into account the discussion in chapter five, the context of the issues and their relationships to the history of the programme, evaluations of other programmes and my experiences on the programme as teacher and co-ordinator.

### Negotiated Contract by staff and students.

The discussion on student demands and the "culture of entitlement" points to an unsatisfactory relationship between staff and students on educational grounds. The staff do not appear to be using their expertise and authority adequately as educationalists. The results indicate that students value and respect the LEP teachers. Therefore the staff could act from a position of strength to address corrupting influences of welfarism and dependency. A certain degree of financial assistance and material support is necessary but the staff and students should be clear of the terms of such support. Several of the problems and issues outlined in the discussion can be addressed by a negotiated contract between staff and students. This I think is urgently required if the programme is to function effectively both in terms of its educational and political goals.

The SEP evaluation outlines steps that could be taken towards a general strategy for a negotiated contract. These should include a thorough assessment of the goals, objectives and standards of the project. The activities of the project should as far as possible proceed through detailed common agreements between staff and students. "Through this procedure the professionalism of the programme will be secured and accountability tensions reduced in particular the burden of managing the project in a unstable environment would be reduced" (Morphet et al 1986;62).

Such a contract should take into account the history of the programme, its basis for legitimacy in the community, lessons from other programmes and its revised goals. Students and staff should be clear on these goals and formulate a contract which outlines clearly the terms of admissions, how funds are spent and the obligations of staff and students. This contract should be published on orientation day and when advertising the programme.

Policies in the contract should take into account the following questions and issues.

What is the responsibility of the SAIRR and what can the Institute do? The Institute should find a balance between meeting real problems using its resources optimally so as not to fan the "culture of entitlement". When making policy about financial assistance, this policy should be clear about the way financial aid is given and received.

The Institute should consider **not reimbursing busfares in cash** and use the method of giving busfares as a prize for good attendance once a term. If possible **not to refund students every Saturday** and to **change the venue of this exchange**. Consideration should be given to attempts to link financial aid to performance and a system of contributions either as tutors or helping during Winter school. A system of financial assistance that gives all students equal access with clear criteria should be negotiated. Notes given to students which were previously called **handouts should be renamed printed notes**. Students should be **expelled if they steal on the programme**.

Student demands or requests

The ideas and suggestions made by students are often excellent and should be encouraged as they make for the legitimacy of the programme. But they should not be under the impression that all their demands will be met and it should be clear that requests or demands will be considered in a structured and systematic way. A clear and negotiated contract will strengthen the image of the Institute as it will not be perceived as easily manipulated.

Liaison with Day School Teachers.

Students said that their day school teachers motivated and encouraged them to attend the LEP. Students also expressed the view that if there were better links with the day school teachers then LEP teachers could exchange information. The other ways in which the programme could benefit from better links with day school teachers are that the hostility between LEP teachers and day school teachers could be addressed. This is a sensitive issue as recorded in the history of the programme. LEP teachers should take into consideration that the day school teachers feel threatened by LEP teachers as they are often less qualified, have less authority because they function in the formal system and are usually unfavourably compared

to LEP teachers. An improved relationship with day school teachers is important as then the day school teachers will be more encouraging of the programme. Students may attend more regularly and this may decrease the drop out rate. Meetings between teachers could be set up to discuss teaching materials, ideas on which sections of the syllabus LEP teachers should be emphasizing, exchange of examination question papers, ideas on different teaching methods, areas for revision and discussions on language development. Good contact with the day school would mean "that the beneficial aspects of the programme won't remain insulated within the Saturday morning" (Morphet et al 1984;83).

### Attendance and Drop Out Rate

The erratic attendance and drop out rate is a problem that the programme has tried to counter in the past by restricting attendance to avoid overcrowding. The rationale for this was to monitor regular attendance so that learning could be more effective and thereby decrease the drop out rate. This study has outlined some reasons for the drop out rate and the suggestions which follow are remedial measures which should slow down the drop out rate and contribute to more regular attendance.

### **Std Nines**

As mentioned earlier liaising with the day schools could improve attendance and help stem the drop out rate. Teachers could explore ways of attracting students back after the June holidays and Winter season. Examples of doing this is to **advertise examination preparation sessions and work through old examination papers of the different schools.** If students are aware that teachers are discussing issues relating to exams then they may return to the programme.

Another suggestion is to **link Std Nine attendance to bursaries,** programmes of career guidance and admission into the Headstart College.

### **Women**

The suggestion made by the treasurer that the EP provide subsidized LEP T-shirts to counter the clothes competition should be implemented. However this is a remedial measure and more research is required to address the problem of women dropping out. Women's organizations should be included in this research and

should campaign around an anti-sexist education. A request to women's organizations could be to organize women's discussion groups and programmes on women's issues. Female teachers should be targeted to motivate students to attend these programme and the LEP.

