THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS IN HELPING AFRICAN STUDENTS GAIN ACCESS TO TERTIARY EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

Mkhize Timothy Mashinini

A DISSERTATION

Submitted to
Michigan State University
in partial fulfillment of requirements
for the degree of

DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

Michigan State University
1997

ABSTRACT

THE ROLE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS
IN HELPING AFRICAN STUDENTS GAIN ACCESS
TO TERTIARY EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA

by

Mkhize Timothy Mashinini

The study examined in what ways and to what extent Non-Governmental Organizations help students gain access to tertiary education to South Africa. Non-Governmental Organizations have supported students financially and otherwise to study in higher or tertiary education. These students were selected in various ways by each organization. Each organization had its own method and means of support. Of the numerous organizations that provide funding for African students in South Africa, only three were selected for the study. The selection of the three organizations was based on the length of time they have been serving and their size based on the number of students they support per year.

Employing qualitative research methods, this investigation provided an opportunity for deeper and better understanding of the functions and linkages among Non-Governmental (bursar) Organizations, tertiary education institutions, the community, and students. Students were interviewed about the organizations that provided funding for

their education, tertiary educational institutions were interviewed about funded students and their organizations, and high school principals were interviewed about their knowledge of the functions of scholarship (bursar) organizations.

Analysis of the three organizations found that there was loose-coupling between high schools and non-governmental scholarship organizations. Most high school students did not know about the organizations. The loose-coupling between tertiary educational institutions and non-governmental organizations served a purpose at that time. Understandably, these were non-governmental organizations providing funding for students in governmentally controlled tertiary educational institutions.

One major implication for further research is the selection of students who receive the funding and their responsibility toward the organizations that funded them. This study provides information that can be used as a stepping stone toward the study of Non-Governmental Organizations by educational reformers, curriculum developers, and policy makers who are advocating better ways of funding students in tertiary education.

ACKNOWLEDGMENTS

I wish to express my profound gratitude to Dr. Kathryn Moore, my dissertation chair and chairperson of my doctoral committee, for her invaluable insights into the nature and functions of organizations in general and educational institutions in particular, her dependable professional guidance and advice, her patience and personal concern for me and my family.

To my advisory and dissertation committee members, Drs. David Wiley, Joseph Levin, and Howard Hickey: thank you for your guidance, many learning experiences, and valuable advice during my masters and doctoral programs at Michigan State University.

My special gratitude to the three organizations that participated in the study, the students I interviewed, and the universities that allowed me to interview their staff.

I am grateful to the Kellogg Foundation that provided the funds for my doctoral program and the study in South Africa. My special thanks to Isaac Nkwe, Dimity Mabanga, and Elias Nsibande who helped me solve countless problems during my study in South Africa.

Finally, I would like to thank my children, Sphiwe, Duduzile, Sbongile, and Nkosazana, for their unlimited emotional support during my studies; and very special thanks

to my wife, Mantombi, who held the family together when I was away from home. God bless each and every one of you. Ngiyabonga!

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF TABLES

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

African townships in South Africa have a long history of social, political, economic and educational problems. The role played by non-governmental organizations or bursary organizations in helping student gain access into tertiary education is of prime importance. Seventy-five percent of students in tertiary education from these townships are financially supported by these organization in one way or another. It is likely that if these organizations did not exist, most of the students would not gain access into tertiary education. Education in general and tertiary or higher education in particular are viewed by a number of scholars as a key to upward economic and social mobility. Tertiary education of Africans who form the vast majority of the population in South Africa is seen as a method for economic development. Helping students gain access into tertiary education is becoming the central focus of governmental and non-governmental organizations.

Despite the fact that Africans form 75% of the population and whites form 15%, the number of whites in universities is three times that of Africans. Access of Africans students into tertiary education has become a thorny issue among scholars, politicians and African community leaders (Chronicle of Higher Education, December 11, 1991, p. A35; July 10, 1991, p. A35; and March 21, 1991, p. 72). Non-governmental organizations have faced serious problems in helping students into tertiary education because of apartheid laws that existed in the past.

The marginalization of Africans in their own education system is an example of the paternalistic behavior and attitude of the dominant South African white community. The 1948 document that was produced by the Institute for Christian National education as a blueprint for the education of Africans, is a sad testimony of white paternalism. This document states that: ". . . we [Afrikaners] believe that the teaching and education of the native must be grounded in the life and world view of the Whites, most especially those of the Boer nation as the senior White trustees and that the native must accept the Christian and national principles in our teaching . . . it is the right and task of the State . . . to give and control native education" (Hartshorne, 1986). Undoubtedly, therefore, the hands of the African people in education were extended more and more toward "supplimation" by the creation of "forced dependency"

(Freire, 1970). Limited access to tertiary education, resulting in limited job opportunities for Africans, has been an unfortunate but intended outcome of white paternalism.

John Klinig (1986) argues that there are certain contexts in which character paternalism is readily accepted. The education of children, for example, includes the formation of character, and though parents and others are often justly criticized for their tendency to indoctrinate, this does not usually amount to a rejection of character paternalism as such. The concern stems from the interest that parents might legitimately have in the development of their children's character to grow up as responsible citizens. This kind of paternalism dissipates as children grow. In contrast, the paternalistic behavior of the Afrikaners toward Africans, regarding them as perpetual minors or under sixteens (Biko, 1978), continues forever. However, the continued paternalism coupled with apartheid and oppressive laws have not succeeded in rendering African people helpless and hopeless. The founding of the non-governmental organization in most cases was to counteract the prejudice and discrimination against the admission of African students particularly into historically white tertiary education institutions (Institute of Race Relations, 1975).

African under-representation in academia in South Africa may be understood if we consider that even with constitutional guarantees in the United States, America still has an underclass which has limited access to higher education. In South Africa, the underclass is the African majority. and constitutional guarantees were designed to ensure White supremacy. Africans were kept out of privileges by means of the Master-Servant Act of 1834, the Color Bar Act of 1910, the Land Act of 1913, the Separate Amenities Act of 1951, and other discriminatory laws. These laws have induced current scholarship to regard Africans as victims of apartheid (Gilomee, 1986; Natrass, 1988). The existence of self-empowered non-governmental organizations and their activities in the education arena refutes the existence of a victim mentality among some Africans. The existence of such organizations can be explained by quoting Freire who says:

> . . . animals cannot commit themselves. Their historical condition does not permit them to 'take on' life. Because they cannot 'take it on', they cannot transform its configuration. In contrast, human-beings -aware of their activity and the world in which they are situated, acting in function of the objectives which they propose, having the seat of their decisions located in themselves infusing the world with their creative presence by means of the transformation they effect upon it - unlike animals, not only live but exist; and their existence is historical......human-beings exist in a world which they are constantly re-creating and transforming." (Freire, 1970:88)

Statement of the Problem

This study addresses the problem of access by African students to tertiary education in South Africa by studying the activities of non-governmental bursary organizations in addressing it. Apartheid-driven paternalism successfully marginalized the creative efforts of African people in improving the quality and accessibility of tertiary education. Today, however, access to tertiary education is one of the most fiercely contested terrain in South African education.

The magnitude of the problem of access by Africans to tertiary education can be illustrated by the fact that there were 302,000 students enrolled in universities in 1990; half of these students were white and only one-third were Africans. In technikons, 64% of the 84,364 students, were white and only 5% were African. The enrollment of 54,142 students in colleges of education consisted of 55% African students, making it the only sector where Africans were in the majority. Black students constituted 39% of 1,550 post-diploma students enrolled at technical colleges in 1991 and 39& of a total of 98,625 pre-diploma students in the same year (Business Day, August 12, 1991).

The problem of access to higher education is not unique to South Africa. In the United States, it is a gender, political, socio-economic and race issue that, by and large, affects minorities, poor whites and women. Organizations which were founded during the civil rights movement, like the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People, and the S.N.C.C., were formed as a result of discrimination and racism in general. These organizations played a major role in helping students gain access to higher education (among other things). They are examples of self-empowerment of disadvantaged people who did not have political rights.

In South Africa, the access of black people in general and Africans in particular to higher education is a matter of grave concern. It is a combination of several problems that will take a long time to resolve. The problems have been perpetuated by the hegemony of white, English-speaking South Africans as well as the paternalism of Afrikaners which culminated in the enactment of apartheid laws. Professor Du Plessis, speaking on behalf of the government in support of the establishment of separate universities for blacks at a meeting of the Science and Freedom Organization in London in November 1957 said, "What we envisage is on the one hand the maintenance of a European state in South Africa, and universal development on the other hand, under its gradually receding patronage, of several non-European national homes" (Du Plessis 1957:38). He went on to express paternalistic fear that ". . . it is quite possible that in future all existing universities might be swamped by non-whites if they were not excluded or artificially limited" (p. 34).

The English "open" universities, on the other hand, represented by Malherbe (1957), who argued against the establishment of black universities to expand access, had this to say: "The (African) students are placed in circumstances which permit them to dissipate their pent-up feelings of aggression, for there are, in an institution with a "mixed" environment, usually a number of Europeans who are ready to give a sympathetic (hegemonic) hearing to their problems. . . . In isolated and homogeneous non-European institutions the students stick together and refuse to betray one another" (Malherbe, 1957). Non-governmental organizations, therefore, seem to be caught in the middle of the controversy between the English and the Afrikaner communities.

Purpose of the Study

The purpose of this study was two-fold. The first purpose was to identify successful non-governmental organizations which have taken the initiative to assist African students to gain access to tertiary education. The study investigated how these organizations are structured, their membership, their leadership, how they function, and how they achieve success in assisting students to gain access into tertiary education. In addition, the study investigated how the organizations communicate with members of the community and tertiary education institutions in order to answer the research question: "How do non-governmental organizations help African students overcome barriers of access to tertiary education?" There is an important link among secondary schools, tertiary education institutions, and community organization to effect admission of students into tertiary education. How these institutions succeed or fail to work together affects students' access to tertiary education. These issues were investigated by the study.

The way non-governmental organizations define the nature of the problem of access of African students into tertiary education is likely to affect how they go about assisting students. According to the literature reviewed for this study, the main and universal problems of access to tertiary education are related to finance, readiness, counseling and persistence or retention of students. The study investigated whether the non-governmental organizations recognize the existence of these problems and others and how they seek to address them. Some organizations focus on only one or two aspects while others attempt to address more. How organizations viewed the problem--as simple or complex, related to other issues or relatively isolated--affect the strategies they adopt to address accessibility of tertiary education institutions.

The study brought together the above-mentioned issues by investigating how and why African non-governmental organizations address the problem of access of African students into tertiary education, what aspects of access they address, and what strategies they apply to solve the problem. Issues related to linkages between tertiary education institutions, secondary schools and non-governmental organizations were part of the study.

Finally, the study investigated what could be done to improve the effectiveness of non-governmental organizations to help more students gain access to tertiary education.

Research Question

How do non-governmental organizations help African students overcome barriers of access to tertiary education?

Sub-Questions:

(a) Why do the community organizations regard access to tertiary education as important?

(b) What problems do community organizations deal with concerning students' access such as: readiness, finance, counseling, job-placement, and persistence of their students in tertiary education?

(c) What linkages (if any) do the non-governmental organizations have with secondary schools tertiary institutions and other agencies involved in assisting African students gain access to tertiary education.

Conceptual Framework

The systems or cybernetic-like model was employed as a conceptual framework for the study. According to Kantor and Lehr (1975), any workable theoretical presentation of access into tertiary education can be greatly enhanced by the idea that tertiary education needs to be understood as a system.

A system is "a set of different things or parts (such as electrical components, machines, or people) that meet two requirements: first, these parts are directly or indirectly related to one another in a network of reciprocal causal effects, and, second, each component part is related to one or more of the other parts of the set in a reasonably stable way during any particular period of time" (Kantor and Lehr, 1975:47).

In order to understand the nature and outcome of the various communications and interactions that take place within tertiary education institutions, non-governmental bursary organizations, students and their parents, feedback concepts can be viewed as useful tools (Kantor and Lehr, 1975). The key systems concept is that of the feedback-loop. The systems theory asserts that "complexly organized, open, and adaptive information-processing systems are purposive and goal seeking" (Kantor and Lehr, 1975 pp. 12). The basic principle underlying such goal-seeking activity is feedback. This is a process by which a system informs its component parts how to relate to one another and to the external environment in order that the correct systems function is facilitated. Systems theory maintains that both positive and negative feedback loops are necessary to the survival of any open system. The negative feedback loop is understood to be an error-activating process designed to maintain consistency or a steady state in response to environmental alterations.

The positive feedback process is designed to maintain or change the basic structure in order to adapt to environmental change.

The systems model employs loose and tight coupling as concepts that attempt to clarify how the various elements or subsystems of a system interact with each other. Educational systems, like all social systems, are organizationally complex open systems consisting of inputs, structure and outputs. The environment of an open system determines its inputs and regulates its outputs. The relationship or interaction between the system of tertiary education, the non-governmental organizations and their environments formed the basis of this study. The continuous interchange is not only within the system but across the boundary between the inner environment and the outer environment.

Background of the Setting

The study focused on non-governmental organizations in Johannesburg and Soweto. Soweto is a black township near Johannesburg. The name Soweto is an acronym that stands for South-Western Townships of Johannesburg. According to apartheid laws (Group Areas Act 1950, Influx Control laws, 1951), Soweto was supposed to be a "temporary" home for African workers who were employed in and around Johannesburg. Soweto consists of a population of about 1.5 million people concentrated in about 120 square miles. Soweto is not a city because it lacks cohesion and the normal range of urban amenities (Mandy, 1984). Nevertheless, there are 75 high schools, a college of education (for teachers) and a university campus. In 1990 there were 9,719 high school students in Soweto. Most students from Soweto go to other tertiary education institutions outside the township. There are approximately 12 non-governmental organizations that directly or indirectly deal with access for African students to tertiary education in and around the Johannesburg area.

Organization of the Study

This study is presented in six chapters. Chapter I includes an introduction to the study, statement of the problem, research questions, conceptual framework, significance of the study, definition of terms and the limitations of the study. Chapter II outlines the major reasons for using the systems theory as a framework for the study of the problem of access into tertiary education. A comparison of approaches used in the United States of America and South Africa in addressing the problem of minority access and the accesses of Africans respectively, is presented. Chapter III provides the rationale for using a fieldwork study, an explanation of the methodology used and the data collection process, a description of the selection of the research site and the participants, a profile of the organizations studied and the individuals interviewed.

Chapter IV presents the findings of the study. Chapter V is a narrative description of the data collected. Chapter VI, based on the findings and the analysis, presents the study's major conclusions and recommendations.

Significance of the Study

The novelty of the study was that it focused on what had been done by and for disadvantaged South Africans to help their children gain access to tertiary education through non-governmental organizations. These organizations might be an asset if they are invited to participate directly in educational matters related to access to tertiary education. It is important that these community organizations had initiated strategies for overcoming barriers of access to tertiary education that many people in the community have not been aware of. This study might lead to the coordination of the efforts of the organizations for more effective engagement in tertiary education and to gain more visibility and support from the community in general and the African community in particular.

The study might help increase awareness of the importance of community service and responsibility among the students who have been supported by the organizations. According to Luthuli (1986), schools have not been involved in encouraging voluntary work by students in the African community. He regards the introduction of students into voluntary community service as part of the restoration of the African culture that has been disappearing as a result of western cultural individualism (Luthuli, 1986).

Organizational initiatives, energy, creativity and knowledge that have characterized the struggle by non-governmental organizations for students' access into tertiary education and other programs can be of great value to education planners, policy makers, administrators, teachers, and other organizations. The information these organizations provided can be used as a basis for further study.

International and South African literature on the education of Africans in South Africa has concentrated on structural problems of Bantu Education (Christie, 1985; Horrel, 1964; Bunting, 1964; Chisholm, 1984; Unterhalter, 1986, Wolpe, 1989). This literature ascribes the problems in African education to what it calls "the Verwoerden legacy" - known for its discriminatory practices in the funding of African education, provision of educational facilities, supply of teachers and maintenance of schools - with the complete exclusion of the human agency. Human agency refers to what Freire (1970) labels as the "praxis," what Habermas (1989) calls "communicative interaction" and what Giddens (1991) calls "structuration." These scholars call for the analysis of what happens among people; how people empower themselves, how they create and recreate, construct and re-construct their own reality. A study of the non-governmental organizations, therefore, might make a contribution to scholarship in adult education by concentrating on their neglected human agency.

Definition of Terms

The following terms are used frequently in this study:

Bursary: Financial support (scholarship) given to students for study purposes. Students receiving this kind of financial assistance to gain entry into tertiary education and other institutions, are not obligated to return the money they receive after employment. Bursaries are also referred to as grants.

Non-governmental Organizations (NGOs): those organizations not affiliated with the government; an initiative of the private sector.

Community: A group of people that has more or less constant membership governed by a set of verbal or written rules or regulations operating in a neighborhood.

Systems Approach: A systems is "a set of different things or parts (such as electrical components, machines, or people) that meet two requirements: first, these parts are directly or indirectly related to one another in a network of reciprocal causal effects, and, second, each component part is related to one or more of the other parts of the set in a reasonably stable way during any particular period of time (Kantor and Lehr, 1975).

Tertiary Education: Any form of academic or non-academic education beyond high school in South Africa e.g. university, college, college of education, technikon, technical college, where the attainment of a diploma or a certificate indicates completion and the duration is not less than one academic year (Behr and McMealan, 1984)

Access to Tertiary Education: Admission, retention and graduation of students in educational institutions beyond high school or after high graduation. Access in this study will also include readiness of students to be engaged in tertiary education and the availability of financial resource.

Marginalize: Characterize by the incorporation of habits and values from two divergent cultures and by incomplete assimilation in either. Lack of recognition, consultation, and respect of one group by another.

Paternalism: The care or control of subordinates (as by a government or employer) in a fatherly manner. The principle or practices of a government that undertakes to supply needs or regulate conduct of the governed in matters affecting them as individuals as well as in their relations to the state and to each other.

Praxis: The process of reflection and action by oppressed individuals or groups in a dialogical situation resulting in the transformation of a limiting situation leading to a revolutionary change (Freire, 1970).

Limitations of the Study

This study was limited to non-governmental organizations in Soweto or Johannesburg only. Soweto was chosen because of the composition of its population. As a metropolitan urban area, Soweto consists of all African ethnic groups. It has the highest concentration of high schools in the country with a fairly large system of tertiary education institutions in and around the area.

The findings of this study may not be generalized to non-governmental organizations outside Johannesburg. There may be other organizations that deal with the problem of access into tertiary education effectively in other areas that were not part of the study. Not all non-governmental organizations in Johannesburg can be part of the study. The criteria for the selection of organizations for in depth study may leave out some organizations that are effective in what they do which is related to the access of African students into tertiary education. Time limitations and financial restraints prevented the researcher from including more organizations.

The results of this study may be relevant to the organizations that were studied only. Other organization may not have the same strategies in address the issue of access of African students into tertiary education. However, it was not possible for this research project to attempt to study all non-governmental bursary organizations.

The government is responsible for subsidizing all tertiary education is South Africa. Its involvement was not part of the study because universities that the non-governmental organizations deal with are regarded as state aided and not state owned.

The researcher hopes that the above limitations might not prevent the presentation of a systematic set of conclusions taken from the findings of the study so that some light may be shed on this relatively unresearched area of study.

CHAPTER II

LITERATURE REVIEW

Introduction

This chapter provides an overview of the body of literature related to (1) the systems theory that was used as a basis of analysis of access into tertiary education, (2) access of minority students into higher education the United States of America, (3) access of African students into tertiary education in South Africa, and (4). A general and theoretical discussion of non-governmental organizations in South Africa.

Non-governmental organizations have a history of involvement in issues faced by the communities they serve. The problems in the community tend to be the foundation of some of the organizations. Self-empowerment through accomplishment of objectives in community projects has been the organizations' impetus and means of survival. Herbert Kohl (1991) contends that the Highlander Folk School founded by Myles Horton in Appalachia, grew out of the people and the situation he (Horton) worked in and not an imitation of anything else. Horton, like Paulo Freire (1970), argues that education must come from the people and the situations they confront in their everyday lives. This kind of education, emanating from what people know, from their own practical experiences, developing from their own solutions to problems, results in self-empowerment of the people (Kohl, 1991).

This study used Paulo Freire and Myles Horton's idea of praxis as an argument in support of self-empowerment of the non-governmental organizations. These organizations have survived hard times as a result of their ability to change with the fluid environment in which they find themselves. Without action and reflection, self-empowerment is impossible (Freire, 1973). By using praxis, this study valued what has gone before as much as what is yet to come (Nemeth, 1988). This approach was "historical, always seeking to relate (non-governmental organizations) to historical processes which produced and affected them" (Forgacs, 1988:127). It is also political, examining the unstated political agendas which shaped them (Forgacs, 1988). One of the political agendas is the problem of access to tertiary education by African students.

Cochran (1991) argues that "a growing number of people, who are committed to human development and the role of communities in that development, believe that an empowerment process can substantially enhance the part local communities play in the growth of healthy human beings." Not only did the researcher concur with this argument but he further argued that the most successful problem-solving initiatives and capabilities are internally generated rather than externally imposed. Such an internal process emphasizes the "social aspect" of study and learning in which participation and dialogue play the most important role. In order to understand this dialogue one has to dialogue with the members of the non-governmental organizations.

James Mayfield (1986) states the following as one of the reasons for "going to the people": "It should be abundantly clear that different societies and different communities structured around different cultural and religious values and shaped by different economic and political experiences tend to generate their own special ways of defining reality" (93). The non-governmental organizations studied, therefore, have empowered themselves by finding their own ways of defining the reality of denied access of African students into tertiary education. The special ways of defining reality applied by non-governmental organizations to remove barriers of access to tertiary education - ways the researcher referee to as "self-empowerment" - were the focus of this study. The researcher used the systems approach in order to better illustrate the relatedness of components involved in the facilitation of access of students into tertiary education.

A Systems Approach

The term "system" is widely used in education and in other fields. Its primary purpose is interrelatedness; a system is a set of parts that are related to each other (Thomas, 1981). Man-made systems are devised to achieve a given purpose or set of purposes. Educational systems consist of interrelated components (people, buildings, books, equipment) and are constructed to bring about intended changes in the behavior of the client (Thomas, 1981, Palinkas, 1985).

Thomas (1981) maintains that systems designed to bring about changes in the behavior of large numbers of people are by necessity very complex. The results of given procedures carried out within educational systems can seldom be accurately predicted. The uncertainty is magnified by the fact that the learner is also affected by his out-of-school environment. Educational systems and other systems involved in facilitating education and their surrounding environment are constantly interacting. Hence, such systems are best described as open, in contrast to closed, machine-like systems (Thomas, 1981; Palinkas, 1985).

Open systems receive support from their environment, and return products of greater or less usefulness to their surroundings (Thomas, 1981, Tubbs, 1978, Palinkas, 1985). Thus, the environment provides the system with **inputs** and receives its **outputs**. When these inputs and outputs can be identified and measured, they provide useful information about the system. Some systems are so complex or so inaccessible that they can only be studied through input-output analysis (Palinkas, 1985).

Input-output analysis is particularly useful in the study of organizations. Such study is complicated by the fact that organizations serve many purposes; and the output must be redefined as a new purpose. The output of schools may consist of additions to students' ability to enjoy and appreciate life, or, from an altogether different perspective, of increments to the national income (Thomas, 1981).

Whatever outputs we select for study may be considered in relationship to the corresponding inputs. Since outputs are valued and inputs are scarce, the ratio of inputs to outputs should be minimized; a productive organization is one with a favorable **balance of outputs to inputs** (Thomas, 1981). Table 1 explains the systems approach as it would apply if access to tertiary education were viewed as a system.

Table 1

Inputs	Process/Structure	Evaluation	Outputs
Students	Institution	Graduation	
Professors	Lectures	Job placement	
Support Staff	Academic support programs	Donations	
Bursaries	Relations	Community work	
Materials	Understanding	Responsibility	
Equipment	Expectations	Students	
Curriculum	Communications		
Parents	Persistence		
Alumni			
Community			
Donations			

< **FEEDBACK** >

The output, as part of the environment, provides a feedback link to the input of the organization. Both positive and negative feedback loops are necessary to the survival of any living system (Kantor and Lehr, 1987). A negative feedback loop is generally known as an error-activating process designed to maintain equilibrium or a steady state in response to environmental alterations. The ordinary thermostat is often cited as the prime example of a negative feedback control system. A preferred temperature reading is set, so that the thermostat is required to activate heating equipment whenever the temperature falls too low, or cooling equipment when it climbs too high. Every living organism must at times change its basic structure and adapt to environmental change. Such adaptation is accomplished by the process of positive feedback loops whose purpose is to amplify variety and deviation. Positive feedback loops therefore produce systems mutations that are better able to respond to environmental change (Kantor and Lehr, 1987; Tubbs, 1978).

The input, process and output structure of an organization occurs within the dimensions of time and space, and they utilize energy. Thus, in order to utilize the systems approach as a basis of analysis, the use of its dimensions of time, space and energy can be effective.

Time, as a social variable based of the distance-regulation concept, positively and negatively affects relationships within the parts of an organization (Morgan, 1988). In non-governmental organizations, time is an important dimension since the activities they perform or participate in have a limited duration. In the case of this study, the non-governmental organizations fund students that begin tertiary education at a particular time and are expected to graduate at a given time. The amount of time a student takes to complete a study course has an impact on the non-governmental organization. If a students completes his/her program within the specified time the organization spends the amount it initially planned to spend but if a student takes more time to complete the program the organization has to spend more than it planned to. The temporal mechanism consists of submechanisms of orientation, clocking and synchronizing (Kantor and Lehr, 1987; Tubbs, 1978).

Space is a fundamental necessity in all organizations. Successful utilization of the space mechanism by an organization depends on other mechanisms including the submechanisms of bounding, linking, and centering. Bounding issues are issues of safety for the organization and its environment. If an organization fails to develop a territory, it virtually ceases to exist (Hodges and Anthony, 1979; Fisher, 1981). Linking in non-governmental organization occurs between the employees and those who benefit from the resources of the organization. Since the NGOs act as intermediaries between tertiary education institutions and donor agencies, linking becomes an important submechanism. Kantor and Lehr (1987) maintain that, The mechanism of centering consists of the developing, maintaining, and transmitting of spatial guidelines for how traffic (information) should flow within and across its borders" (133).

Energy is the key ingredient of "life" in all organizations. An organization utilizes its energy mechanism and its submechanisms of fueling, investing and mobilizing, to determine how it copes with its environment and other organizations within the environment. Fueling regulates the acquiring of energy. The functioning of the organizational inputs, process and outputs depends on how much fueling is generated within the organization. If students work hard and graduate with high grades, the organization has a chance of obtaining more funds from its donors. By means of its mobilizing mechanism, an organization develops and implements guidelines for regulating the total flow of energy.

Let us examine the three key concepts of time, space and energy in the context of NGOs.

Time

Non-governmental organizations and educational institutions have existed within a given time. During their existence these societal institutions have functioned in a dynamic and unstable environment. Hence, they had to change in concert with the environment in order to better serve the community. An institution's temporal orientation thus works as a filter for its members' experience in the present. The operational strength of such a filter may represent nothing stronger than a slight set toward past, present and future orientations. Individual institutions may find themselves in or out of phase with one another within the same society because of conflicting orientations (Kantor and Lehr, 1981). In non-governmental organizations, therefore, one should look for signs of mobility or dynamism in concert with changes within the community they serve. Stagnation or lack of mobility may result in the organization losing support from the community.

Past orientation: Past orientation is a remembering, re-experiencing, or reenacting of something that has already taken place or existed. The goal of such orienting is to retrieve or hold onto that which has been. Past orientation is always concerned with history.

Present orientation: Present orientation is an orientation to the here and now, to what people are actually sensing, feeling, experiencing and doing. However, a total immersion in the present, suggests an inability to learn from the past or to apply the organizational experience to create a vision for the future and an exclusion of tradition.

Future orientation: Future orientation emphasizes what is to come by anticipating, imagining, and/or planning for it. Without a future orientation, an organization would lack in vision, and be unable to conceive what might happen next.

Clocking: Clocking is the regulation of the sequence, frequency, duration, and pace of immediately experienced events from moment to moment, hour to hour and day to day. Within the non-governmental organizations, each employee is given a target date on which to complete and report on an event or program. The programs are developed and controlled by senior officials. An orientation program for students is followed by a report from the people in charge. This activity is done to regulate and evaluate the effectiveness of such programs.

Space

Each organization operates in a territory that it delineates by setting its goals and objectives and how it will set out to achieve them. The limitations of the activities of an organization may be imposed by the organization itself or might be dictated by the environment in which it operates or both (Morgan, 1987; Weick, 1990). The space mechanism consists of submechanisms of bounding, linking, and centering. According to Kantor and Lehr (1981), all the submechanisms operate simultaneously and are interrelated.

Bounding: Bounding is a mechanism in which organizations establish and maintain their territory within the larger community space by regulating its activities. Bounding issues are issues of safety; of providing an enclosure for the protection of an organization against external danger (Daft, 1989).

Linking: Linking is the regulating of distance, that is, the physical and conceptual associations and disassociation of persons inside and outside the organizational space. Linking operations, because they directly affect interpersonal relations, are much more closely connected with communication or contact issues than are bounding operations. Non-governmental organizations need to be linked to some source of input for their existence. Non-governmental organizations state their goals in terms of "development." The implication is that someone is in need of being developed and the organization makes it its prerogative to reach out to this individual. This process cannot be accomplished without linking. Loose and tight coupling, that will be discussed later, are elements of the degree to which linking takes place.

Centering: The mechanism of centering consist of the developing, maintaining, and transmitting of spatial guidelines for how activities should flow within and across the borders of the organization after linking has occurred. The borders are constantly modified in accordance with the increase or decrease of organizational activities. The number of students that non-governmental organizations support and the amount advanced by donors fluctuate all the time, as a result, there is continuous centering within the organizations.

Energy

Energy is the mechanism that flows within the organization giving it the necessary impetus for performance. It is the "life" of an organization that is acquired from its own activities and its interaction with the environment (Morgan, 1986; Scott, 1987). Organizations in great distress are often those which have failed to balance out human resource energy. An organization that does not utilize its human potential to the fullest runs the risk of loosing out on the productivity or output of each individual member. Waste, failure to mobilize for change, chronic chaos, are all potential results of energy imbalance, occurring when organizations develop disabling strategies in their attempt to carry out their functions. This occurs when organizations fail to learn from their environment.

Energy submechanisms consist of fueling, which regulates the acquiring of energy; investing, which is the regulation of expending or discharging energies to targets and barriers of targets and mobilizing through which organizations develop and implement guidelines for regulating the total flow of energy in an organization, including how energy should be acquired and expended.

In order to understand the activities of the non-governmental organizations and in order to be successful in applying the dimensions of time, space and energy as a basis of analysis, the understanding of the concepts of loose and tight coupling, and the contingency approach for each organization was regarded as necessary.

Tight and Loose Coupling

In order to understand how the various elements and subsystems within a system interact with each other, it is important to consider how they are connected or coupled. The coupling between elements in a system can range from tight to loose.

Tight and loose coupling are relative terms that can be differentiated conceptually on two criteria: the extent to which subsystems have common variables between them and the extent to which the shared variables are important to the subsystems (Weick, 1976). If the subsystems have a great many components in common and if those elements are among the most important in the subsystems, the subsystems are likely to be relatively tightly coupled and changes in one should produce clear changes in the other (Birnbaum, 1988). Loose coupling refers to connections between organizational subsystems that may be infrequent, circumscribed, weak in their mutual effects, unimportant, or slow to respond (Weick, 1976).

The Contingency Approach

Most organizations that are open systems include three major parts - the environment, the administrative subsystem, and the technical subsystem. A contingency approach to organization suggests that there is no one best pattern but at the same time that not all patterns are equally effective (Galbraith, 1973; Birnbaum, 1988). Understanding the environment is critical because organizations have vital continuing and mutual transactions with elements outside their boundaries. Understanding the technical system is important because it describes the characteristic ways in which organizations transform their inputs into outputs. The organization's environment and its technical systems are two elements which pose the greatest degree of uncertainty, and it is the differences in these dimensions that lead to differences in organizations (Thompson, 1967; Birnbaum, 1973). The key question is, what administrative and managerial structures and behaviors will most effectively support the organization's technical system, given certain characteristics of the environment. Different non-governmental organizations set up varying structures to deal with the access of students to tertiary education.

The systems approach was applied as a basis of data analysis relying on its input, process output and feedback structures. In order to better explain these processes the mechanism of time space and energy were applied for each organization. The decision to apply the mechanisms was taken because of the changes that are taking place in South Africa in general and in tertiary education in particular. The mechanism were the means applied to illuminate the study and its purpose.

In order to highlight the problem that exists in South Africa related to the access of African students to tertiary education that was the reason for the founding of non-governmental organizations, it was thought necessary to study how another country handles the problem of access. The country that was found to have basic similarities to South Africa was the United States. The literature on the South African tertiary education system was reviewed in order to present the present situation in the country.

A Comparison of the Access Concept

The basic similarities between the problems encountered by African-Americans and other minorities in the United States and the problems faced by black South Africans in gaining access to higher education and the role played by non-governmental organizations, renders it helpful for one to look at the opportunity structures of higher education in both countries.

