

EXECUTIVE SUMMARY

1. This paper describes AID's efforts to date to comply with Section 201(B)(i) of the Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act of 1986, which instructs AID to "finance scholarships for students pursuing secondary school education in South Africa." It further instructs that "the selection of scholarship recipients shall be by a nationwide panel or by regional panels appointed by the United States Chief of Diplomatic Mission to South Africa."
2. Secondary school education in principle fits into AID's overall program objectives in South Africa, one of which is "To aid in the development of future South African leaders in the short to medium term through education, training and scholarship programs." However, the volatile history and continuing tensions in the country's secondary schools made it incumbent to check carefully with responsible, informed South African citizens to assess whether such a program is desirable at this time.
3. Interviews with teachers, students, parents, educators and community organization leaders highlighted the following pros and cons:
 - Financial need is a less of a constraint to obtaining a secondary school education than overcrowding of schools, poor instruction and political objections to apartheid education. A US-sponsored secondary school bursaries project would have a minor impact on the number of student gaining access to secondary schools and successfully completing a high school education. Even though bursaries would address the severe financial needs of individual secondary school students and their families, they would have little or no effect on problems of the school system.
 - The demand for bursaries exceeds the available supply by such a margin that even the relatively small number of bursaries which the U.S. could finance would draw considerable attention. The program would likely enjoy visibility out of proportion to the financial investment involved. While the program would be well received in the present environment where all major black-led political organizations in South Africa, as well as church groups, have endorsed an end to consistent secondary school boycotts over the past decade, their limited availability -- only a fraction of the applicants could be assisted under any implementation scenario -- could lead to charges of elitism. It could also draw criticism of a U.S. attempt to coopt student leaders, or to a backlash from disappointed applicants.
 - Should students and political organizations choose to resume school boycotts, a bursary program would have to defer to their interests and freeze its activities in order to retain political credibility. Should a bursary program insist that recipients attend school during a period of boycotts, it could provoke violence towards the students and program administrators.

- Symbolically, the effect of a bursary program would probably be mixed. Helping needy students pay their fees would affirm the American philosophy of the importance of every individual. Practically, however, a bursary program which reaches any substantial number of needy students cannot be implemented without underwriting attendance at DET schools. This could fuel accusations of the U.S. supporting the present apartheid education system.
4. Given current and expected resource constraints, the opportunity costs of implementing a secondary school bursaries project are very high. Within the education sector, the \$3 million authorized by the CAAA over three years could be used, for example, to offer in-service training to more than 6,000 black teachers, or to provide educational aids to 36,000 black classrooms. Outside the education sector, \$3 million could be used to support community initiatives which allow victims of apartheid to plan and participate in their own development; strengthen the labor union movement in its struggle for fair and equitable employment rights; capitalize a loan fund for establishment and expansion of small black-owned businesses, particularly in high unemployment areas; and enhance the capabilities of South African organizations to oppose human rights violations, which have escalated since the June 1986 State of Emergency.
 5. To facilitate a decision on whether to implement a secondary school bursaries program, this paper also analyzes six administrative options, each with advantages and disadvantages. These options encompass: (1) a scholarship fund limited to exceptional academic achievers; (2) scholarships administered by progressive, nonracial schools; (3) scholarships targeted to individuals particularly disadvantaged by apartheid related policies and circumstances; (4) support for existing secondary school bursary programs; (5) maximizing community participation in selecting scholarship recipients; and (6) awarding fixed sum bursaries to a maximum number of students with pressing financial needs. As required by the CAAA of 1986, the role of the Chief of Diplomatic Mission to South Africa is considered under each of these options.
 6. Given the volatile political situation in South Africa, implementation of most of these options would require additional extensive consultations with potential implementing bodies and the intended beneficiaries. To the extent that any bursary scheme involves high profile political figures in its implementation, shifts in political sentiment could hurt both the program and general perceptions of U.S. assistance, particularly if the project is popularly identified as a U.S. initiative. While a program to support and expand existing bursary Projects could be started up fairly quickly, this would fuel expectations for a long-term U.S. commitment, a consideration which must be factored into the decision-making process at a time when U.S. budget austerity is making all new foreign assistance initiatives increasingly difficult.

7. The academic year in South Africa begins in January. To have bursaries in place for the start of given school year, student selection must be conducted, at the latest, 1 October of the preceding year. Depending on the complexity of the administrative option, plans for a bursary program would have to be finalized by August to allow time for advertising and receipt of applications.
8. The U.S. Mission in South Africa stands ready to carry out the directives of the Congress on a secondary school bursary program.

Table of Contents

	<u>Page</u>
I. Introduction: Needs and Objectives	1
A. The Education Crisis in South Africa	1
B. The CAAA of 1986	2
C. AID's Role in South Africa	2
II. Technical Considerations	4
A. Constraints to Secondary Education	4
B. Implication for a Bursary Program	6
C. Alternative Education Investments	6
D. Other Investment Options	7
III. Social and Political Issues	11
A. Politics of Education in South Africa	11
B. Social Consequences of the Education Crisis	13
C. Demand for SSB Program	14
D. Potential Sociopolitical Constraints	16
IV. Implementation Issues	19
A. Funding Options	19
B. Institutional Considerations	25
C. Time Constraints	28
V. Conclusions	30
A. Political and Educational Impact	30
B. Administrative Options: Advantages and Disadvantages	31
C. Pending Issues	32

Section I

INTRODUCTION: NEEDS AND OBJECTIVES

A. The Education Crisis in South Africa

The education of a generation of black youth has been disrupted since 1976. Many have completed little or no schooling, and others dropped out before reaching a level which equipped them for the labor market. The irony is that many of those who fought for a fairer education system are even more disadvantaged than if they had received the limited education offered by the Department of Education and Training.