Other reasons not given by students for poor attendance and the drop out could be the overcrowded classes in the beginning of the year which lead to ineffectual teaching and thereby not addressing learning problems. The staff should consider whether student numbers or the number of subjects offered should be restricted as a measure to curb the overcrowding at the beginning of the year.

### Bursaries.

The expectation of receiving a bursary is an important reason given by students for attending LEP. Therefore on orientation day the students should be informed of the policy of attendance and its relation to bursaries. Clear links should be made between bursaries and attendance and performance. They should be told about the different bursaries administered by the Institute. The Headstart College should be popularized and its link to tertiary institutions mapped out.

During the year students should be briefed on how to fill in forms, who qualifies for bursaries, the reasons for application forms as some students are under the impression that filling in a form guarantees a bursary. A system in which the bursars contribute either at Winter school or as tutors could be considered as a measure to counteract dependency and the "culture of entitlement".

### Career Guidance

Students' future expectations are often completely unrealistic and their knowledge of career options is poor. Therefore attempts should be made to include a wide range of future options in a career guidance programme. The career guidance programme should include descriptions of careers, different options of work-study, and the possibility of study at tertiary level and entrance requirements should be incorporated into the guidance programme.

Since bursaries and career guidance are high on the agendas of matric pupils the programme should strengthen its links with tertiary institutions and bridging

programmes. The programme should reconsider setting up a sub-committee of tertiary educationalists similar to that which acted as a referral body in 1982.

### Headstart College

This new initiative of the Institute offers another route into tertiary education for those matriculants who do not obtain an exemption pass. For students to take advantage of this College they need to be thoroughly informed about the aims and objectives of the College. The Institute should link attendance and performance to entrance requirements for the Headstart College. This could provide a further incentive for consistent attendance.

### Teaching Methods

In the interview results students requested small group teaching, critical discussions and more interactive teaching methods. As mentioned this takes place on a small scale in the programme. From personal observation, teacher reports and questionnaire results most students appear satisfied with the lecture method of teaching. Teachers should weigh up the need for alternative teaching methods taking into consideration student preferences, the constraints of the teaching situation and their own experiences when embarking on different teaching strategies.

However where possible interactive techniques, discussions and smaller group teaching should be explored. These teaching strategies could make the lessons more interesting, varied and exciting. They could play a role in decreasing student passivity during lessons and decrease students' dependence on the teacher. Teachers could employ teaching methods which encourage students to present various topics, thereby moving away from the dependence on printed notes and themselves.

These teaching methods would help to build self-confidence and self esteem so sadly lacking in many students. They could also narrow the gap between school and university as concepts can be practically explored in different ways. For teachers to do this effectively because of time constraints, organizations such as Maths Education Project, Teaching and Learning Resources Centre and Materials Development Resource Centre could be invited to share their ideas with the

teachers. These organizations can help with the preparation of worksheets, teaching style and language development.

It is important for the LEP teachers to build links with different enrichment programmes such as Protec and Shawco. Teachers can advise one another on different teaching methods, discuss student learning problems, language usage across the curriculum, erratic attendance and generally provide a support base for enrichment programme teachers.

### Finishing the Syllabus

The teaching staff should determine whether they are responsible for teaching the whole syllabus in their subjects. This should be carefully considered as it is an important reason for student attendance. Liaising with the day school teachers could help to monitor which sections of syllabus should be taught. Different ideas on the syllabus could be discussed and materials could be exchanged. The EP teachers could request to meet with subject advisors and inspectors. These meetings would give teachers an opportunity to clarify syllabus content and examination issues.

### Full-time co-ordinator

The programme often functions under crisis management because most of the staff are employed in other full-time jobs. Presently the co-ordinator is employed on a Saturday morning. The programme requires a full-time co-ordinator who will take responsibility for most of the suggested policy guidelines. These are popularizing the programme; liaising with day school teachers, with other enrichment programmes and with service organizations which explore different teaching methods; increasing the teaching resources; implementing bursary information and comprehensive career guidance programmes.

### Atmosphere

The informal atmosphere and stable environment is appreciated by the students. This atmosphere has contributed to building good relationships with students and should be continued.

## POSTSCRIPT

At the end of 1992 the author presented a report on this research to the Enrichment programme teachers of Langa and Khayelitsha and the Race Relations Committee. The research was well received, the policy guidelines were discussed and some of them will be implemented. The Institute will employ a full-time co-ordinator to take on the tasks as described and will investigate the issues around dependency and demands made by students.

I hope that this research contributes to increasing the performance of the Langa Enrichment Programme.



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## INTERVIEWS

### Personal (1992)

Mr. Joubert, Derek - Director of Educational Projects for Cape Town was previously a co-ordinator of the Langa Enrichment Programme.

Ms. Mager, Anne - A previous co-ordinator of the Langa Enrichment Programme.

Ms. Wilson, Daphne - A previous co-ordinator of the Langa Enrichment Programme.