Access for minorities into higher education in the United States: The vast literature on access to higher education indicates that it is a universal problem. The problem of access appears in literature in both industrialized and developing countries. However, in the early '60s, the United States appeared to be on the verge of creating a right unknown in the world, a right to higher education for all who might benefit (Orfield, 1990). In 1975, the proportion of 20- to 24-year-olds in full-time education in the United States was 22%, compared with 10% in France, 11% in West Germany, 8% in Britain, and 15% in Japan (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1980, p. 303). However, access though more general, is stratified in the United States with some groups having greater access than others.

American universities and colleges have undergone transformation in the past generation from important but secondary institutions for distributing status and opportunity to primary institutions of growing significance (Faith, 1990, Orfield, 1990). Public pressure for broad access to higher education followed World War II. On the part of the public, the desire was to increase economic and social mobility for a labor force that would be competitive in an increasingly technological and interdependent world. Its fundamental energy was the desire of traditional and previously unrepresented individuals to enjoy the activities and rewards of middle-class America, whose economic and social opportunities were being defined more and more by educational credentials (Meyer et al., 1977). The federal government's role in education expanded, and its distinctive focus was on opportunity for those previously left out.

The large increase in higher education enrollments placed major stress on the capacity of existing higher education institutions to meet the demand. The largest portion of this demand fell on the states through public higher education. According to Paul (1990), this led many states to organize state systems of public higher education, to formulate policy to guide their development, and to establish coordinating or government boards to direct their activities. The basic idea was to achieve the twin goals of expanding educational opportunity and bounding costs. A set of public policies emerged across the country to guide this endeavor. Five were particularly important in shaping opportunity and selectivity structure (Glenny, 1959; Berdalh, 1971).

The first policy subordinated the ambition and interest of the individual campuses to a larger state interest. The second policy called for diversification of the set of public higher education institutions so that different types of campuses could educate for a variety of adult roles. The third policy operationalized differentiation by giving the state the authority to assign specific educational purposes to each campus in its public system designating each as a research university, doctorate-granting university, comprehensive college or university, liberal arts college, or junior or community college. The fourth policy called for some form of managed or controlled enrollment at the undergraduate level. Some means was needed to generate access while protecting the quality of the higher education institutions (Coons, 1968).

The primary institutional mechanism for dealing with the above concerns emerged in the fifth policy, and that was to develop comprehensive statewide systems of two-year colleges to take care of the largest proportion of the new enrollments. The second mechanism was to raise the admissions standards at the four-year campuses (California Board of Higher Education, 1960; Illinois Board of Higher Education, 1964.)

The second impulse which brought long-term federal involvement in higher education, came in the sixties as the American society turned its attention from the successful effort to increase opportunity for the middle class to the crusades to end poverty and racial discrimination (Orfield, 1990). The civil rights movement and the war on poverty both reflected optimism about the effect of educational opportunity, and challenged the traditional practices of many institutions in higher education. The federal government tried to aid talented but highly disadvantaged students to enter higher education through the use of a mixture of threats, incentives, moral leadership, civil rights laws, and a variety of student aid programs. The 1962 Higher education Act provided the first general federal undergraduate scholarships (called "educational opportunity grants") in U.S.

history; the law was designed to aid 140,000 young people of exceptional financial need to go to college. The act also made the work-study program a permanent part of federal higher education policy. The 1965 law also created the Talent Search program, which, together with the poverty programs' "Upward Bound," were dedicated to recruiting students living in poverty and helping them gain access to college (Congressional Quarterly, 1969, pp. 716-17). In 1972, the federal government decided to establish a need-based student aid system of Basic Educational Opportunity Grants, later named Pell Grants. This was followed by what can best be described as a period of consolidating the financial aid system and other equity related programs like the Middle Income Student Assistance Act of 1978 (Orfield, 1990). The federal government's role in education expanded and the focus on opportunity through scholarships was vastly extended during the time of Nixon.

Both the opportunity structure and the financial aid system resulted in an upsurge of enrollment mainly from disadvantaged minority groups and women. David Karen (1991) notes that between 1960 and 1975, total enrollment in institutions of higher education in the United State more than tripled, increasing from 3.6 million to 11.3 million students. This situation gave rise to expectations that the number of minorities entering higher education would increase. For the purpose of his study, Karen (1991) considered women and blacks as minorities.

In the period 1960-1975, the number of women college students went from 37 to 47%, signaling a massive relative increase in women's enrollments. In addition to the opportunity structure, Ramirez and Boli (1987), argue that other factors like women's changing labor force participation, rising divorce rates, and lower fertility, need to be considered. Table 2 indicates the type of higher education institutions and the enrollment in 1960, 1976, and 1986.

TABLE 2
Degree-Credit Enrollment of Women at Different Institutions

	% total enrollment			% change	
Institutional type	1960	1976	1986	60-76	76-86
Ivy League	22.5	36.2	43.3	61	20
Other prestigious (excluding 7 sister schs)	26.4	40.3	46.7	53	16
Other prestigious (incl. 7)	29.1	42.0	49.3	44	17
Four-year institutions	37	46	50	24	9
Two-year institutions	38	49	56	29	14
All institutions	37	47	51	27	9

Source.- U.S. Department of Health, Education and Welfare (1960,1978); American Council on Education (1987).

With respect to race, Karen citing Gordon (1975), noted that blacks constituted 4.3% of total college enrollment in 1960 and 9.8% in 1975. According to census data, it appears that blacks went from 7% in 1960 to 15.5% in 1970 to 22.6% in 1976 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1988, pp. 85-86) more than tripling in this period.

Olivas (1985), cited by Nora and Horvath (1989), examined the receipt of financial assistance by Hispanic students at different institutions and suggested patterns of aid awards based on theoretical considerations. "The most striking finding was the small extent to which any packaging is being aimed at Hispanics: over 60% of all students received only one source of aid, almost exclusively Basic Education Opportunity Grants since 1981" (p.390). Olivas further found that while grant aid increased dramatically for all students in all institutions and at all levels of income, Hispanic data revealed "a striking different pattern in the students' extraordinary reliance on grants to the virtual exclusion of other forms of aid" (Olivas, 1985:465). On the contrary, Karen (1991), argues that if blacks had not established themselves as an official category and attracted the attention of both government and higher education officials, it is likely that blacks would have witnessed a disproportionate treatment in the attainment of grants and study aids.

Literature on the findings of the impact of financial assistance on enrollment rates is inconclusive. However, there is evidence that financial need plays a part in student access to college. This means that the reduction of financial assistance would definitely affect enrollment rates. The question that still remains is whether it was the opportunity structure or the financial aid system that resulted in improved access for minorities and women to higher education or both factors played a significant role. The second question is, which institutions were opened by these factors.

Nora and Horvath (1989), cite Murdock (1987), who conducted a meta-analysis of 31 studies. The findings of these studies were that the overall effect of financial aid on persistence was small but positive on a short period but greater when the studies were conducted over a longer period. Students with aid attending two-year colleges were 58% more likely to persist than were those without aid, whereas students from four-year colleges were 53.6% more likely to persist with aid than without aid (Murdock, 1987).

Orfield (1990) states that during the 1960s and 1970s, as financial aid soared, the idea also spread that colleges had some responsibility to help minority students who were not adequately prepared. By the late 1960's a number of the nation's most prestigious institutions had committed themselves to special efforts to identify, recruit, and graduate black students. This was an unprecedented development that required significant institutional adjustments and adaptations. However, the changes that institutions made were generally limited to the margins of the college - admissions policies, remedial training and support systems, and financial aid. The remainder of the institution generally remained largely unchanged, and graduation rates of the newly admitted groups of students were often disappointing (Orfield, 1990). Many institutions went back to earlier commitments when the conservative movement focused attention on research and tough standards and rapidly raised tuition. A large number of minority students resorted to attending two-year colleges (Orfield, 1990). It is not surprising, therefore, that enrollments at the two-year colleges increased tremendously, from 2 million in 1970 to 5 million in 1987 (U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987, p.138). It is striking to observe that there was a decline of enrollment (especially of minority students) at four-year colleges during the same period. "Since 1983, quality has taken over as the primary issue in reform debates. And efforts at improving equality of education, which dominated most discussions during the 1960's and 1970's, have severely diminished and almost disappeared" (Ginsburg and Bennett, 1989:264).

A study conducted by Faith G. Paul (1990), based on the opportunity structure discussed above and its effect on access for minority students into higher education in five metropolitan areas; Atlanta, Chicago, Houston, Los Angeles and Philadelphia, revealed that this opportunity structure contributed to the barriers of access to higher education. She maintains that the fuller development of the opportunity structure in metropolitan Chicago and Los Angeles did not improve access, opportunity, and success. Her study revealed that the low percentage of comprehensive institutions, the very high percentage of two-year institutions, and the low percentage of public institutions with competitive and less competitive admissions were directly associated with substantial loses in Hispanic and black enrollments in both metropolitan areas" (Paul, 1990). She further argues that greater access seemed to be coming from those metropolitan areas whose public sector had a higher percentage of comprehensive, competitive, and less competitive institutions, together with a smaller number of two-year colleges and a larger proportion enrollment in four-year colleges. Paul (1991) measures access, opportunity and success through the number of students who graduate at the four-year colleges and universities. Students who graduate with associate degrees at the two-year colleges are not regarded as successful in Paul's study. Her argument is that more than 62% of students with BA degrees get employed compared to 15% of those who graduate from two-year colleges. A 1988 U.S. Department of Education report concluded that "the earnings advantage of college-educated young adults with at least four years of college generally grew larger as the 1978-1987 period progressed" (Stern, 1988). White college graduates earned 41% more than those with only high school diplomas by 1987, and the difference was even bigger for blacks and Hispanics (Stern, 1988, p. 28; U.S. Bureau of the Census, 1987).

Orfield (1990) maintains that one basic sign of the increasing stratification of higher education is the decline in minority access into four-year colleges and universities.

The third period came with the conservative counterrevolution of the 1980's. The main features were a reassertion of traditionalism, an emphasis on raising admission standards through tougher high school and college curriculum and admission requirements, and diminished federal regulation and funding. The goals of ending exclusion of minorities were blunted by civil rights cutbacks and sharp cuts in the real size of financial aid packages (Orfield, 1990). The colleges turned to much higher tuition for funds. The optimism of the earlier period was severely diminished and eroded in some cases. The social vision was diminished as emphasis was laid on economic development and most students focused on gaining job skills (Allen, 1990).

The legal and political pressures for increasing minority enrollment were seriously weakened by the Reagan administration and became almost non-existent after the early 1980s (Orfield, 1990). Even in the states with black colleges, the proportion of all black college students in those institutions dropped rapidly, decreasing from the vast majority in the early 1960s to 62% by 1970 and 37% by 1982 (Hill, 1984:45). In 1982, the institutions had about one-fifth white students (Hill, 1984). Orfield argues that it is a serious policy error to act as if subsidies to historically black institutions could solve the access problem since black institutions enroll a small and declining share of black students, since most states have none of those institutions, and since there is little or no evidence of higher completion rate at those institutions. Moreover, concentrating attention on minority colleges ignores the fact that the Hispanics who prove to be the most rapidly growing minority group do not have a set of historically Hispanic colleges. Orfield maintains that the extremely severe college access problem of blacks and Hispanics must be solved largely in the mainstream public colleges and universities. Many of the problems of both groups are rooted in their poverty and college cost (Orfield, 1990).

Failure to increase access and bachelor's degree attainment at the undergraduate level makes it almost impossible to increase the number of minority Ph.D.s to expand minority faculty at colleges and universities, to establish a dynamic academic and professional role models for young blacks and Hispanics, or to diversify economic and social opportunity (Paul, 1990). The implications of the declining access is even more serious when viewed against the background that blacks and Hispanics are falling behind their own previous progress as well as that of their majority peers (Ginsburg and Bennett, 1989; Paul, 1990). Therefore, U.S. institutions of higher education must make genuine and sustained efforts to recruit and retain minority students and to improve the quality of their educational experience (Allen, 1989; Karen, 1991).

South Africa is in 1992, where the United State was in the early 1960s. There are several indications to this effect: The abolishment of the Extension of University Act, 1959, the unbanning of political organizations, the return of thousands of exiles, and the general change of heart of the South African white community as evident from the recent government referendum. These events are similar to the civil rights movement and its achievements in the United States. The major difference is that the changes that are occurring in South Africa in the 1990s took place at a time when the country's economy was at its lowest in years.

The experience in higher education in the United States, from the literature reviewed, indicates that in addition to financial aide, which is the most important, there are other issues that need to be considered to facilitate access of Africans to tertiary education in the case of South Africa. The consideration of establishing a system of community colleges as recommended by the report of the Academy for Educational Development headed by William Stuart (Stuart, 1992) needs to be carefully weighed against the evidence provided by Faith G. Paul's study that indicates that cities with a high number of two-year colleges have a lower number of college graduates compared to those with a low concentration of two-year colleges.

According to Vergnani (1991), presently, there is an on-going debate in South Africa between the liberals and the conservative tertiary education institutions. The liberal institutions believe in admitting ill-prepared African students and engaging them in academic support programs to make-up for the educational deficit they suffered. The conservatives maintain that it is not the responsibility of a tertiary education to reduce the educational deficit of African students. Hence, studying the non-governmental organizations that finance academic support programs at the tertiary education institutions is as important as studying the access into these institutions.

The opportunity structure and access to tertiary education in South Africa: As early as 1917 and in accordance with the High Education Additional Provisions Act of 1917, higher education institutions in South Africa were regarded as state aided and not state owned (Malherbe, 1925). The government provided three-fourths of the approved salaries of the staff and one-half of the total expenditure. Different basis of subsidies were adopted for different provinces.

The Nationalist government has, since its inception in 1948, spent much less on the financing of education for blacks (Africans, Indians and Coloreds) in general, and Africans in particular. The disproportionate funding of education according to races pervades the whole education system from elementary to higher education. From the 1950s to the 1980s spending on the education of each white child was always around ten times the spending on the education of each African child (Unterhalter, 1991; Bot, 1990). While per capita expenditure on white children has increased steadily since 1953, it dropped for African children in the 1960 and 1970s. However, since 1985 there has been some slight narrowing of the differential. In 1988 per capita expenditure on each white child was around six-and-a-half times the per capita expenditure on each African child (Christie, 1983).

The creation of exclusively black universities through the enactment of the Extension of University Education Act, No. 45 of 1959, marked the continuation and extension of separate and disproportionate funding of education according to racial lines. The university colleges of Fort Hare, Zululand, The North, Durban Westville, and Western Cape were established. After less than a decade, full university status were conferred on these colleges (Melck, 1983). The Act introduced a measure of state control over universities admissions. Black students who wished to register at the "white" universities had to acquire ministerial permission the approval of which was only granted if the course of study was not offered by the black university of the ethnic group to which the student belong. Thus, more than 90% of black students studied in their ethnic universities which received less funding from separate government departments (Melck, 1983).

Three government departments are primarily responsible for channeling funds to the universities. The department of Internal Affairs is responsible for the provision of education of Colored and Indians, including the provision of higher education. The Department of National Education administers the funds destined for the ten "white" residential universities and the University of South Africa. The Department of Education and Training controls all state provided education for Africans including their universities (Melck, 1983). The different departments in control of the funding of universities brought about disparity in the funding of the universities because these departments were not equally funded.

University students in South Africa are supported financially from a number of sources. To a very large extent, the students and their families bear the onerous weight of the cost of university education. As a result of the fact that black people, especially Africans, were legally excluded from direct participation in the economic and political activities of the country, they found it harder to provide university education for their children. Scholarships provided by the government for students were based on their scholastic merit. Most of these were obtained by white students who came from schools that were better financed by the government.

Government grants, unlike loans are beneficial in as far as they do not produce graduates who are burdened with debt. Greater use of the government grant system was made by rich (white) parents. Government loans for students were limited. In addition, black students had a problem of providing collateral for security purposes. These issues were some of the reasons that gave rise to the establishment of non-governmental bursary organizations (Melck, 1983).

Presently, tertiary education in South Africa consists of four distinct levels or sectors: universities (21 in all), Technikons (15), technical colleges (137), and colleges of education (101). universities offer liberal arts and professional study programs from the undergraduate to doctoral levels. Technikons offer non-degree level higher education, mostly in technical fields. Technical colleges provide vocational and technical education for students at secondary and tertiary level. Colleges of education train teachers through three- or four-year programs. Teacher training is also provided at universities and technikons. Almost all these institutions, at their first-year levels, survive mainly on the supply of students graduating from high schools.

Students in South Africa graduate from high school by writing a national senior certificate examination at the end of each academic year. To qualify for entrance into tertiary education, a students should obtain a matriculation exemption which is a grade point average indicated by an aggregate symbol of A, B, or C. Students obtaining lower aggregate symbols (D, E, or F) qualify for school-leaving certificates (diplomas). Although these students graduate from high school, they cannot proceed to any of the tertiary education sectors. However, some students with a D aggregate symbol do get admitted into colleges of education and technical colleges. According to Unterhalter (1991), in 1989, 37% of African students passed the examination.

Universities

South Africa has 21 universities, 4 of them historically White and English speaking, 5 White and Afrikaans, 7 historically segregated so called "ethnic" black institutions, 3 newer homeland universities, 1 bilingual (English and Afrikaans), and 1 correspondence, bilingual university.

Prior to 1959, in South Africa, the so-called non-White students attended the University of Cape Town, Witwatersrand University, and the University of Natal. In 1959, the Extension of University Education Act, 1959, was passed whereby university colleges for the Zulu, the Xhosa, and the Sotho were established. In addition, separate colleges for Coloreds and Asians had been opened (Berh, 1987). The 1959 Act led to the establishment of separate ethnic universities in order to give expression to the Verwoerdian concept of self-determination for each population group with its own sphere. The Act also created two policies: 1) the development of state controlled universities alongside state aided universities, 2) limited the right of the university to accept or reject students. The only university that had no racial limit in its admission of students was the University of South Africa which offers correspondence courses.

The four white English universities, Witwatersrand, Natal, Rhodes, and Cape Town, vehemently opposed the establishment of black universities (Berh, 1990). Behr (1990), continues to say "these universities dedicated themselves to the principle of freedom of association and the right to determine who shall be taught, who shall teach, what shall be taught, and how it shall be taught, without regard to any criterion, except academic merit" (p. 75). This Act and statement is a contradiction to what Berh himself says in the same article: "Although the Universities of Cape Town and Witwatersrand did not include any reference to admission of students on grounds of race or color in their charters, **subterfuges** were used to **exclude** people of color in the period prior to 1950" (Berh, 1990, p. 83). To support this statement, Murray goes on to quote the chronicle of Witwatersand University: 'A study of admission policies indicates that at its inception Wits very much reflected the prejudices of the society to which it belonged. Only very slowly and hesitantly was it accepted that black students, African, Colored and Indian, should be admitted in substantial numbers. It was not until World War II, when it became impossible for black students to continue to pursue their professional studies overseas, that Wits began to accept black students on any scale at all' (Murray, 1982, 1986, 1986:94).

It is surprising that Wits University "reflected" the prejudices of the society to which it belonged but when the same society decided to establish universities for the victims of its prejudices, Wits spearheaded the vehement opposition of English-speaking universities against the establishment of black universities by the government. "While Wits University was taking its chameleon pace in action and changing color, hundreds of black students were 'pounding' on the gates with their fists and clubs, and shaking them and yelling to be let in" (Mphahlele, 1982:138). In spite of all the opposition from inside and outside the country (especially from The Committee on Science and Freedom based in England and chaired by Michael Polanyi at that time), the black universities were established, expanding the enrollment of African students from 552 in 1958 to 1103 in 1965 (South African Institute of Race Relations, 1981).

The University of Natal, in the words of Berh (1990), "compromised itself to the policy of racial segregation when it instituted separate classes for black students in 1935 and in agreeing to the establishment of a medical school restricted to all suitably qualified non-whites in 1951" (Berh, 1990:3). Behr, citing Brooks (1966) goes on to claim that it was a policy from which the University of Natal had difficulty in extricating itself. For whatever reason, the University of Natal found it necessary to establish "apartheid" classes on its campus but grew cold feet in supporting the government established black universities that would give more opportunities for the disadvantaged black people to gain access to higher education.

In 1983 the government took a step to make white universities more "open" by the enactment of the University Amendment Act, 1983, also known as the 'Quota Act' (Berh, 1990). Since the universities already had a right to admit whoever they wanted, the quota system was to "coerce" white (especially English) universities to increase the pace at which they were admitting black students. The following table bears testimony.

Table 3

Racial Composition of Enrollment at English Medium White Residential Universities, 1984-1986

		CapeTown		Natal		Rhodes		Wits	
Year	Group	N	%	N	%	N	%	N	%
1984	White	10140	85.2	8205	78.5	2900	85.0	14513	87.2
	Asian	276	2.3	1298	12.4	123	3.6	1007	6.1
	Black	316	2.7	722	6.9	282	8.3	866	5.2
	Colored	1168	9.8	227	2.2	107	3.1	250	1.0
	TOTAL:	11900	100	10452	100	3412	100	16636	100
1985	White	10079	85.1	8390	74.9	2903	82.1	14413	86.8
	Asian	269	2.3	1583	14.1	140	4.0	980	5.9
	Black	338	2.9	994	8.9	374	10.6	988	5.9
	Colored	1145	9.7	236	2.1	116	3.3	232	1.4
	TOTAL:	11840	100	11203	100	3533	100	16613	100
1986	White	9796	83.3	7980	72.6	2869	79.2	14911	84.3
	Asian	286	2.4	1737	15.8	169	4.6	1180	6.7
	Black	421	3.6	1019	9.3	445	12.3	1341	7.6
	Colored	1262	10.7	254	2.3	140	3.9	246	1.4
	TOTAL:	11765	100.0	10990	100.0	3623	100.0	17678	100.0

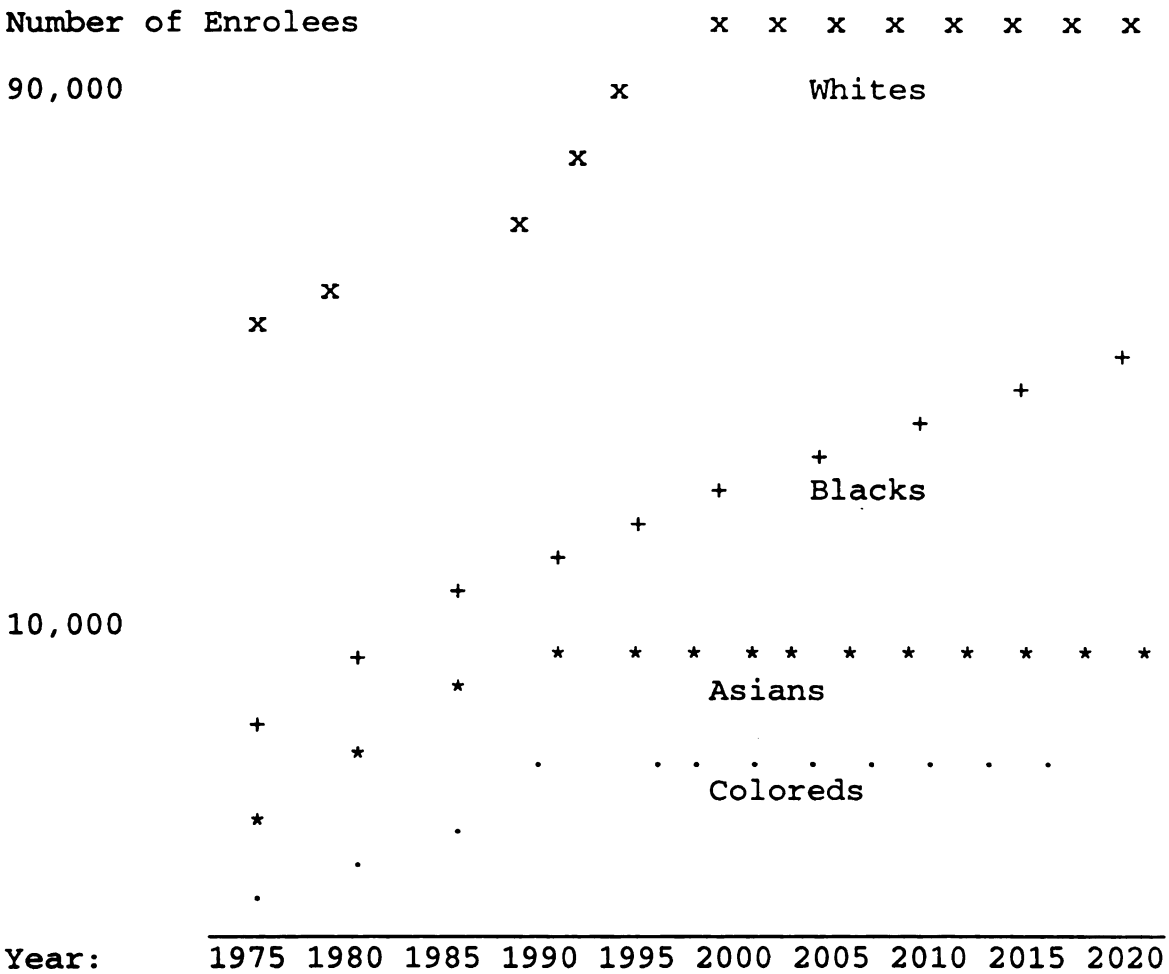
Source: Department of National Education, Pretoria

According to Table 3, the University of Cape Town increased its admission of African students from 2.7% in 1984 to 3.6% in 1986, an increase of .9% in three years. The University of Natal increased its admission of African students from 6.9% in 1984 to 9.3% in 1986, an increase of 2.4% in three years in spite of the fact that it already had "apartheid" classes on its campus. Interestingly, Natal increased the admission of Asians by 3.4% during the same period. Rhodes University increase its admission of African students by 4% from 8.3% in 1984 to 12.3% in 1986. The admission of African students at Wits University increased by a small margin from 5.3% in 1984 to 7.6% in 1986, an increase of only 2.2% in three years or .8% per year.

The six Afrikaans medium universities also started to enroll black students. By 1986, the enrollment amounted to only 1.76% of a total of 62,423 students. The demand for access into Afrikaans medium universities by non-whites was and still is less than the demand to attend English universities because of the fact that English is the language of instruction in the majority of schools in black education with the exception of a few colored schools mainly in the Cape Province and parts of the Transvaal.

The enrollment of white students at the ten residential universities for whites was about 86,000 in 1986 and is likely to rise to a peak of 155,000 in 1995 (Berh, 1990). By the year 2000, the enrollment is anticipated to drop to 108,000 subject to present demographic trends. The projection of the increase of black students in residential universities made by the De Lange Commission on education is illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1



Source: Human Sciences Research Council Investigation into education, Report No. 11, 1981.

In 1990, 302,000 students were enrolled in universities, representing two-thirds of the enrollment of the entire tertiary education sector (Stuart, 1992). Half of these students were white; one-third African. Whereas there were 30.9 white university students per 1,000 of the population in 1989, there were 2.6 Africans. In 1990, only 16% of the 44,632 full-time African university students were enrolled in historically white universities. According to Stuart (1992), despite the increasing demand by Africans for higher education, there remains a significant barrier to their participation at the historically White universities. These barriers including inadequate prior academic preparation, restrictive admission policies, inequities in institutional funding, rising student fees, lack of financial aid, lack of campus housing, and the resistance of White students.

A study conducted by Ian Bunting and reported by Vergnani (1992), reveal serious structural distortions and inequalities in universities in South Africa. Afrikaans universities face growing pressure to admit black students. "There is a need for government intervention because of the strong resistance to change that still exists in the Afrikaans language universities. Extreme right-wing Afrikaner students are reacting in a more confrontational way" (Vergnani, 1992). Historically, the Afrikaans universities are known to be the intellectual core of apartheid policies and have used the language and strict admission policies to exclude black students (Vergnani, 1992).

According to Vergnani (1991), the University of Orange Free State seems to be moving faster than the other Afrikaans universities to accommodate non-whites. It announced plans to offer a six-months English-language program for "at risk" students in 1992. "Observers see these developments as possible forerunners of bilingual education" (Vergnani, 1991).

About 6.7% of Rand Afrikaans University's 9,300 students are black. The university estimates that the proportion will reach 25% in 10 years (Vergnani, 1991). The other Afrikaans universities have smaller numbers of black students. The University of Pretoria rejects change into English to accommodate black students as educationally unsound (Vergnani, 1991). The language problems creates an access barrier for black students to five of the country's white universities that are funded by the public including the black community.

Some authorities in South Africa regard the lack of finance for the universities as a result of the economic crisis the country is going through as the major barrier to access. Vergnani (1991) reports that "South Africa's education budget for 1991-1992 fiscal year, far smaller than would be needed to keep up with inflation, will provide little or no new support for its financially strapped universities." Vergnani, (1991) further reports that predominantly black universities in particular face big financial problems. Predominantly white universities received virtually no additional financial help from the government. Programs to help disadvantaged students were the first to suffer. For 1991-1992 the universities received 2.5% more government assistance than 1990-1991 (Vergnani, 1991).

According to Vergnani (1992), despite president De Klerk's removal of apartheid laws, educators at South African universities believe that financial realities would reduce the pace at which their institutions had been expanding access for black students. The country is struggling through an economic recession and an inflation rate of 18%. Increasing tuition fees will eliminate many black students from universities (Vergnani, 1992).

Technical Education

Technikons. There are 15 technikons in South Africa. Admission into these institutions requires a senior certificate with exemption. The technikons are geared toward the needs of specific industry or profession. They provide a variety of programs with durations varying from three to six years.

Sixty-four percent of the 84,364 technikon students registered in 1990 were white; in 1989, 67% of the students were male. In 1989 there were 10 white students and .2% African students studying at technikons for each 1,000 of their respective populations. Africans comprise 5% of the student body at the seven historically white institutions. Technikon enrollment is growing at an annual rate of 17%. African enrollments are increasing more rapidly but the number of students involved is disappointingly low (U.S. Agency for International Development). Academic support programs have been established at a number of institutions to help academically disadvantaged Black students. USAID's findings were that historically Black technikons have fewer, less advanced, and less specialized courses. Their physical facilities are inferior, and they are poorly funded compared to the historically White institutions. As a result of the underfunding, these institutions are very selective in their admissions.

Technical colleges. Technical colleges provide six levels of secondary and tertiary training in commercial and industrial subjects. The minimum admission requirement is a standard 8 (10th grade) certificate. Seventy-six percent of the 72,000 technical college students enrolled in 1990 were studying at the secondary level. Only 2% of the students enrolled in the 69 historically white colleges were black. Excluding the independent homelands (Transkei, Bophutatshwana, Venda, and Ciskei), overall there were 10 White students and .45 Africans studying at technical colleges for each 1,000 of their populations. The historically black colleges, like the historically black universities, are poorly equipped. They receive disproportionate government funding which is five times lower than the white technical colleges.

Colleges of Education

Colleges of education have the responsibility of training teachers in addition to the training done by universities and technikons. There are 101 colleges of education in the country. All the colleges of education are administered by their respective education departments according to ethnic groups with the exception of one. Sixty-six of them are administered by the Department of Education and Training. Each of the 12 historically White colleges is affiliated with a university which supervises staffing, curriculum and academic evaluations.

According to Vergnani (Chronicle of Higher Education, July 1, 1992), over the next 10 years, South Africa will have a demand for 277,000 new teachers. This means that enrollments in this sector will have to be expanded to meet the demand. Colleges of education had an enrollment of 54,142 in 1991 of this figure, 65% were women. Seventy-five percent of the students in the white colleges were women. Almost all African students attend the historically Black colleges which have three-year programs as opposed to the almost universal four-year programs of the white institutions. The failure rate of African students is high and the colleges enroll many more student repeaters than white colleges. Over 50% of the African students take more than three years to obtain a diploma. Consequently, African colleges are overcrowded. Contrary, many white colleges have too few students, as a result several have been closed. At the historically African and colored colleges, financial and human resources are inadequate compared to the Indian and white colleges. Physical facilities are inferior at the African and Colored institutions.

Most of the white tertiary education institutions and some of the Black institutions are under-utilized. However, access into these institutions has political underpinnings as a result of apartheid laws. The removal of these laws will not mean instantaneous access. The involvement of parents in finding ways of overcoming access barriers will be increasingly important. Insurmountable obstacles will encountered if attempts of gaining access are individual efforts. Financing the present opportunity structure seems to be one of the major problems. Helen Zille (1989), quotes File, academic secretary of the University of Cape Town, "For decades, poor elementary and secondary education for blacks combined with legislative restrictions to keep the proportion of blacks in South Africa's publicly subsidized universities to only a tiny fraction of the proportion of whites. Now that the gap has begun to narrow financial problems are threatening to replace educational qualifications as the mechanism for exclusion" (The Chronicle for Higher Education, November 9, 1988).

Non-Governmental Organizations (Origin)

Most non-governmental organizations are need-based (Etzioni, 1971). The need may be the struggle toward solving a problem that has become a common denominator in a community. As a result of the urgency for the solution of a problem, individuals come together and discuss the problem. In this way, they tend to find each others' strengths and weaknesses (Horton, 1990). The occupation of certain positions is, at the beginning, in accordance with the perceptions of individuals in the group as to who will be the best incumbent of each leadership position. Although the organization consists of individuals, those in the leadership bear the responsibility for decision-making on some, but not all, important issues. Each decision made, by the group or by those in leadership, becomes binding to all the members of the organization.