Young people are resentful. They feel they have been deprived of an education, and yet are expected to function in a society which places great value on certification. Those feelings affect even those currently in the system; they are angry, and demand change. The solutions they propose are often radically different from those of their parents and teachers.

Yet 1987 may prove a sea change in the saga of secondary school disruptions and boycotts since 1976. Combined pressure from parents and prominent black leaders have seemed to sway the balance to a concerted movement back to attending school. The undeniable importance of school certification, combined with an increasingly tangible understanding of the effects of years of disturbance, have resulted in relatively tranquil secondary schools (however tenuous the balance may be) with most academic disruptions shifting to the university level. Overall, the situation remains volatile. Students are in control, and could decide at any time to renew boycotts.

Part of the change in attitudes seems to be related to the realization that alternative education, as attractive as the idea is, will be a long time in materializing to the point where any large-scale nonformal educational opportunities are available to school age children. This echoes the experience of the Western world a decade ago, as understanding grew that deschooling society would have conflicted with numerous basic needs. The recognition that every young person has basically one chance to acquire an education, and that schooling is a critical factor in career success, makes parents loath for their children to lose the opportunity.

Along with this somewhat weary realism, one notes a fierce determination to push government to carry through on its promises, for example, to provide books and supplies for which students have traditionally been obliged to pay. But it is not sufficient for government simply to provide the materials; finding the stationery and exercise books provided to date unsatisfactory, people have refused to accept them, while at the same time pressing for improvements.

It is a time of tension and confusion in the school system. People are tense because the current equilibrium is unstable. Changing political considerations could quickly tip the balance

toward renewed chaos, either because of SAG actions external to the education system, or from imposition of additional limits of conditions unacceptable to students already who resist school and return to the classrooms.

People are confused, because while recognizing young people's need for education, and urging children to return to their studies, they know the schooling blacks receive is an inferior product which is unlikely to improve any time soon. At the same time, SAG policies combined with demographic pressures make it increasingly difficult for black children to obtain a complete education. The result is that greater sacrifices are required for an outcome of diminishing value

B. The Comprehensive Anti-Apartheid Act (CAAA) of 1986

The CAAA of 1986 sets forth United States policy toward South Africa. As stated in the Act, it is U.S. policy to help "bring an end to apartheid in South Africa and lead to the establishment of a nonracial, democratic form of government." To help implement this policy, the CAAA authorizes the United States Government to assist the "victims of apartheid", as individuals and organizations, so that they can become full participants in the political, social, economic, and intellectual life of South Africa. Specifically, the Congress committed the US to "provide assistance to South African victims of apartheid without discrimination by race, color, sex, religious belief, or political orientation, to take advantage of educational opportunities in South Africa and in the United States to prepare for leadership positions in a post-apartheid South Africa."

This paper is concerned with one provision of Title II of the Anti-Apartheid Act, which calls for the US "to finance scholarships for students pursuing secondary school education in South Africa." It goes on to say that "selection of scholarship recipients shall be by a nationwide panel or by regional panels appointed by the United States Chief of Diplomatic Mission to South Africa." Up to \$1 million is authorized annually from 1987 - 1989 for this purpose.

C. AID's Role in South Africa

Implementation responsibility for U.S. assistance to victims of apartheid, including support for secondary school scholarships, rests with the Agency for International Development. As a first step in carrying out the Congressional mandate for secondary school scholarships, AID has examined how the political, technical and administrative issues impinging on such a program would affect achievement of U.S. policy objectives in South Africa, particularly those objectives which have been identified for the AID program.

It is therefore important to identify, from the outset, the goals and objectives against which a secondary scholarship program should be measured. As specified in U.S. law and the President's

five-year strategy on assistance to victims of apartheid, all U.S. activities in South Africa should contribute to promoting an end to apartheid and the emergence of a non-racial, non-sexist society. The AID program contributes to this broader goal by pursuing the following objectives that were submitted to Congress in AID's FY 1988 Congressional Presentation:

1. Build bridges between the US and the legally disadvantaged;
2. Promote communication and cooperation within and between the black communities and between the black communities and whites in SA;
3. Aid in the development of future South African leaders in the short to medium term through education, training and scholarship programs, as well as through institutional development;
4. Assist, in the most direct way feasible, black organizations and institutions to undertake sound and effective programs and projects they have identified as priorities;
5. Promote non-violent political and social changes in South Africa that lead to the end of apartheid and a democratic political system based on the consent of the governed;
6. Avoid the pursuit of programs that are solely developmental in nature and the rightful responsibility of the SAG and that are financed or controlled by the SAC; to maintain, however, our world-wide humanitarian commitment to assist in meeting the food needs of people at risk of starvation.

This paper summarizes AID's analyses of how political, technical and administrative factors will affect the viability of a secondary school scholarship program and, in this light, how such a program would contribute to U.S. policy objectives in South Africa, particularly to the objectives agreed upon for the U.S. assistance program. The paper also examines options for carrying out a secondary school scholarship program, in light of current circumstances, and with the advice of knowledgeable South Africans who have provided guidance and counsel. It is intended to facilitate decisions on how to program funds authorized for secondary school scholarships, and to allow such decisions to be made with a full understanding of relevant issues and programmatic tradeoffs.

TECHNICAL CONSIDERATIONS

A. Constraints to Secondary Education

Black enrollment in junior and senior secondary schools grew at nearly ten percent annually from 1980 to 1985, from 775,000 to nearly 1,300,000. At the same time, the educational pyramid broadened at the top, with nearly 4.5% of elementary and secondary pupils enrolled in senior secondary school, as compared with 2.7% in 1980. This growth in the number of Standard Ten candidates can be linked to students' recognition that a senior secondary qualification is essential for better job opportunities. A further spur to the growing senior secondary enrollment comes from the upgrading of the minimum qualification for admission to teacher training from Standard Eight to Standard Ten.