Telephonic (1993)

Badsha, N. - Director of Academic Development, UWC.

Holstack, A. - Student Counsellor, Khanya College, Cape Town.

Pandoor, N. -At the time of the interview she was the student counsellor in the Academic Support Programme, UCT. Currently she is the chairperson of the Desmond Tutu Trust Fund.



**APPENDICES****No.   Title of appendix**

1.    Attendance statistics for the Langa and Khayelitsha programmes 1992. Attendance by month in figures and percentages for 1991.
2.    1990 and 1991 Matriculation results of the enrichment programme. Graphs which compare DET matriculation results to LEP and KEP.
3.    Pamphlet of the Teachers League of SA called Crisis in Education.
4.    Copy of the questionnaire.
5.    Graph showing gender statistics on the EP 1991.
6.    Graphs showing university and technikon graduates by race and category for 1987.

APPENDIX No. 1

ATTENDANCE STATISTICS - EP

<u>LANGA</u>	<u>STD 9</u>	<u>STD 10</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
FEB 92	930	1284	2214
WINTER SCHOOL	152	422	574
AUG 92	128	424	552
SPRING SCHOOL		467	

<u>KHAYELITSHA</u>	<u>STD 9</u>	<u>STD 10</u>	<u>TOTAL</u>
FEB 92	658	840	1498
WINTER SCHOOL	81	184	265
AUG 92	69	240	309
SPRING SCHOOL		248	