According to Godkin and Montano (1991), organizations survive through information or learning. The information gained from learning forms the basis for decision-making. These authors regard the following as the basic decision-making structure of community organizations: (1) Priority of problems and issues, (2) Normative and positive information needed or used to define and solve present and future problems, (3) availability, timeliness, accuracy, consistency and adequacy of information.

Organizations act on information, taking both offensive and defensive roles. They do not act volitionally in a strict sense. It has been suggested that they are subject to some of the same processes indigenous to human behavior they adapt to, while affecting changes in their environments (Nystrom, 1976; Weick, 1969).

Organizations gain a window on the world through environmental screening (Thompson and Strickland, 1984). Through a variety of methods, they attempt to detect emergent patterns in environmental activity of trends which have strategic significance on goal attainment. Therefore, non-governmental organizations cannot be understood without a knowledge of how information on access to tertiary education is acquired and how decisions-makers perceive their respective environments (Weick, 1969). Much of the information organizations gain is subjective in nature (Dill, 1958). Decisions taken by the entrusted leadership are a function of how they interpret the information provided by the tertiary education environment. The amount of incoming information used, in part, is a function of existing paradigms and power relations evident at a particular juncture. In the majority of cases, the juncture becomes apparent when members do not agree with the decisions made by the leadership on their behalf. To avoid such occurrences, there is likely to be continued learning about tertiary education in community organizations and continuing contact with the environment.

March and Olsin (1976) describe organizational learning in terms of a "stimulus-response system in which the belief of individuals influence their decisions. Organizational learning begins with individual learning." March and Olsin (1976) suggest that "individual action is taken which generates organizational action, which yields an environmental response.

On the basis of feedback from the environment, in this case from tertiary education environment, inferences are made altering individual beliefs that, in turn, determines future individual action." The assumption that these authors make is that, if the goal(s) of the organization are unchanging, the mapping of action-outcome relationship is correct, the behavior modification is appropriate, and the environment is stable, the above-mentioned cycle will result in improved performance (Bedeian, 1984). In turn, improved performance generates empowerment of the organization. Organizational self-empowerment leads to goal attainment.

Etzioni (1985), defines a (educational) goal as "a desired state of affairs that an organization attempts to realize." This is an image of the future that an organization may or may not realize. Attaining the goal leads to two dimensions, either the organization ceases to exist or goal displacement arises. The non-governmental organizations that will be studied are those that are trying to attain their goals, those that had more that one goal and those that have displaced their goals. In each case, the goal should be related access to tertiary education.

Problems through out the education system for Africans are reflected in the universities. If the proportion of university enrollments to school enrollments is taken as an indicator, it is 20 times more likely that a White student will enter a university than a black student (Hartshorne, 1986). In 1986, there were 60,000 Black students compared to 175,000 White students at university (Race Relations Survey, 1991/92).

The political, social, economic and educational problems that have been the main feature of apartheid have, in most instances, been the reason for the founding and development of non-governmental organizations (Shula Marks, 1982). Creativity and resourcefulness are among the main attributes of African communities. Traditionally, African families, sharing a neighborhood would work together for the "common good."

Non-governmental organizations have been involved in trying to improve the quality of education for students at lower levels so as to better their chances of admission at tertiary level. These organizations also help with material needs that students have such as money, clothes and traveling allowances to make it easier for the students.

Non-governmental organizations presently engaged in helping their students gain access to tertiary education will play a major role in helping African students gain access to tertiary education. Africans do not need to be reorganized in order to gain access into tertiary education especially into historically white institutions. Non-governmental organizations have existed for more than 20 years. Although assisting students to gain access to tertiary education is one of their recent engagements, their achievements have had a visible impact in the community. Several medical doctors have completed their studies as a result of the help from these organizations. The organizations have struggled against many odds. According to Hartshorne (1986), the difference goes on at three levels: First, sheer lack of resources incapacitates African people from entering tertiary education. Second, lack of academic preparation and academic support result in high drop-out rate of those who are admitted. Third, the lack of career counseling for directions of study in high schools results in students taking majors that they may not succeed in at tertiary level (Hartshorne, 1986).

James Coleman (1967) in his study of the importance of families in the academic achievement of students in the United States, identified three areas of effective support: (1) The human capital, which refers to the encouragement of students by individual members of the family through the recognition and positive feedback on the student's individual achievements (2) the social capital, which refers to the educationally supportive home environment, and (3) the financial capital, which has to do with the financial support for food and other basic needs. There is a possibility that community organizations attempt to provide the three favorable conditions that lead to students' access and overall success in their studies. It is likely that effective non-governmental organizations maintain close contact with students by paying them regular visits, writing to them and negotiating with personnel at tertiary education institutions on their behalf.

CHAPTER III

RESEARCH METHODOLOGY

Introduction

The purpose of this study was two-fold. The first was to identify successful non-governmental bursary organizations which have taken the initiative to assist African students gain access to tertiary education in South Africa. The study investigated how these organizations are structured, how they get funded, who is in their leadership (in terms of race, class and gender), how they achieve success in assisting students gain access into tertiary education. The second purpose of the study was to investigate how these organizations view and define access in terms of time, space and energy. In addition, the study investigated how the organizations communicate with members of the community which their students come from and how they communicate with tertiary education institutions in order to answer the research question: "How do non-governmental bursary organizations help African students overcome barriers of access to tertiary education?" This study views the access of students to tertiary education as a system that begins in the community and ends in the community that is served by the tertiary education institution and non-governmental organizations. Tertiary education institutions form linkages as part of a chain of organizations through which access takes place.

Qualitative Research--An Overview

The methods used for this qualitative study are drawn from the fields of sociology and anthropology based on the works of Bogdan and Biklen (1982), Hammersley and Atkinson (1989), and Guba and Lincoln (1981). Qualitative research in education is distinct from other research based on several primary characteristics. Bogdan and Biklen (1982 pp. 27-30) identify the following characteristics:

(1) Qualitative research has the natural setting as the direct source of the data and the researcher is the key instrument. Researchers enter and spend considerable time in schools and other locales learning about educational concerns.

(2) Qualitative research is descriptive. The data collected is in the form of words or pictures rather than numbers. The written results of the

research contain quotations from the data to illustrate and substantiate the presentation.

(3) Qualitative researchers are concerned with process rather than simply with outcomes or products. How do people negotiate meaning? How do certain terms and labels come to be applied?

(4) Qualitative researchers tend to analyze their data inductively. They do not search out data or evidence to prove or disapprove hypotheses they hold before entering the study; rather, the abstractions are built as the particulars that have been gathered are grouped together.

(5) "Meaning" is of essential concern to the qualitative approach. Researchers who use this approach are interested in the ways different people make sense out of their lives. Biklen (1992, pp. 27-33).

The first task of the researcher after he or she has selected the site is to view it as an exploratory opportunity. During the initial phase, the researcher interacts within the community (organization) to build trust and foundations for a comfortable relationship among the community members. Initial interactions often include basic social exchanges as the participants begin to familiarize themselves with the researcher, the purpose of his presence in the community, and the study. Gradually, the researcher and the participants work together to explore the research problem by uncovering the details of specific events. The researcher collects data by providing opportunities for the subjects to describe experiences, while probing for the meanings attached to these experiences as they were interpreted by the research participants.

This process is typically rich in description as events are reconstructed and details are revealed. Open-ended questions allow the respondent to elaborate so that information can be recalled, as close to the actual event as possible, without omitting details that may prove vital to the research. Thus, the researcher guides the subject through loosely structured interviews to gain in-depth insights. Using this technique, the researcher may uncover new insights, not previously considered, and can redirect the line of inquiry to gain additional information.

In the naturalistic setting, the researcher is also afforded the opportunity to observe events or the results of events. The researcher can generate questions based on observations at the site as well as include descriptive data base on observations.

Guiding the participants through interviews, the researcher focuses on gaining a detailed, in-depth understanding of the process, not just the outcome. Thus, the researcher is able to discover information, for example, on strategies, tensions, behaviors, and motives; all factors influencing the research problem. This inductive process enables the researcher to construct linkages and make assertions base on diverse, yet interrelated, perspectives of the research problem.

The qualitative researcher is interested in understanding how people think and develop the perspectives that they hold, and to discover the meanings people give to their experiences as well as the process utilized to interpret events.

Focus of the Study

The study was designed to examine the input, structure or process, problems, outcomes and feedback of non-governmental bursary organizations that help African students gain access into tertiary education in South Africa. The application of the snowball sampling technique necessitated that the researcher start by visiting tertiary education institutions, high schools, and the parents of students that were supported by the non governmental bursary organizations. The researcher visited six out of ten universities, three technikons, three colleges of education, seven high schools, fifteen students in different tertiary education institutions and fifteen parents of students that were supported by the non-governmental organization. From the information gathered from all the above-mentioned sources, questions for the non-governmental organizations were developed.

The non-governmental organizations are administered independently and are funded mostly by foreign donors. Each organization has its own selection criteria for students that are funded. Communication with tertiary education institutions differs from one organization to another. In general they are loosely coupled with tertiary education institutions. Each organizations has different methods of funding and their liaison with high schools, parents, their donors and other organizations differs from one organization to another as well.

Research Design

This study was designed to explore how non-governmental organizations help African students from Soweto gain access into tertiary education institutions. The areas explored included: (1) the type of non-governmental bursary organizations as subsystems of the system of tertiary education, (2) the environments of NGOs and how they interact with them, (3) the strategies used by the NGOs, (4) the input and output problems experienced by NGOs, (5) the feedback loops of NGOs, and (6) linkages of NGOs with other institutions and the communities they serve. To explore these areas, a list of main and subsidiary questions was generated that would initially guide the data collection process. The researcher structured the investigation process so that in-depth insights related to these questions could be gained by drawing upon the methods of interviewing, observations, and reviewing of documents. The questions were modified as the researcher narrowed the focus from tertiary education institutions, schools and students to non-governmental organizations. New questions, designed to collect, confirming and disconfirming evidence, were added as patterns and themes began to emerge from the study. Some questions were omitted when it became evident that they were no longer relevant to the study.

Procedure

This research study had three main phases during the three month data collection period in South Africa. The phases were preplanned to facilitate the development of relevant questions for the non-governmental organizations. The questions were developed such that they were related to the three main questions that guided the study and were based on the systems model of analysis. Using the three main questions as a guide, emerging theses were recorded and assertions were made from the themes.

The first phase was the identification of non-governmental organizations by interviewing administrators at the selected tertiary education institutions, high schools and government educational department dealing with African schools in Soweto. Additional data that would throw light on how tertiary education institutions work with non-governmental organizations was collected. This was done by conducting interviews with administrators that dealt with student affairs. The departments included admissions, bursary sections, academic affairs, and academic support programs. Documents were reviewed to gain insight into the procedures followed by the tertiary education institutions in the distribution of funds received from non-governmental organizations to students. The researcher spent one month moving from one tertiary education institution to another.

Non-participant observations were conducted during selection committee meetings, staff meetings and when students came to offices to report problems they were experiencing regarding their sponsors.

During this phase of the study, the researcher was able to obtain historical and general background of the collaboration between tertiary education institutions and non-governmental organizations and how the collaboration has or has not changed over time. Significant problems that were encountered by tertiary education institutions about NGOs were of importance to the researcher.

The selection of the ten organizations was influenced by four factors.

1. They all had offices in the Pretoria, Witwatersrand and Vereenigeng area. This area is a radius of about sixty miles from the center of Johannesburg. Since the researcher was interested in the access of African

students from Soweto into tertiary education, the location of these organizations in the PWV area was convenient.

2. The reasons advanced in their various constitutions why they were interested in the advancement of the education of black people in South Africa.
3. The involvement of the non-governmental organizations in other aspects of the access process indicated to the researcher that they have a broader definition of access.
4. The constant reference to the ten organizations by tertiary education administrators and instructors. At the tertiary education institutions, information and records about the ten organizations was easily available compared to other non-governmental organizations.

Data collected from the tertiary education institutions, and schools were coded according to relevance to the non-governmental bursary organization. The final three organizations featured in most of the categories is in Tables 5, 6, 7, and 8.

Table 5

Categories of Data Collected from Universities

Category	University								NGOs
	1	2	3	4	5	6	7	8	
Working with NGOs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1,2,3,7,9
Knowledge of NGOs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1,2,3,5
NGO campus reps.	x	x	x					x	1,2
Prog. sup. by NGO	x	x	x				x		1,2
NGOs campus comty	x	x	x					x	1
Visits by NGO reps.	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	2
Stud. org. by NGO									
Comm. reps. of NGO	x	x	x					x	1
Stud. prob. w/ NGO	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1,2,3,4,5,8
Univ. prob. w/ NGO	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1,2,3,6,10

x = indicates that the category applies to university.

1,2,3 = indicate non-governmental organizations #1,2,3

Table 6

Categories of Data Collected from Technikons

CATEGORY	TECHNIKON #1	TECHNIKON #2	TECHNIKON #3	NGOs
Working with NGOs		x	x	1,2,3
Knowledge of NGOs	x	x	x	1,2,3
NGO campus reps				
Program sup. by NGO			x	1,2
NGOs campus compty			x	1
Visits by NGO reps			x	2
Students org. by NGO				
Comm. reps. of NGO			x	1
Problems w/ NGO (stud)		x	x	1,2,3
Problems w/ NGO (un)	x	x	x	1,2,3

x = indicates that the categories apply to technikons

1,2,3 = indicate non-governmental organizations #1,2,3

Table 7
Categories of Data Collected from Colleges of Education

Category	College of Educ. #1	#2	#3	NGOs
Working with NGOs		x		2,3
Knowledge of NGOs	x	x	x	1,2,3
NGO campus reps.				
Program sup. by NGO				
NGOs campus compty				
Visits by NGO rep.		x		2
Students org. by NGO				
Problems w/ NGO (stud)		x		2,3
Problems w/ NGO (clg)	x	x	x	2,3

x = indicates that the category applies to colleges of education.

1,2,3 = indicate non-governmental organizations #1, 2, 3.

Table 8

Categories of Data Collected from High Schools

Category	High School 1	2	3	4	5	6	7	NGOs
Working with NGOs								
Knowledge of NGOs	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1,2,3,5
NGO campus reps.								
Program sup. by NGO								
NGOs campus comty								
Visits by NGO rep.	x							2,3
Student org.by NGO								
Comm. reps. of NGO								
Probs w/NGO(studs)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1,2,3,5
Probs W/Ngo(schl)	x	x	x	x	x	x	x	1,2,3,5,8

x = indicates that the category applies to high schools.

1,2,3 = indicate non-governmental organizations #1, 2, 3

The second phase was the selection of non-governmental organizations for closer study. Ten non-governmental organizations were identified. The main selection criteria was that the ten were found to be funding more than 20 students from Soweto and had offices in the Witwatersrand (Johannesburg and nearby cities).

The data collected and coded as in Tables 1, 2 and 3 helped the researcher in the selection of the three non-governmental organizations for in-depth study. These were the NGOs that were most frequently mentioned during interviews. Questions related to the categories listed on the three tables were asked by the researcher. In the coded data about the organizations, the three were the most prominent. This phase was designed to gain insights related to the implementation of the program of helping students gain access into tertiary education.

Introductory letters were written to the three organizations. The letters were followed by telephone calls to set up appointments with the top administrators of each the identified organizations. Each meeting had five objectives:

1. to gain background information on the NGO related to its mission, experiences in working with tertiary education institutions, and an overview of the NGOs performance in the access program;
2. to explain the purpose of the study and assess the NGOs level of interest in participating in the research project;
3. to gain in-depth insights from the NGO about the bursary program, its historical background against the educational background of African people.

4. to ascertain who could be the possible and viable participants in the research. The researcher would note the various departments or sections of the NGO mentioned and ask the names of the people in charge.
5. to assess constraints that the researcher might come across during the actual data collection so that the constraints could be prepared for, avoided, cleared or communicated to the administrators.

The third phase was the collection of data at the sites. The researcher spent approximately two weeks at each site. The first week on the site, the researcher's main objective was to become visible within the office and allow time for the employees to familiarize themselves with the researcher and understand the purpose of the researcher's visit. During this first week, the researcher was introduced to all employees of the organization individually by the top administrator. The researcher did not ask specific questions related to the organization the first week. The researcher did more listening and observing. After a level of comfort had been reached between the researcher and the individual(s) engaged in conversations, most of the employees would voluntarily express their opinions about the NGO or the program without direct inquiry from the researcher. If employees would volunteer information, then the researcher would ask for clarification of statements or ask further probing questions so that the individuals would continue the conversation. Without rigid time constraints, the researcher would often let the conversations continue until it was terminated by the employee.

All the data collected from conversations during the first week at each organization were recorded as research notes. In addition, any documents collected or reviewed were also included in the research note.

During the second week at each organization, the researcher conducted formal, structured interviews with the administrators and employees. The administrators included (1) Program directors and/or assistant directors and (2) Financial managers. Employees included (1) clerks, (2) student counselors, (3) members of selection committees, (4) secretaries, (5) school liaison officers, and (6) public representative officers. All the interviews were conducted at the offices of the NGOs in English.

Throughout the data collection phases, the researcher would continually assess the data looking for themes and developing patterns. The patterns would be coded to facilitate access after all interviews were conducted.

The fourth phase occurred in the final three weeks of the study. The researcher was actively seeking confirming and disconfirming evidence to patterns and themes that had emerged during earlier stages of the study. Interviews were conducted with new individuals as well as individuals who had been previously interviewed.

The four phases of the study allowed the researcher to continually deepen the focus of the study. The researcher progressed from the tertiary education institutions, schools, students that are supported by the NGOs, to the NGOs themselves. The research was again traced back from NGOs to the tertiary education institutions.

Selection of the Site and Subjects

The study was conducted with three non-governmental organizations based in Johannesburg. The three NGOs were selected out of an initial total of ten organizations. From the list of prominent organizations the ten were regularly mentioned in conversations and interviews. Also, the ten were found in the records that were consulted at tertiary education institutions.

The three organizations were the ones that had more students than the others and their students were in various fields of study. In Soweto, these were the three that were mentioned by the students and teachers at the schools that the researcher visited. Their situation in Johannesburg made access to them much easier for seeking confirming and disconfirming evidence.

The number of people working for the three non-governmental organizations did not exceed twenty in each.

This made it possible for the researcher to interview almost all the workers with the exception of cleaners, drivers, maintenance people and messengers. The subjects who were interviewed consisted of people who worked directly with bursaries or the funds that were set aside for this purpose.

Table 9

PROFILE OF NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

	NGO #1	#2	#3
Mission: funding students directly		X	X
Funding students via T/Ed. institution	X		
Community development mission	X		X
Wider range of development		X	X
Established in Soweto			
Financial support from Soweto Comm.			X
Financial contribution by ex-bursars			
Schools' liaison officers		X	X
Represented at tertiary institutions	X	X	
Capacity-building approach			
Support more than 1000 students	X	X	X
Soweto reps on Board of Trustees	X		X
Representatives of parents of students			
Linkage with other comm. orgs--Soweto			X
Funded by foreign donors	X	X	X
Funded by South African donors	X	X	X

X - Indicates that the category applies to NGO.

Non-governmental Organizations Selected for Study

Non-governmental Organization #1

Organization #1 was established in 1986 to give grants to victims of apartheid. These victims included families of those detained by the police, families whose bread winners went into exile because of persecution by the police, and families or family members of those who died as a result of the struggle against apartheid.

The organization consists of two main branches. One in Cape Town and the other in Johannesburg. The office in Cape Town is the national headquarters of the organization. This is where the bursary section of the organization is housed. The organization has a black general secretary, a white deputy general secretary and a board of trustees consisting of thirteen members - two white males, two black females and nine black males. The organization has two directors - the director of finance and administration, and the director of national projects. The director of projects is the only one with a deputy director whose department consists of a project administrator, a researcher, program coordinators and regional directors of five regions: Transvaal, Natal, Border, Eastern Cape and Western Cape. The regional directors are assisted by regional project officers. On the administration side, the director of finance and administration is assisted by a human resource officer, a senior office administrator, a finance officer and a librarian.

As of 1992, the organization no longer gives grants for bursaries to community organizations because of the change in the political situation in the country. The responsibility of helping dependents of detainees is now handled by relevant organizations to which those people belong. University students do not apply directly to the organization. The organization has set up a committee of ten at each university that will help in the selection of bursaries that are offered by the organization. There are broad procedural guidelines set by the organization that are followed by the committee. Each university runs the selection in its own way using the procedures as a guide.

The organization offers bursaries to university students only. Students who are in high school, technikons, colleges of education and technical colleges are not eligible. Growth in the organization may allow expansion to funding students in other tertiary education institutions. The organization does not have the capacity and resources to control the bursary fund itself. It works in close collaboration with the universities. This tight coupling between universities and the organization has both positive and negative effects that will be discussed in Chapter IV.

The objectives of the organization were stated in its constitution as follows:

* To help create a strong and vibrant non-governmental sector
* To promote effective projects that allow people to help themselves, building integrated development programs at grassroots levels that can be repeated elsewhere

* To give the most disadvantaged people access to resources and skills
* To contribute toward the fundamental transformation of society, away from unequal social and economic relations that exist today.

Non-governmental Organization #2

The organization was founded in Johannesburg on May 9, 1929, to consider the use that should be made of the grants made by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Phelps-Stokes Fund for inter-racial work in South Africa. The first Board of Trustees came from the four provinces of the Union. The eight members were all white males with the exception of one African.

It was decided at the first meeting that the available funds could be used to correlate the activities of various bodies engaged in inter-racial activities in South Africa, particularly to assist in the development of the Joint Council movement and to assist projects for the better adjustment of racial relations throughout the country.

On the expressed wish of the donors of the grants, it was agreed that the organization should be regarded as a non-political body engaged primarily with economic and social matters.

In 1956, the organization decided on the establishment of a bursary fund. The problems encountered by black students, the poverty of their parents and the disproportionate funding of education by the government were some of the reasons considered for the establishment of the bursary fund. The number of donors from within the country was increasing. This gave the organization the impetus to go ahead with the establishment of the bursary section. At the beginning of the bursary, secondary school students, especially those in boarding schools were considered. At a later stage, college and university students were considered. Special emphasis was laid on the education of secondary school teachers because to the shortage of teachers and the increasing number of secondary schools particularly in the cities.

Non-governmental Organization #3

Organization #3 was established in 1956 as a South African branch of an international organization. It is an umbrella body for several member organizations that affiliate with it. It was established as a broad-based community development organization that catered to various religious groups that were members. The organization helped these religious groups by establishing study centers, art and recreation centers, political rallies and support for families whose bread-winners were incarcerated.

The organization confronted the government on various issues that affected its members ranging from pass-laws (the legal enforcement of blacks to carry identity documents wherever they go), health, housing, education, employment, child support and many others. Confrontation with the government and the police has been one of the major characteristics of this organization. It has been associated with radical activities in various government documents.

The funding of this organization comes from numerous national and international organizations. The organization is able to generate its own funds through membership fees from member organizations and from its own business enterprises and investments.

Materials

A list of topic areas and related questions was used as a guide for all interviews with the participants. Interviewees were asked general open-ended questions. Upon the completion of each answer, the researcher would either ask for further clarification, probe further into the answer, or facilitate the conversation so that the next question could be asked. As the study evolved, questions were modified, changed, or omitted according to the narrowing of the focus of the study. The fluidity of the questionnaire allowed for conversations to be guided so that the necessary information could be collected in a natural manner during structured and unstructured interviews, casual conversations and focus group discussions.

The researcher worked alone because of the lack of funds to hire a research assistant. All interviews were conducted in English. The researcher did not need a translator. All interviewees permitted the use of a tape-recorder. The request to use a tape-recorder was made through consent letters that preceded all interviews.

During the interviews, comprehensive notes were taken by the researcher into a research journal. The researcher would identify questions that participants had a difficult time comprehending or exhibited hesitation in answering. The researcher would rephrase the question so that the participant could be at ease in answering the questions. Also, the researcher would identify information that needed further clarification. This would involve questioning the participant again or asking another participant on site. The researcher would compare the most recent interview notes with previous data and identify emerging patterns or themes. Areas for further exploration were identified from the list of the emerging themes and patterns.

Available documents at the site were collected and/or reviewed. These documents included program literature and guide lines, application forms, program evaluations, annual reports, internal and external memoranda, financial reports, reports on students' progress from tertiary education institutions, application letters, response letters to complaints by students and tertiary education institutions, gratitude letters from graduates, NGO literature, work plans, contracts, letters and records from donor agencies, letters from high school principals and letters from parents of students.

Non-participant observations were conducted at (1) tertiary education institutions with programs supported by NGOs, (2) student selection interviews, (3) tertiary education classrooms with students supported by NGOs, (4) NGO offices, (5) NGO monthly meetings, and (6) high schools in Soweto that have students who have applied for financial support to go to tertiary education.

Data Analysis

In fieldwork research data collection and analysis occurs simultaneously. While the researcher is collecting data, he also begins the process of analysis. Data analysis usually begins by coding the data. In this study, each participant was labeled with an alphabetic code determined by the position of the individual within the organization. The participants were also assigned a series of numbers based on the date, the site and the sequence of the interview at that particular site. An alphabetic extension was added to the end of the code to determine how the data was obtained. For example, if the participant was an administrator at Organization #1 and the second individual to be interviewed he would received the code (Org., Reps. 2, Adm.). This code signifies that (Org.) the organization (1) the number of the organization (Reps. 2) that the official was the second respondent, and (Adm.) indicates that the person was an administrator.

This coding system enabled the researcher to quickly scan notes and identify information related to the organizational affiliation, the position of the individual in the organization, the level within the organization, the date, the individual, and the method used looking for patterns among the NGO administrators, then the researcher could quickly locate the information in the research notes by looking for the code.

As the researcher progressed through each phase of the study, the process of coding and sorting the data evolved. During the first phase, the researcher began to analyze the data collected at the tertiary education institutions that were related to common concerns, problems, and issues raised by the participants. The data were grouped into ten categories through all the phases of the study: (1) Inputs of the NGOs including their missions, goals and objectives; (2) (inputs) students selection criteria; (3) (structure) persistence of students in tertiary education institutions; (4) NGOs and their environments; (5) type of support offered to students (within the structure of NGOs; (6) coupling between NGOs and tertiary education institutions; (7) coupling between NGOs and/or other organizations; (8) problems within and outside the boundaries of the NGOs and their possible solutions; (9) outputs of NGOs including job-placement of students after graduation; (10) the feedback loop of the organizations (obligations of students after graduation); (11) the level of stability, homogeneity, clustering and munificence of the environments of the organizations (the future of bursary organizations in South Africa). The data was sorted into the four groups identified for exploration in the study. These were: (1) education institutions, (2) high schools, (3) parents of students, and (4) non-governmental organizations. For example, the researcher began to look for patterns regarding the types of bursary NGOs that fund university students. This process allowed the researcher to examine possible patterns, make contrasts and comparisons, and identify gaps between articulated and actual goals, behaviors or outcomes. New coding systems were added as the research progressed. If the data did not fit into the existing categories, then new categories were created for the information. All data collected was recorded and coded.

The researcher used five methods to physically code and/or manipulate the data. First, all data in the field notes were identified by the use of small, round sticking papers. The papers were organized into a color coded system. Second, all data were written on pages that were in a binder that allowed easy removal. The researcher would remove each page after an interview and file it according to its color coding. For example, all pages that were marked with red paper stickers contained information that was related to academic support programs funded by an NGO(s). This information is related to category number 4 (type of support offered to students). Third, colored pens were used on the side of the field notes in cases where an interviewee refers or discusses another related category. For example, red is used for category 4, and a green mark on the side will be made if the interviewee talks about how the organization communicates the type of support offered to students to other organizations. Fourth, at the top of the page, there would be one colored paper sticker that indicates the category. But if there is information pertaining to other categories, there will be smaller paper stickers representing those categories next to the larger one. Fifth, all field notes were kept in folders that had similar colors as the sticker codings.

Throughout the three months period of data collection, the researcher maintained three journals. One journal contained all the field notes collected during the study. A second journal was used to record and maintain a chronological account of the researcher's activities, ideas and assumptions related to the study. The third was used as a personal diary to record the researcher's feelings and biases. Some of the feelings and biases of the researcher were audio-taped as the researcher was driving from one place to another. By acknowledging the biases or personal emotions in writing, the researcher was better able to segregate personal and professional experiences and how these experiences compared to what was said and done at each site.

CHAPTER IV

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF INDIVIDUAL NON-GOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS

Introduction

The purpose of the study was to identify and study how non-governmental bursary organizations achieve success in their initiatives to assist African students gain access to tertiary education and to investigate how these organizations operate within the South African system of tertiary education. Findings will be presented as they relate to the formal and informal interview questions, observations and records reviewed by the researcher.

The researcher decided to use the systems model as a framework for data analysis after the data were collected. The reasons for using the systems approach, as stated by Hodge and Anthony (1979:83) were the following:

1. The idea of "wholism" in a system enables one to conceptualize an organization as a whole. The elements of the organization are clearly specified, and changes in one element can be traced through the system to determine their effect on system performance and output. Alternative methods do

not have this advantage since they tend to explain organizations in terms of a single predominant factor, whether it be power, bureaucracy, interpersonal interaction, or technology. The systems approach allows us to integrate these various approaches

2. The flow of energy and resources through the input-transformation-output process is clearly depicted.

3. The sources of inputs and the users of outputs are specified.

4. The role of feedback in the system is given the importance it deserves. Thus, predicted consequences of changes made to an input or to the transformation process can be stated more clearly in terms of how these consequences affect other inputs, other parts of the transformation process, outputs, users of outputs, and the quality and type of feedback.

5. In addition, by using the systems approach, we are better able to explain how an organization interacts with its total environmental complex. Its ability to cope with these environments, through renewal and change, is a major determinant of its success.

Non-governmental bursary organizations are subsystems of a larger system of the South African education system in general and of the tertiary education system in particular. As part of a larger system, they are so intricately bound to it that they cannot help but share the problems that are inherent in the whole system. Studying the organizations by applying the systems model helped clarify the intricacies involved in their operations and appreciate the problems they face. Fisher (1981) maintains that the systems model prompts us not to simply hunt for a villain or a hero in a complex human situation. By its emphasis on multiple parts and functional interdependency, it discourages us from judging a system part to be good or bad and encourages us to analyze and understand it thoroughly (Fisher, 1981; Birnbaum, 1988). In addition, the systems model suggests that we see organizational events as having multiple rather than single or simple explanations; that we see two-way interdependence rather than one-way cause and effect relationships; and that we look for relationships between organizations and the environment in which they operate (Birnbaum, 1988).

Hall (1977) states that practice in organizations indicated that the environment plays a major role in what happens within an organization. The repeal of the University Act No. 45 of 1959, brought changes within the three non-governmental organizations. The number of students they had to fund increased tremendously because of the admission of African students into historically white institutions to which they were not allowed before. The increase demand on the organizations to support more students came at a time when their resources were dwindling because of sanctions. The major part of their financial resources came from overseas donors.

The three non-governmental organizations that were selected for study are presented individually for better understanding of their structures and functions.

Non-governmental Organization #1

Background

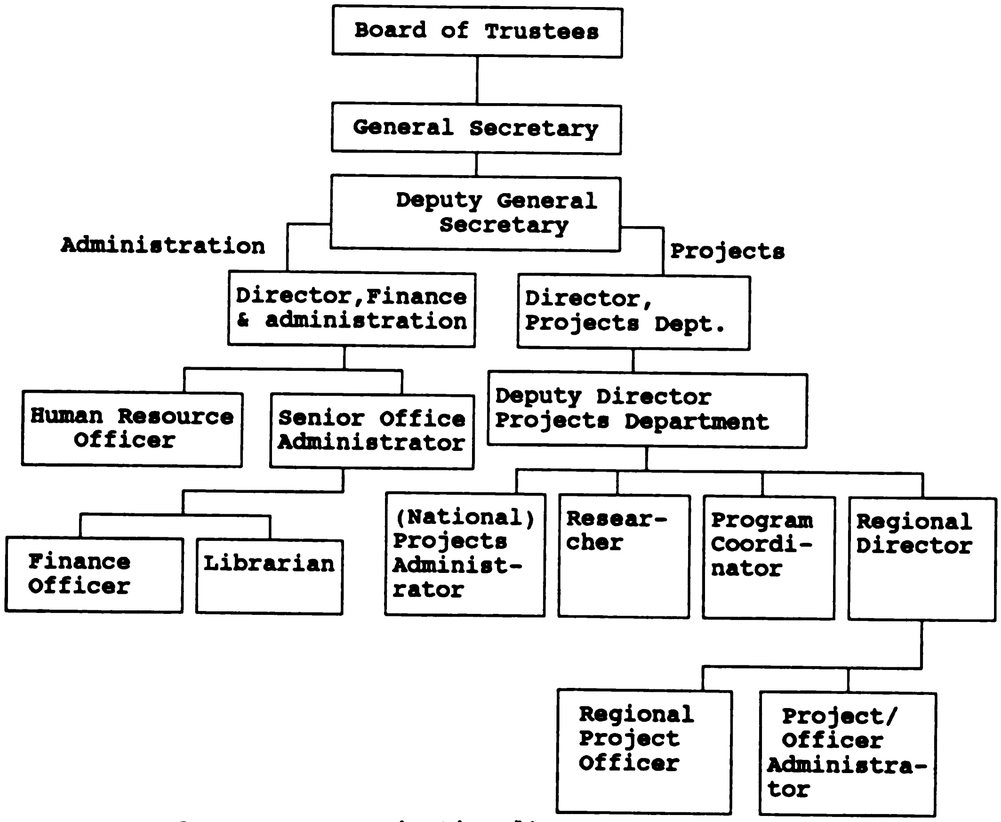
Organization #1 was established in 1986 to give grants and loans to victims of apartheid. These victims included families of those detained by the police; families whose bread winners went into exile because of persecution by the police, and families or family members of those who died as a result of the struggle against apartheid.