Although the overall numbers in secondary schools have grown substantially and attrition rates have declined, attrition still remains a major factor in the overall picture. In 1980, Sub-Standard A (SSA or first grade) was more than twenty times the size of Standard Ten (twelfth grade). By 1985, Standard Ten had grown to roughly ten percent the size of SSA. However, total enrollment in each grade still decreased considerably from year to year in secondary schools: Standard 9 had fewer than two-thirds as many pupils as Standard 8, and Standard 10 in turn had only two-thirds as many as Standard 9. Clearly, an important impact of donor assistance would be to help students stay in school once they start. The most effective means of doing so would, of course, depend on the principal constraints to obtaining a secondary school certificate.

Much of the shrinkage in enrollments appears to occur for lack of available places in schools. A survey of 1,000 students in the early 1980s found that among primary school leavers who wanted to go on to secondary school but were unsuccessful, 40% cited the lack of available places as the reason. 17% had a poor pass and so were screened out by the primary school leaving exam; 13% said a lack of money was the reason they had not gone on.

Interviews with knowledgeable educators and community leaders during preparation of this paper bore out the conclusion that lack of spaces is the major reason for attrition. Even after gaining entrance to secondary school, students face the likelihood of being screened out at any point. While some of the failures are linked with school principals' culling poor students in order to show good results on the matriculation exam which controls passage from secondary school to university, much of the dropout phenomenon is due to shortages of teachers and facilities in higher Standards.

Repetition and severe teacher shortages are also important factors in considering problems of black schooling. Although exact figures on repetition are not easily accessible, one estimate is that about 15 pupil years are taught for each pupil who completes seven grades. The percentage of 'unqualified' teachers of black

pupils, that is those who have less than one year of teacher training, is about 7% and is widely believed to lower the quality of black education. The simple lack of teachers to fill new classrooms to accommodate larger numbers of black pupils seems an almost insoluble problem. Low pass rates for the matric exams mean a smaller percentage of Standard 10 completers in 1985 than five years earlier were eligible for professional teacher training. Some estimates have it that about three of every four pupils who pass their matric would have to become teachers just to keep pace with rising enrollments in the coming years. This says nothing about reducing too-high pupil-teacher ratios or dealing with high dropout rates throughout the black educational system.

Lack of money, however, is also a significant stumbling block for aspiring secondary school students. The limited number of secondary school bursary programs which exist reported having to turn away large numbers of parents and pupils importuning them for financial assistance. The actual amount of money students need for secondary education varies greatly, according to the type of school one attends. Public day schools are the least expensive option, and are reportedly attended by between 80 and 90 percent of students. The total annual cost of fees and uniforms varies by school, but is usually between R200 and R300. Public boarding schools cost between R600 and R1,000 per year, and private boarding schools are by far the most expensive, with annual cost ranging from about R9,000 to R12,000. Most of the students desperately seeking bursaries would, according to our interviewees, use the money to attend public day schools.

During the 1980s, money problems have undoubtedly increased for secondary school pupils, for at least several reasons. The generally depressed state of the South African economy has been reflected in higher unemployment figures; inflation has severely eroded the buying power of the employed workforce; and the 67% increase in secondary school enrollments almost surely has come from including children from poorer families, whose poor economic circumstances would have prevented them from attaining the more sharply constricted upper reaches of the educational pyramid in the 1970s. The hardscrabble poverty faced by many families of secondary school students makes it difficult, for example, to pay the R35 (\$17) fee required at the beginning of the academic year. Because so many families have trouble raising this money, schools have flexible payment arrangements, allowing delays of up to a month to permit remittances to arrive from migrant fathers, or for pension payments to be received, or for insolvent students and families to seek assistance from any possible source.

The situation shows little sign of early improvement. The numbers of people facing unemployment or underemployment are likely to grow as the labor market is further affected by the economic situation. Those in the self-help and small business sector will more and more find themselves making insufficient profits to survive. Surveys show that increasing numbers of households do not have sufficient income to provide a minimally acceptable standard of living. This situation is worsened by the fact that black families are growing larger as well as poorer, leaving more women and children behind in impoverished rural areas while fathers migrate to urban zones in search of work.

B. Implications for a Bursary Program

The secondary school situation can be summarized as follows:

- Lack of money for fees is a poignant reality closely linked with the dropout rate;
- Even so, more young people will continue to want to attend than can be accommodated;
- The access problem will likely worsen, due to population increase, too few new teachers being added to the rolls, and too-slow growth of places in schools;
- The quality of black education is poor and will likely remain so because of continuing disruptions, poorly trained teachers, and lack of facilities;
- The high cost of private schools keeps them from being a real option for most secondary school students.

In light of these realities, a bursaries program:

- Would not significantly address the major constraints facing education; but
- Would help some individual students meet the costs of their education.

C. Alternative Education Investments

A secondary school bursary program should also be evaluated in light of its potential impact on U.S. objectives relative to other possible investments in secondary education. As stated in AID's FY 1988 Congressional Presentation, the intended goal is to promote the development of future South African leaders through education, training and scholarship programs. A secondary school scholarship program would represent a new dimension in AID's leadership training activities in South Africa.

To date, AID's South Africa experience with bursary programs has been limited to university scholarships for study in the U.S. and locally. The major differences between a secondary school scholarship program and the Mission's current bursaries programs for university students are in scale and focus. The number of potential recipients at secondary school level is hundreds of times greater than those who are at least part way through their university or graduate education. In a real sense, secondary school students as well as university students are future leaders of the country, given that those who complete twelfth grade are fewer than one in a hundred of those who began first grade. They will form the higher echelons of the citizenry of the post-apartheid South Africa envisioned in the Anti-Apartheid Act. Improving the prospects for poor black secondary school students to complete their studies successfully would be a direct contribution to achieving our objectives.