BUS ECON	STD 9	STD 10
LANGA		
AUG	9	8

KHAYELITSHA		
AUG	?	12

ECONOMICS	STD 9	STD 10
KHAYELITSH		
AUG	4	10

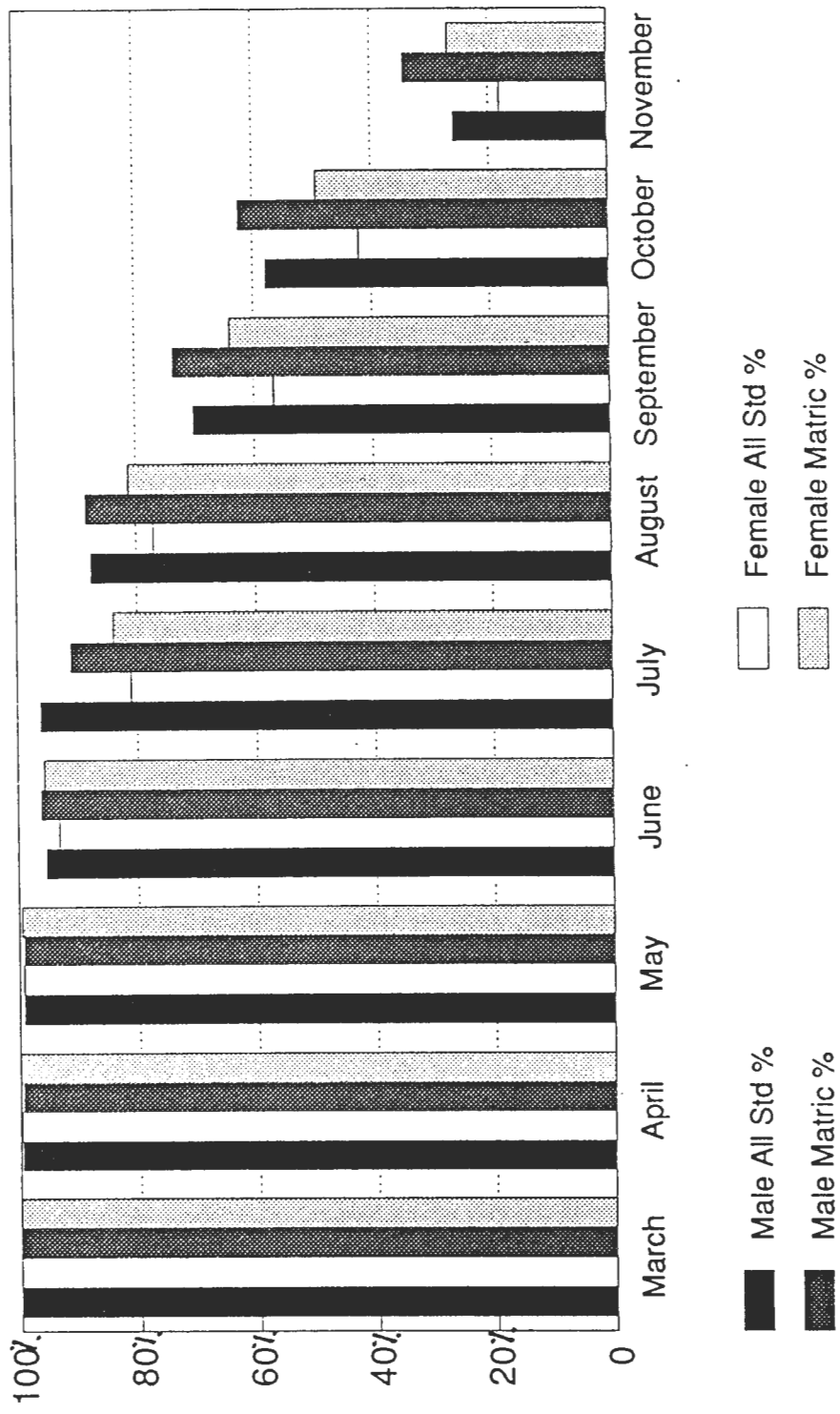
ACCOUNTS	STD 9	STD 10
LANGA		
AUG	13	11

KHAYELITSHA		
AUG	5	24



ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME 1991

# ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME 1991 % ATTENDANCE BY MONTH



ref: epstat

PASS RATES MATRIC 1990

National pass rate 36,4%

<u>Cape Town</u>	2278 candidates	681 passes (incl X)	29.8%
		138 exemptions	6.0%

This can be broken down into Cape Town East and West

<u>CT EAST</u> (Khayelitsha, Worcester, Boland)	<u>CT WEST</u> (langa, Gugs, Nyanga Paarl)
---	--

	1000 candidates	1278	
(34,8%)	348 pass (incl X)	333	(26,0%)
(7.5%)	75 exemptions	63	(4,9%)

COMPARATIVE STATISTICS FOR EP STUDENTS

*ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME - held at St. Francis*

25% ATTENDANCE

	725 candidates	
(19.5%)	143 pass (incl X)	
(2,6)	19 exemptions	

50% ATTENDANCE

	185 candidates	
(34.0%)	63 pass (incl X)	
(7.0%)	13 exemptions	

80% ATTENDANCE

	143 candidates	
(67.8%)	97 pass (incl X)	
(21.0%)	30 exemptions	

FAILURE RATES FOR CAPE TOWN

XHOSA	0.5%
ENGLISH	13.5%
AFRIKAANS	20.0%
MATHS	96,7%
BIOLOGY	86.4%
SCIENCE	65.2%
GEOGRAPHY	64.6%
HISTORY	150 90

## APPENDIX No.2

### REPORT ON THE 1991 MATRIC RESULTS OF ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME CANDIDATES (CAPE TOWN)

The legacy of apartheid education was again clearly reflected in the 1991 DET metric examination with students achieving a national pass rate of only 39% compared with the 97% in schools administered by the "white" education departments. Only 9,7% of DET students who wrote the examination met the exemption requirements needed for university entrance.

Although DET results in the Western Cape showed an improvement on the 1990 examination, they were still well below the national average. Only 33,6% of candidates passed and 7,9% gained exemption.

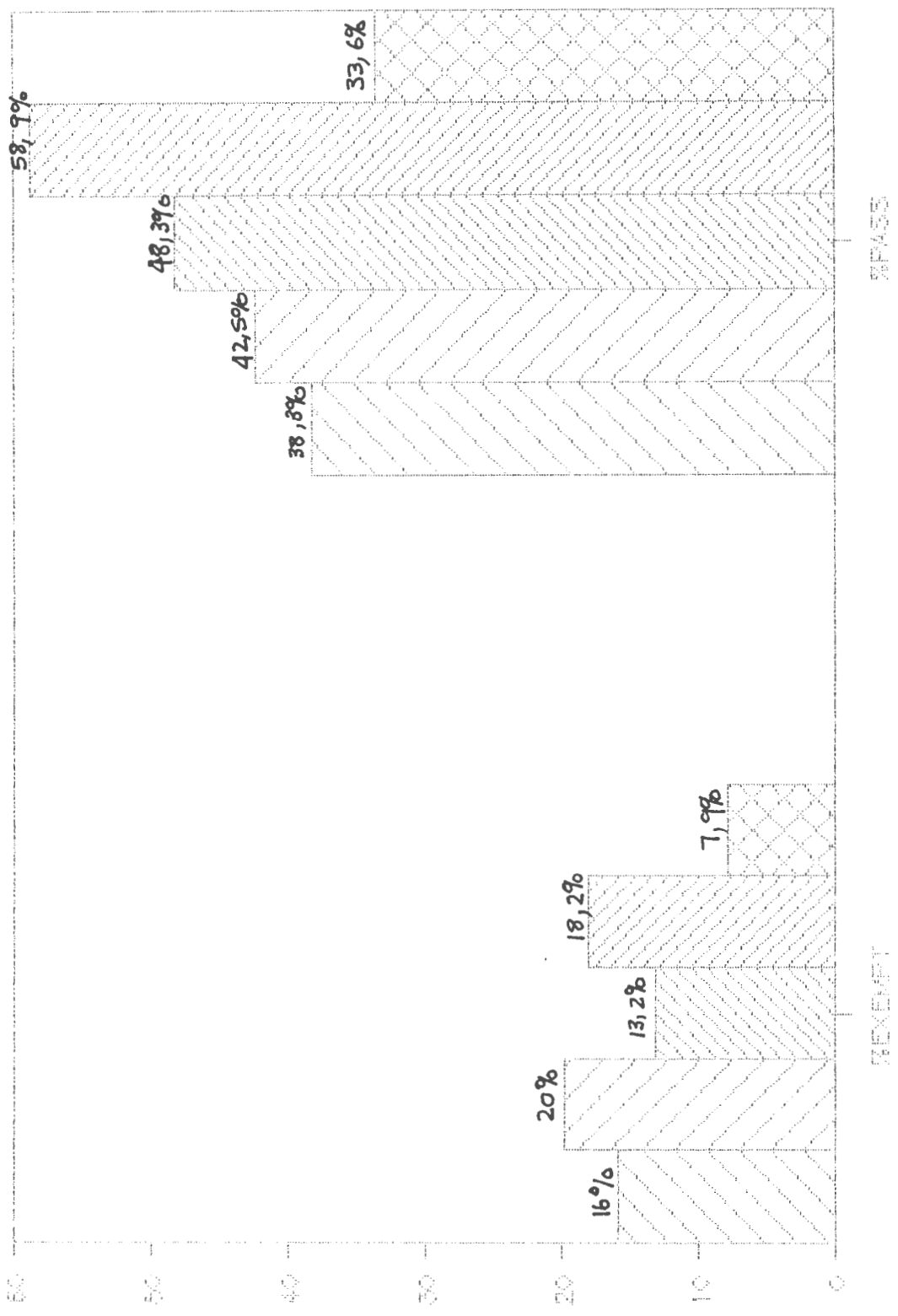
Enrichment Programme students fared considerably better, achieving a pass rate of 56,5% and an exemption pass rate of 10,5%. This compares these statistics for 1991 with those for the 1990 examination.