Organizational Structure

The organization consists of two main branches. One in Cape Town and the other in Johannesburg. The office in Cape Town is the national headquarters of the organization. This is where the bursary funds are administered. The organization had divided the country into five regions and established offices in each region. At the regions, almost all the sections or departments of the organization are represented.

Table 10

<u>Organizational Structure</u> **(Organization #1)**



Source: 1992 Annual report, Organization #1

The organization has a black general secretary, a white deputy general secretary and Board of Trustees consisting of thirteen members - two white males, two black females and nine black males. The organization has two directors - the director of finance and administration, and the director of national projects. The director of projects is the only one with a deputy director whose department consists of a project administrator, a researcher, program coordinators and regional directors of five regions: Transvaal, Natal, Border, Eastern Cape and Western Cape. The regional directors are assisted by regional project officers. On the administration side, the director of finance and administration is assisted by a human resource officer, a senior office administrator, a finance officer and a librarian. The administration office of the organization is in Cape Town and the projects office is in Johannesburg.

As of 1992, the organization no longer gives grants for bursaries to community organizations because of the change in the political situation in the country. The responsibility of helping dependents of detainees is now handled by relevant organizations to which those people belong. University students do not apply directly to the organization. The organization has set up the University Scholarship Committee consisting of ten members at each university. The committee responsibilities are: (1) to select students who qualify to receive bursaries in accordance with criteria set by the committee and the organization, (2) to act as a disciplinary committee in cases where such problems arise among students who are the organization's bursary holders, and (3) to review the renewal of each bursary at the beginning of the year for each student. The organization offers bursaries to university students only. Students who are in high school, technikons, colleges of education and technical colleges are not eligible. The General Secretary of the organization explained as follows:

> We are a newly founded organization with a lot of teething problems. Growth in the organization may allow expansion to funding students in other tertiary education institutions. We do not have the capacity and resources to control the bursary fund ourselves yet. We think that the procedure we are following now of selecting students on their campuses is working well. We may not change it now; it saves us a lot of time and energy (Org.1.Resp.11.Admin.)

The tight coupling that exists between universities and the organization has both positive and negative effects that will be discussed in Chapter IV. The objectives of the organization were stated in its Constitution as follows:

* To help create a strong and vibrant non-governmental sector

* To promote effective projects that allow people to help themselves, building integrated development programs at grassroots levels that can be repeated elsewhere

* To give the most disadvantaged people access to resources and skills

* To contribute toward the fundamental transformation of society, away from unequal social and economic relations that exist today. (Org.1.Doc.3.)

The office in Johannesburg is housed in a building that has accommodated other organizations and companies. Organization #1 occupies the fifth floor of the building. Organization #1 owns nine offices in this area. These consist of the offices of the director, national educational projects department; the deputy director, national projects department; national projects administrator; researcher; program coordinator; secretaries (in one room) the receptionist; a board room and a room for materials. Most meetings are held in the board room that consists of a long solid-oak table and twelve chairs. All offices are carpeted and air-conditioned.

Both directors have large offices, filing cabinets, a bookshelf in each office, a large desk and four chairs in each office, and a computer. The national projects administrator, the researcher and the program administrator for local programs, all had the same size offices equipped with desks filing cabinets and computers. The researcher's office had five filing cabinets, eight bookshelves with stacks of journals, printed materials, research papers, three computers and a printer. Three secretaries (two females and one male) occupied one office. Each secretary had a desk with a computer, a typewriter, six filing cabinets, and a three bookshelves.

The reception room or lobby had a desk where a receptionist sat, welcomed all visitors and informed other employees of their visitors. The room had five lounge chairs and a coffee table with magazines and hand-outs on it. From the reception desk one could not see the other offices. Visitors went through a glass door into a passage that led to the left or right of the reception room. The number of visitors was never less than three at a time. Calls at the reception desk came at an interval of about five minutes.

The door of the director's office was always closed. He communicated with the secretary and other employees through the use of an internal communication system. All calls came in through the reception desk and the director screened them. Some calls were allowed to disturb the researcher's interviews with the director and for some the receptionist was asked to take messages. Most calls from donor agencies were answered promptly. All calls from students were the responsibility of the secretary.

The director seemed to be a very knowledgeable person about tertiary education in general and tertiary education institutions in particular, other bursary organizations, higher education institutions, and donor agencies. He answered all questions with a lot of enthusiasm. Within the two weeks that the researcher was there, the director had been in his office for a total of 4 days only. He attended meetings at tertiary education institutions, donor organizations and other institutions of interest. In his absence, the deputy director takes over.

All the Johannesburg employees of organization #1 were interviewed. Their reactions to interview questions, observation of their activities, reports on meetings that were attended form part of the data analysis under input, process and outcomes. Each of these categories was further analyzed under the time, space and energy dimension of the systems approach.

Donors for Organization #1

The following donors deserve special reference because, according to the records of the organization, they have been consistent in their financial support. These donors have continued to support the organization since it was founded. The following donors are those who donated toward tertiary education in addition to other programs. Donations that are not related to funding students in tertiary education are not represented here.

1. The Commission of European Communities

   The Commission of European Communities, under its Special Program, continues to be Organization #1's major donor. According to a document of the organization, "The partnership continues to grow from strength to strength, transforming the organization's programs into more classical development focus, seeking to redress historical inequities and economic injustices."

2. The Japanese Government

   The Japanese Government contributes to the general pool of funds, placing special emphasis on health and education.

3. The Swedish International Development Agency

   The Swedish International Development Agency (SIDA) has funded Organization #1 since 1987. Most funds have gone toward supporting education, civic associations dealing with issues like rent and electricity, and community advice offices dealing with problems around dismissals, workmen's compensation, and pensions.

4. The Rockefeller Foundation

   The Rockefeller Foundation has focused its funding on educational leadership, organizational development, aiming at increasing the number of black men and women in public administration and community service.

5. The Government of Finland

   This fund has aimed at students in tertiary education following directions of study that would enhance community understanding and leadership in community programs.

6. The French Government

   This fund has been used for Organization #1's educational and cultural programs. Helping students doing research in the fields of anthropology, sociology and economics.

7. Local Stakeholders

(a) Independent Development Trust

The Independent Development Trust donates funds to the organizations based on a contract that is renewed every year. The amount of the donation changes every five years in accordance with what the trust can afford or according to proposals submitted by the organization.

(b) Urban Foundation

The Foundation is one of the strongest internal supporters of the organization. It donates funds in accordance with proposals submitted by the organization. The donation is renewed every year.

(c) Development Bank

The bank makes donations to the organization on an annual basis. Proposals have to be turn in before the end of each financial year for organizations to qualify to receive money from the Development Bank.

(d) Joint Education Trust

The Trust makes donations to the organization on an annual basis. The Trust decides on the amount it can afford to donate to the organization. The organization applies for financial support from the Trust.

Inputs

Table 11

Amounts donated by each donor agency - 1989 to 1991

Donor	1989 Rands	1990 Rands	1991 Rands
The Commission of European Community	1,525,000	1,660,000	1,715,000
The Japanese Government	1,580,000	1,665,000	2,680,000
The Swedish International Dev. Agency	2,670,200	2,602,145	3,725,000
The Rockefeller Foundation	526,000	574,300	780,000
The Government of Finland	1,650,000	3,675,000	3,723,000
The French Government	2,308,000	5,325,000	6,485,100
LOCAL STAKEHOLDERS:			
Independent Development Trust	300,000	1,327,000	1,515,000
Urban Foundation	1,426,000	2,388,000	2,300,000
Development Bank	375,000	1,453,000	2,545,500
Joint Education Trust	2,312,200	3,281,000	3,315,000
TOTALS:	10,280,200	19,439,445	23,468,100

Source: Organization #1 Annual Report, 1992

Table 12

Number of students and cost per student

Tertiary Ed. Inst.	No. of Students			Average Cost Per Year		
	1989	1990	1991	1989 Rands	1990 Rands	1991 Rands
Universities	621	817	1373	5,046,246	8,440,427	19,990,880
Medical Schools	15	85	307	16,500	1,020,000	5,219,000
TOTALS	636	902	1680	5,062,746	9,460,427	25,209,880

Average Cost Per Student (Universities)

1989 = R8,126

1990 = R10,331

1991 = R14,560

Average Cost Per Student (Medical Schools)

1989 = R11,000

1990 = R12,000

1991 = R17,000

Source: Organization # Annual Report, 1992

Organizational Structure of Organization #1

Data that were collected on Organization #1 through the use of interviews, observations, and records, were grouped into inputs, process/structure, outcomes, and feedback. In each case, the dimensions of space, time and energy were utilized in order to be more effective in analyzing the data.

Inputs: The inputs of Organization #1 consist of donations and donor agencies, students, academic support programs, employees of the organization and the organizational rules and regulations. The donations from donor agencies are regarded as inputs in this study because they enable the organization to award bursaries to students. The donations that the organization receives differs from one donor to another. Some donors give one-time donations that have to be renewed by the organization before the end of each financial year. Some donors work on periodic contracts. Some contracts extend to the graduation of a cohort of students and some are not attached to students but are awarded on contracts extending to a certain period. Most of the donations are negotiated by the organization according to the number of students and the students' needs. Students are regarded as inputs of the organization because without them the organization cannot utilize the donations received. Academic support programs enable the organization to fund students that performed poorly in high school, hence these programs are regarded as input to the organization. Some of the employees of the organization facilitate the selection of students from high school and their placement in tertiary education institutions. Organizational rules and regulations are regarded as inputs in this study because they direct and facilitate the course of events within the organization and at tertiary education institutions.

Time

Goal(s) and mission statements: Providing opportunities for students to acquire skills in fields of study that have been identified as a priority in relation to human resource needs of the country, was the mission of Organization #1. This mission had changed from giving support to tertiary education students in general to supporting students in identified and specific fields of study to: (1) meet the needs of the country, and (2) enable students to prepare for meaningful participation in society. The temporal shift in the organizational policy affected the selection procedures and the types of students to be selected; also narrowing the pool of selection. The shift was explained by the Program Director as follows:

> One of the advantages of the Bantu education system was the increase in the number of high school graduates. Before the system was introduced, we supported tertiary education students regardless of their field of study. As the numbers increased, we had to be more selective. Hence, we changed our selection criteria. We were influenced by our donors who began to change the conditions under which their donations would be distributed. Also, we were inundated by applicants and we could not cater for all of them. Narrowing the scope helped us to be more effective and efficient (Org.1.Resp.5. Adm.)

In the 1990's, the debate on the access of African students to tertiary education seems to have reached all levels of the South African community. The relevance of tertiary education institutions was being questioned in the light of the fact that Africans, being in the majority, are a small minority in these institutions. Non-governmental bursary organizations, including Organization #1, have a long history of involvement in the battle for access of African students into tertiary education. The changes that are occurring at present have called upon all institutions and organizations involved in tertiary education to address the problem of access (Van Wyk, 1988).

Discriminatory policies, especially at the historically white tertiary education institutions, have kept most Africans out of these institutions regardless of their tax contributions toward the funding of tertiary education (Thembela, 1989). These polices were enacted to keep Africans in perpetual servitude. The mission, goals, and objectives of Non-governmental Organizations #1 reflected the problems faced by the population it serves. These problems include poverty, hence, inability to send their children to historically white institutions that have comparatively better human and material resources.

Donor agencies: Sixty percent of the donations that the organization received between 1989 and 1991 were from foreign countries and 40% were domestic donor agencies (table 11). The difference between these donors agencies was expressed by the General Secretary of the organization as follows:

> We receive more donations from outside the country because there are more philanthropic organizations out side South Africa than we have here in the first place. Secondly, there international community tends to sympathize with our plight. We do not take these donors for granted and hope that they will donate every year. We do a lot of work traveling to convince them that the need for support still exists. International agencies tend to work on long-term contracts. Domestic agencies consider a number of things before they agree to renew their commitments. They look at the performance of students the previous year, the nature of their financial situation, and whether or not they will be able to pay the 40 percent when they graduate. We work harder to convince domestic donors that we do local ones (Org.1.Resp.4. Adm.91592.).

Financial reports are drawn every year and distributed to the donor. Some donor need more information about students than others do. Donor who support a selected group of students, for example, engineering, we require progress reports of their students only and a detailed record of how the finances were expended.

Organization #1 perceived the problem of access of African students to tertiary education to be economic in nature when it was founded. Thus, it assumed, the problem could be resolved by providing funds to African students. The largest portion of these funds was donated by national and international philanthropic organizations. According to a document of Organization #1 (Org.1.Doc.7), the assumptions it made was that the African graduates will be employed in better and well-paying positions so that the economic benefits derived from better salaries, would eventually trickle down to the poor African communities. Scholars such as Rostow (1961), Hagen (1962), McCelland (1961) were influential in developing the assumption. Five years later (1967), a study conducted by the University of Witwatersrand revealed to the organization that the benefits from the "trickle down" effect models remained concentrated in towns and city centers (Schumacher, 1973). The study found that, ironically, most of these educational programs that were supposedly designed to alleviate poverty actually exacerbate community problems and accelerate the degradation of meager family means of survival (Mydal, 1986; Inayatullah, 1975; Seers and Joy, 1971). In most cases, students had to augment the funds they received from the NGO through funds from their families. When most of the students graduate, they do not return to their parents by start their own families; leaving the parents worse than they were before sending the students to college.

The recent trend is that the organization is beginning to change its operational strategies because it realized the problems it created. The organization now provides all the funds that meet the full cost of tertiary education

(Org.1.Doc.9,92). Also, the organization was under pressure to change with the emergent South Africa.

The director of the organization stated that:

> We are under pressure to change our student funding strategies from full grants to part grants and part loans. This change has not been easy especially for our on-going students. It was easier to change for in-coming students. It was a question of "take it or leave it." They had no choice but to take what was available. We made it a point that we explain fully why we had to change to the new system. Our basic reason is that we do not have enough funds to help more students. With the payment of loans we are assured of continued help for new students. We still have to undergo more changes as we face problems with funding as a result of the repeal of apartheid laws (Org.1.Resp.7).

The change mentioned above affected some students when it was introduced in 1991. Students who graduated this year were the first to feel the impact of the 40% loan they had to pay back to the organization compared to their colleagues who graduated a year earlier and did not have to pay.

Selection of students. Another drastic change that took place as a result of changes in the environment of the organization was the decision to do away with application forms. This meant that the organization would not select students direct from high schools. The students to be selected would be either in the second semester of their first year, or in their second year or third year of study to be eligible for bursaries. This move from the "normal" was explained by the Secretary General as follows:

> The 1976 student's uprisings was the second turning point in African education in South Africa following the introduction of the Bantu Education Act of 1954. The education system became worse after 1976. It became difficult for us to find students we could fund to attend tertiary education in the first place, and to find good students in the second place. We had problems with students who could not complete their studies. This had an effect on our donor agencies. We finally decided to fund students who are already admitted at the universities. We established selection committees at the universities. The committees meet four times a year to select, review and solve problems related to our programs (Org.1.Resp.6).

The organization was under pressure to effect the changes. Some of the changes were to its own advantage. The advantages and/or disadvantages of the changes are discussed under the energy aspect of the systems approach. Although these are temporal changes, the reason they occurred had more to do with spatial issues in the organizational internal environment caused by changes in its external environment.

Past records of the contributions of non-governmental organizations are known by most administrators in tertiary education institutions. However, the views expressed by Organization #1 that it is concerned about the education of students were not shared by all the principals of high schools in Soweto. Only one out of ten school principals who were interviewed, had communicated directly with organization #1 in the past year (1991). The other principals had knowledge of Organization #1 but had never been visited by a representative of the organization. One principal said:

> Organization #1 is like all non-governmental bursary organizations. They fund our students but would not like to work with us because we are employed by the government. I find this extremely ironical and an example of double standards. Some of their donors are parastatal organizations. They never refuse their money but they would not deal with the government directly. If they were to work with us, we would save them time and money. We know our students fairly well. We would be in a better position to recommend students who would do well at tertiary education level whatever the selection criteria is. My observation is, in the majority of cases, these organizations tend to fund students whose parents can afford to pay for them. These are middle class parents who happened to be expose to information about bursary organizations. The organizations have not changed their attitude toward schools that happen to be part of the community they claim to serve (Org.1.Resp.13a. Sch.Adm.).

The principal could not explain why the school has not done anything to make the organization aware of what he complained about. This indicated that the organization spent money with out extensive environmental scanning so as to determine its boundaries. Information about students who may or may not do well at tertiary education level was not obtained by the organization. The number that the organization supports is a drop in the ocean compared to the need in the African community and the availability of spaces at the tertiary education institutions.

The problem of demographics has affected most historically white universities. The number of white students is decreasing tremendously. If their places are not taken by black students in general and Africans in particular, these institutions may suffer losses of funding because the number of students in an institution is one of the determinants of how much government subsidy the university can receive. According to one leader of a tertiary education institution:

> The role played by non-governmental bursary organizations should not be under-estimated. We have a good number of African students that we had to turn away because they could not qualify financially. We had ample space for them but we have no funds to support them. We appealed to non-governmental organizations to consider helping them. We were pleasantly surprised that 60 percent of the students were funded by the organizations (Tert. Ed. Resp.11. Adm.)

In the South African situation it is not unusual to find students who have dropped out of tertiary education because of lack of funding. Some of these students would be lucky to find a bursary to continue their studies within a year or longer. In most cases the selection of students for funding is contingent upon their academic performance and financial need. One student said:

> I had to drop out of university after my father died in a car accident. He was the sole bread-winner. My mother had always been a housewife. I had to find a job and support my mother and two of my brothers. I heard about organization #1 from a friend. I went to their office in Johannesburg and filled in application forms. Later I was informed that I got the bursary. My mother had to find a job to support my brothers. I read the

> conditions of the bursary carefully and paid attention to the obligation of the organization toward my funding. When I completed last year I was thankful that the organization kept to its obligation until I completed.

Apparently, Organization #1 does stick to its commitments and achieve its goals. Most students who are funded by the organization do complete their studies. One of the directors of the organization had the following to say about their success rate:

> Funding students is a process that begins with their selection. If the selection is careful done, the battle is half won. We support our students through academic support program because we want them to graduate at within the specified time of their programs. We have been lucky that about 98 percent of our students do graduate each year. We are able to achieve this if the situation at the universities is stable (Org.1.Resp.9. Adm.).

With reference to the above statement; it appears that the organization adopted the contingency theory. The success of each part of the organization is contingent upon the success of other parts. The success of the organization as a whole depends on the availability of donations to support its students. If the students are not successful, then the organization cannot convince its donors that there is progress being made. Decisions that are made to ensure the success of the organization relate to issues of energy.

Energy. The mission or the goal(s) of an organization tends to indicate how it plans to expend its energy. Energy determines the organizational boundary. The boundary, in turn, is determined by the quality of the organizational inputs, environmental scanning and the type of coupling within its parts or elements (Hodge and Anthony, 1979). The utilization of both material and human resources generates energy in an organization.

According to Organization #1 (Org.1.Doc.1), "The essence of educational development is that it should aim at improving the quality of life in general. All the other requisite processes such as the need for sustainability, community empowerment, economic growth, viability and social stability, should have, as the primary goal, the enhancement of human life. Viewed in this way, educational development becomes an integral part of social change and upliftment, especially so in the context of present day South Africa" (Org.1.Resp.2.Adm.). For this organization, the goal of the bursary section is to improve the quality of life. "This includes cultivating an independent approach to learning, and the promotion of self-respect and confidence" (Org.1.Resp.2.Adm.).

The bursary program of Organization #1 aims at addressing national human resource needs. It distributes funds to 3,000 students through tertiary education institutions all over South Africa. The organization focuses on the natural sciences, development studies and teacher training (at universities) , maintaining a balance between university and technikon studies. The bursaries of this organization are no longer a grant but a loan, 40% of which is payable when the successful student reaches a certain level of income. According to the records of this organization, this reduces problems of "welfarism" and ensures that funds continue to circulate to give as many people as possible access to tertiary education. This organization also maintains that it is consciously biased toward rural and female students to make up for the years of neglect.

According to one of the directors of organization #1:

> The organization grew from a staff of two people and a budget of R10 million for 30 projects in 1986, to a staff of 50 people and a budget of R150 million in 1991. But in the 90's, the organization has had to adapt to the changing nature of South Africa. Money can disempower people by taking away the need of people to do things themselves. Today the organization has committed itself to functioning as a development agency. The organization's work today covers a number of fundamental development areas, including education, community development, health and human rights. The organization sees its role as independent of government involvement, now and in the future, although without conflict with authorities. Rather, it lays the groundwork for the formation of self-sufficient and dynamic communities, which must lie at the base of any democratic system (Org.1.Resp.3. Adm.)

The above quotation supports the idea expressed by other officials of Organization #1 that the organization has undergone major changes since 1986. The changes occurred as a result of hard work done by the employees of the organization expanding the boundary of the organization to reach beyond providing bursaries for students. According to a student supported by the organization:

> I have been supported by the organization since 1989. They have kept to their promise of increasing the amount of my grant in accordance with the rate of inflation and the increase in boarding and tuition fees. The organization seems to change in accordance with the times. The number of African students supported by this organization has increased almost three times at this institution. This is a majority white institution that has given opportunities to African students over time. I believe that if it were not for this organization most of the students would not be here (Org.1.Resp.14).

The views expressed by the student above were in concert with the views of administrators in tertiary education institutions about organization #1. Organization #1 was founded at the time when changes in tertiary education were occurring as a result of the repeal of laws such as the Separate University Act No. 45 of 1959. This law barred black students from attending historically white tertiary education institutions. Its repeal made it possible for this organization to work toward its mission to provide higher education for Africans over time. Documents of organization #1 indicated that it had the ability to plan the funding of students well in advance. This was achieved as a result of the research that organization conducted to keep abreast of the times. A research documents of organization #1 (Org.1.Doc.6a.) indicated the following:

* More than seven million children of school going age (620) do not attend school (1992).
* The rest of South Africa's 14 million black school children are taught in overcrowded rooms with inadequate textbooks and equipment, and by under-qualified teachers.
* In 1991, while 95% of white pupils qualified in final examinations and 40% of these obtained automatic access to universities, only 42% of black participants passed the final examinations and only 9% obtained university passes.
* By the year 2000, South Africa will have a shortage of 212, 000 managers and 200,000 technicians.

The records of Organizations #1 further indicated that 20% of the 9% of students mentioned above who were admitted into tertiary education institutions received bursaries from non-governmental organizations. One of the administrators of the Organization #1 stated that:

> The majority of South Africans have suffered through many years of deliberate deprivation, poverty and underdevelopment under the apartheid system. No future government, no matter how representative or democratic, will easily or immediately meet all the social and economic needs of the people. Our organization is a South African non-governmental organization. It works to overcome the legacies of apartheid by helping to create an equitable, united, non-racial, non-sexist and democratic society that is free of poverty. In order to achieve this ideal, young men and women need to be educated. We at Organization #1, plan our programs so that they can be effective now and

> in the future. We are aware that we need resources that are scarce but human resources are the best to invest in. A vision of the future will produce better plans and better resources to meet our community obligations (Org.1.Resp.9.Adm.)

The feeling of the administrator above was that the problems created by apartheid cannot be solved by the government alone. Non-governmental organizations will play an important role in improving access of disadvantaged groups into tertiary education.

Process/Structure (Throughput)

The process, structure or throughput of Organization #1, according to this study consisted of (1) communication within the organization including its branches, (2) communication with tertiary education institutions, (3) communication with donor agencies, (4) communication with students, (5) academic support programs (6) evaluation of students, and (7) counseling and the solution of students' problems. In order to understand the process function of the organization the mechanism of time, space and energy are applied.

Time

Communication is an important feature in all organizations. Information from the community, students, donor agencies, faculty and administrators at the tertiary education institutions is important to the survival of Organization #1. Information on national and international current affairs, political and economic climate in the countries of donor agencies and the educational situation in the home front is of crucial importance to the organization. The organization needs students for the grants and loans it has for university education. Information about its existence, how it functions, and who qualify for the scholarships is necessary in order to find students who can apply.

The temporal mechanism helped the researcher in understanding the past, present and future structural or process orientations of Organization #1. Changes that have taken place in an organization are indications of the survival strategies that an organization applies to buffer itself in an unstable environment.

Organization #1 was aware of the importance of communication and the different means of communication that can be utilized to effect change in its operations. Management of information flow was regarded as one of the most important factors in managing change. The Director of Student Affairs elaborated on this issue as follows:

> Receiving and monitoring information is what our job is all about. We need to know on a regular basis what is happening at the universities so as to advise our students and donors wisely. Problems in high schools affect the pool of new students, hence, we need to know what problems schools are dealing with. Also, we have to know what policies the government planning to implementing concerning the funding of tertiary education institutions. There are conferences that are being run by the Independent Development Trust in conjunction with

> other organizations that address issues related to the conditions and criteria for the admission of students. We normally send one of our staff members to attend these conferences and report to the organization. We watch the media everyday for information about donor. For example, we receive every issue of "The Chronicle of Higher Education" and the "The South African Journal of Higher Education." (Org.1.Resp.5.Adm.).

The environmental climate was found by the organization to be very dynamic and unstable. The system of education that it draws students from was in a crisis situation. Students who succeeded in completing high school were not well prepared for tertiary education institutions. The organization had to change its entrance requirements and its modus operandi to survive in the turbulent environment. The organization's past, present, and future structural orientations are discussed here in relation to how the performance of students at tertiary education institutions was positively and negatively affected by the processes in which the organization was directly or indirectly involved. The following were some of the observable changes that the organization had effected from its past orientation:

Hand-outs. These were placed in the lobby to provide information to prospective applicants related to:

* The name of the organization, address, telephone and facsimile numbers, and names of its directors
* National branches of the organization, their addresses, telephone numbers and officials in charge

* Qualification requirements

* Priority areas of study (e.g. medicine, health, science, technical and engineering)

* Other community development programs that the organization had established and how they relate to education.

Walk-ins and open houses. In the past, the organization did not allow the public to walk in and obtain information on its operations. Also, the organization set aside some days in a year during which it invites members of the public to visit its offices. This change had to be effected to cut down on the number of telephone calls, correspondence and other inconveniences to save money that it needed to use on students.

Application forms. In the past, the organization used to have application forms that were dispatched to students upon request. Returned forms would be screened and students who were selected would be interviewed. Successful students would proceed to university. This system is a common feature of most non-governmental bursary organizations in South Africa.

Organization #1 changed the application-interview system because it was expensive and inefficient. Also, according to the director, it was open to favoritism and nepotism. The new system consisted of a committee of ten set up at each tertiary education institution to handle the selection of students mainly on the grounds of their academic achievements and financial needs. The members of the selection committee consisted of volunteers who were paid a travel allowance only. The Director explained the advantages of the new system as follow:

> We try to save by employing less workers so as to give more to students. We try to be both effective and efficient. We would rather employ more people to work with students on campuses that at the offices. We believe that there is more work to be done out there. We need to see our students complete their courses of study sooner in order for us to attract more funds from donors and be able to help more students. We are planning to employ university personnel to look after the interest and problems encountered by our students at tertiary education level. It is usually bad news for us if a university has to close down because of students' protests. We know that such activities delay the graduation of our students and that means doubling our resources to help new students.
>
> We do not spend money employing people to do the selection of students. Each donor has its own rules and selection criteria. We cannot deal with all those problems and we cannot be represented at all campuses. Our bursary committees have been very efficient and have saved us a lot of time and money (Org.1.Resp.11.Adm.).

The organization recognized the importance of selecting capable students into courses of study wherein they would perform well. To make sure that students do well so as to save time, the following support services became part of the structure or process of Organization #1.

Academic support programs. Academic support programs were established to help new students cope with their studies and other issues related to academics. These were not introductory or orientation programs. The programs were meant to support students throughout their courses of study until they graduate. Studies conducted by the university of Witwatersrand indicate that students who persist with the attendance of academic support programs obtain higher grades in their studies and spend less time in their courses of study. Another interesting finding was the involvement of students in political activism. The document indicated that:

> Sixty percent of the students who were involved in class-boycotts in 1990 were those who were not doing well in their studies and as high as 80 percent did not attend academic support programs (Org.1.Doc 3.91.)

As a result of the findings, Organization #1 decided to invest money in the development and implementation of the academic support programs. A component that would administer issues related to academic support programs had to be established within the structure of the organization. All the academic support programs that were supported by Organization #1 were in the historically white universities except for the Medical University of Southern Africa. The reasons for the concentration was explained by one of the directors of Organization #1 as follows:

> Black students in white institutions are in a foreign and alienating environment. If they are left to learn to survive by themselves it will be like throwing them into the deep end and expect them to swim when they cannot. It will take too long for them to learn survival skills. Apartheid has been a strong force that militated against the progress of black people for a long time. Students coming from disadvantaged backgrounds cannot be expected to do as well as those who come from advantaged ones. Not only do they face academic problems as a result of language problems and other factors, they experience culture shock as well as a result of being submerged into a different culture. There are gaps that need to be bridged in their knowledge as well. A different learning culture needs to be inculcated in them. This cannot be achieved if the students do not accept that they have problems. This is precisely the reason why we encourage the tertiary education institutions to allow the students to attend classes prior to enrolling into academics support programs. Some university conduct the programs according to departments and others set up interdepartmental support programs. Students at historically black institutions do need these programs. Our problems have been the fact that there are so many class boycotts there that such programs will be a waste of time and money (Org.1.Resp.10.Admin).

<u>Student counseling program</u>. In its future plans (future orientation), Organization #1 will establish or support counseling services that are meant for students or campus. This was regarded as one of the most important services on campuses. The reasons for their support were clearly stated by the Director of Projects:

> Entry into tertiary education is a life transition. All life transitions are accompanied by different levels of stress on everybody including adults. What more of these young people who come from disadvantaged backgrounds? They become lost in a sea of people. Worse still, is the case of students who go to the historically white

> institutions. Most of the African students come from different cultures and are expected to perform just as well as their white counter-parts who come from an education system that prepares them for leadership. There are psychological and emotional factors that affect African students when they find themselves submerged in another culture. The presence of a counselor on campus will provide a shoulder to cry on and emotional support for our students. We understand that this will directly affect our structure. We will need more people in our offices to monitor the counseling programs (Org.1.Resp.10.Adm.).

Students monitoring program. All student that are supported by Organization #1 are expected to turn in the grades they have obtained at the end of each semester. The organization has set up a monitoring system through which it tries to find out which students are not performing well so as to terminate their funding before its too late and money has been wasted on them. Some universities such as the Medical University of Southern Africa turn in the grades on behalf of its students. The university believes that "student should not take time from their busy schedules to attend to administrative issues that can be done by the office" (Tert.Ed. Resp.16.91392).

Job-placement program. The organization did not have a job-placement program in its structure at the time of study. It collaborated with placement organizations such as Manpower Development, Small Business Corporation of South Africa and other agencies. According to the Director of Projects:

> Job-placement is an integral part of our structure. The reason is that, we give 60 percent grant and 40 percent loan to each individual student. In order for the student to repay the loan, he or she will have to be employed. This puts the responsibility not only on the student, but on us as well. We have a responsibility to select students who will study in areas where employment will not be a problem. A good example here are medical students. We do not have to look for jobs for them, the jobs look for them. In this way we are assured of helping more students in the first place, attracting more capital in the second place and stay in business in the third place (Org.1.Resp.10.Adm.).

Space

Association with other organizations. Organization #1's structural or process space was guided more by what happened at tertiary education level than anywhere else. Political issues such as the release of Mandela and the unbanning of the ANC and other political groups had some degree of impact on the structure of the organization. Early, after its founding, the organization worked closely with the United Democratic Front (UDF). The UDF was regarded by South Africans as the domestic wing of the ANC while it was in exile. The United Democratic Front was dissolved upon the unbanning of the ANC. The organization had to work toward forming closer relations with the ANC. This phenomena was explained by the President of the organization as follows:

> We are not a political organization per se. However, we had to align ourselves with one or other of the political organizations for strategic reasons. This has a lot to do with our domestic and international donors. As I told you before, most of the donors would not support us if we were seen to be working collaboratively with the

> government. Our main link to the outside world had to be someone with some credibility. We work closely with the ANC. We have consultants that are leaders in the political organization. These are issues we normally do not talk about. We stay out of politics as far as possible (Org.1.Resp.1. Admin.91592).

As a result of political activities at tertiary education level, there has been more decentralization of operations to branches so as to monitor such activities.