It should also be noted, however, that there are a number of other ways in which the million dollars per year authorized in the CAAA could be used to support secondary education, just as with a greater impact on promoting black leadership and supporting more fundamental change in South Africa's education system. Figure 1 on the following page lays out some of those ways, and attempts to compare their impact on secondary education in South Africa. It shows there are significant trade-offs and opportunity costs connected with a decision to undertake a secondary school bursaries program. The chart does not deny the value of a bursary program. It does show that other investment options in secondary education could have positive and more lasting impacts on larger numbers of students.

D. Other Investment Options

Potential uses for \$1 million outside of secondary school education are also numerous, and would contribute directly and substantially to U.S. policy objectives in South Africa. These alternative investment options -- in community and leadership development, non-secondary levels of education and black private enterprise development -- also constitute significant opportunity costs. Like secondary school scholarships, activities in these areas have been encouraged in the CAAA, although not specifically mandated. Extensive local demand has been demonstrated for U.S. assistance in each of these affected fields.

In FY 1987, AID will require over \$15.050 million to meet core programs legislated by the CAAA, and outstanding contractual commitments. These include the U.S. and South African university bursary programs (\$9.5 million), the Human Rights Fund and Legal Assistance activities (\$1.5 million), labor union training (\$1.5 million) and self-help programs (\$350,000). Assuming a \$20 million program in FY 1987, these requirements leave \$4,950,000 available for alternative programming. A total of \$9,950,000 would be available should AID be able to fund a \$25 million budget.

A secondary school bursary program would, then, draw its resources from the same residual funds which must finance the general education, private enterprise, and community outreach and leadership development sectors, as well as individual projects with the National Endowment for Democracy and the International Committee of the Red Cross. It would be conceptually inappropriate to compare the alternative impacts of such investments in the format used in Figure 1 for alternative secondary school investments (Figure 1), as the objectives pursued and political significance of the respective programs are not always comparable. The following list is therefore intended solely to demonstrate funding priorities, formulated in consultation with black South Africans, that could constitute portfolio-wide opportunity costs of the bursary program were implemented.

Figure 1

TRADEOFFS AMONG
SECONDARY EDUCATION INVESTMENTS

GENERAL OBJECTIVE:
To improve black students' success in secondary school, as reflected in increased numbers of matric exemptions and school leaving certificates.

*Assumes 20% administrative costs

OPTIONS FOR INVESTING \$1 MILLION/YEAR (=R2 MILLION)

Background Information	Full Nurseries			In-Service Teacher Training 66% of black secondary school teachers are officially unqualified (i.e. have less than Std 10 or no teacher training.)	Classroom Materials Black classrooms suffer from a severe lack of supplementary educ. materials.	Community-based Schools (CBS) Establishment of CBS is a new movement to involve parents/teachers in school management & quality of educ.	Tutorial Programs A number of NGOs offer supplementary courses to help black sec school students pass the matric.
	Public Day Cost per student R200-R300 These schools enroll between 80 and 90% of all black students.	Public Boarding Cost per student R600-R1200 Limited opportunities available.	Private Boarding Cost per student R9000-R12000 Leading educational reform movement.				
Cost of Possible Intervention	R200 per student	R1,000 per student	R10,000 per student	R1,000 per teacher serving 50 students	R1,000 per classroom serving 50 students	R700,000 startup cost per school serving 500 students	R30,000 per center serving 100 students
Expected Impacts							
- Students Assisted	8,000 * per year	1,600 * per year	160 * per year	80,000 * per year	80,000 * per year	1,400 per year	6,700 * per year
- Contribution to General Objective	Low-med: would possibly reduce dropouts by relieving financial pressure.	Low; but would alleviate study problems of crowded housing conditions of black day students.	Very low; but would offer a few outstanding students an excellent opportunity.	Low-med; training alone, without changes in incentives and supporting materials has little impact on student performance.	Med-high; availability of teaching materials has been shown to help student performance.	High; would offer opportunity for nonracial, com based education and would be an investment in model post-apartheid education.	High; programs report dramatic improvements in results on matric exam.
- Time Frame	Immediate	Immediate	Immediate	One year delay	Immediate	Immediate	Immediate
- Residual Impact	Nil	Nil	Nil	Medium	Med-High	High	High

1. Community Outreach and Leadership Development

- * Nongovernmental, community-based organizations that provide disadvantaged South Africans a means to participate in community affairs, act upon developmental priorities and develop leadership skills.
- * Advice, mediation and group consultation centers which can help people secure basic rights, serve as the only counseling centers available to blacks, promote dialogue and facilitate collective action for peaceful change.
- * Youth employment and training programs that will promote leadership qualities among young people, help them exercise constructive control over their lives, and help them participate in community activities.
- * Training and development programs that will enhance and facilitate the role of women in society and the economy, as well as promote that ascent of women to leadership positions.

2. Black Private Enterprise Development

- * Support for black entrepreneurs, businesspersons and business organizations in their efforts to develop the networks and structures necessary to lobby for and promote black business. These networks will allow blacks to play a leadership role in addressing the constraints upon equitable black participation in the economy.
- * Technical assistance, training and credit for micro and small enterprises. This support is aimed at expanding black interaction with free enterprise and the economic benefits it can bring, and at expanding income-generation and employment possibilities.
- * Assistance to black businesspersons and organizations to enable them to increase their influence and decisions-making power in South Africa's primary economy and, by extension, in the political area. This will encompass management development programs and feasibility studies for specific business sectors.

3. Educational Support and Training Programs

- * In-service teacher training programs which will help teachers throughout the educational system obtain minimum qualifications and develop teaching techniques which are suited to overcrowded classrooms and the political environment.

- * Curriculum and material development, research and publications which may influence the present political debate on education, are nonracial yet affirm black culture and history, will provide a foundation for a nonracial education in a post-apartheid South Africa, or help define the requirements for a revamped education system.
- * Adult literacy and education programs which will provide opportunities to obtain a basic education and thereby facilitate full participation in society and the establishment of a functioning democracy in a post-apartheid South Africa.
- * Preschool programs which are crucial in nurturing and stimulating cognitive skills and stimulating learning. Preschool is the only level of black education which is not controlled by the government.