	1990	1991
NATIONAL PASS RATE	36,4%	39,2%
NATIONAL EXEMPTION RATE	9,4%	9,7%
WESTERN CAPE PASS RATE	39,8%	33,6%
WESTERN CAPE EXEMPTION RATE	6%	7,9%
EP PASS RATE	67,8%	56,5%
EP EXEMPTION RATE	21%	10,5%

While there are inconsistencies between the EP pass rate figures (56,5%) given on this page and the graph showing the EP pass rate on the next page, students on the EP exceed the average pass rate of the Western Cape DET secondary schools. These figures were taken from the EP records and the inconsistencies have been noted.

# ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME 1991

MATRIC RESULTS PERCENTAGE COMPARISON



KE P 50%

KE P 75%+

LEP 50%

LEP 75%+

RE PASS

DET N.C



TEACHERS' LEAGUE OF SOUTH AFRICA

# CRISIS IN EDUCATION

## 1 Children out of School

- Every year 700 000 'Black' children drop out, more than half before Std 3.
- At present over 2m children of school-going age have never been to school.
- Many pupils who fail before reaching secondary school, leave school.
- In 1990 only 36% of 'Black' pupils who wrote Std 10 passed. More than 95% of 'White' pupils passed. Why?

### Apartheid system of schooling

- 'White' children are compelled to stay at school from 7 to 16 or Std 10.
- Children classified Black need not attend school at all, or may leave whenever they or their parents wish.

9½ million children at school: 7 million are 'Black' 1 million are 'White'  
¾ million are 'Coloured' ¼ million are 'Indian'

## 2 Apartheid School System

### In schools for 'Blacks'

- Failure rates in all classes are high.
- Schools are in poor condition; overcrowded, poorly equipped.
- Classes are large with poor teaching and learning conditions.
- There are 16 different education departments, each with its own syllabuses, textbooks, examinations, certificates.
- Poor socio-economic conditions in which the majority live provide inadequate preparation for school.
- Very few pre-primary facilities for the majority of children.
- 70% of Black teachers are underqualified or unqualified.
- Far lower subsidies for 'Black' pupils.
- Schooling is debased. There are easy options with little mathematics and science. There is a decidedly vocational bias in secondary classes – preparation for jobs.
- Much teaching is poor, relying on memorising rather than understanding, discussion, argument.
- Disruptions have been frequent at some schools.
- In some cases teachers have staged stay-aways, chalk-downs, protests.

VAST NUMBERS OF PUPILS IN THESE SCHOOLS FAIL OR DROP OUT

### Subsidy per child

'White'	R3 600pa		
'Indian'	R2 700	¾ of 'White'	
'Coloured'	R2 100	⅓ of 'White'	
'Black'	R 900	¼ of 'White'	
		% of total expenditure	% total school population
'White'		32%	10%
'Indian'		6%	2%
'Coloured'		15%	9%
'Black'		47%	78%

## 3 Teachers – Unemployed, Retrenched

- Teachers who have long held posts have been/are being retrenched.
- Many newly-qualified teachers have been unable to find posts.
- Some colleges for teacher-training have been closed down.
- Next year, 1992, the State will further curtail admissions to teacher-training colleges.