Persistence of students. Students' responsibility toward finishing their programs at tertiary education institutions is the corner stone for helping more students. Organization #1 does not have any control over the dismissal of its students by tertiary education institutions. There is no way the organization can buffer itself against tertiary education institutions as part of the system. In some cases, some members serving in the students selection committee have been helpful in protecting students. The Director of Finance had the following to say about their failure to protect their students against victimization by tertiary education institution:

> Most of our tertiary education institutions operate on semesters. There are only two semesters in a year; from February to June and from July to November. If a student does not do well in the first semester, he or she does not qualify for the following semester in a particular course or courses. Some students get low grades in all the first semester courses and are eliminated for the next semester. Such students are dismissed by the institutions. In such cases, there is absolutely

> nothing we can do as an organization but to terminate the bursary for that particular student. In some cases, parents send the student back to the university the following year, if the student does well in the first semester and we have the funds, we renew the bursary for such a student upon request. Most of the students who face such problems are those who get involved in political activities (Org.1.Resp.11.Adm.).

Energy

Academic support programs. Process energy in Organization #1 comes from the success of programs that were supported by the organization. Academic support programs have proved to be a major success. As a result of the academic support programs, students did well in their programs of study. In 1991 Organization #1 achieved a 95% graduation rate. The Director of Projects explained their involvement as follows:

> We put a several thousands of rands into academic support programs like the Test-Teach-Test at the University of Natal. Research proved to us that we are investing our money well in these programs. In some tertiary education institutions these programs are not as successful as they are in others. Institutions differ in many ways. We have set some criteria for our funding of the academic support programs. One criterion is that the programs should have 20 percent African students supported by us. The reason for this is that we do not have students in some institutions that conduct academic support programs. For example, we do not have students at the colleges of education and at the technikons (technical universities). The amount of money we give to universities is based on how much we have as surplus after distributing bursaries (Org.1.Resp.10.Adm.91392).

At the University of Natal, the organization supported the "Teach-Test-Teach" program in addition to the ongoing academic support programs. The Teach-Test-Teach program was established for students who obtained low grades in high school. The program admitted students who did not have university entrance qualifications but who demonstrated academic potential after writing the entrance test. The program started by teaching students basic concepts in academic writing, mathematics, and English. The students were tested after a month of teaching. Those who managed to pass the test had their temporary admissions changed to permanent.

According to a report on the Teach-Test-Teach (TTT) program (Tert.Ed.Doc.22. ASP), the students were not participating at the beginning. Full participation was one of the requirements to pass the course. After a week, the students began to participate and their grades improved as a result. Ninety-eight percent of the students who registered into the program passed. One of the students who attended the academic support program commented as follows toward the success of the program:

> If it were not for the Teach-Test-Teach program I would not be admitted at any South African University because of the F-aggregate symbol I obtained at the end of the high school examinations. I knew I was not going back to high school. High schools in Soweto are a mess. My parents had the money to send me here for the first year of my study. Not only did the program help me with admission but I gained a lot of basic

> knowledge about the courses I was going to take and I learned how to study and how to write academic papers (Tert.Ed.Resp.15.91792).

At the tertiary education institutions, academic support programs are either conducted as a separate department or as part of a course such as mathematics, physical science or computer science. Organization #1 is one of the financial supporters of the TTT program.

Communication with tertiary education institutions. The presence of a selection committee at each tertiary education institutions seemed to facilitate communication between Organization #1 and the institutions. The majority of the members of the selection committees are employees of the universities. The advantage of this body was explained by the Director of Projects as follows:

> We do not have to spend money and time interviewing student at our offices. The universities select students that have proved to be capable in their academic work. They also have records on the students' conduct and financial need. Although we provide some guidelines for the selection committee, basically, they decide on their own procedures. Each institution is different from another. We make sure that the community is represented on these committees. Members of the committee serve for a period of two years.
>
> The committees are not a permanent feature. However, students would know who to consult on campus if they have problems. These representatives are members of the committees. These are the people who convene the committees if there are serious problems that need the attention of full committees. Members of the committees serve on a voluntary basis (Org.1.Resp.10.Adm.).

Output and Feedback

The outcomes of Organization #1 according to this study consist of the graduation of students it supported, job-placement of the students and the contribution that the organization makes in the community in general. The community (including employees) are the environment of the organization. It draws its new group of students from the community. Part of its success in recruiting more students depends on the feedback from its former students directly or indirectly.

Time

Job-placement. When Organization #1 started with its first group of university students in 1989, it did not have problems of placing them in the job-market. The students did not have to be placed. Companies and other organizations recruited the students from universities during their final year of study. This situation changed over time. The number of students increased with an accompanying decrease in the job-market as a result of disinvestment and the crisis that the South African economy began to face since 1984.

In 1990, the organization decided to employ a job-placement agency to help with the placement of graduates. The organization had to take the extra burden of placement because of the 40% loan that the students were expected to pay. A conversation between the Director of Programs and a representative of the placement agency went as follows:

> Director: We have a list of students that need to be placed. We have all the relevant information on their forms pertaining to what their majors are, what kinds of jobs their looking for and what part of the country they would like to be. I know that we do not have many choices but do the best you can.
>
> Representative: We have done business with you for more than two years now. You know as well as I do that the situation is becoming more difficult every year. I may not have problems placing students that will major in mathematics and science but I will have problems placing history, English, Afrikaans, and other language majors (Org.1. Observ.3. Mtg.).

Communication with graduates. The organization complained about the lack of communication with its former students which denies them feedback on its program. The Director of Finance commented as follows:

> We provide the students with money to complete their studies. After that, we seldom hear from the students. Some students have actually refused to identify with us. They do not even reply to the letters we write to them after they have graduated. I believe in the efficiency of handling the money for our donors but we lose on the human side of our support (Org.1.Resp.3.Adm.)

Space

The organization has been successful in its venture to get students persist and graduate. A pass rate of 83% was reported by the Director of Finance:

> We are please with the graduation rate of our students. I believe that the selection committees that the tertiary education institutions set up for us do a good job of selecting serious minded students who really want to learn. It's a pity that we do not actually meet these students. I believe that I are doing a good job for the amount of time and money we spend on the students. The high rate of graduation helps us obtain more funds to support more students. The students create space for others (Org.1.Resp.3.Admin.).

The above view was not shared by the students. The organization did not have an idea of what was going on at the universities. Students would be frustrated at times if their stipends do not come on time. The following was expressed by one of such students:

> After I was interviewed by the bursary committee, I received a letter from Organization #1 congratulating me for obtaining a bursary from them. I had no idea I had applied for a bursary from them. I applied for a bursary from the university. Nevertheless, this is not an issue. The problem is that, that was the last communication from the organization. We have to solve our problems with the organization through the university. At times that is frustrating because if the university does not receive money on time, I get a letter from the university reminding me that I have to pay. The letter is not written to the organization. I think that the distance between us and the organization is a disadvantage. We could have a lot of input in their organization and the funding of programs on campus. We know which programs are useful, we would encourage the organization to support those and discourage them to support others. Some problems would be solved sooner if I could contact the organization directly (Org.1.Resp.11. Stud.).

The organization presented the argument that it saves money by not contacting students directly. It does not need to have student counselor to visit universities to monitor their progress and solve problems related to the behavior of students on campuses.

Energy

Students had no obligation toward the organization after graduation. The students that were interviewed did not even understand why they should keep in touch with the organization after graduation. One of the students explained as follows:

> As soon as I graduate I will have nothing to do with the organization that funded me. I am thankful for what they did but beyond that I have no obligation toward the organization. The only obligation I have is the payment of the 40 percent loan. Also, it was not part of my contract to contact them after graduation. I indicated to them that I will be graduating this year if I pass all my examinations. As soon as I receive my grades, I will send them to the organization as we normally do and that will be all I need to do. If I was expected to do more than sending grades, I would gladly do it. The refund of the loan part of the grant will be deducted from my pay every month and sent to the organization by my employer. I will have no contact with the organization (Org.1.Resp.7.Stud.).

Organization #1 did not have an alumni association or any form of contact with the students they supported as soon as they graduate. The students inform the organization who their employers will be. The organization work with the employers to deduct their money for their employee's check every month.

Summary

Time

With the short time that NGO #1 had existed, changes had taken place as a result of financial constraints, expansion, and environmental factors. As a system, the input of the organization as far as applicants were concerned increased tremendously. The organization could not deal with all the number of requests it received. However, it was successful in financing the students that were already admitted. Political changes affected the readiness of the new students the organization supported. The high schools they came from closed on numerous occasions. To continue succeeding with its through-put, the organization decided to fund academic support programs as part of its agenda.

Space

The rate of graduations did not decrease in spite of the fact that the organization experienced political problems in some of the tertiary education institutions.

Energy

The organization decided to do away with application forms and select students who are already at the universities. This decision was made in order to avoid students that were not prepared for higher education who might affect the organizational output. This had a direct influence on donor agencies that would insist on high pass rate for students.

Feedback Loops

The organization set up a 60% grant and 40% loan system to complete its feedback loop. The students would stay in contact with the organization even after graduation because they had to pay the loan part of their funding. As a system, the organization was sure of input from its own students that would help it help more students and survive during hard times.

Non-Governmental Organization #2

Background

The organization was founded in Johannesburg on May 9, 1929 to consider the use that should be made of grants made by the Carnegie Corporation of New York and the Phelps-Stokes Fund for inter-racial work in South Africa. The organization was a continuation of the Joint Councils that were formed in Johannesburg in 1921 for which Dr. Thomas Jesse Jones (an American), a distinguished African Dr. J.E.K. Aggrey and Dr. Charles T. Loram (a South African) were largely instrumental. The Joint Councils between Africans and Europeans replaced a number of local Native Welfare Societies which consisted of liberal-minded and philanthropic Europeans anxious to help their African fellow citizens. The Joint Council movement gained momentum largely due to the tireless work of Rheinallt Jones.

Organization #2 started its work in two offices that grew to eight later. The offices were provided rent-free by the University of Witwatersrand (Hellmann, 1979). It was only in 1956 that the organization was able to build its own two- story building. The organization never succeeded in meeting its membership targets, neither in numbers nor in their representative nature. While Afrikaners of distinction, among them J. Reyneke, for fourteen years chairman of the general purpose committee, and past-president Dr. E.G. Malherbe, and leading Africans - Professor D.D.T. Jabavu, a vice-president from 1932 until his death in 1959, past president Dr. W.F. Nkomo and Rev. E.E. Mahabane, executive members Dr. A.B. Xuma, Dr. D.G.S. M'timkulu, Professor Z.k. Matthews, Mr. P.R. Mosaka, to name only some - have been closely associated with Organization #2 since its inception, its membership has been predominantly white and English speaking (Hellmann, 1979).

According to Hellmann (1979), securing the necessary funds to meet the growing costs of actual, let alone desired, expansion in community service has always been and still is a major problem. At no time has the organization had an endowment fund of "more than trifling proportion" (Hellmann, 1979). A number of members devoted much of their time raising funds. Membership fees have never met more than part of its budget. The organization relied mostly on donations and contributions raised by national five-yearly fund-raising campaigns. In 1953 the Ford Foundation made a grant of $50,000, enabling the organization to reach its twenty-fifth anniversary the following year. In a number of years that followed, the Ford Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation, Rockefeller Brothers Fund and other overseas funds, and churches in Sweden, Germany and Holland made grants allocated to bursaries, research and publications, and youth work. It is worth mentioning that, according to Hellmann (1979), by far, the greater portion of Organization #2's money came from internal South African resources.

According to a document of the organization:

> (Organization #2) commenced with its work with neither a pre-conceived program nor ready-made policy. It believed in the pursuit of the truth as a value in itself. It believed that the systematic seeking out of facts relating to the condition which determine the quality of life of the disadvantaged groups in South Africa would increase public awareness and promote inter-racial understanding, an understanding without which there could be no peaceful future for South Africa. It recognized the inherent worth and dignity of every human being and his/her right to the full development of his/her innate potential. It affirmed the values of a democratic society, with its accepted rights and duties, together with respect for the rule of law and the safeguarding of individual liberty. It pledged itself to pay due regard to opposing views sincerely held (Org.1.Doc.1.Ann.).

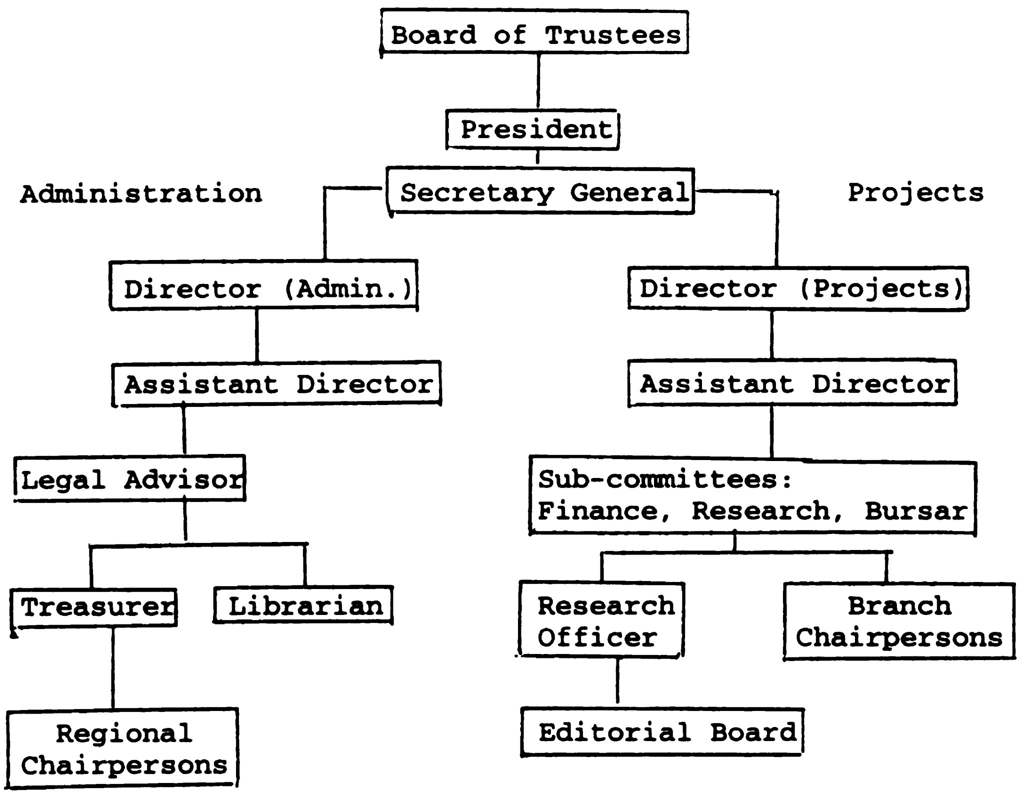
The above beliefs became the mission of the organization over a number of years. The impetus to the organization's bursary work came in 1954 when the Morris Isaacson Education Trust offered the organization R4,000 a year for at least three years to start a high school and university bursary scheme for Africans in the Witwatersrand (Hellmann, 1979). In 1961 a special bursary department was established for high school and college. The Isaacson Trust continued and increased its support in subsequent years. Individuals, Rotary Clubs and other voluntary bodies contributed toward bursaries. Fund-raising endeavors elicited funds from foundations, trusts and large business concerns. Some of the donations were for specific objectives such as teacher training, technical and vocational training, undergraduate studies in science and law, post-graduate diploma in education, and medical training of African women.

The organization found it necessary to decentralize by establishing three additional regional offices in each of the four provinces to bring about a more effective coverage and effective administration. Allocations were made in all the four regions for high school and university bursaries. The number of bursaries has varied depending on the cost of their particular courses of study.

Organization #2 established the Educational Information Center in 1977 that works closely with the bursary department supplementing its work and carrying out additional tasks. The annual Winter School for high school students was part of these tasks. The Winter School has a duration of two weeks, catering mainly for African high school students.

Table 13

Organizational Structure of Organization #2



Source: Organization #2: Annual Report, 1992

The Board of Trustees of the organization meet at least once a year. This meeting takes place at the headquarters in Johannesburg. This has been the case for many years because most of the members live in and around Johannesburg. The building that housed the headquarters was named after the donor who made its acquisition possible.

The entrance of the brown old brick building faces the south. It was strongly built and had stood for many years. The doors, the windows and other types of woodwork tell the age of the building. It is on one of the busiest streets in Johannesburg not far from the University of Witwatersrand. The university has been associated with the activities of the organization since its inception. A number of the office-bearers of the organization served as faculty at the university for many years.

After going through tight security at the entrance of the building, a visitor is lead into an elevator that leads to the second floor. The elevator was as old as the building itself. A passage led to offices including the president's office. Before the offices, there was a reception desk where a secretary was seated. This area had a six lounge chairs around a solid oak coffee table. The presidents office was unusually large with large windows, a large oak desk, large windows with curtains that matched the carpet and large wooden cabinets. Everything in this room seemed so large that when the president asked the researcher if he would like a cup of coffee, it was expected to come in a large coffee mug.

The president was a friendly, white male in his early sixties. After the researcher had coffee with him, he took him to the first floor and introduced him to all the employees in the building. He explained the researcher's purpose in the building and that he was going to be around for a number of days conducting interviews with them. He then handed the research over to a secretary who introduced him to other employees of the organization in another building across the street. The second building was the students' information center. All together, eleven employees of the organization were interviewed. Observations of student selection procedures were made and several students application forms were reviewed. A number of application forms from students that were accepted were compared with the ones from students that were rejected. The researcher was given access to student files, financial records and other confidential documents. One of the confidential documents was the report of the commission of inquiry that investigated the organization's activities in 1980. In addition to the data collected from the offices of the organization, additional data was collected from administrators and faculty at tertiary education institutions and high schools, former students that were funded by the organization and parents of some of the students for verification of the information obtained from the offices of the organization.

Table 14

Non-Governmental Organization #2's donors and sources of income

Donor or Source of Revenue	1989	1990	1991
ABE Bailey Trust	268,000	547,000	806,000
Alan Paton Bursary Fund	105,000	412,320	546,078
Asset Bursary Fund	129,017	487,125	513,341
Auden Race Relations Trust	509,242	598,787	656,121
Brusseau Bursary Fund	108,200	290,776	321,584
Cape Bursary Trust	1,230,520	1,642,400	1,856,325
Charlotte Roberts Bursary Fund	560,890	867,453	1,312,650
Emely Hobhouse Bursary Fund	321,118	330,324	532,300
G.M. Robertson Trust Fund	845,432	972,212	1,029,390
Isaacson Bursary Fund	545,531	578,000	657,745
Research and Library Trust	590,321	875,439	1,600,220
Rockefeller Brothers Fund	540,326	765,115	854,302
Donaldson Bursary Fund	125,430	218,906	286,435
Standard Telephone Fund	50,702	56,430	82,651
Black Art Center	75,402	39,947	64,300
Ford Foundations Grant	547,400	978,413	760,976
Fund Raising Campaign	13,734	24,716	60,300
Fund Raising Functions--Christmas Cards	563	432	716
TOTALS	6,566,828	9,685,795	11,941,434

Source: Organization #2 Annual Report, 1992

Table 15

Number of students and cost per student

Educational Institution	No. Students			Average Cost Per Year		
	1989	1990	1991	1989 Rands	1990 Rands	1991 Rands
High Schools	18	23	44	2,160	3,680	9,504
Teacher Training	48	65	81	28,800	53,950	97,200
Technikon	62	68	76	282,720	497,080	639,236
University	452	588	721	4,815,608	8,158,500	11,200,014
TOTALS:	580	744	922	5,129,288	8,713,210	11,945,954

Average cost per student (Public High School)

1989 = R120

1990 = R160

1991 = R216

Average cost per student (Teacher Training)

1989 = R600

1990 = R830

1991 = R1200

Average cost per student (University)

1989 = R10,654

1990 = R13,875

1991 = R15,534

Source: Organization #2 Annual Report, 1992

Input

The inputs of Organization #2 consist of students, tertiary education institutions, schools, donations from individuals, community organization, churches, corporations, trusts and foundations. Most of the donors of Organization #2 were South African organizations and foundations. The inputs are discussed under the time, space and energy dimensions of the systems approach.

Time

The bursary or scholarship program of Non-Governmental Organization #2 assumed its work in 1954. The Morris Isaacson Education Trust offered the organization R4,000 a year for three years to start a high school and university bursary scheme for Africans in the Witwatersrand. Thereafter, the organization made a public appeal for bursary funds, and repeated the practice annually. Some of the donations were for specific objectives such as teacher training, technical and vocational training, undergraduate and graduate studies. In 1961, a special bursary department was established.

Some of the donors of the organization have discontinued but the majority continued. Problems occurred in 1984 when diversment of foreign capital hit most organizations that depended on corporate funding. Organization #2 was one of those organizations. The organization had to change its funding and financial campaign strategies. It minimized its high school bursaries and concentrated more on raising funds for tertiary education.

How the organization selected students for funding appeared to be an important input in the temporal mechanism of the organization. The organization revised its selection procedures every year. The revision was closely linked to the nature of the environment from which students were drawn. The more stable the school and community environments, the earlier and easier the selections could be conducted. When the environment is unstable, students do not do well in their examinations. This slows down the process of selection because students' potential is taken into consideration in addition to merit and need.

Applicants are received from all over the country, with a large majority from the cities. The applicants write letters to ask for financial assistance from organization #2. Application forms are mailed to all the applicants. Students who apply to organization #2 are expected to write an essay on their past experiences and their future plans. The essays are used as one of the two main criteria for the initial selection except in cases where the applicant obtained his or her high school diploma the previous year. Students who have already obtained a high school diploma will either be selected or rejected on the basis of their grade point averages. Those who obtained exemptions (university entrance qualifications) are further selected on the grounds of what careers they would like to follow. Students who are still in high school have to wait for their examination results which, for African students, are received early in the following academic year.

Administrators at the non-governmental organizations admitted that it is difficult to select students according to the need expressed in their essays because "...students know what we would like to hear and they tell us just that," one of the administrators said. Organizations find it impossible to validate the information given on the application forms in general and in the essays in particular. One of the essays of a student who was selected by organization #2 read as follows:

> I was born in Pimville (Soweto) in 1971. There are eleven children in our family, one of which is married, the rest are still studying. My mother is a school teacher at St. Peter Claver School. I started school in 1977 at St. Peter Claver. I moved to Glen Cowie in 1984, where I completed matric last year. Throughout primary and secondary schooling, I was a diligent and conscientious student. I made each standard once.
>
> During my spare time I play softball, tennis, table tennis and netball. All these activities have helped me to develop interpersonal skills. I read novels, newspapers, involve myself in debates, lastly listen to music. I have served in the following leadership positions. Group leader in English discussion group. Captain of softball. In the process I have learned to be more assertive and become goal oriented. I am able to meet deadlines and I always thrive under strenuous conditions. Last year we competed in Drama Festival against various schools in Lebowa region. We won a trophy and we were issued a certificate for excellent

> performance. This success can be attributed to my active and consistent involvement, most of all, team work. I have chosen a career in science because at school I was good at science subjects. This has been reflected by the marks (grades) I obtained last year, even though I think I could have done better. In South Africa there is a shortage of black scientists. I maintain that advanced technology could help solve our complex problems e.g. housing, poverty, etc. (Org.2. Doc.7a. Stu.).

This is an essay that was written by an applicant who was still in high school and who was still going to write external country-wide examinations that would determine whether she qualified for university entrance or not. She is also an example of a student whose initial selection was based on the essay. An administrator was asked to explain the reasons why this applicant was selected and he had the following to say:

> This student is apparently from a large family of eleven children. What chances of going to university would she have faced with the fact that the mother was the only bread winner? No mention is made of the father or fathers if the woman had been married more than once. The mother is an elementary school teacher. We know how little elementary school teachers are paid. Glen Cowie, as you know, is a boarding school. It must have been a struggle for the mother to keep her there. This is an active student who is also dedicated to her school work, she has excellent leadership qualities and a supportive mother. This organization is biased toward science students in general and female scientists in particular. Comparatively, this student has better command of English than most of our applicants. We probably selected this student on these grounds. (Org.2.Resp.12.Admin.)

Organization #2 does not conduct personal interviews. The information given by the student on the application form including the essay was not verified in any way. The honesty of the student was taken for granted. The administrator's explanation was based on several assumptions; the essay is original, the circumstances of the student are not contrived, the student performed well in school and that the student does not have a father. The information was not verified with the school either. Luckily, the student obtained a university exemption at the end of the year and a letter of her final selection as a bursar was mailed to her. A letter written to the university presenting her as a holder of a bursary from the organization accompanied her letter of final appointment.

The organization has recently discussed and documented the need to change the way selections are conducted. The director and the counselors regarded personal interviews as important. The students would have a chance of substantiating the information they give in their essays. This system was tried at the beginning of 1992. The positive experience from this practice was that the students who were interviewed communicated easier than those who were not interviewed. Also, these students welcomed the visit by counselors later in the year. As inputs into the system, these students become facilitators and save the organization time.

It was obvious that there was loose coupling between the organization and the students, especially those with whom personal interviews were not conducted. The possibility of tight coupling was also impossible because the representatives of the organization would not be present of campus all the time. The counselors felt that a lot of "window dressing" went on when students knew that they would be visiting.

Space

Organization #2 was known by high school principals in Soweto. The Winter School classes run by the organization were popular among high school principals. These classes were run jointly by the organization and the University of Witwatersrand. Some university students volunteered to work as tutors at the Winter School. The principals commended the organization for running the Winter School. The problems experienced by the principals about the organization were summarized by one of them as follows:

> The organization does not visit our schools. We understand that their funds are limited and they do not want to raise false hopes but still they can help us motivate our students to work harder. We have examples of students that were funded by this organization who graduated and become responsible citizens that we are proud of. These role-models can be used by the organization to illustrate what students can achieve if they work hard and stay in school. We appreciate the work they do for our students at the winter school. The only problem is that these classes become very large -about 200 kids would be packed in one class. The classes are

> good as a form of interaction among our students from various schools. It is even more important that the students meet university students who are almost their age. I believe that this serves as an incentive to our students. Most of them are from families who have no family member who is a university graduate (Org.2.Resp.15.Sch.Adm.).

The above quotation suggests that loose-coupling exists between Organization #2 and high schools in Soweto. The high schools are the input of the organization. One would expect closer collaboration between the schools and the organization. Political reasons were cited for the loose-coupling. The recruiting officer of the organization explained the problem as follows:

> Schools run by the Department of Education and Training are problematic. There is too much bureaucratic red-tape. It takes a month of back-and-forth negotiations and correspondence with government officials to get permission to visit one school in Soweto. We do not have the time to spend doing unproductive work. Also, we are very careful when we deal with institutions that are administered by the apartheid government. Our foreign donors are very sensitive about such issues (Org.2.Resp.16.Adm.).

The researcher found that the Organization #2 dealt much easier with private schools than with public schools. The private schools were easily accessible and the Organization did not have to go through a long line of bureaucratic structures to achieve their goals. Private high schools were supplied with information and were visited by representatives of the organizations. Students from these schools were much better prepared than students from public schools.

The Careers Center in Soweto acts as an information center and an important link between the organization and Soweto students. Students obtain application forms from the center, fill the out and return them to the center where they are collected by employees of the organization. The center is grossly under-staffed with only five employees to serve the whole of Soweto.

Energy

Persistence of students in tertiary education was directly or indirectly affected by the above mentioned factors. The non-governmental organization continued to support students who were making progress in their studies. Political issues causing student uprisings especially on black campuses affected the organizations directly. On many occasions in 1991, black universities were closed for periods ranging from two weeks to five months, in some cases. Some students missed classes through no fault of their own and failed at the end of the year. If a funded student fails one year, it means money down the drain for the organizations.

Some students who get involved in political activism on campus lose their financial support from non-governmental organizations. One of the regulations governing continued funding of students was that it was the responsibility of the student to send his or her grades at the end of each semester. Students, in turn, ask the institutions where they attend to take care of that obligation. Administration offices can only send results of students who write all the tests throughout the semester as they were reported or turned in by faculty members. Therefore, a student who missed writing a test was expected explain to the faculty member and not to the administration office. An administrator at organization #2 said:

> Most of our tertiary education institutions operate on semesters. There are only two semesters a year; from February to June and from July to November. If a student does not do well in the first semester, he or she does not qualify for the next semester in that particular course or courses. Some students get low grades in all the first semester courses and are eliminated for the next semester. Such students are dismissed by the institutions. In a case like that, there is absolutely nothing we can do as an organization but to terminate the bursary. In some cases, parents send the student back to the university the following year, if they do well in the first semester and we have the funds, we renew the bursary for such a student upon request. Most of the students who face such problems are those who get involved in political activities (Org.2.Resp.23.Admin.).

Process/Throughput

The activities that were observed within the offices of Organization #2, were so closely linked with what was happening at the tertiary education institutions that the researcher felt that he should spend more time observing and interviewing students at these institutions. The three staff meetings that the researcher attended were concerned with activities at tertiary education institutions. In the first meeting, the misconduct of several students who were reported to the organization by their institutions was discussed. A decision was made that letters of warning would be written to the students and copies would be mailed to administrators and their parents. The second meeting discussed academic support programs and how much money was spent on them in 1992. A report on the attendance of the programs were discussed. The final report would be tabled after the result of the performance of students from tertiary education institutions were received and compared with their attendance. The third meeting was a preparation for the selection of applicants. A list of people who would be involved in the final selection was made. This list included counselors, tertiary education representatives and community representatives.

Time

At the beginning of the year, Organization #2 spent a great deal of time in the selection of students by reading their essays. The number of application forms and essays to be read increase every year. An observation was made that more than 50% of the high school applicants that were selected did not make the final examination. The time and financial resources that went into their selection was wasted. The Director of Organization #2 elaborated on the observation as follows:

> We know that our problems emanate from the fact that we do not give ourselves time to visit the high schools where our students come from. Information about the students from teachers and principals would be very helpful. There was a time when this avenue was open to us before the schools in Soweto became "no-go" zones but we never grabbed the opportunity to improve our process. The basic reason was that we regard ourselves as NGO's that do not work with the government but we need students that are from government schools and the very institutions that we send them to are subsidized by the government. We are always caught in this painful paradox. (Org.2.Resp.9.Adm.)

The above comment explains the loose-coupling that exists between high schools in Soweto, non-governmental organizations and tertiary education institutions. During the days of apartheid laws, it was understandable that the NGO's could not identify with the government without losing some of their local donors and most of the foreign donors. Implicit in this was the fact that donors became more important to organizations than students. The organization would rather spent time and energy on students that would not make it through high school than to work collaboratively with the schools. As a result, private schools in Johannesburg and Soweto enjoyed more attention from the NGO than public schools.

In the middle of the year, the organization concerned itself with the results of their students' first semester examinations. Normally, students who failed all courses in the first semester would be terminated automatically by the institution. The decision would rest with the Organization whether or not the student should return the following year. Incidents for this type of students were on the increase with the growing educational crisis in Soweto. Again, the organization wasted time and financial resources on these students. The middle of the year is also the time when the organization would apply for the renewal of donations from donors whose term had ended. If contracts are not renewed, the organization would have to appeal to other sources indicating the number of students and programs that would suffer as the result of lack of funding. Other donors would be asked to consider increasing their donations because of the annual increase in the cost of tertiary education and to cater for inflation. The other implications of lack of funding were staff salary cuts or lay-offs. At this time, campaigning for more funds was the most important activity within Organization #2.

At the beginning of the second half of the year counselors made their second visits to their students in order to attend to their problems before final examinations start. At this time, students were allowed to make switches in their programs if they were unhappy. Transfers from one department or faculty to another would be allowed by the organization if the students did not forfeit their credits for the first year.

Toward the end of the year, getting feedback from the environment was important, very important. The feedback would come from interviews with students, tertiary education administrators, faculty and the parents of students.

At the tertiary education institutions and throughout the year, the only process that Organization #2 would be involved with was academic support programs, payment of students' monthly stipends and keeping track of students' behavior by checking their files on a regular basis.

Space

The boundary of Organization #2 was determined to a great extent by its mission to help African students gain access to tertiary education which was explained in economic terms earlier. It was after a period of ten years that the organization realized that the social, academic and health aspects of students' lives were just as important. Expanding the boundary to encompass these aspects meant that the expenditure on each student would be doubled. One of the directors said:

> We had to start with one thing at a time. We decided on including medical aide in our package to students. It made sense to start that way because this is one area where students are helpless. We first worked on a scheme where students would consult doctors and present the bill to us. The health scheme has been altered many times. Other areas that need attention are counseling on substance abuse and other problems. Some students needed counseling when they were released from prison for political activities in the recent past

> when apartheid was still in force (Org.2.Resp.9.Adm.)

Another area of concern was the orientation and counseling of black students in general and African students in particular into life on campus and to prepare them to deal with racism and discrimination in the case of those who were admitted at the historically white universities. One of the administrators at a tertiary education institution said:

> Very few bursary organizations are aware that access is not only defined in financial terms. There are other factors involved especially in the case of new African students at the historically white institutions. In addition to being away from home for the first time, and being taught by people with different accents, these students find themselves in a new and alienating, hostile environment. At times white students become hostile to black students as a result of prejudice that emanates from ignorance and stereotypes about black people. Coping with academic work under such conditions is a struggle that we as black personnel at these institutions understand and need to communicate to the non-governmental organizations (Org.2.Resp.14.Admin.).