4. Other Project Areas

- * Support through the National Endowment for Democracy for projects building democratic institutions, promoting dialogue across races and facilitating a peaceful solution to South Africa's problems.
- * Support for a Community Organizers program through the International Committee of the Red Cross which is training young blacks to assume leadership positions in the townships and facilitate reconciliation among groups under the auspices of Red Cross neutrality and impartiality.

Section III

SOCIAL AND POLITICAL ISSUES

A. The Politics of Education in South Africa

The current debate on education in South Africa goes far beyond purely educative issues. The school system is increasingly seen as symbolic of the oppression of black people, and thus has a political significance which is becoming ever more important.

Moreover, education has always been a political issue in South Africa, as it has been used by the Government to attempt to institutionalize apartheid by providing blacks with inferior training that restricts their social and economic advancement and, hence, their participation in society. The difference now, and the source of conflict in the education sector, is that black people themselves are seeking to define their educational priorities and design solutions to problems which directly affect their livelihood.

A dual system of education was established from the beginnings of formal education in South Africa. Early on, Mission schools equipped Africans principally for their future roles in menial jobs. When Mission schools moved away from an overt adoption of this ethic, the standard and quality of education made available to black children was still generally inferior to that offered to whites, although exceptions became more common in the twentieth century. During periods of colonial rule, the tacit dual education system, designed to ensure that black people remained in "predesignated positions" in society, was perpetuated.

The Bantu Education Act of 1953 made provision of unequal education a national law. The Act required all schools for black South Africans to register with the government, with the result that most Mission, private and night schools closed down for decades. In the official curriculum, black culture was either denied or presented as backward. African or Third World history was prohibited. Blacks were taught subjects, such as gardening, that were deemed "appropriate" for their position. The contents of other subjects, such as geography, were limited to provincial rather than global issues. Furthermore, through Bantu Education and subsequent Acts, separate departments of education were established for different population registration groups. Counting the "homeland" departments, there are now 15 departments of education in South Africa.

Since passage of the Bantu Education Act, there has been a history of consistent black opposition to the government's education policies, simultaneous with additional government actions to reinforce racial discrimination in the national education system. This history has inevitably contributed to the politicization of education and must be factored into the design of any educational programs in South Africa. Some of the key events that have contributed to the political environment surrounding educational issues are cited below.

-- In 1954 the African Education Movement was formed to provide alternatives to Bantu Education. For a few years, voluntary black-operated ad-hoc informal schools, but were closed down by 1960.

-- In 1959 the Extension of University Education Act was passed to set up "tribal colleges" for black university students. Blacks were prohibited from attending white universities unless they obtained special ministerial permits issued only if the student proved that the desired course of study could not be pursued at a black university. Permits were rarely issued. In 1984, a de facto quota system for black students at now "open" universities replaced the permit requirements.

-- In 1963, the Colored Person's Education Act was passed. Control over "colored" education was placed under the Department of Colored Affairs. "Colored" schools also had to be registered with the government. "Colored" education was made compulsory.

-- In 1965 the Indian Education Act was passed. Control over Indian education was placed under the Department of Indian Affairs. In 1976 the South African Indian Congress took over certain educational functions. Indian education was also made compulsory.

-- In 1967 the National Education Act was passed which established the policy of "Christian National Education" for white schools. The Act ensures that white education is equal in South Africa's four provinces and sets up ten principles for white education that include free and compulsory education, education in accordance with the ability of and interest shown by the pupil, and parental input into education.

-- The Soweto uprisings in 1976 represented one of the most extensive community-based protests against the educational system and proved instrumental in the development of black consciousness in South Africa. While the issues which catalyzed in the uprising are complex, it is generally agreed that two important factors were a government decree requiring certain classes to be conducted in Afrikaans and the cumulative impact of apartheid education on black South Africans. Since 1976 there have been numerous disruptions in the educational system.

-- In 1979, the Education and Training Act was passed to replace the Bantu Education Act of 1953. African education was now in the hands of the Department of Education and Training - the DET. But education for black South Africans remained virtually the same.

-- In 1980, over 140,000 students in the Cape, Transvaal and Natal staged a mass school boycott in protest of the poor state of schools, shortages of qualified teachers, dismissals of "political" teachers, corporal punishment, and the presence of security police at schools. They also demanded independent Student Representative Councils.

-- In 1981 the government set up the De Lange Committee to conduct an in-depth investigation on the state of education. The committee recommended an education policy for the 1980s. The De Lange Report recommended a single department of education for all, and a changed schooling structure. In 1983, the Government issued a White Paper, accepting the De Lange guiding principles but refusing to accept the major recommendation of a single education department for all. No significant action has been taken on the "guiding principles".

-- In 1984 the protests against apartheid education markedly heightened, leading in 1985 to the formation of the Soweto Parents Crisis Committee. Later in 1985 the SPCC helped establish the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC), which stands for community control over government schools. The NECC is generally perceived as having the broadest grassroots support among Black South African education organizations. The SAG repeatedly refused NECC requests to negotiate on greater community control of schools and has detained without charge eight of the nine members of the NECC executive board.

-- In 1986, the government prohibited offering, at any school or hostel, any syllabus, work program, class or course which has not been approved in terms of the Education Act. It also gave itself broad powers to control dissemination of information on school and hostel premises and restrict access to school property, facilities and equipment.

-- In 1986, students boycotted secondary schools from October through the end of the academic year. One of the principal demands was the institution of a community-based education which treats current social and political events and is affirmative of African culture. In 1987, students returned to school at the request of political and church leaders.