The State claims there are too many teachers and too few posts. THIS IS NOT TRUE – it is another apartheid lie. With its 'race'-based school systems, apartheid creates an artificial teacher surplus..

- APARTHEID has an education system for 'White' children in which, on average, one teacher has a class of about 18 pupils, and SEPARATE INFERIOR systems for 'Black', 'Indian', or 'Coloured' children in which the average goes up to 40 pupils per teacher; in some cases as many as 100 per teacher. This is the result of separate, 'racially'-based systems, with lower subsidies for black children, too few schools, too few teachers.

## 4 Massive Unemployment

- The majority of the pupils/students referred to in 1 and 2 above become unemployed, and often unemployable, youths and adults.
- They have acquired none of the skills the economy needs. Many are illiterate after only a few years at school.
- They are the children who have nothing to do but roam the streets, indulge in acts of disruption, in crime, in violence. They form gangs that terrorise teachers and other pupils and try to prevent their schooling.
- Even of those who pass Std 10 very few will gain entry to Colleges of Education, Technikon or Universities because there are too few of these institutions, because the standard of their pass is too low (only 7,5% obtained matric exemption), or the institutions are overcrowded.
- The majority of those who pass Std 10 also swell the ranks of the unemployed.

41 of every 1 000 'Whites' attend university or technikon  
26 of every 1 000 'Indians' attend university or technikon  
8 of every 1 000 'Coloureds' attend university or technikon  
4,5 of every 1 000 'Blacks' attend university or technikon



## 5 What the State is doing to deal with the Crisis

### The State

- has closed 'white' schools where there were too few pupils.
- has closed several Colleges of Education.
- has made teachers redundant.

### At the same time the State has

- increased the total expenditure on education.
- allocated nearly R1 billion for building classrooms for 'Blacks' – a desperate but inadequate step. Too little, too late.
- allowed 'White' parents to decide whether to allow 'Blacks' to attend their schools – so-called Open Schools. These are not desegregated, non-racial, open schools. They are 'White' schools under a 'White' State authority where 'White' parents have decided to allow some 'Blacks' in. In some cases this saved a school from closure or from losing staff.
- transferred unused 'white' schools to 'other' departments of education.

This is NO SOLUTION for 2 million 'Black' children out of school, an annual drop-out of 700 000 or grossly overcrowded classes and schools.

## 6 Education Renewal Strategy

This is a discussion document which outlines the government's plans for education as part of a negotiated settlement. The State's PROPOSALS are

- a new system of education with a single national authority and regional Departments of Education.
- the preservation of class divisions in education.
- secondary schooling and quality education will depend on parents' ability to pay – the preserve of the middle and upper classes.
- free compulsory education to Std 5.
- streamed courses in secondary schools.
- certification at Std 5, Std 7 and Std 10.
- non-formal education at workplaces for those leaving at Std 5.
- making provision for recognising language and cultural differences – preserving forms of apartheid education.
- plans to REDUCE costs of providing education by 19% for primary and 37% for secondary schools.

NO CHANCE OF EQUALISING EDUCATION OPPORTUNITY OR PROVISION

STATE'S PROPOSALS (ERS) DO NOT SOLVE CRISIS PROBLEMS

**\*\*\* The poorest 'Black' children will continue to have the poorest schooling and be forced to leave school after Std 5.**

## 7 Our Demands for all South Africans in a Non-Racial Education System

- There would be schools, teachers and pupils – with no reference to 'White'/'Black'/'Coloured'/'Indian'.
- COMPULSORY EDUCATION from pre-school to Std 10 at least for all children.
- Teachers would teach classes of reasonable size.
- There would be sufficient schools for all to enjoy compulsory education.
- There would thus be an enormous shortage of teachers. None now teaching would lose their jobs. All those now unemployed would be needed inside the schools and thousands more teachers would have to be trained.
- HUNDREDS MORE TEACHER-TRAINING COLLEGES would have to be built.
- There would be vocational-, technical- and teacher-training of the highest quality.
- High standards of schooling would enable those who wish to proceed to universities, technikons, colleges of education.
- Adequate education would have to be provided for those not in school at present, for those who left school without having gained an adequate education and for adults who are illiterate and wish to educate themselves.
- There would be a continuous process of democratising and upgrading education as part of a wider plan to create the democracy in which all citizens could participate, to expand the economy and thus provide improved living standards for all, especially the urban and rural poor.