Organization #2 had organized visits to students by counselors twice a year. The organization expressed the need to visit students more often but could not afford the financial implications of the visits. Students that are supported by organization #2 welcomed the visits as helpful and necessary and thought they should be more often. A comprehensive report is written on each student. In addition, organization #2 had representatives at the historically white institutions that were employed to look after their students on a part-time basis. At one institution, the representative was also the director of the academic support programs and is a member of the selection committee. It is unfortunate that not all institutions have such representation of non-governmental organizations.

The representation on campus meant that the organization had expanded its boundary into the boundary of another organization to improve coupling and communication between the two organizations for the benefit of the students. In turn, improved communication resulted in improved inputs.

Developing closer collaboration among their students was one of the future plans of the organization. The attempt would be to get students to work together as groups in each subject area. New students in mathematics, for instance, would be helped by second or third year students in their study groups. The older students would function as group leaders. The problems that the organization faced was that the study leaders would have to be paid and that would stretch the resources and the boundary even further. Study groups were an attempt at channeling where the organization was trying impose ways of study on students some of whom would work better with other students who were not supported by the organization. The students felt that such issues as methods of study were outside the organization's boundary.

Territorial struggles between the organization and the students, between the students and tertiary education institutions and between the organization and tertiary education institutions were examples of the strife that occurs when tight coupling was attempted in situations where loose coupling was preferred by the students. The situation was explained by a student as follows:

> I am here to study. How, where and when I study should be my business. As long as my grades are good, the university or the bursary organization should be happy. I am a mature person, I do not need to be controlled by anyone. I drink over the weekend. I need to socialize with my friends. What I do during that time is my business. I do not want to be forced to study when I do not want to study. I do not want to be told to stay on campus when I want to visit my friends outside. I do not need to be penalized because I missed academic support program lectures. I do not need those in the first place. I appreciate that there are people who really need them, I don't!(Org.2.Resp.22.Stu.).

<u>Energy</u>

The problem of getting students to put their energy into studies became problematic to the organization. Orientation programs, academic support programs and other activities that the organization was engaged in were no guarantee that the students would do well at the end of the year and proceed to the next level. The energy that went into financing, developing and delivering the programs made it worthwhile for the researcher to interview the people involved in them.

<u>Outcomes and feedback</u>. The outcomes of Organization #2 consisted of student graduations, job-placement of graduates,

alumni association members, commitment of graduates to community service and motivation of students to help other students in their studies. Feedback was closely related to the outcomes of the organization.

Time

The documents of the organization (Org.2.Doc.15, 16 and 17) indicated that the organization was still facing problems in increasing the pass rate of African students at the historically white institutions. The Director of Finance explained as follows:

> The historically white institutions have opened their doors to black students about five years ago. We are still facing the problem of African students who come from schools that are run by the Department of Education and Training. These students have gone through poor quality education, hence, they take longer to understand some things that we take for granted. They are also faced with a situation where they are in the minority and have to adjust to a new environment. We are increasingly getting African students from the multi-racial private schools. These students tend to adjust better and they do not seem to have language problems (Org.2.Resp.11.Adm.)

The average pass rate at the historically black institutions was 75%. According to the officials of the organization, this number was surprisingly high considering the political turmoil that these universities were going through.

Space

Attracting more students was one of the goals of NGO #2. Placing students in employment made the organization more attractive to potential students. Students who were still studying were motivated to graduate because of the availability of jobs. As students graduate, openings are created for new students. The organization tried harder to place as many students as possible. They found it easier to place students in some areas of study and difficult in others. The organization conducted an annual survey of job openings and published them in its quarterly journal that it distributed to students. The Director of Students Affairs in charge of placements explained:

> Job-placement is one of the most difficult areas of our job. It has been easier to place teachers because we do this through the education department and they always have a shortage of teachers; especially science and mathematics teachers and in rural areas. Until recently, it has also been difficult to place students in highly specialized areas such as engineering, machining, and others as a result of discriminatory laws and practices by white employers. We have found that the more students we place the more popular we become and we attract donors much easier (Org.2.Resp.11. Adm.).

Summary

Time

The inputs of the organization underwent changes at different time. There was a gradually increase in the amount receive from donors since the start of the bursary program. The decline started with the advent of divestment of foreign companies and government and it was exacerbated by sanctions against South Africa. This move indicated that the organization needs to develop its own resources and do a better job of its feedback loop.

The repeal of the Separated University Act of 1959 opened more access opportunities by allowing historically white universities began to admit Africans. In order to improve its own throughput and output by improving the performance of black students, the organization decided to fund academic support programs.

Space

The organization decided to establish branches in all provinces to improve the quality of its service. Decentralization improve the communication between students, tertiary education institutions, donor agencies and the organization.

Energy: After the uprising in 1976, the organization decided to decrease its involvement in funding high school students but it maintained the Winter School program and increased its financial support for academic support programs. Representatives of the organization were employed to help various problem of students at some of the historically white universities.

The documents of the organization (Org.2.Doc.22.91) indicated that there was a marked increase in its support of African students who attended historically white institutions. Students at the historically black institutions were on the decline. This move was ascribed to the political turmoil that tended to be more prevalent in historically black universities.

Feedback Loops

As an organization, NGO #2 did not have a complete feedback loop. The students were not required to make any contribution toward their own education or the education of others. The lack of the feedback loop increased the organization's dependency on donor agencies especially foreign agencies.

Non-governmental Organization #3

Organization #3 was established in 1956 as a South African branch of an international organization. It is an umbrella body for several member organizations that affiliate with it. It was established as a broad-based community development organization that catered to various religious member groups. The organization helped these religious groups by establishing study centers, art and recreation centers, political rallies and support for families whose bread-winners were incarcerated.

The organization confronted the government on various issues that affected its members ranging from pass-laws (the legal enforcement of blacks to carry identity documents wherever they go), health, housing, education, employment, child support and many others. Confrontation with the government and the police has been one of the major characteristics of this organization. It has been associated with radical activities in various government documents. The bursary section of organization #3 was established in 1963 as part of the organization's aim to help black people acquire knowledge by supporting their education. During its early years, most funds were given to high school students who studied at boarding schools. The objectives of the bursary fund were stated as follows:

* To enable children to get crucial basic education

* To provided opportunities for students to acquire skills in fields of study that have been identified as a priority in relation to the human resource needs of the country.

* To run seminars aimed at:

    i. enabling students to prepare for meaningful participation in society;

    ii. promoting sharing of problems and solutions

* To provided counseling and guidance and other support for students - including both the organization's bursary recipients and other students who come to the office for assistance and advice.

* To promote effective participation by the organization's branches in the bursary program.

* To involve churches actively in the formulation of policies for the bursary and other programs.

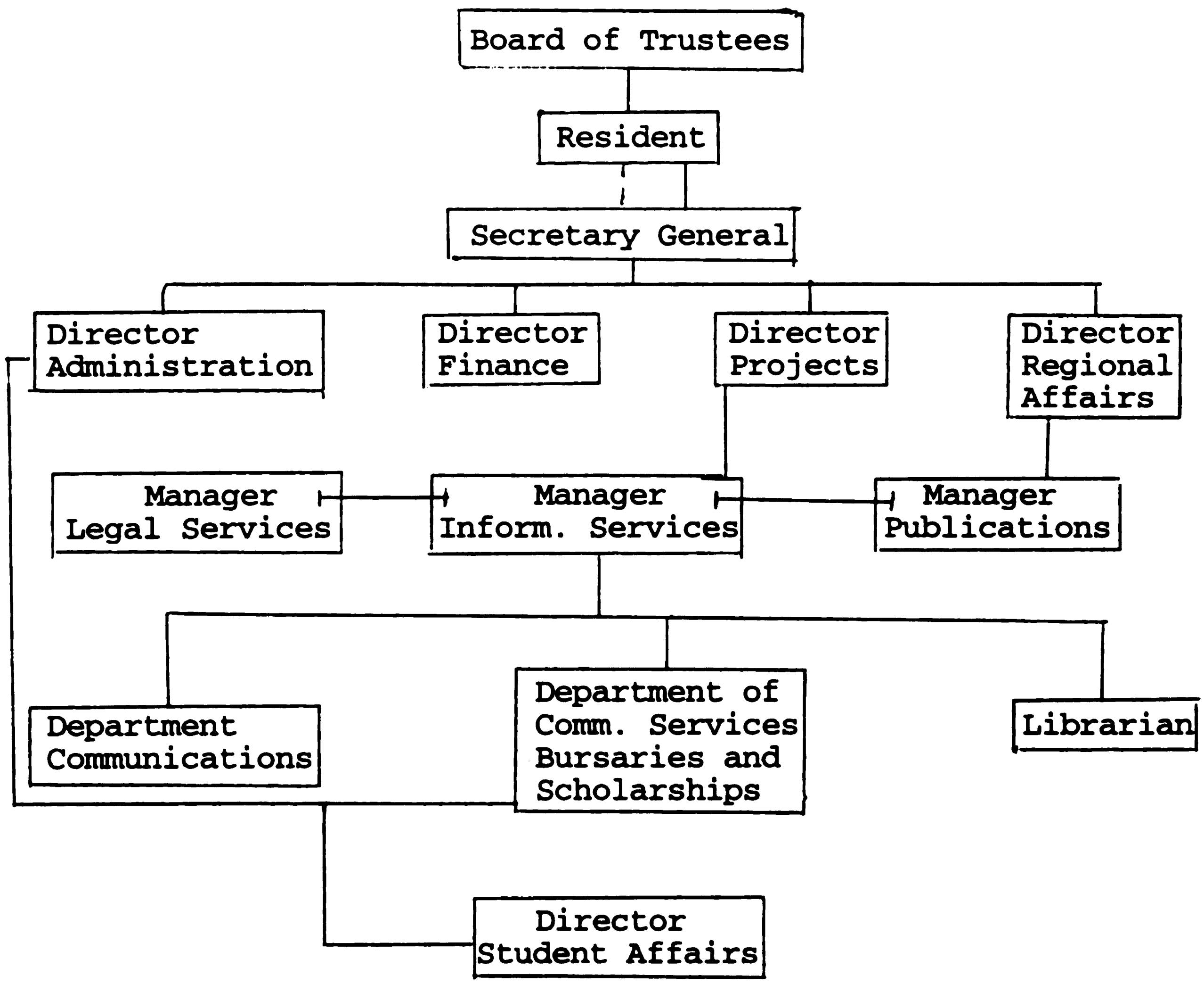
* To liaise with and engage like-minded organizations in discussions and debates on bursary issues.

* To engage in efforts aimed at monitoring developments in education. (Org.3.Doc.2.)

Some of the above objectives changed as time went on. The problems that the organization faced changed from one year to another. They were congruent with the changes in the environment. Some of the changes occurred as a result of the changes in the leadership of the organization. Seemingly, some of the objectives had been too ambitious: providing counseling for students proved to be too costly, as a result it was limited to one visit to groups of students per year per institution; engaging "like-minded" organizations in discussions appeared to be organized more by outside bodies like the Independent Development Trust and the Bursary Council of South Africa than by the organization itself.

Table 16

Organization Structure of Organization #3



Organizational Structure

The Board of Trustees meets at least four times a year to deliberate on issues related to the organization. The meetings are held in Johannesburg, Port Elizabeth or Cape Town, Durban and Bloemfontein. These cities represent the main branches of the organization in the four provinces. The office in Johannesburg is the headquarters of the organization. The president, the general secretary, and the four directors are housed in the same building, downtown Johannesburg. Table 16 shows an organizational chart as of 1989.

The three managers of the organization are housed in another building adjacent to the main building. The Director of Projects works with two managers (departments): the manager for legal services and the manager for information services. The Director of Regional Affairs works with the manager for publications. The publications department disseminates all organizational information and materials that are needed by the branches.

The organization has offices in most major cities and towns all over the country. Organization #3 divided the country into five regions: Western Cape, Eastern Cape, Natal, Orange Free State, and Transvaal. In the Transvaal the regional office is in Johannesburg, in the Orange Free State in Bloemfontein, in Natal the office is in Durban, in the Eastern Cape the office is in Port Elizabeth, and in the Western Cape the regional office is in Cape Town.

The bursary section is represented in all the major branches of the organization. The application forms are sent to the headquarters in Johannesburg. They are then distributed to the regions to conduct selections. Each region is given a quota that it can select according to the number that the organization can afford to support. This point was further explained by one of the directors of the organization as follows:

> The intake of students depends on our financial resources. We depend on our donors and other resources such as our stocks and other investments that become available toward the end of each year. We do not take more students than we can afford to support (Org.3.Resp.5).

Bursary funds are distributed to tertiary education institutions by the finance department at the headquarters of the organization. Records are kept at the headquarters of the organization and distributed to the donors (presented on table 14) at the end of each financial year. The publications department is responsible for compiling annual reports after financial books have been returned from the auditors of the organization. The auditors are chosen by the Board of Trustees but independent from the organization. Any member of the Board of Trustees reserves the right to review the financial books before they are sent to the auditors.

The organization is a hierarchy. The president holds the highest office and makes final decisions after consultation with the Board of Trustees. The president delegates limited powers to lower officials of the organization. These officials are held accountable for the decisions they make and activities they are in charge of. The heads of departments meet with the president once a week except in cases of emergency.

The bursary section is headed by the Head of Department, Bursary Section. This section is part of the Department of Student Affairs. The head of department has a secretary and two other officials who are responsible for reviewing bursary applications and sending them to the relevant branches. These are the officials who are also responsible for handling problems, queries and information from the branches and from tertiary education institutions and students.

Input

Table 17

Non-Governmental Organization #3's Expenditure on Students

Expenditure
Budget: Education Development Fund

	1989	1990	1991
	Rands	Rands	Rands
Total	7,804,565	8,460,165	10,541,955
Employment & Admin.	400,765	506,880	582,912
Program Costs:	7,363,800	7,953,285	9,959,043
Continuing Commitments			
University	(298x10,000)	(98x11,500)	(45x13,225)
	2,940,000	1,127,000	595,125
Technikon	(92x8,000)	(40x9,200)	--
	736,000	368,000	--
Teacher Training	(316x1,300) 410,800	(21x1,495) 31,395	(14x1,720) 24,080
High School	(485x1,200)	(298x1,380)	(49x1,590)
	582,000	411,240	77,910
	1,668,800	1,937,635	697,115

The table above indicates expenditures that the organization was responsible for during the period 1989 to 1991. This table shows that the organization did not spend as much on its employees as it spent on students. There was a decline in the support of high school students accompanied by an increase in the support of tertiary education students in the three years indicated.

Table 18

New Commitments (1992)

	1992	1993	1994
Univ. Post Graduate	(20x10,000) 200,000	(40x11,500) 460,000	(40x13,225) 529,000
University	(100x10,000) 1,000,000	(200x11,500) 2,300,000	(300x13,225) 3,967,500
Technikon	(80x8,000) 640,000	(160x9,200) 1,472,000	(300x1,720) 2,539,200
Teacher Training	(100x1,300) 130,000	(200x1,495) 299,000	(300x1,720) 516,000
High School	(20x24x1,200) 576,000	(40x24x1,380) 1,324,800	(40x24x1,590) 1,526,400
Secondary (Std6-8)	60,000	69,000	79,350
Total	7,274,800	7,862,435	9,854,565

Source: Org.2.Doc.33.1991.

The table above indicates new commitments that the organization would be responsible for in 1992. These numbers indicate that the organization intended to provide funding for students who enrolled in graduate studies (e.g., masters or doctoral). Also, it indicates a major shift by cutting down the number of university students from 298 in 1989 to 100 in 1992, but the number of university students would be increased by 100 students each year starting from 1992 to 1994. The decrease would be effected in other tertiary education sections as well. Students in high school would be funded for two years (24 months) instead of one. The same would apply to secondary (middle) school students (standard 6-8).

Input

Table 19

Sources of Income

Donor or Sources of Revenue	1989 Rands	1990 Rands	1991 Rands
Inter-church Aid	82,000	49,000	51,000
Anglo-American	140,000	142,000	148,000
S.A. Catholic Bishop Conf.	62,000	70,000	85,000
R. Tucker Trust	65,105	68,000	72,000
Estate M.M. Marshall	33,970	36,420	48,000
Methodist Church	18,040	110,000	28,200
Assoc. for Self Help	7,177	10,800	11,682
The Netherlands (7-years)	1,021,953	1,021,953	1,021,953
Switzerland (7-years)	822,222	822,222	822,222
Denmark (7-years)	748,888	748,888	748,888
United States (7-years)	593,727	593,727	593,727
Sweden (7-year period)	504,336	504,336	504,336
United Kingdom (donors)	501,862	501,862	501,862
Canada (United Church)	205,172	205,172	205,172
Norway (Church of Norway)	152,934	152,934	152,934
Finland (Finnish government)	31,062	---	---
Multinational	984,831	984,831	984,831
TOTALS:	5,975,279	6,022,145	5,979,807

Source: Org.2.Doc.33.1991

A comparison between the NGO #3's income and expenditure per year (tables 17 and 18) shows that it could barely cover all the students it had to support. It also shows that most of the funds came from international donor agencies. The reliance on outside funding proved to be problematic. This issue is discussed further in this chapter.

The number of students increased in the three years but decreased sharply between 1991 and 1992. In the South African tertiary education system, it takes three years to graduate. The years 1989, 1990 and 1991, represent a cohort of students that graduated in 1991. The NGO cut down its student intake (table 18) as a result of financial problems. This period was the climax of the sanctions and divestiture by international organizations and foreign governments.

Input

Time

The use of the concept of time in this study refers to the past, present, and future orientation of the organization. The different time orientations included changes that occurred within the organization and in its environment. Changes within the organization have occurred over the years. One of the changes involved the handling of application forms from prospective students. Application forms for bursaries were received from all over the country, with a large majority from the cities. In the past, all bursary applications and final selections were done at the headquarters of the organizations. The applicants wrote applications letters to ask for financial assistance from organizations #3. Application forms were mailed to all applicants with a letter of explanation and a deadline for returning the forms. In the past, the review of all bursary applications and final selections were conducted at the headquarters of the organization. Now, final selections were made in the various branches. This change was explained by the head of department of the bursary section as follows:

> We decided to have the final selections made by the branches because they are closer to the residential areas of the applicants. Our assumption was that the branches understand, and might know the circumstances of the applicants better than we do. There are times when investigations are conducted to verify the applicants' claims. It is easier and less expensive for the branches to conduct the investigations. An example is that of a student who claims to be an orphan with no financial support whatsoever. We have cases where the investigation reveals a different story. At times, children of the rich pretend to be poor and use resources that can be better utilized by needy students (Org3.Res.5.)

After the selections had been conducted by the branches, names of students and the tertiary education institutions that admitted them were sent to the headquarters. Each branch was given a quota that it could select. The quota was in accordance with what the organization can afford financially. The organization supported approximately 2,500 students per year.

In the past, interviews of individual students were conducted at the headquarters before branches were established. After the establishment of the branches, the individual student interviews were conducted by the branches. This procedure has also changed. Students are no longer interviewed. The head of department explained the reason for the change as follows:

> Conducting personal interviews was very effective. We could not continue with that practice because of the increase in the number of students we support. This increase was made possible a few years ago by the donations we received. After the 1984 crisis in Black education, philanthropic organizations, foundations and governments of some country started increasing their donations. Also, we began to receive money from new donors.
>
> The increase in the number of students and the problems caused by the Department of Education and Training releasing final examination results late, we could not conduct personal interviews. We had to change our strategy and use essays and final examination results as the only criteria for selection. The advantage of this method is that we help more students now than we did before. However, the students we now select are not the quality we selected in the old system: their grades are much lower. Even those that obtain higher grades are not as comparatively well prepared as students before 1976 The third reason for not conducting interviews is that the majority of our students are from poor families. Some of these students will have to travel long distances to come to Johannesburg. The resources they use coming here for interviews and paying for accommodation can be used for their education. We cannot bear the cost of housing more than a thousand students for two or three days. Even the branches cannot afford to conduct personal interviews (Org3.Resp.5).

Personal contact with the students was preferred by the organization because the interviews provided opportunities for personal knowledge of students, first hand information about them, and face-to-face commitment to their course.

The donations that the NGO received could not remedy the crisis that African education was going through since the uprisings in 1976. Occasionally, schools would be closed for periods ranging from one week to three months. Students would obtain university entrance qualifications without preparation for tertiary education.

All students were expected to write essays to accompany their application forms. The length of the essay was one page. The instruction on the application form was: "Write an essay motivating your choice of degree/diploma and your future plans (i.e., how you intend using your degree/diploma)." This essays is used as one of the criteria to select students who qualify for financial assistance. An essay written by a student that was selected read as follows:

> While I was still a high school student, I like to help other students with problems in mathematics, physical science and English. This motivated me to study very hard so that I could not disappoint them when they ask for assistance.
>
> We then wrote the aptitude in which I performed very well. From the aptitude test I wrote in standard 8 and the one in standard 10, my teachers expected me to perform very well at the standard 10 examinations. Bursaries were given to us for a special new science course at the college or at the university. We were two girls and 10 boys chosen.

> My progress deteriorated since I had problems at home as my mother had passed away then. At the end of the year I passed, but did not get a good symbol (grade). I wanted to repeat std 10 as I wanted to study for a B.Sc. degree at university but my father persuaded me to study for a teacher's diploma and then go to the university. I studied for a three year secondary teacher's diploma and then went for teaching.
>
> While teaching, particularly chemistry in science my interests and dream of analyzing chemicals as a chemist developed again. While performing experiments in class doing some calculations, and explaining how the knowledge is applied in industry, I wondered if I couldn't study further and instill much more interest in the students. I then started studying with Unisa through part-time but found that it is time consuming and I don't have time studying.
>
> On second thought I had a strong feeling of working in company, receiving samples, analyzing chemicals and providing accurate and reliable information regarding the quality of samples. I also think of using the computer by writing my own programs and use them for providing all information (Org.3.Doc.12).

(The above essay was taken by the researcher as it was in its original text. No changes or corrections were made).

This student was a good science student judging from her essay. She was motivated to study science but, seemingly, was confused about what she wanted to do with what she would study. She wanted to be a teacher, a chemist, a graduate with a B.Sc. degree, and a chemical analyst in a laboratory. The students was selected to study toward a B.Sc. degree. An explanation from the departmental assistant about her selection went as follows:

> Apparently, this is a very needy student. She lost a mother and still tried hard to keep in school. She could go back to school to improve her grades but she took the father's advice to go to a normal college first, and go to university later. The desire to go to college was already instilled in her. She tried to study through correspondence with the University of South Africa. This indicated to us that she was motivated.
>
> We have very few female science teachers in our school even among the students we support. Female students do not do well in mathematics and science. She was an exception. Another reason for selecting her was that she was a matured individual who knew what she wanted judging from all her activities as mentioned in her essay. Also, she had wonderful letters of recommendation from her school and from the college where she trained as a teacher.
>
> The confusion about her career choice that you see in her essay was no surprise to us. There is no career guidance in high schools in Soweto. At least she was better than many students. She was already a teacher. Whether she was committed to teaching or not, is another story (Org.3.Resp 3 Adm.)

The organization received more requests for financial assistance than it could afford to provide. The selection got tighter as the number of applicants increased. In the past, students with low academic achievements (grades) would be selected on the grounds of need only. Now, academic outcomes play the most important role in the selection. In addition, students who did well in mathematics, science and languages had better chances than those who had lower achievements in these subjects. The organization operates as a clearing-house for information about tertiary education, other bursary organizations and career options. One of the directors of NGO #3 explained their engagements in other activities as follows:

> We continue to get students seeking information and advice in various issues over and above those who have applied for bursaries from us. The assistance required ranges from information about education institutions available for specific needs to those requiring financial assistance. The most frustrating time of the year is the beginning of the year when we get all the desperate students (especially university) who are not able to accept that our organization is not in a position to help. This needs a lot of patience and it is taxing emotionally (Org.3.Resp.3.Adm.)

The frustrations of the organization in helping students gain access into tertiary education had not been from students only. The reputation that the organization built over a period of 20 years was affected by the commission of inquiry that was set up by the government to investigate its financial activities. The report of the commission was tabled in a document called "A Report of The Commission of Inquiry on the (Organization #3) as an Affected Organization." Published by the Government Printers. The most important finding was that the appropriation of several thousands of rands could not be accounted for by the leadership of the organization. The researcher found no records or documents at the offices of the organization that proved that the organization contested the allegations or the findings of the commission of inquiry.

<u>Space</u>

Non-governmental organizations exist in a complex world. To cope effectively, they must simplify this complexity. One way of doing this is to increase the number of decision makers so that each decision maker can focus on some limited dimension. This was observed by the researcher at NGO #3. An administrator at Organization #3 said:

> In order to be effective, we have decided to operate our bursary scheme through the branches. Some of the branches have been assigned the task of visiting our bursary holders. It is our hope that we will extend this to most of the branches in 1993 and the national office will be left with the function of coordinating these visits together with the branches. The national office gets inundated by applications for financial assistance and problems that students are experiencing at the tertiary education institutions. The central office has not been able to attend to problems and issues because of distance and lack of staff. Decentralization will help localize problems.

Decentralization of the decision-making process results in slowing down of information processing. The final decisions on crucial issues in the case of Organization #3, had to be made by the central office in Johannesburg. For example, a student who was supported by organization #3 lost his father in a car accident. The student was supposed to travel from Cape Town to Johannesburg. That Monday morning, the student reported the matter to the local branch of the NGO #3 so as to leave by Friday the same week. The organization was expected to provide money for traveling. The approval was supposed to come from the central office before the money was given to the student. The money came too late. The student waited a week before he received it.

One of the problems identified by both the organization and the tertiary education institutions is that the students come to universities without prior knowledge of what is involved in studying toward the careers they have chosen. Some do not even know the requirements until they are registered. An example was given of students who want to be accountants but were not aware that mathematics would be required in addition to commercial subjects. Most of the students may not have done mathematics in high school or their grades were not high enough to be able to handle mathematics at a higher level. These students would have to take introductory classes or register with academic support programs that could help them upgrade their knowledge. The consequence of extra lessons was that the students took longer than the period specified by their bursary organization. In some cases, parents had to take over the burden of financing the student. In most cases, the parents would not be aware of the problem at the beginning, hence would not have the resources and the student would have to drop out, work and complete later. A student supported by Organization #3 explained the problem as follows:

> Lack of prior knowledge about the curricula requirements for degrees and diplomas at tertiary education institutions is frustrating. We waste a great deal of time trying to figure out what we needed to have in high school to be eligible for a

> certain direction of study at tertiary education level. I was not informed that mathematics would be a priority if I wanted to be a teachers. I still wonder why student are not informed about tertiary education institutions and their curricula while in high school in order to prepare themselves. All tertiary education institutions provide calendars to those who need them free of charge. Why can't our schools write to all universities and request calendars so our guidance teachers can use them and advise us. We spend more time studying than we need to. I am in the second year of study now because of the blunders I made in my first year. I would be in the third and final year now if it hadn't failed two courses in the first year. These were courses I hadn't done in high school (Org.3.Resp.9.Stu.).

The South African University system offers courses with syllabi that cover the whole academic year. This means that if a student takes psychology 101, for example, that course will start in February and end in November. Students write mid-semester examinations in each course. The final examination is written at the end of the course. A student qualifies to continue with a course the following semester if they pass the mid-year examination. If a student fails the mid-term examinations, such a student will not be allowed to carry on with the course. The part of the course that has been failed can only be repeated the following year. It is very seldom that students graduate without repeating one or more courses. Some students have to take courses that cover an extra year. This affects the organization in its plans to approach donors and secure funds for each year. It affects issues of safety for the organization since any extension of time of funding might result in the termination of funds for one or more students. This might easily lead to students' uprisings.

Organization #3 expected students to request extension of funding if they had to take extra classes to complete their studies. At times, the funding was not extended. According to a document of the organization (Org.3.Doc.13), funding could be extended if: (a) the student was sick when the examination was written (A doctor's certificate is required), (b) the student was absent due to unforeseen circumstances (e.g. death in the family) or other valid reasons, (These circumstances need to be reported to an official at the university and a letter should be written to the organization explaining the circumstances), (c) a student had requested a change of curriculum and it was granted (Org.3.Doc.4.).

In cases where the funding had not been renewed, the students had to get other sources of funding or the parents had to pay tuition, room and board. This situation was discussed by a student as follows:

> I don't think its fair that I was denied funding because of the courses I failed when I started. It is difficult to get used to the style of teaching here. I was lost when I started. I did not understand what the professors were teaching the first month or two. I did not attend academic support programs because my funding did not include them. I had to struggle on my own. My parents are struggling to put me through the final year. I had to move off-campus and find cheaper places to live. Also, I think it must be taken into consideration

> that the university closed for two months when I started because of problems on campus. I did not participate in the strike but I am paying for it (Org.3.Resp.18. Stu.)

It is apparently difficult for the organization to decide whether to continue funding some students or not. Decisions were based on second- or third-hand information. Normally, the university provided the information explaining why a student could not write examinations. The information was based on data collected by the university from the student, faculty or staff and kept in the student's file. The following information was provided by a university official:

> We are expected to provide information why students fail or fail to write examinations in their courses. We obtain the information by interviewing the student, the professor who teaches the course or both, if possible. Students come with all kinds of reasons. We write whatever we think is relevant. It is for the organization to decide what to do with the information. We have a lot of students here. Most of these organizations are not represented on campus. We have a lot of work to do; as a result, we do not do a good job on these interviews. Most students do not inform us or their funding organizations about problems they have in their courses until its too late for us to help (Ter.Ed.Resp.5.)

The observation made through reading from the students' files was that, whatever the case is, the student is seldom given the benefit of the doubt. This arduous task of deciding whether a student's funding should be renewed or not was also explained by the director of Organization #3 as follows:

> We trust that the tertiary education institutions are doing a job in good faith. I do not believe that they can be malicious and damaging to our students. They need our support and we need theirs. We rely on our mutual, and collaborative understanding that students should be fairly treated. Students can be irresponsible at times. They get involved in other activities and forget their commitments. They normally study too hard just before the examination. We have had several students getting black-outs and taken to hospital half crazy. It is specified in our brochures that students who fail to perform will be terminated. A line has to be drawn some how somewhere. Students should not go to universities with high school behavior (Org.3.Resp.8.)

According to the rules governing student behavior (Org.3.Doc.2), parents were contacted by letter before the students' funding was terminated. Yet, in the students' files, there was no indication of parental involvement or some form of communication with the parents or guardians from the organization. The letter for termination of funding was, in most cases, the only document that indicated some form of communication with the parents in the students' files.

The organization kept track of the progress made by each student by asking students to mail their grades to the organization at the end of each semester. Some tertiary education institutions sent the reports on behalf of their students. The student was held responsible for making sure that the institution had sent a copy of the grades to the organization. All grades were entered into a data-base by the organization. The Director of Student Affairs at Organization #3 had the following to say:

> We terminate funding for students who do not perform well in their studies. We are accountable to our donors. There is no way we can get money from donors to fund students if they (students) do not make progress in their studies. Students do not know that the money comes from someone who would like to see to it that it is well spent. We do what we can to get students to do what is expected of them but it is not so easy when one is working with people so far away. We receive students' grades every semester and our funding decision are based on them. Our students at times are influenced by the environment they find themselves in. We cannot control the behavior of students. We leave that to the universities and their parents. We cannot work with parents because we need to spend most of our resources helping students. We are under-staffed. We cannot talk to parents regularly. Writing to parents can be very costly (Org.3.Resp.8.Adm.)

Spatial issues were averted through communication with the students and tertiary education institutions. Funding for only 3 students was terminated out of a total of 42 at one institution. The students were in their third year of study (Org3.Doc.12). The university did not expel them as long as they could pay their fees. Two of the three students dropped out to find employment in order to return later and complete their studies. The remaining student was supported by her parents until she graduated. All three students were left with one year of study.

Energy

Areas that demanded attention for Non-Governmental Organization #3 were, (a) the collection of data from all application forms regardless of whether the students would be selected or not, (b) the distributions of application forms from the headquarters to the various regions (c) the selection of new students for the following academic year by all branches, (d) the mailing of letters of acceptance or telegrams and money for traveling to students who were selected by branches, (e) the mailing of lists of students that have been selected to the central office by districts, (f) the notification of tertiary education institutions about students that had been selected, and (g) distribution of funds to tertiary education institutions in accordance with the expenditure for each university for the first semester.

Data were collected from the application form of every applicant and entered into a computer file. This, according to the organization, facilitates the selection and distribution to the branches. Also, it helps the organization keep records of applicants in case the information is needed. The information is also used to establish how the organization gets advertised.

The organization kept track of how many application forms were issued and how many were returned by the date set as the deadline. Some students send application forms to more than one organization for funding. The number of application forms returned, compared to the number distributed, acted as another means of feedback as to how the organization was performing. The use of application forms was explained by the Head of Department of Student affairs as follows:

> The application forms we distribute and receive are very important to us. They inform us what type of careers students and their parents think are important. Also, we get information on what tertiary education institutions are popular with students. We are also able to compare rural and urban student's in tertiary education and the fields of study relevant to this areas. Through studying the application forms, we have established that seventy percent of our applicants are males. Unfortunately, we do not have a system in place yet that would help us get this vital information into school so they can begin to encourage more female students to apply. We support about one-third of the number of students that apply for financial assistance. At present, we do not have working relation with other non-governmental organizations like ours to find out how many students apply and how many of the students we turn down get picked by others. At times we use the information to select students we had left out if resources become available. Some of these students would have their parents struggling to pay for them. We takeover and fund the student. Some students get admitted at tertiary education institutions long before they apply for financial assistance from us(Org.3.Resp.5.Adm.)