B. Social Consequences of the Education Crisis

The past decade of disruptions in the education system has heightened the concern of parents, leaders and young people as they have witnessed the consequences of a whole generation of black people who have received almost no schooling, or have not achieved a reasonable standard. Young people have been influenced by seeing their elder family members and friends disadvantaged by a society which offered them a second-rate education and then withdrew it completely when they asked for something better. They see themselves as doubly losing out, by being deprived of a fair education and yet still expected to function in a society which demands the educational qualifications the system established.

Such limited future prospects, particularly in the context of general economic problems, have resulted in frustrations and alienation which promote the possibility of violence. Indeed this has possibly been a root cause of much of the township violence already seen. SAG policies preclude or hinder most constructive expressions of frustration, creating an imploding situation which further entrenches disparities and tensions and exacerbates an already sensitive political situation.

In this environment, the tone of the education debate, and of the accompanying school boycotts, has changed radically since 1977. Young people are angry and demand change. Many are turning toward a leftist ideology, fuelled by slogans rather than an understanding of practicalities, as an expression of their frustration. The student activists, or "comrades" are politicizing the education debate in their own way by demanding an education which is itself politicized, and by calling a revolt against a white-dominated system which has abused black people. Their solutions are often radically different from those of their parents and teachers, but have a very potent, emotive influence on younger students.

Such increasingly radical views and solutions, moreover, create a potential for clashes between students which could escalate township violence. Some student congresses have concluded that school boycotts are the only option to create sufficient pressure against the educational system to produce significant change. Other students may desperately want a change in the education system, but have lost hope in immediate solutions or are sufficiently pressed economically that they want to gain the accreditation necessary to qualify for jobs. Even if the latter group constitutes a majority, its ability to oppose more radical factions is limited, and virtually all students comply with school boycotts when they occur, often for their own safety.

Parental opinion is also a potential conflict area, as most parents, though critical of the DET system and demanding radical change, still essentially believe in the ethic of education, particularly academic education, as the key to opportunity and advancement. It is possible that they do not fully understand how far some young people have moved from that ethic, and feel only bitterness and disillusionment. For their part, young people are often critical of the attitudes expressed by their elders or, sometimes, of the lifestyle they follow. As a result, traditional values have been eroded by the social pressures placed on them, and family hierarchical structure has been questioned. In many instances such adult/youth tensions have extended to the classroom, where students may see teachers ignoring their needs and unwilling to join their struggle for equal education.

C. Demand for Bursaries

The education crisis in South Africa reaches so deeply into the black community that effective solutions to the myriad social and political problems will require community backing and participation. This is particularly evident at the secondary level, which has been subject to the greatest disruption and political controversy. As a result, AID's analysis of the feasibility of a secondary school bursary (SSB) program included extensive discussions with community leaders, parents, students, teachers and church leaders, all of whom would play a critical role in the acceptability and success of a program.

These discussions resulted in a complex and sometimes conflicting set of observations, which also affirmed the need for a program for bursaries and reinforced the difficulty of developing a program scheme which would address the social and political concerns of potential beneficiaries. Many of those interviewed readily recognized the relative ineffectiveness of a bursary program vis-a-vis other education investments in promoting lasting educational reform, yet agreed that direct financial support to needy students could be a meaningful gesture of support for disadvantaged South Africans. This section discusses various arguments that were expressed for establishing an SSB program. Section D highlights some of the potential sociopolitical constraints.

In general, the oppressiveness of poverty in the communities surveyed appeared to evoke an emotional receptivity toward a bursary program as a means of alleviating the harshness of conditions in the townships. On first reaction, there was rarely consideration of whether a bursary program would address the critical constraints to obtaining a secondary school education or of how a program would be administered. Parents clearly cared about the quality of education afforded their children, but their desire for any education after the past decade of disruptions appeared more pressing. Most parents had not been directly involved in the education boycotts after 1976, and were apparently more directly influenced by the impact of the boycotts on themselves and their children than by the issues which had driven their children to protest.

Although parents were initially receptive to a bursary program, and showed particular interest in private schools which might insulate their children from disruptions in the townships, this was often tempered after more extensive consideration of the tradeoffs between the cost of private education and the number of bursaries which could be awarded. Generally, parents became more lukewarm about the concept of an SSB program as they overcame the immediate expectation of a bursary for their own child and considered the issue generically.

Students had the most complex reactions toward bursaries, possibly due to conflicts between their political outlooks and their personal aspirations. Most students, almost by definition, aspired to better themselves and improve their qualifications. Bursaries for private schools would give them access to a quality of education which would otherwise be unaffordable and which would facilitate their personal goals. Students also felt that bursaries would help those in greatest financial need, should be open to all students rather than just high achievers, and should help the maximum number of students possible. While these requirements could be met most directly through bursaries for public education, they hesitated to endorse de facto support for apartheid education which would not particularly improve the quality of education or their own future prospects. On balance, their views could be interpreted as favorable, but wavering.

Educators expressed skepticism about the potential impact of bursaries as they already face tremendously overcrowded classrooms and work with extremely poor facilities. In some cases, however, they felt that bursaries could help students concentrate better on

their studies and boost their morale. For students paying their own fees, bursaries might mean one less worry and allow more time for studies. For students from extremely poor families where even the costs of public schools are a financial drain, bursaries could alleviate concern over meeting even those minimal fees.

Community leaders, particularly young leaders who could relate to their own experience in the 1976 boycotts, sought to facilitate students' access to secondary education, but held extremely disparate views on how to do so. In the present political environment, a bursary program was considered a reasonable option, since black political, education and church organizations -- including ANC, PAC, UDF, AZAPO, NECC and major church leaders -- have endorsed a return to school after the 1986 boycotts. It was acknowledged that this position could change easily. With some political figures, the educational merits of a bursary program were overridden by concerns over the selection process, the intended beneficiaries, and whether the program would reinforce the government's education policies.