The struggle for a single, non-racial democratic system of education is part of the struggle for a single, non-racial democratic South Africa. Since the 1940s this has been, and it will continue to be, a guiding principle of the Teachers' League of South Africa. It is this principle that informs our close relationship with the New Unity Movement.

APPENDIX No. 4

Langa Enrichment Programme

Questionnaire to Matric students - June 1992

We would like to find out how good our Saturday Enrichment Programme is. Your opinion and ideas are very important so please share them with us.

The information that you give us is confidential.  
Ask your teacher if there are some things that you do not understand.

Thank you for your help.  
Please indicate if you are male  female

1. Which school do you attend during the day/night?  
.....

2. Do you attend school full-time  part-time?

3. Is this the first year that you are in Std 10 ?

Yes  No

4. If no, how many times have you written Std 10 exams before this year ?

once  twice  three times  more than 3 times

5. Your final mark in 1991 for Std 9  Std 10

6. Which subjects do you attend on the LEP(Langa Enrichment Programme). You may fill in more than one block.

English Poetry	<input type="checkbox"/>	Romeo and Juliet	<input type="checkbox"/>	I heard the owl	<input type="checkbox"/>
Biology	<input type="checkbox"/>	Physical Science	<input type="checkbox"/>	Maths	<input type="checkbox"/>
Accounting	<input type="checkbox"/>	Business Economics	<input type="checkbox"/>		
History	<input type="checkbox"/>	Geography	<input type="checkbox"/>		

8. How did you first hear about the LEP? You may fill in more than one block.

teacher  poster  friend

other(say how else).....

9. Did you attend the LEP in 1991? Yes  No

10. Did you attend any other supplementary programme in 1991?

No  Yes  I attended .....

11. Do you attend any other supplementary programmes this year?

No  Yes  I am attending .....

12. How often do you attend the LEP?

nearly every week  half the time   
less than half the time  only when I need help

13. You may tick more than one block for the next question.

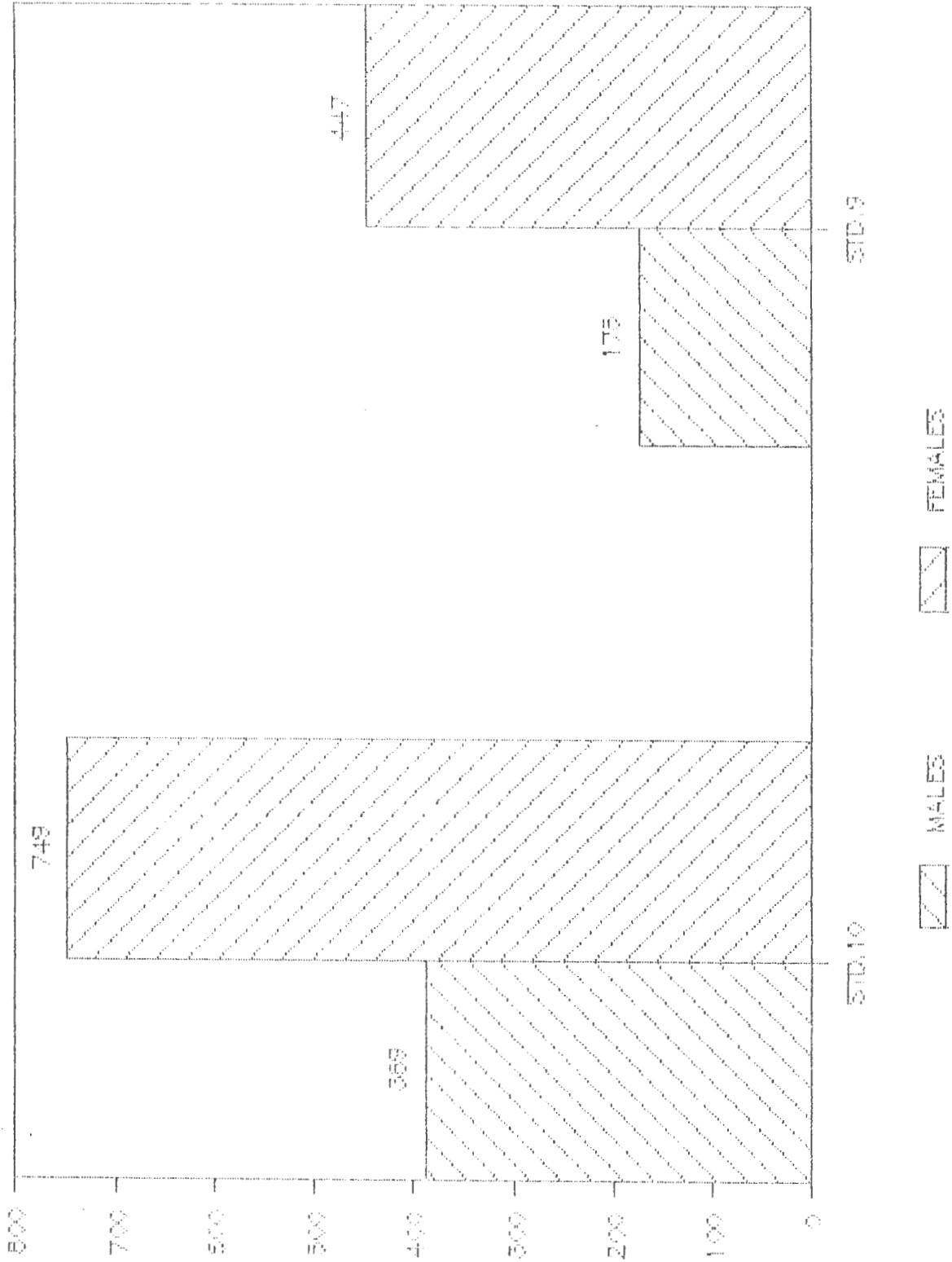
Are you attending the programme because you hope it will help you:

pass matric	<input type="checkbox"/>	get matric exemption	<input type="checkbox"/>
get a bursary	<input type="checkbox"/>	get onto Headstart	<input type="checkbox"/>
get into a university	<input type="checkbox"/>	get into a technikon	<input type="checkbox"/>
get a better job	<input type="checkbox"/>	get into a teachers college	<input type="checkbox"/>
other .....			

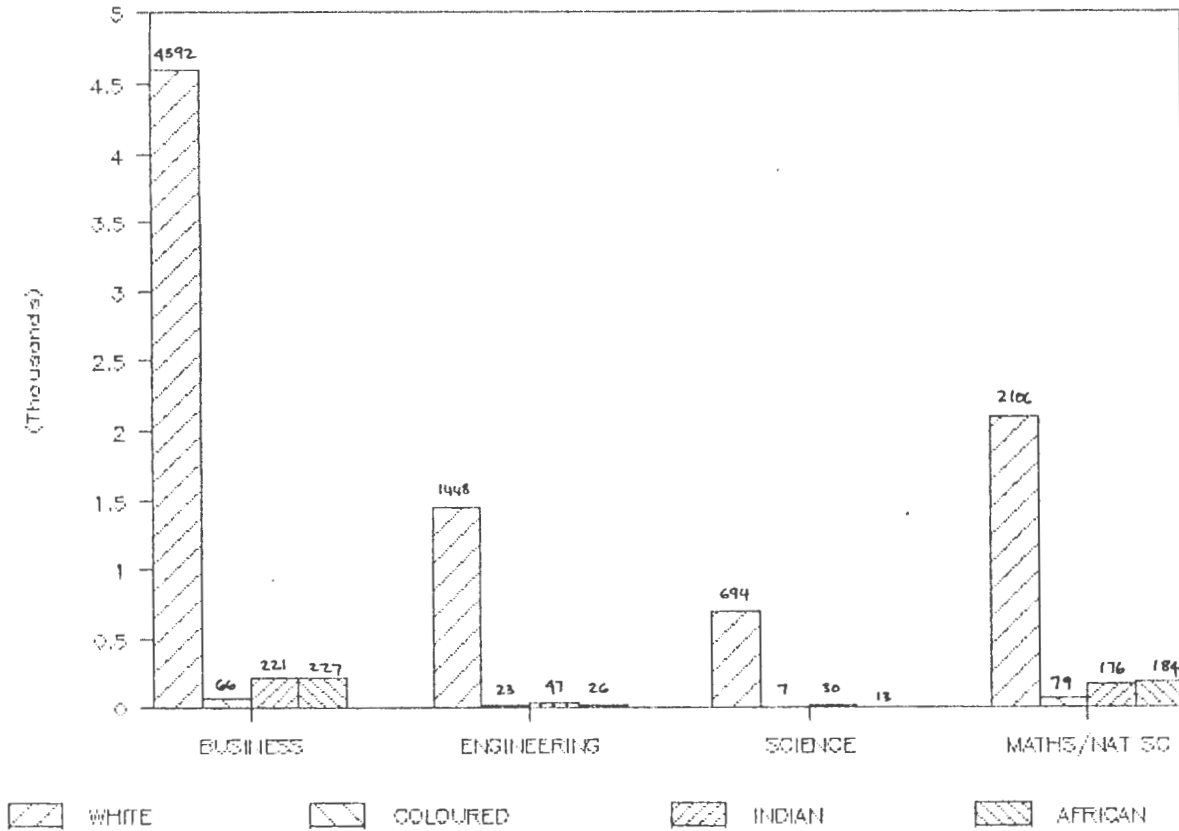


# SAIRR ENRICHMENT PROGRAMME 1991

## GENDER BY CLASS STATISTICS



GRADUATES 1987 BY RACE AND CATEGORY



MV + TECHNIKON

GRADUATES 1987 BY RACE AND CATEGORY