Organization #3 had a schedule of visits to their students at all tertiary education institutions once a year. The visits were conducted by the staff from regional offices of the organization and the records were sent to the central office (Johannesburg). The reports included three categories: (i) report on students' conduct obtained from the files, (ii) rate of attendance per student, and (iii) personal interviews of students (Org 3. Doc.22) The officials who visit students write only one comprehensive report for all their individual students at individual tertiary education institution. This activity is conducted once a year before the end of the second semester. A summary of all the reports appear in the general annual report of the organization. Reports are written on individual students only if there are serious problems about the student.

Process

Time. The progress that students make at the tertiary education institutions is vital to the survival of the organization. The president of Organization #3 travels nationally and internationally raising funds and encouraging funding from old supporters. The success of the fund-raising endeavor is contingent upon the success stories of students in tertiary education. The organization presents documents to donors as proof of progressive work done with money received.

The demands and expectation of donors from the organization change from time to time. During the early seventies, the donors demanded financial reports only. After 1976, most of the donors demanded students' progress reports and graduation rates. The president of the organization had the following story about fund-raising:

> We depend on national and international organizations for funds. It has become increasingly difficult to raise funds these days. The South African economy is going through a crisis and I do not know how long it will take for us to survive. My organization has been going on this way for a long time. We are never sure about tomorrow. Divestment dealt us a crippling blow: companies that supported us pulled out of the country. We had stocks with some of these companies. The funds that we obtained could be used or re-invested. We receive donations from some foreign governments. We faced serious problems when these countries decided to apply sanctions against South Africa. As soon as that happened, funding was cut.
>
> Our survival depends on how well we use people's money. You know that capital can fly away sooner than a bird. Money is getting tighter every year. The strings attached to the money we receive from donors are increasing and are getting tighter. Funding gets affected if our students do not perform well. The greatest problem is that they may not be responsible for poor performance. There are times when tertiary education institutions close down and students are sent home for as long as three months at times. What really drives me crazy is that most of the strikes occur toward the end of the year when we are selecting students for the following year. It has happened several times that we had to write telegrams and drop students we had already taken because of the number of students who had to repeat a year. We survive from day to day (Org.3.Resp.20.Adm.)

The students' ideas about funding or lack of it were different from those of the officials of the organization. The 15 students who were interviewed had no idea how and from what source the organization obtained its funds. The students did not seem to be concerned about the issue of funds from donors. For them, the organization was responsible for their funding, if they did not get it, they were prepared to sue the organization for a breech of contract. A student of organization #3 said the following:

> I do not know where the organization gets money from. My assumption is that the organization obtains money from churches all over the country. I believe that they decided to fund me throughout my studies because they had calculated that they will be in a position to do so when the decision to fund me was made. I suppose the money is donated by some companies. If that is the case, then those companies are just spending the money they saved by paying my father very little.
>
> I participate in strikes when they occur. There is so much pressure on us to participate that there is no way one can avoid it. I do not always agree with political issues that are raised by some of our students, but what can you do? The university closes for everybody. The organization should understand our plight. They should carry on funding us at least for an extra year. I would understand if the conditions of my funding are changed and I have to refund a percentage of the money I would receive during the extra year. I think its more of a waste of money if I drop-out before I graduate. (Org.3.Resp.33.St.)

The student presented her argument very strongly. She pointed out that she had presented it at various levels of the organization. The organization had a counter argument presented by the head of department, bursary section:

> You must have heard of the lack of the "learning culture" that our present students suffer from. They are ready to go on strike anytime. Tertiary education institutions have been converted into mini-high schools. If we are too lenient, the students will run this organization as they have been running their high school in Soweto since 1976 with very little or no work done. Those students can throw stones at the officials there. We are out of reach and we have a responsibility toward donor agencies. We are not going to encourage the

> lack of seriousness that goes on especially at the historically black institutions (Org.3. Resp.5. Adm.).

At the time when this study was conducted, tertiary education institutions were going through a very tough time. One of the universities that was visited by the researcher had changed presidents twice in three years. These highly qualified individuals had sound experience in administration inside and outside the country. This institution was cited by Organization #3 as an example of the turbulent environment that the organization was operating in. More and more students were failing to graduate while most of the foreign donors were considering or actually applying sanctions against South Africa. The organization had to work harder to keep donors and to convince them that "all was well" when the outcomes of the tertiary education institutions were telling a different story. The president of the organization had the following view of the problem:

> I do not know what we would do if our organization was not supported by various churches within the country. Also, we have other developmental programs in place. We have raised a lot of funds by using our successful endeavors and diverted the funds into bursaries where our donors agreed. Most of our donors are sympathetic to our course. However, some find it difficult to understand why students go on strike for a greater part of an academic year. We do not control tertiary education institutions. We are not even represented on the Union of Democratic University Staff Association.
>
> We understand the problems that students encounter when the whole university closes. However, it is

> not easy for us to determine why some students fail and some pass after they have all been away from the same university. These are the times when we try to work on individual cases with the help of the university. We also try to consider the performance of the student before the strike. Our decisions are based on a lot of information and we involve the students in question as far as possible. Terminating students' funding is a very thorny, complicated issue. It involves a lot of research and waste a lot of resources. Gone are the times when we did not have most of these problems (Org.3.Resp.20.Adm.).

Space

The loose-coupling between tertiary education institutions and Organization #3 was both a disadvantage and an advantage. The disadvantage of loose-coupling is that communication break-downs occurred all the time. Some tertiary education institutions decided to communicate with the organization on behalf of their students. In good faith, these students agreed to hand-over their responsibilities. When the organization did not receive grades from one of the students, a letter was written to the student requesting him to respond. The student did not respond hoping that the university received the same letter. Subsequent letters were threatening the student with termination. The student reported to the university administration. Nothing was done about the case and the result was that the funding was terminated. It took two weeks to solve the problem. In the mean time, the student had no source of income. The student was asked to write a report on what happened. The report was written and kept in the student's file (Org.3.Doc.11.)

Another disadvantage of loose-coupling was that the officials of the organization could not talk to their students without obtaining permission from tertiary education institutions. In case there were problems, the organization could not conduct its own investigation on campus. In cases where a student was involved in political activities and the police were involved, the organization was supposed to obtain permission from the institution to get first hand information from the student. The organization had no control over its students except in cases where funding was terminated.

The advantage of loose-coupling was that the organization could use its own criteria for selecting students for funding without consulting tertiary education institutions as long as the students had obtained university exemption from high schools. Most of the students were selected on the basis of need and not so much on merit.

If students were denied entry into a department (faculty) or a course as a result of failing entrance qualifications, they were advised to change their curriculum. The organization could not force the tertiary education institution to allow a student to register for courses denied. The "Calendar" of one of the tertiary education institutions stated the following:

> The Council may refuse admission to any person who applies for admission as a student of the University if the Council considers it to be in the interest of the University to do so and the Council shall not be obliged to give reasons for any such refusal (Ter. Ed.2. Doc.1. p. A84).

The same regulation applied to registration into faculties or individual courses except that the decision was made by the head of department of that faculty. It was the responsibility of the students to communicate with the organization and report any changes in their curriculum. An administrator at a tertiary education institution said:

> If we were to allow all the organizations that fund students on campus to tell us what to do, there would be total chaos here. We have more than 50 organizations funding students here. The organizations include churches, foundations, corporations, non-governmental organizations, homeland governments and several others. It is the student's responsibility to notify the bursary organization about the conditions that affect the organization such as the date for the payment of tuition fees (Ter.Ed.3.Resp.12.Adm.).

<u>Energy</u>

The president of the organization travels nationally and internationally raising funds for the organization. The amount of time spent on the travels is more than the time he spends in his office. International travel involved searching for funding contracts, renewing old contracts, and arranging visits by donor agencies to programs run by the organization. National travel includes fund raising and visiting to branches. Branch directors receive training in small scale fund raising and management either from the president or through consultants. The president also attended meetings and conferences of other organizations.

On October 15, 1992, the president attended the Cintsa Admissions Symposium organized by the Independent Development Trust (IDT). The symposium aimed at:

> Bringing together a group of policy-makers and researchers involved in the area of selection and admissions. It is hoped that the outcome of the discussions would assist the Independent Development Trust, and contribute to policy formulation and implementation in a variety of tertiary education institutions.
> The symposium on:
>
> * Research questions being posed by various alternative admission projects nationally.
>
> * Identifying major research questions not being systematically investigated at present, but which require investigation.
>
> * The findings and insights of, and problems experienced by, practitioners.
>
> * The overall debate about access.
>
> * The evaluation procedures used to assess the effectiveness of selection and admission procedure (Org.3.Doc.21.).

The symposium commissioned papers from individuals who have direct experience in selection and admissions. Since the symposium was aimed at contributing to policy and practice, participation of tertiary education leaders and leaders of funding organizations was important. The president had the following to say about his participation in the conference:

> This is an example of the kind of conferences I would attend. It helps us keep abreast of developments in tertiary education, especially with regard to access. This has been a difficult issue to handle. The argument about equity and upholding standards has been going on since 1976 and soon after the historically white institutions began to open their doors to black people (Org.3.Resp.22.Adm.).

Organization #3 did not have a program to support academic support programs. The students were encouraged to attend such courses if they were recommended by their counselors at the tertiary education institutions. If they had to pay to attend such courses they had to inform the organization in writing. The organization considered academic support programs as important. Time and money are spent on this aspect. One of the managers had the following to say about academic support programs:

> We put more emphasis in helping more students gain access into tertiary education. We believe that the students we select are aware of the fact that if it were not for us they would never attain higher education. More than 85 percent of our students are first generation college students in their families. During the first month of their selection, we write letters to the students encouraging them to work as hard as they can in order to succeed. All students who pass their first semester examinations receive complementary letters from us. We consider academic support programs as important. We even pay for the courses that students take in those programs but we do not finance tertiary education institutions to develop the programs as other organizations do. We do not have enough resources to support them. However, we are considering supporting the programs because of the problems that high schools in areas like Soweto are experiencing (Org.3.Resp.15.Adm.).

Output and Feedback

Time. Organization #3 put emphasis on its outcomes that consisted of the graduation rate of students, job-placement, acquiring new donors, increasing amounts of donations from old commitments, producing annual reports, receiving dividends from stocks and other investments.

The graduation rates of students supported by Organization #3 had increase from 75% in 1989 to 85% in 1991. The annual report of 1991 (Org.3.Doc.6.) ascribed the 10% increase to the emphasis that the organization put on higher standards of admission, stricter controls of student activities, and academic support programs. The head of department of the bursary section predicted that there will be a decrease in graduation rates from 1992. This prediction was based on the placement of more students in historically white institutions. The head of department explained as follows:

> We have been sending about 75 percent of our students to historically black tertiary education institutions for more than 20 years. The reason was that the historically white institutions were not open for Africans for a long time. We are under pressure now from our donors to send more students into the historically white tertiary education institutions because of the political problems that black tertiary education institutions are experiencing. Our students take longer to graduate from some of the historically black universities. We have problems at the historically white institutions but they are of a different kind. The kind we can deal with. At the moment some of our students get lost in the sea of white students and are intimidated by being minorities.

> We help them by paying for academic support programs. Taking these extra classes may be cumbersome for the student but at the end it produces a better prepared student. Jobs are getting scarce, as a result, we need to prepare our students to compete well out there. Our funding, especially from companies depends on the performance of our student in their placements. Unfortunately, this is also related to the type of institutions we send our students to. (Org.3.Resp.7.Adm.).

<u>Space</u>

The students that were interviewed also viewed employment as a problem. It was clear that it is related to where students graduated from not so much on what grades they got when they graduated. It had become increasingly harder for African college graduates to find employment. The feeling of discontent was expressed by one of the students in the final year:

> I know a lot of college graduates in Soweto I went to high school with. These people graduated from various universities last year. I noticed that most of my colleagues who graduated from historically white institutions did not have much difficulty in getting jobs. Part of the reason is that they went to school with some rich white students whose parents either owned companies or were in high positions. They were recommended by their friends.

<u>Energy</u>

In a cybernetic system, according to Birnbaum (1988), organization subsystems respond to a limited number of inputs to monitor their operation and make corrections and adjustments as necessary; organizational responses are not based on measuring or improving their output. This means that, for example, nothing is likely to happen at Organization #3 if its graduates learn less at a particular tertiary education institution (a measure of output), but the organization is likely to respond when alumni complain (an input measure) that they have not been well prepared by a particular tertiary education institution for their careers (Alison, 1971). Emphasizing the importance of inputs rather than outputs, makes it possible to understand how the non-governmental organization functions without the need to express organizational goals or purposes. Organizations do this by creating feedback loops that tell them when things are going wrong. Non-governmental organization #3 had a number of goals, or constraints, whose achievement fell within an area of acceptability. If any of them fell outside that range, the energies of individuals or groups at the organization are activated in an attempt to return the organization to the desired level. When problems occur at universities, the organization would send counselors or other representatives to talk to their students for fear of losing support from their donor agencies. The President of Organization #3 said:

> It is embarrassing to admit that at times we tend to try to encourage our students to stay on campus during strikes when we actually see and know that their lives can be in danger. We fear to be seen to be supportive of their political struggle. The

> response of donor organizations is the cause of our fears. Donors do not have to explain why they stop supporting us. 'They vote with their feet,' so to speak. In saving our faces, our students become sacrificial lambs on the altar (Org.3.Resp.20.).

Organization #3 did not have any obligations for students after graduation. Also, it did not have alumni associations. A medical practitioner who had been practicing for seven years and who was supported by organization #3 had the following to say:

> I am thankful to the NGO for supporting me financially. I would never make it on my own. My parents were poor and had little education. I grew up in this homeland and the opportunities here for a person without education are almost nil. The only way people escape crippling poverty and being trapped in this place for the rest of your life is by having a good-paying profession. I have my own private practice here. I believe I make more money here than I would in the cities. There is almost no competition here. I would be donating a lot of money to the organization that supported me, but they never indicated they were in need of it. If giving some money voluntarily to the organization was part of the agreement when I got it and I started early, I would be used to it now. I do not want to impress anyone, it is hard to part with money. However, if there is a request I would donate (Org.3.Resp.54.Alumni).

According to records of the organization (Org.3.Doc.11.), students were required to report to the organization when they completed their course of study. The organization kept records of their performance each year and was aware of the graduation credit requirements for each student. This information was requested by the organization as soon as the student had developed a curriculum with his or her advisor. The organization requested the tertiary education institutions to provide the information. It was the responsibility of the student to inform the organization if his/her curriculum had changed (Org.3,Doc.1).

Non-Governmental Organization #3 exists in an environment that is in a state of flux. There are social, political, economic, and educational issues that had to be taken into consideration for the organization to survive in its turbulent and ever-changing environment. According to a document of the organization (Org.3.Doc.2.), changes had to be made for the future in line with adjustments in other areas as a result of political developments. The document had the following under bursaries:

> Political developments within the country have made it imperative for us to review the bursary program against the emerging trends. We have participated in various debates - at Bursary Council level - that were aimed at looking at the loan-grant system. We have also, on our own, engaged our constituency - the church as well secular organizations on this issue. As a result of these discussions, we have been able to come up with a Position Paper on this issue, central to which is the recommendation that the organization should continue with the bursary program on a grant basis and focus on specific fields of study.
>
> In line with the decision taken on decentralizing the program, we managed, despite the financial crisis that we found ourselves in - to implement this decision in some branches. We were, therefore, able to grant a reasonable number of bursaries in 1992. The number of bursary applications received up to now (34,803) indicates that we are nowhere near coping in terms of meeting

the need. We hope to continue to strengthen this work in the branches and for this reason we would like to award more bursaries for branches to allocate. We would also like to use 1993 to review and restructure our program in line with the priorities that will be identified.

We, therefore, hope to continue with the old commitments at university, technikon, teacher training and high school level. For new commitments, we hope to award bursaries to all the categories - but because of the prioritizing that needs to be done, we will, at university level, focus only on applications for post graduate study, and those applying for courses in the natural sciences. Eventually, we would like to award new bursaries as follows:

* 20 additional post-graduates bursaries each year
* 100 additional under-graduate bursaries each year
* 80 additional technikon bursaries each year
* 100 additional teacher-training bursaries each year
* 20 additional senior-secondary (high school) bursaries each year.

In line with the decision to decentralize the program, the function of outreach is gradually being taken over by the branches. Some of the branches have been assigned the task of visiting our bursary holders. It is our hope that we will extend this to most of the branches in 1993 and the National office will be left with the function of coordinating these visits together with the branches (Org.3.Doc.2.).

Judging from the serious tone of the document quoted above, it is apparent that the organization was making internal changes because of environmental changes. According to Scott (1987), how an organization relates to its environment is generally influenced by the organization's structural features, and the characteristics of the organization's structure are strongly affected by the organization's environment. As organizations try to adjust to their environments, they also try to influence or affect their environments in line with their goals and objectives. Organizations construct and reconstruct boundaries across which they relate to the outside world. Organizations encounter many barriers which become more impenetrable as one comes closer to the organization's technical core (Scott, 1987; Carroll, 1984).

Organization #3, like most organizations, made mention of hard decisions to be made by its technical core without disclosing some of the strategies that would be applied to effect change.

> We have already begun with discussions relating to issues that the program should regard as being a priority. For us to be able to concretize these thoughts, we will need to commission research that will help confirm or negate the recommendations that have been made so that we can be able to operate according to realistic guidelines.
>
> It is our wish to continue monitoring developments in education, not only for purposes of keeping the church informed but also to help us within the program to modify our focus where necessary (Org.3.Doc.2.).

The quotation above indicated that the organization was under pressure from external forces to effect some change. This feedback caused the organization to react to the pressure to start discussing "priority issues" without directly disclosing what the issues were. The organization decided to make informed decisions by "commissioning research." It would protect its boundary by "monitoring developments in education."

Organization #3 did not do job-placements except for students who were supported by the organization through donations that were ear-marked for particular individual students who would be employed by the donor(s) upon their graduation. The organization had reasons for not placing students. The Director of Student Affairs explained as follows:

> Job-placement has not been in our interest. Some firms and organizations do request for our graduates and we give them the names. We do not promise our students any form of placement after graduation. The reason is that it was not necessary in the past because there were job openings for Africans with university education. We would not spend money employing people to place our students. Now, it is even more difficult. Since 1984, foreign companies have been leaving South Africa as a result of sanctions. We are going through an economic crisis. Unemployment is extremely high. Some of our students who graduated two or three years ago are still not employed or have lost their jobs. We consider ourselves as fortunate that we did not raise the hopes of our students. They will have to find jobs all by themselves. We believe that our responsibility ends when students graduate. Our advantage is that we offer grants and not loans to our students. The students do not owe us anything when they complete (Org.3.Resp.33.Adm.).

The students that were funded by this organization and interviewed by the researcher, did not bother about being placed by the organization. They expressed gratitude that they have been supported through their studies and owe their success to the organization. They felt that it was their responsibility to look for jobs.

CHAPTER V

PRESENTATION AND DISCUSSION OF COMPARATIVE FINDINGS

The purpose of this study was to identify and study the role of non-governmental bursary organizations in helping African students gain access to tertiary education. This chapter is devoted to (1) a comparative discussion of major issues that the three organization were facing, and (2) the future of bursary organizations.

Discussion of Major Findings

The study of three organizations revealed some differences and similarities in their structures, operations, and leadership. To be consistent with the systems approach, the findings of the three organizations were discussed according to the inputs, process/structure, outputs, and feedback of all the organization. The dimensions of time, space, and energy were applied to further illustrate the similarities and differences in the operations of all three organizations.

Inputs

Scott (1981:73) states that "to view an organization as a cybernetic system is to emphasize the importance of the operations, the control, and the policy center and to analyze the flows among them." The policy center sets the goals for the system. This activity occurs in response to demands or preference from the environment. The setting of organizational goals is based on information about preferences in the environment so that exchanges between the environment and the organization can occur (Scott, 1981; Parrow, 1989). Each NG organization set its goal in relation to its own environment with the objective to achieve the success of students through tertiary education institutions. Tertiary education institutions give feedback to the organizations to improve their inputs in order to facilitate the success of African students. The inputs consists of donors, students themselves in terms of readiness or preparedness to do tertiary education work, and a thorough persistence in their studies. Information derived from the students' input, throughput and output is, in turn, used by the organizations to set goals for themselves on how to obtain more funds from their current donors, how and when to get new donors and new students. All the input, throughput, feedback, goal setting and goal attainment activities occur in time and space, and energy is expended in the process.

Time

The impact of environmental changes. Over the period of about 8 years for Organization #1, 15 years for Organization #2, and 25 years for Organization #3, notable political, social, educational, and economic changes have taken place. These changes have had an impact on the organizations and caused them to change their organizational structure and operations. Also, changes in the leadership of these organizations have had an effect on their performance. Some changes have been negative and some have been positive.

In line with the increase in school enrollments of African students since the advent of Bantu Education in 1954, the number of tertiary education-bound students increased. As the number of applicants increased, it became progressively difficult for two of the three organizations to conduct personal interviews to select students for funding. This process, although effective, was perceived as not cost and time efficient. Even if the interviewing process was conducted by branches, it would still be cumbersome for the organizations. The organizations had to resort to increasing employees which meant cutting down on scholarships or getting more donations.

The three organizations decided separately and at different times to be more selective when it came to the fields of study that students decide upon. The data indicate that medical school students had a priority over other areas of study. The organizations found it easier to place students with high grades in mathematics and physical science at the tertiary education institutions than students with high grades in languages and other subjects. In the past, the organizations did not use subject areas or career directions as criteria for selecting students. Students who obtained high grades regardless of subjects areas, were selected for funding. After graduation, the organizations observed that it was easier to place some students and difficult to place others depending on their majors.

Job-placements. Job-placement was one of the problems that organizations faced. In the past when African graduates were few, it was not difficult to place them. Most students used to find jobs before they graduated; after 1976, employers became more selective. Organization #1 expressed that it was easier to do job-placement for mathematics, science and computer science majors than it was for other majors. Job-placements were important to them since they operated a system that gave 60% grants and 40% loans. Both loans and grants were available to the students until they graduate. Graduates had to be placed so that they can refund their 40% commitments. The amount to be paid and the period over which it should be paid, differed from student to student. The main criteria on which decisions were based were the graduate's salary and the rate of increment per annum. Organization #2 engaged other placement agencies to take care of its graduates. It was interesting to learn that Organization #3 had no placement program for its graduates.

It was clear to the researcher that the organizations funded students they believed they could place after graduation rather than those they could not. Job-placement was one of the major strategies that the organizations utilized to get more funding from donor agencies. Some of the donor agencies were companies that supported children of their own employees through the organizations. These employers gave jobs to the tertiary education graduates. Note that an outcome (job placement) becomes an input (record of job placement) to gain funds.

Readiness for tertiary education. One of the major changes that became more visible in the data was the shift from funding high school students to funding tertiary education students. Before 1976 public secondary schools for Africans have been unstable. The instability affected students' attendance and lowered the quality of learning. After 1976, public secondary education became cheaper as a result of the decision made by the government to supply textbooks to all schools. Even poor parents could afford to educate their children up to high school in public schools.

In the literature reviewed for this study it was indicated that the increase in the numbers of students completing high school was not accompanied by a matching increase in the number of well qualified teachers and well equipped schools. The expansion of secondary school education was accompanied by mass production of poorly prepared high school students who were not ready for tertiary education. Several South African scholars pointed out that the government, while increasing the number of high schools, did not improve the quality of the high school product (Thembela, 1986, Luthuli, 1987; Bott, 1991). In order to provide for the students from the high schools, organizations #1 and #2 decided to change their strategy and gave financial support to academic support programs that catered to their students. In addition, organization #2 conducted high school supplementary classes during winter vacation to help African students prepare for their high school final national examinations.

Repeal of the Separate University Act of 1959. Another problem that affected change in the structure and operations of NGO bursary organizations was the repeal of the Separate University Act of 1959 in 1990. After 1990, white universities increased their admission of African students. This resulted in the increase of applicants who needed financial assistance. In order to cater to the growing number of applicants, all three organizations established branches throughout the country. However, the expansion of the organizations was not immediately accompanied by an increase in donations from donor agencies. In fact, the increase in the number of students came at a time when the organizations were faced with a declining number of foreign sponsors because many were divesting from South Africa.

In addition, African students at historically white universities were experiencing new problems of alienating environments and lack of housing. The organizations were now faced with new problems that required them to support and help extend counseling programs for the students. Organizations #1 and #2 provided funds for counseling and academic support programs for sponsored African students.

In line with the on-going political changes and the unstable economic conditions, the bursary organizations were forced to change their funding procedures. The Independent Development Trust, which was increasingly becoming the most important internal donor agency, was putting pressure on the organizations to operate a grant-loan system to ensure the availability of funds to the organizations. According to the data, organization #1 was already operating a 60% grant and 40% loan scheme for its students. Organization #2 was still considering the system. The grant-loan system was totally rejected by organization #3. The researcher attended a conference of bursary organizations convened by the Independent Development Trust in which it became obvious that pressure was being exerted on other organizations to follow the example set by Organization #1. The economic crisis the country was going through was mentioned as one of the factors that would force the organizations to change for their own survival.

Space

Diversification into branches. All three organizations had diversified into branches that spread all over the country. Each organization had one or more branches in each province. The diversification facilitated contact and communication with students and with domestic donor agencies. The branches of organizations #1 and 2 were also responsible for placing students into job openings.

Persistence and academic progress. The progress students made was important to the organizations because they needed to match their available funds to the number of students they were currently supporting. This information was also valuable for (1) the intake of new students and (2) the activities of senior officials of the organizations in seeking donations or other means of financing new students. This process depended on tertiary education institutions and the courses they offer.

The South African university system offers courses that follow syllabi that cover the whole year. The workload in each course is divided into two semesters. The system does not offer credit hours per course. According to the data, organizations find it difficult to monitor the students' attendance and accumulation of coursework. The organizations relied on semester and end of the year results to monitor the progress made by students. Visiting tertiary education institutions once or twice a year could not improve students' attendance at classes or at academic support programs even though research has proved that students' regular attendance and participation in class is a major factor in their academic achievements (Linn, 1992; Torrance, 1991; Sosniak, 1990).

Loose- and tight-coupling. The notion of coupling is important for the whole system. The loose-coupling that existed between the tertiary education institutions and the Organizations had been advantageous because it allows them (Organizations) to have healthy communications with donor agencies. Donor agencies had a history of shunning relationships with government institutions.

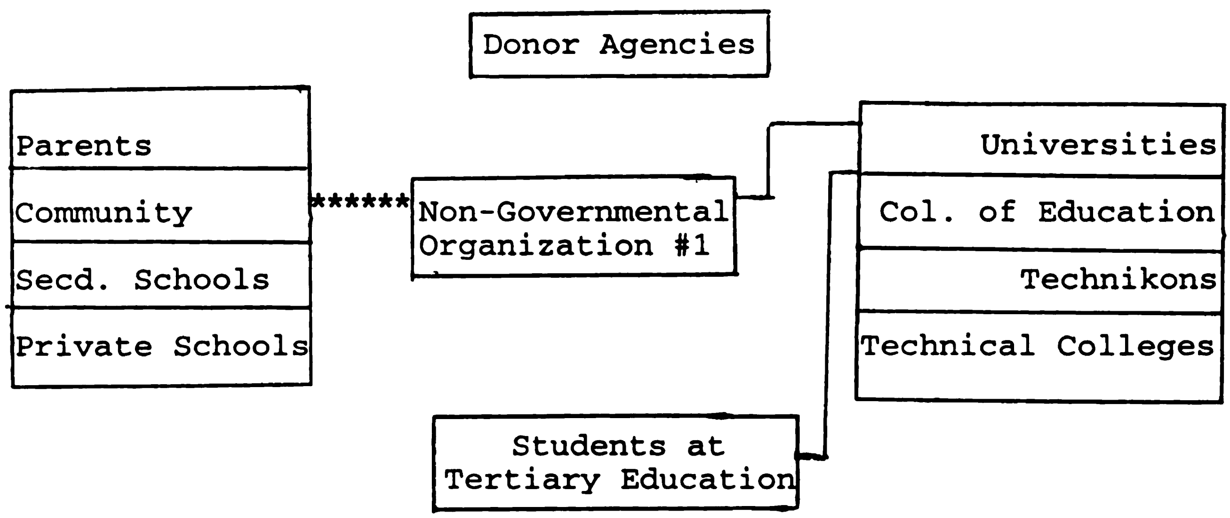
The organizations functioned as subsystems of the South African system of tertiary education. The Organizations were regarded as an integral part of the tertiary education institution without which the system might not function efficiently. As it appears in the data, the number of students the organizations supported were high enough to cripple the system if they were to withdraw their support for students.

The loose-coupling between organizations and high schools is regrettable, to say the least. High schools are educational institutions that are feeder or input systems to both the Organizations (indirectly) and the tertiary education institutions (directly). The Organizations do not work with high schools except for a few private schools. The "winter schools" that Organizations #2 and #3 organize have no direct linkage with the students these organizations select for funding. These classes help students with their academic work by preparing them for high school examinations. It is not automatic that if they attend the winter schools they will be selected for funding. Principals expressed the desire to work closely with Organizations to motivate students to work toward higher education and participate in the winter school programs. Ironically, most of the teachers that are employed at the winter schools are regular public school teachers who volunteer to work with the winter schools programs.

Tight coupling existed within the organizations individually. All activities conducted by the branches of the organizations are done under the direct control and supervision of the headquarters of the organizations. The tight-coupling results in the efficient use of material and human resources. The efficiency with which funds are handle is related to the ability of each organization to obtain funds from donor agencies.

Table 20

Loose- and Tight-Coupling; Non-Governmental Organization #1



Key:

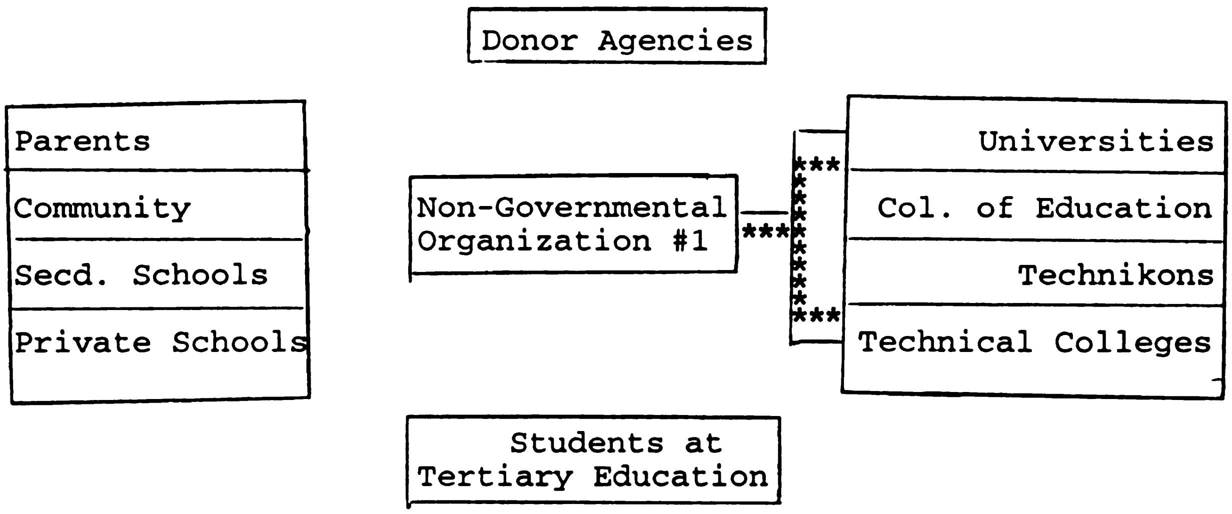
------- Indicates tight-coupling

******* Indicates loose-coupling

Blank space indicates no coupling

Table 21

Loose- and Tight-Coupling; Non-Governmental Organization #2



Key:

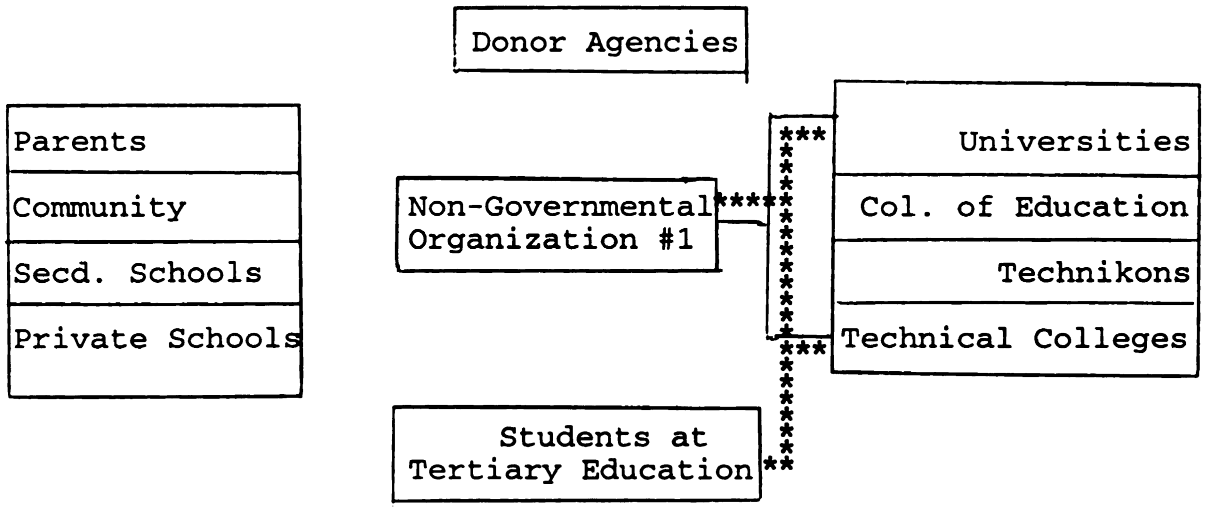
------- Indicates tight-coupling

******* Indicates loose-coupling

Blank space indicates no coupling

Table 22

Loose- and Tight-Coupling; Non-Governmental Organization #3



Key:

------- Indicates tight-coupling

******* Indicates loose-coupling

Blank space indicates no coupling

Table 20 above indicates that there is tight-coupling between Organization #1 and universities (the organization does not support students in other tertiary education institutions). The tight-coupling exists because the students are selected on campuses by a committee established jointly by the organization and universities. This committee advises both the university and the organization in matters relating to students' funding. The committee acts as a disciplinary committee in cases where decision on termination of funding need to be made. Tight-coupling exists between the university and students that are funded by the organization. The universities exercise control over the students on behalf of the organization through the selection committee.