D. Potential Sociopolitical Constraints

Overall, the demand expressed for a secondary school bursary program could be characterized as viscerally strong but volatile, contingent on the handling of a number of sociopolitical issues. While most of these issues pertain to a South African audience, potential conflicts with both U.S. policy and popular American values could arise. Among the most prominent issues are the following.

1. Need for Systemic Educational Change. As bursaries do not contribute directly to reform of the Government's educational system, they may be seen as shoring up apartheid education and taking pressure off the SAG by buying into a racially discriminatory education, and buying off students who might fear losing their scholarships unless they keep still. Throughout the history of black protest against the SAG's education policies, demands for equal opportunities and the right to participate in formulating education policies have been key; lowering education fees in order to increase general access to educational opportunities may be important, but has not been a central theme. Hence, if not accompanied by full community support, a bursary program could be accused of actually supporting SAG education policy while ignoring more prominent issues in the political debate on education. This could be overcome by supporting strictly private education, but that also entails potential controversies which are described in points 5-7.

2. Financing Government Responsibilities. From a U.S. perspective, bursaries for public education could be interpreted as undertaking the South African Government's responsibilities, particularly as secondary education is compulsory for whites, Indians and so-called "coloreds". This would violate both a Congressional mandate and the Administration's policy of not pursuing programs that are solely developmental in nature and the rightful responsibility of the SAG. From a financial perspective, it is clear that the SAG could provide greater support for black

education, possibly by redistributing its education expenditures across racial groups. In 1964-65, annual expenditures per pupil according to race group were: African -- R1,949; "colored" -- R1,789; Asian -- R1,182; white -- R1,926.

3. Exacerbating Social Tensions Among Students. As indicated earlier, many students have different outlooks toward school boycotts, but most respect such protests, either out of political empathy or concern for their own well-being. Recipients of bursaries could encounter difficult circumstances if they feel obliged to utilize the rare opportunity provided them and stay in school at all costs. To avoid creating greater social tensions among students and minimize the chances of violence toward recipients, a bursary program would have to make clear at the outset that students at either public or private schools would not lose their awards in the event of school stayaways.

4. Prospect of Renewed Boycotts. The current return to secondary schools is a volatile truce between students and their elders. Possible resumption of school boycotts would stalk any bursary program. If the money were given directly to schools which were subsequently closed by disturbances, the bursary program could spend its money literally to no effect. On the other hand, if a bursary program were seen as a tool to quell honest questioning of systemic injustices by creating pressures against any public demonstration, it could not serve as credible outreach to promote leadership in the black community.

5. Private Schools and Black Ethos. Feelings are sharply divided on whether to support students in private schools. Some people see private schools as "little Englands in the veld," which include blacks only to improve their image and, in the most cynical of cases, to attract donor funding. Others see private schools as the best venues for models in nonracial education. To date, however, few private schools could be called truly nonracial as black enrollment rarely exceeds 10-15%, teaching staff are almost exclusively white and whites administer the schools. While such schools might offer blacks an education on par with whites, very few schools would address the political issue of allowing blacks to participate in defining and implementing their educational priorities.

6. Private Schools and Elitism. Elitism questions are related to the public/private education controversy: if private schools will never be a viable alternative to public education, then they are likely to cater only to an elite, no matter what their race. Within the South African context, moreover, support for private education is sometimes perceived to diminish pressure on the government to reform its educational policies. Both of these issues suggest that if an SSB program finances private education, it should be only at the behest of the student or, depending on the type of program implemented, a sponsoring community organization. This would help avoid accusations of continuing a system based upon privilege of the few and of attempting to promote a potentially complacent group of young elites.

7. U.S. Attitudes Toward Private Education. While private secondary education has been well accepted in the U.S., it is

financed strictly from private sources. It is not considered an incontrovertible right for school age children; indeed, U.S. support for private education could even be construed as contrary to the U.S. democratic principle of promoting equal opportunity with the U.S. tax dollar. Financing private education for South Africans, even victims of apartheid, could be perceived as offering opportunities through foreign assistance which are not available in the United States. The cost of private education -- approximately R10,000 annually per student -- could certainly be an issue as it exceeds annual per capita secondary education expenditures in the U.S., and exceeds the annual cost of bursaries for study at South African universities (R6,000).

8. Exposure of U.S. Assistance to Volatility of South African Politics. Given the serious political issues which could affect the success of a bursary program, any publicity for U.S. assistance in this area will draw attention to mistakes and setbacks as much as it could enhance public perceptions of American concerns for black education. The CAAA's guidance to the South African chief of mission to appoint a selection panel for bursaries could, in particular, expose the U.S. to the volatile nature of South African politics. To gain credibility, the selection panel would have to encompass respected leaders from across the political spectrum. In normal circumstances it is difficult to achieve such balance; the dearth in leadership created by the present State of Emergency may make it impossible. Moreover, should internal political issues unrelated to perceptions of U.S. policy cause members of the panel to resign, the public may still perceive the resignation as spurning the U.S. bursary program. Once started, such negative reaction would be impossible to control and could lead to general negativism toward all U.S. assistance.

Section IV

IMPLEMENTATION ISSUES

A. Funding Options

This section presents six possible administrative approaches to designing and implementing the SSB program. These options are intended to facilitate an effective response to the Congressional mandate to finance scholarships for students pursuing a secondary school education in South Africa.

Each option would support the general objective of preparing victims of apartheid for leadership positions in a post-apartheid South Africa. As part of this general goal, there are various potential target audiences, which would have to be reached through different implementation modes. In discussing and reviewing these options with responsible South Africans, it has become clear that there is no one right way, on technical or political grounds, to design an SSB program. Each option has significant advantages and disadvantages which should be weighed in light of Congressional intent, South African political concerns and administrative complexity.