There is loose-coupling between the organization and the community as a result of the three community representatives that serve on the selection committee.

Table 21 indicates that there is loose-coupling between tertiary education institutions and the organization. This organization has a representative at each of the three historically white institutions to help black students solve problems related to housing, academic support program, and academic work. These individuals act as advisors to students that are funded by the organization.

Loose-coupling is also indicated between the organization and donor agencies. There is very little communication between donor agencies and the Organization. The only requirement by donor agencies from the organization are annual financial reports or statements that indicate how their funds were appropriated.

Also, there is loose-coupling between the organization and students. The students are controlled and guided by tertiary education policies than they are controlled by organizational policy.

There is no coupling between the community and the organization regarding bursaries. The organization does not have an alumni association or any community representatives.

There is an exceptionally loose-coupling between Organization #3 and all other tertiary education institutions (Table 22). The organization is not represented on campuses in any shape or form. With the exception of the counselors who visit tertiary education institutions once a year, there is no other form of communication between tertiary education institutions and the organization. The organization does not have members of the community in its selection committee. Hence, the loose-coupling between the organization and the community in Soweto.

Energy:

Organizations as intermediaries. The amount of time and money that the organizations devote to the funding of students was directly related to the amount of time the organizations devote to fund raising with donor agencies and foreign governments. As intermediaries, the organizations work hard to maintain a balance between the tertiary education institutions and the donor agencies. Controlling the information-flow between tertiary education institutions, meant that the Organizations were expected to collect the information and process it for the needs of each institution. Organization #1 decided to relieve itself of this obligation by signing contracts with the tertiary education institutions to administer the funds and set-up selection committees to conduct the selection of students already on campuses. All problems pertaining to students were left in the hands of the tertiary education institutions through the selection committee. The advantage of this system was that it saved time and both human and material resources, but the lack of direct contact with the students was the disadvantage of this procedure because it alienated them toward the organization. Students were unwilling to participate as alumni of the organization. The main complaint was that the organization had nothing to do with them while they were students and had problem that needed direct consultation with the organization.

The involvement of organization #1 as an intermediary was much less than that of the other two organizations in dealing with tertiary education institutions. If all organization were to follow its example without modification, some students would not gain access to the resources of the organizations and would be denied entry into tertiary education. The system applied by Organization #1 meant that the students should be registered at the tertiary education institutions first before they could be selected. The students that were selected by the organizations and were interviewed by the researcher, believed that they were selected based solely on merit. The selection of these students meant that their parents had to fund them for the first year. Students who come from poorer backgrounds would not have a chance if all the organizations adopt this procedure. This practice might be efficient for graduation rates but inefficient for reaching out to students or the community and meeting the organization's original goal of helping the poor gain access into tertiary education. This seemed to be an example of either goal conflict or goal displacement.

Visits to tertiary education institutions. The visits to tertiary education institutions that were conducted once a year by organization #2 and three times a year by organization #3 which were greatly appreciated by students would be a thing of the past if these organizations changed their strategies and followed organization #1. The organizations themselves valued the visits because the feedback from students on their programs. Organization #2 had questionnaires that were filled out by students during the visits by counselors. The counselors were responsible for the analysis of the questionnaires and prepared a report based on the responses on the questionnaires, interviews with students and information obtained from students' files at the tertiary education institutions.

Process/Structure/Throughput

Time

Distribution of funds. The activities carried out by Organizations #2 and #3 did not differ much except in size and scope. The amounts spent on each student was on the increase since 1989. Although Organization #1 funded academic support programs, the support was not proportionate to the number of students funded by the organization. The funds allocated to tertiary education institutions depended on the number of black students, in the case of historically white universities, and on the number of students participating in academic support programs in the case of historically black universities. Tertiary education institutions that did not have academic support programs for black students did not receive funds from Organization #1.

Organization #2 provided the same amount for individual students attending academic support programs. This money was not sent directly to the students but to the organizers of the academic support programs who, in most cases, were university faculty. At some of the tertiary education institutions academic support programs gradually became fully-fledged departments or sections of departments. At the University of Natal they were referred to as the "Teach-Test-Teach" program, at the University of Witwatersrand the program were known as "Academic Support Program" or simply "ASP's." At these universities, the programs had professors that functioned as coordinators with a number of full-time employees. It was disturbing to the researcher that these programs were getting institutionalized as permanent features. The programs were supposed to be (as stated in the data), temporary solutions to temporary problems and as a cure to the symptoms of a curable disease. The programs are supposed to be temporary but as time goes on, people get permanently employed to run the programs. This practice results in people trying hard to maintain the status quo.

At the time when this study was conducted, the programs did not have any component that was set-up to study the causes of the problem. Instead, more and more students were channeled into the programs. The support from the organizations ensured continuity of these programs. As indicated in the data, the Organizations were not directly involved in the improvement of the quality of education in public schools. The possibility is that, the academic support programs might become a permanent feature that utilizes needed resources. If the resources could be directed to the source of the problem, less and less funds would be diverted into the academic support programs.

Parental financial responsibilities. The funds allocated to each student that was supported by organizations #2 and #3 covered tuition fees, room and board, and books. For each year or level of study, the amount of money for books was equal for all students. This procedure disregarded the fact that some areas of study had more expensive books and other fees such as laboratory work and additional materials than others. The percentage cost covered by the organizations decreased every year as the number of students that the organizations funded increased. In 1989, organization #2 covered 80% of the cost of books, and in 1992, the organization covered 50%. As the amounts of financial support decreased, pressure on payments by parents increased.

Parents were responsible for a variety of payments that the financial assistance provided by the organizations could not cover. These expenses included traveling and other incidental expenses. With the cost of books increasing every year, the three-year financial plan for books operated by organization #3 meant that there would be no increase in the amount allocated for three years. Outstanding balances were supposed to be taken care of by parents.

Organization #2 operated a system that increased the amount for books by a percentage each year. Outstanding balances on books would be paid by the parents of students. In some cases, as the data indicated, students had to do without some books that were not available in the libraries or could not be shared with their friends. These cases were more prevalent at the historically black universities. In cases where parents were unable to help financially, students would not do well in their courses, causing them to take a longer period to graduate.

In the case of organization #1, the students had to apply for additional funds if the funds provided could not cover all expenses. All additional funds were included in the loan part of the bursary. The danger of extending the loan part is that the students got deeper into debt that would erode their salaries when they get employed.

Application forms and essays. The application forms provided by organizations #2 and #3 were detailed. They contained information that would help them select good students. The problem that both organizations faced was that it was not an easy task to verify the information provided on the application forms especially for students from Soweto where the schools were on and off. The other problem was that most of the parents did not have telephones through which verifications could be done. As a result of the inherent difficulties in running funding programs, the rich get the help and the organizations cannot be accessed by those who need help the most. The use of application forms and essays will be relied upon for a long time. Organization #1 did not use application forms. Students were selected on campuses and signed contracts forms for the 40% loan part of the agreement. These students had to provide surety (collateral) for the loan. They had to prove that their parents have immovable properties.

Space

Buffering in the three organizations. Buffering is one of the activities that organization resort to when the environment is in a state of flux. In the case of the three organizations the state of flux was a result of several factors. Of particular importance were: (1) the rapid political changes in the country resulting in changes in changes tertiary education institutions, (2) the large influx of African students into what used to be "whites only" universities, (3) population demographics: a decrease in the birth-rate among whites resulting in fewer white students at the historically white tertiary education institutions, (4) increasing exposure to international academic institutions and scholars, (5) the rapidly declining economic situation resulting in unemployment of tertiary education graduates, and (6) the repeal of apartheid laws.

The role of tertiary education institutions in the South African community is being questioned by several scholars (Leroux, 1989; Luthuli, 1986; Hartshorne, 1990). One of the arguments concerning the composition of the students in the historically white institutions in ways that do not reflect the composition of the community generally. In these institutions, which are in the majority, black students are outnumbered by white students by 1:5. The bursary organizations are part of the attempt to open more space for Africans students in these institutions. In order to do a successful job in placing more students, the organizations exercise more caution in selecting students. An increase in the graduation rate leads to obtaining more funds. Increasing funding results in helping more African students gain access to tertiary education.

The number of African students that are not well prepared for tertiary education is increasing. This means that there is a need for more academic support programs. In order to decrease the amount of money spent on academic support programs, the organizations seem to favor students from private schools who, in most cases, do not need academic support programs. In this way, the organizations prevent over-extension of their funds, but also do not support as many poorer African students.

The economic crisis that the country is going through makes it difficult for graduates to find employment. Organization #1 is the only one of the three organizations that was engaged in placing its students in jobs. The other two organizations did so only informally. Placing students ensured repayments of the student loans for Organization #1. For the other two organizations, it meant an increase in their credibility in the community. Changes in the employment, resulted in changes in the way in which organizations conducted their business with other organizations.

Loose- and tight-coupling. Political turbulence has affected tertiary education institutions in South Africa. Some of the institutions closed down for months in 1991. The decisions taken by the institutions were viewed as corroborating with the views of the government. This occurred as a result of the tight coupling between the tertiary education institutions and the government. Tertiary education institutions in South Africa depend on financial allocations from the government. Also, the institutions are either partly or completely under government control. All historically white institutions are regarded as partly under government control and all historically black institutions are entirely under government control. The "forced" tight-coupling between the government and the tertiary education institutions makes its difficult for the organizations to foster tight-coupling with them. Tight coupling with the institutions would result in loss of donations from some of the donors that do not want to be associated with the government apartheid structure.

The seemingly tight- coupling that exists between the organizations and the institutions with which they have both liquid investments and fixed assets have several advantages.

The organizations were in control of the investments and the interest that accrued every year. This was one source of income they could rely on. The income from investments and assets may not be as significant as the income from donor agencies but it cushions the organizations during hard times. According to the records of organization #2, a sum of R2,908,599 (about $1,057,672.00) accrued from their investments in 1991. The organizations can use this money wherever one of the donors withdraws its support. However, if all the donors were to withdraw their support from an Organization, it (Organization) would sink into oblivion.

Energy

Loose and Tight-Coupling. Non-governmental organizations in this study were regarded as subsystems of the main system of tertiary education in South Africa. Hence, the researcher expected some degree of tight coupling among them. The establishment of the Bursary Council of South Africa was an indication of the loose coupling that existed among them. It was only through this third party that the organizations communicate with each other. The directors of the three organizations emphasized the point that they are separate entities that need to operate independently. In some instances, the researcher felt that the loose coupling was leading to crisis situations such as that would have negative impact on the three organizations.

Problems that affected organizations on campuses. On many occasions in 1991, black universities were closed for periods ranging from two weeks to five months, in some cases. Students missed classes through no fault of their own and failed at the end of the year. If a funded student fails one year, it means money down the drain for the organizations.

Some students who got involved in political activism on campus lost their financial support from non-governmental organizations. One of the regulations governing continued funding of students was that it was the responsibility of the student to send his or her grades to the organizations at the end of each semester. Students, in turn, ask the institutions where they attend to take care of that obligation. Administration offices can only send results of students who write all the tests throughout the semester as they were reported or turned in by faculty members. Therefore, a student who missed writing a test was expected to explain to the faculty member and not to the administration office.

Organizations and their linkages with secondary schools in Soweto. The researcher found that the Organizations dealt much easier with private schools than with public schools. The private schools were easily accessible and the Organizations did not have to go through a long line of b

s

r

s

s

t

o

to

st

bureaucratic structures to achieve their goals. Private high schools were supplied with information and were visited by representatives of the organizations. Students from these schools were much better prepared than students from public schools.

Organizations #2 and #3 provided winter school classes for students in their last year of high school, helping them prepare for the national examinations. The examination, which one written toward the end of the academic year (November/December), determine whether a student will proceed to university or not.

Output and feedback

All three organization regarded graduation of students, job-placement of graduates, alumni associations, commitment of graduates to community service, and annual reports on students as part of their output. The output is similar to the other segments of the systems approach, it occurs within time and space and it utilizes energy.

Time

Persistence and graduation. Persistence of students in tertiary education was the main concern of all three organizations. The non-governmental organizations continued to support students who were making progress in their studies. It was after 1976, that the organizations began to have more problems with persistence. Political issues causing student uprisings especially on black campuses affected non-governmental organizations directly. On many occasions between 1976 and 1991, black universities were closed for periods ranging from two weeks to five months. Some students missed classes through no fault of their own and failed at the end of the year. If a funded student fails one year, it means money down the drain to the organizations. Some students who get involved in political activism on campus lose their financial support from non-governmental organizations.

Communication with students. One of the regulations governing continued funding of students was that it was the responsibility of the student to send his or her grades at the end of each semester. Some institutions such as the Medical University of Southern Africa (MEDUNSA), decided to worked cooperatively with the organizations by sending grades on behalf of the students at the end of each semester. This decision was reach after the administration had negotiated with the organizations to relieve students of this responsibility so that they (students) could pay more attention to their studies. However, administration offices can only send results of students who write all the tests throughout the semester as they were reported or turned in by faculty members. Therefore, a student who missed writing a test was expected to explain to the faculty member and not to the administration office.

Organizations #2 and #3 communicated with the students by sending counselors to tertiary education institutions twice and three times a year respectively. The reports that were return by the counselors were closely studied by the organization. Strategies toward solving problems were developed based on the information obtained from the organization.

Space

Graduation rates. All three organizations seemed to be satisfied with their graduation rates. The graduation rates of Organization #2 and #3 ranged from 75% to 90%. Organization #1 boasted about the 100 percent graduation rate they have had since 1988 when the organization decided to select students who were already attending universities. The researcher also observed that Organization #1 did not support students at other types of tertiary education institutions except universities and that 75% of their students were in mathematics, science and engineering. These study areas tend to have more serious minded students who are sure of their careers.

Students' obligations after graduation. Students had no obligations toward Organization #2 and #3 after graduation.

After paying their 40% loans toward Organization #1, the students had no obligation toward the organization as well. This means that there is no on-going relationship between the students and the organization after graduation. The graduates were not organized as a alumni or any other body through which they can be contacted by the organization or they could donate some funds to the organization so as to enable the organizations to help other African students help themselves. Some of the students interviewed by the researcher were willing and able to make meaningful donations to the organizations.

Energy

Job-placements of graduates. Organization #1 believed that it was the organization's responsibility to place its graduates. It regarded job-placement as an integral part of access to tertiary education. Placing the students with their donors did not seem to be a problem. Some donors had indicated that they would employ the students upon making the donations. These organizations tended to support students in selected areas of study so they can be employable upon graduation.

Organization #2 engaged other organizations to place its students after graduation. They had a 60% placement rate that they were not happy about. The placement percentage seemed to decline between 1985 and 1990 as a result of sanctions against South Africa imposed by other countries.

Organization #3 did not have job-placement as part of its activities. To this organization, access meant supporting students financially from admissions to graduation. Some students were placed by the organization through its donor agencies but it did not regard placement as part of its program.

CHAPTER VI

CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

The purpose of this study was to investigate how non-governmental bursary organizations achieve success in assisting African students gain access to tertiary education. In addition, the study investigated how the organizations communicate with community members and tertiary education institutions in order to answer the question, "How do non-governmental organizations help African students overcome barriers of access to and success in tertiary education?" The study assumed that there are important links between secondary schools, tertiary educational institutions, donor agencies, the community, and the non-governmental organizations. The success of these organizations was assumed to be based on these linkage. The conclusions of this study are based on the data presented in Chapter 4 and discussed in Chapter 5. The purpose of this chapter is to summarize and bring closure to the findings of the study. Also, this chapter will present (1) what the researcher views as recommendations to the organizations, and tertiary

tertiary education institutions; and (2) make suggestions for further research by other scholars in the field of higher adult and lifelong education.

Recommendations

This study has identified some areas where Organizations may improve their operations to be more effective. These areas include the following:

(1) Information from students' application forms should be pooled and made accessible through a data-base to help all organizations.

(2) The organizations need to work closely with the Department of Education and Training and with the secondary schools in Soweto in particular to help encourage students to stay in school and to improve high school graduation rates..

(3) In order to facilitate and enhance their selection of students, Organizations need to work with career guidance teachers in high schools. These teachers know and understand the circumstances of their students and can help link the Organizations with the parents of students. This is important because of the connectedness of African families and communities. An eighteen-year-old university student is still regarded as a child and under the guidance of the parents. In the African community individualism is discouraged. The

organizations would be more successful in encouraging persistence if they were to work collaboratively with the parents.

(4) The Organizations need to make frequent visits to high schools to encourage students to study hard to gain tertiary education exemption in order to obtain bursaries. Explaining the conditions and procedures of obtaining a bursary may be helpful in improving the rate of attendance and academic performance.

(5) Brochures of Organizations could be made available to school principals and guidance teachers. This information may help students read on their own and make their own inquiries.

(6) Funds for traveling should be made available to the parents of students who have been selected by the Organizations. This money should be used by parents to pay their children frequent visits at the tertiary education institutions. This may help motivate the students to study harder. The importance of connectedness with members of the African family is a core issue that would ensure success in working with students.

(7) Alumni of the organizations should be encouraged to make donations to the Organizations to help other students. Example, Organization #3 has been in existence for 25 years. Thousands of students were supported by the

organization. If each student can be asked to pledge R100 a year, millions of rands may be collected to support more students. Pledging to support other students could be a conditions to obtain a bursary.

Areas and Implications for Further Research

The study identified four areas that need further research in order to understand the complexity of the role played by non-governmental organizations in helping African students gain access to tertiary education:

(1) The part that will be played by other organizations in the private sector in helping students gain access to tertiary education.

(2) A study on the preparation of students for employment by tertiary education institutions as organizations.

(3) No research on the relationship between donor agencies and non-governmental organizations has been done so far. The donor agencies have a responsibility toward the Organizations. This responsibility becomes part of the success of the Organizations.

(4) Research on the perceptions of students of bursary Organizations would help encourage the students to give donations to non-governmental organizations. At the moment, there is no capital flow from the community to the Organizations. The community is not encouraged to

participate in the education of their own children. Self-reliance is the best form of investment.

(5) Research on the linkage between tertiary education institutions, high schools and Organizations would help identify problem areas in the education of African children from elementary schools to tertiary education.

(6) Conducting research on the perceptions of employers about tertiary education students could help enlighten the tertiary education institutions on what the demands of the private sector tend to be to help prepare students.

Conclusions

The study indicated that the bursary organizations existed as independent systems by themselves existing within their own environment. Their environment consists of the community they serve, the students, donor agencies, the government which sets the rules and regulations that govern them, and tertiary education institutions. All these aspects of the environment constitute inputs for the organizations. By the same token, these aspects, including the NGOs, exist as environments and inputs for tertiary education institutions.

The apparent symbiotic existence that transpires between NGOs and tertiary education institutions constitute tight-coupling between the two entities. Although the institutions can exist without the NGOs to some extent, the NGOs are entirely dependent on the operations of the tertiary education institutions.

The role of the NGOs and their contribution to the operations of the tertiary education institutions can be divided into three parts.

1. Non-Governmental Organizations' linkage to the community

The study revealed that there was a loose-coupling between the community and NGOs. At the time of their inception, these organizations were part of the community. Organization #3, for example, originated from donations from local churches. Donor organizations took over from the community and the linkage with the community diminished. The absence of the linkage was a disadvantage to the organizations. Financial contributions from the community could go a long way. The community as an input was eliminated from the organizations. According to the students who were interviewed, their parents did not know about the NGOs.

Soweto principals of public high schools who were visited knew about the organizations and their work but the NGOs had never visited their schools. Private high schools had more information about the organizations. Their representatives visited the private schools and were given an opportunity to address students. This did not come as a surprise regarding the higher percentage of former private school students the researcher encountered at the tertiary education institutions. Public high school students in Soweto knew even less about the organizations than their principals did.

The students within the community that the organization supported could render a strong feedback-loop for the organization. The information about the organizations could be used by the schools as an incentive to motivate students to stay in school and work harder. Parents who could afford would make donations to the organizations.

2. Linkage of Non-Governmental Organizations to tertiary education institutions

The survival and success of the Non-Governmental Bursary Organizations in helping students gain access to tertiary education and succeed in their endeavors was entirely contingent upon their (NGOs') relationship with tertiary education institutions. Admissions of the students into tertiary education institutions was the first step in this relationship. The evaluation of students and their placement into classes and/or academic support programs was the second step. Monitoring the progress students made by tertiary education institutions was the third aspect in the relationship. In all cases, funds from NGOs were administered by the tertiary education institutions.

With the exception of Organization #1, there was loose-coupling between the NGOs and tertiary education institutions. The other two organizations were not represented on tertiary education campuses. In cases where there were problems related to the funding of students, it was each student's responsibility to communicate with his/her own organization. This procedure created more problems for the students because time and resources were involved in communicating with the organizations.

Academic support programs provided by tertiary education institutions were an important input but were not connected with the NGOs. The NGOs had no knowledge of the content of academic support programs and had no way of assessing whether or not students needed them. Some students believed that they did not need the programs. They felt that some of the programs would delay their graduation. Most of the problems related to academic support programs were the result of the loose-coupling that existed between tertiary education institutions and NGOs.

Generally, there were signs of combinations of loose- and tight-coupling between tertiary education institutions and Non-Governmental Organizations. Tight-coupling existed in matters that related to administration, and loose-coupling existed in matters that affected students directly such as academic support programs, selection of students, and academic progress made by students.

3. Survival and linkages of Non-Governmental Organizations to donor agencies and the community

Non-Governmental Organizations played an intermediary role between donor agencies and tertiary education institutions. According to their constitutions, the organizations were acting on behalf of the African community in soliciting funds from donor agencies. The proposals they presented to donor agencies included inputs from community leaders or community representatives. In reality, the organizations had no consultation with the community. The community was only represented in their boards of directors who played no part in the selection of students or evaluation of academic support programs.

There was no coupling between NGOs and donor agencies. The donor agencies played no part in the system other than providing funds for the organizations. They constituted part of the direct input for the organizations and indirect input for tertiary education institutions. The process was entirely left to tertiary education institutions. the process included the placement of students into different classes and the placement into academic support programs. Both the donor agencies and the organizations had no part in the process apart of the tertiary education system.

The outcome or throughput of the tertiary education institutions was the outcomes of the tertiary education institutions and the NGOs. The outcomes consisted of the graduation of students and their job-placements. Graduation rates were used by the organizations as a means to solicit funds from donor agencies. The higher the graduation rates, the better the chances of renewal of funding for the NGOs.

The emphasis placed on graduation rates as a means of soliciting funding led to the manipulation of selection procedures to promote graduation rates. Students were selected not so much according to their potential or their need for financial assistance, but the selection tended to be more on merit. If the students succeed and graduate at the end of each year, the survival of the NGOs was guaranteed. Students' success depended upon the following factors: the quality of the high school education the students received (their preparation for college education), the character of the students selected, and their family backgrounds. Well-prepared students mainly from private high schools had a better chance of being selected. This practice was done to influence donor perception of NGOs. It was confirmed by two of the NGOs. The practice led the researcher to the conclusion that many students who had the potential to succeed and deserved to be selected were left out. These students may never see the doors of college for the rest of their lives.

The organizations lost sight of the outcomes as a feedback loop for their survival. Organization #1 had sixty percent grants and forty percent loans. The students were part of the feedback loop only in as far as paying their loans. The only positive aspect of the loans was that the organization had to provide job-placement for their students to make it possible for them to pay back their loans. The other two organizations had no job-placement program of any kind. Students had to find their own employment.

All three organizations suffered poor feedback loops from students as alumni of the organizations. Encouraging the students to help their own fellow students could provide input for the organizations and alleviate their dependence on donor agencies for their survival. Nevertheless, the organizations proved to be successful in their attempt to help students succeed in gaining access to tertiary education.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX A

MICHIGAN STATE
UNIVERSITY

COLLEGE OF EDUCATION
DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATIONAL ADMINISTRATION
ERICKSON HALL

EAST LANSING • MICHIGAN • 48824-1034
(517)355-4538

September 9, 1992

To Whom It May Concern:

Re: Timothy Mashinini, Student No. 10-69277

Mr. Timothy Mashinini, my Ph.D. advisee, is returning to South Africa for three (3) months to do research for his degree. He will return to Michigan State University at the end of the 3 months.

Sincerely,

Kathryn M. Moore

Kathryn M. Moore, Ph.D.
Chairperson, Educational Administration

KMM:ve
Mashin04

APPENDIX B

OO/ET 230

DEPARTEMENT VAN ONDERWYS EN OPLEIDING

DEPARTMENT OF EDUCATION AND TRAINING

Privaatsak / Private Bag X212
0001 PRETORIA
Fax 21-6770

Magister Building/-gebou
123 Schoeman Street/-straat 123
PRETORIA
"IMFUNDO"

Navrae/Enquiries: C E Joubert (Mrs)
(012) 312 5176

Verw. / Ref. 6/16/2

Mr M T Mashinini
Peter Lengene Adult Centre
P O Box 50
DIEPKLOOF
1864

Dear Mr Mashinini

APPLICATION TO CONDUCT A RESEARCH PROJECT

The relevant section at Head Office has evaluated your research application and recommends that you approach the rectors of the relevant colleges of education for final approval. The applicable documentation has been forwarded to them.

The Johannesburg Regional Office will inform you if your application to conduct research in schools under its jurisdiction has been successful.

Kind regards

C E Joubert

/ DIRECTOR-GENERAL
JV0079

APPENDIX C

APPENDIX C

Research Questions

A. **Questions to be answered by administrators at tertiary education institutions:**

1. Do you know of any organizations that support African students at your institution?

2. What are the names of these organizations?

3. Where are the organizations situated?

4. Of the organizations you have mentioned, which ones would you regard as grassroots organizations?

5. In what ways do these organazations support students.

6 What is your experience in working with community organizations in terms of what they view as important factors that contribute to the success of students.

7. What means of communication do you use to contact the organizations?

8. What would you regard as the major problem in working with community organizations or any other organization that supports students?

9. What is the advantage of working with community organizations?

10. What is the obligation of your institution toward community organizations?

11. What would you regard as the major problem of access of African students to your institution if access includes readiness (preparedness), financial support, academic support, emotional and general social support, graduation and job-placement?

B. **Questions to be answered by students at tertiary education institutions**

1. How did you know about the organization that supports you?

2. Why do you think you were selected as a recipient of the support by the organization?

3. What kind(s) of support do you receive from the organization?

4. What else do you think the organization should do to make it possible for you to be successful in your studies?

5. What contact do you have with the organisation? How does it communicate with you?

6. What obligation do you have toward the organization?

7. What chances did you have to attend a tertiary education institution of your choice had you not obtained the support of this organization?

8. Why do you think the organization decided to support you or other students?

9. What do you think the organization should do to be able to support more students?

C. **Questions to be answered by principals of high schools**

1. How many students (average) from your school have been able to attend tertiary education institutions in the last five years?

2. What problems do students have that make it difficult for them to attend tertiary education institutions?

3. What does the school provide to help prepare students for tertiary education?

4. Is there any contact between the school and tertiary education institutions?

5. Does the school have any contact with its former students that have proceeded to tertiary education institutions?

6. Do you know of any organizations that students gain access to tertiary education?

7. Do you know of any of your students that have been helped by organizations to attend tertiary education institutions?

8. Do organization contact you about helping students gain access to tertiary education?

9. What kind of students do you or would you recommend to organizations to help gain access to tertiary education?

10. Why do you think it is important that students should proceed to tertiary education intitutions?

11. What does the school do to help students gain access to tertiary education?

12. What do you think the community should do to help more students gain access to tertiary education.

D. Questions to be answered by high school students

1. Do you know of any tertiary education institution?

2. What tertiary education institutions are you interested in?

3. Have you been to any of the institutions you are interested in?

4. Why are you interested in attending a tertiary education intitution?

5. What is your responsibility in making it possible to attend a tertiary education institution?

6. What problems do you expect to have in attending a tertiary education institution?

7. Do you know of any other way in which your problem can be solved?

8. Do you think your high school has prepared you well enough to be successful at tertiary education level?

9. What do you think should be done to better prepare students for tertiary education?

10. Do you know of any organizations that help students gain access to tertiary education?

11. What do you think organizations that help students gain access to tertiary education should do? What should they help students with?

12. What should be the commitment of students towards such organizations?

REFERENCES

REFERENCES

Aronowitz, S. and Giroux, H. (1991) Post Modern Education Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press.

Birnbaum, R. (1988) How Colleges Work: The Cybernetics of Academic Organization and Leadership. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Bunting, B. (1964) The Rise of the South African Reich Penguin Books: London.

Biko, S. (1990) I Write What I Like, Harper & Row Publishers, San Francisco.

Cochran, M. (1991) Home - School Relations and the Empowerment Process in Elementary Schools Journal v91, (3) p. 261-269.

Christi, P. (1985) The Right To Learn, Raven Press, Johannesburg.

Darden, A. (1991) Culture and Power in the Classroom: A Critical Foundation for Bicultural Education, Bergin & Garvey: New York.

Etzioni, A. (1964) Modern Organizations. Prentice Hill, N.Y.

Fisher, D. (1981) Communications in Organizations. West, New York.

Freire, P. (1970) Pedagogy of the Oppressed, Penguin, Harmondsworth.

Forgacs, D. (1988) Antonio Gramsci Selected Writings 1916-1930, Schocker Books, New York.

Giroux, H. (1988) Schooling For Democracy: Critical Pedagogy in the Modern Age. Routledge, London.

Hall, Richard (1977) Organizational Structure and Process. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.

Hammersley, N. & Atkinson, P. (1983). Ethnography: Principles in Practice. Routledge Press, New York.

Hartshorne, (1986) The Role of the State in Education and Training, in Black Advancement, St. Martin's Press, New York.

Horton, Miles (1990) The Long Haul: An Autobiography. Anchor Books, New York.

Horrel, M. (1964) A Decade of Bantu Education, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg.

Kantor, David E., & Lehr, William (1975). Inside the Family. Jossey-Bass, San Francisco.

Kohl, H. (1991) A Tradition of Radical Education; Highlander in Context in Social Policy v21 (3) p. 53-57)

Klinig, J. (1986) Paternalism, Prentice Hill, New York.

Lutz, F. W. (1982) Tightening up Loose Coupling in Organizations of Higher Education. Administrative Science Quarterly v27, pp. 653-669.

Nemeth, T. (1988) Gramsci's Philosophy: A Critical Study, Humanities Press, New Jersey.

Mayfield, J. (86) Go to the People, Prentice Hill, New York.

Marks, S. (82) Ambiguities of Dependence in South Africa: Class, Materialism and State in Twentieth Century Natal, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Marks, S. (1970) Reluctant Rebellion: the 1906-8 Disturbances in Natal, Clarendon Press, Oxford.

Parrow, C (1989), in Hall, R., Organizational Structure and Practice. Prentice-Hall, New Jersey.

Smiles, S. (1958) Self-Help, John Murray Publishers, London.

SAIRR (1957-1988) A Survey of Race Relations in South Africa, South African Institute of Race Relations, Johannesburg.

Tabata, I. (1960) Education for Barbarism, Pall Mall Press, London

Thembela, A. (1986) Educational Obstacle to Black Advancement in Black Advancement, St. Martin's Press: New York

Thomas, Alan (1981) The Productive School: A Systems Analysis Approach to Educational Administration. Robert E. Krieger, Florida.

Troup, F. (1976) Forbidden Pastures, International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London

Unterhalter, E. (1989) 'Education under the State of Emergency', in IDAF, Subverting Apartheid: Education, Information and Culture under Emergency Rule, International Defense and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, London.

Weick, K. (1979) The Social Psychology of Organizations, Random House, Cambridge.

Wolpe, H. (1988) Race, Class and the Apartheid State, James Currey, London.