To sketch the options as succinctly as possible, the paper uses a chart format. Each option is first briefly described in general terms, followed by a purpose statement and sections outlining specific characteristics of each program, the selection criteria and process, and summaries of the potential advantages and disadvantages. Each option would finance the education fees of insolvent students, and/or seek to open the high cost of private education to students of severely limited means. The third option would further restrict eligibility from financial need to young people severely affected by apartheid-related circumstances and policies, such as detained minors who are imprisoned without charge and seek to continue their education through correspondence courses. Immediately following the options chart is a discussion of existing educational institutions and bursary programs whose consideration may affect a decision on a specific option.

22

PROGRAMMATIC OPTIONS: SECONDARY SCHOOL BURSARIES

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
<u>BEST & BRIGHTEST</u>	<u>PROGRESSIVE NONRACIAL SCHOOLS</u>	<u>ESPECIALLY IMPACTED GROUPS</u>	<u>AUGMENTING EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAM</u>	<u>NON-GOVERNMENTAL OUTREACH</u>	<u>MAXIMIZING BENEFICIARIES</u>
100 beneficiaries /yr	Possibly 300 beneficiaries/yr	Possibly 1500 beneficiaries/yr	Possibly 3,720 beneficiaries/yr	Possibly 4000 beneficiaries/yr	Possibly 8000 beneficiaries/yr
<p>The best black students in Standard 9 would be awarded full one year scholarships to the best private schools in South Africa.</p>	<p>Partial scholarships available to selected private secondary schools in vanguard of educational reform efforts. Using stipulated criteria bursary recipients would be selected using regular screening procedures. Schools would find matching funds from private sources for reamainder of student costs.</p>	<p>Scholarships made available for school correspondence courses, or matriculation tutorials to members of groups especially affected by apartheid related actions e.g.</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Detainees of secondary school age - Ex-students who dropped out when schools were closed by disruptions - Rural children who have no effective access to secondary school - Enrollees in compensatory study programs aimed at enabling them to pass the matric. 	<p>Funds given to selected scholarship programs with good track records and the capability to expand activities. Programs would be chosen to balance investments in private boarding, public boarding, and public day schools, as well as to balance geographic distribution of students.</p>	<p>Funds available to one or more intermediary organizations with close ties to community groups, which would assist communities to select bursary recipient. Bursaries would cover costs of either day school or public boarding school, based on each recipient's circumstances.</p>	<p>Scholarships for Standard 9 students whose family incomes are at or below subsistence level. Each bursary would be approximately equivalent to out-of-pocket costs of attending public day school, but could be used for any public or private school in South Africa. Winners would be selected from applicants satisfying basic qualification criteria by regional lotteries to assure fairness, defuse political sensitivities and keep administrative costs low.</p>

PURPOSE STATEMENTS

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
To provide outstanding black students in their final year of secondary school with the best private education available in South Africa.	To support democratization of reform-oriented private secondary school education.	To provide scholarships for secondary students in circumstances of special difficulty resulting from apartheid, as a symbolic statement of U.S. policy.	To balance numbers of scholarships awarded with administrative ease for USG.	To maximize community participation in the award of limited bursaries through the assistance of NGOs.	To finance scholarships for the maximum feasible number of able students from the poorest strata of South African society to complete their secondary education.

CHARACTERISTICS OF BURSARIES

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Size: R10,000 Term: One year Number of recipients: 160 per year Geographic distribution: nationwide competition Where to be used: Outstanding private secondary schools; student chooses his/her school from approved list of institutions	Size: variable, according to school Term: one year with optional renewal Number of recipients: 120 per year at R5000 Geographic distribution: schools would have to be selected with regional distribution as one factor Where to be used: at selected schools only	Size: variable, depending on group's needs; eg. for detainees it would presumably be the cost of correspondence education Term: variable Number of recipients: variable; estimated at 1,500 Geographic distribution: generally nationwide, depending on groups chosen Where to be used:	Size: R200 for public day; R1,000 for public boarding; R5,000 for private schools. Term: One year, renewal optional, depending on each existing program's policy. Number of recipients: (Assume R600,000 for each type school; R200,000 admin) 3,000 scholarships of R200, 600 of R1,000, and 120 of R5,000; 3,720 total. Geographic distribution: areas served by selected programs; regional and gender balances would be sought. Where to be used: 2/3 of financial resources in public schools, 1/3 in private schools	Size: R200 (day) to R1000 (boarding) Term: One year with optional renewal Number of recipients: if the breakdown were half day and half boarding students, it would permit 4,000 bursaries to be awarded. Geographic distribution: communities with links to selected intermediary organization(s) Where to be used: public schools	Size: R200 Term: One year Number of recipients: 8,000/year Geographic distribution: equal opportunity across regions Where to be used: at school of student's choice

12-

STUDENT SELECTION CRITERIA

22.

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Academic excellence.	Schools would select students based on existing criteria. AID would select schools based on: (1) Acceptance of nonracial policy (2) Racial balance in staff/administration (3) Parent/student involvement in school administration (4) School and private sector contribution to program.	Membership in selected group, formal or informal. As each group is by definition needy and disadvantaged by apartheid, no further selection is required.	Criteria for successful recipients would vary depending on individual programs. US funds would require that programs assure regional and gender equity in use of funds.	1. Current Std 9 student. 2. Community support. 3. Relatively needy; not necessarily at subsistence level.	1. Current Std 9 student. 2. Financial need. 3. Good academic standing. 4. Commitment to community service.

SELECTION PROCESS

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Top Std 9 student in each black secondary school is nominated, reviewed by Regional Screening Committee. Regional quota system would probably be necessary.	General selection criteria of project would be accepted by participating schools. Administered through their regular bursary procedures.	Could be automatic selection if group is clearly identifiable and membership is unambiguous. Otherwise, would require screening, possibly by a black organization contracted for that purpose.	Variable; would be carried out by following usual procedures of selected programs, with observers named by the US Ambassador.	Variable; would be carried out by communities with general supervision by the intermediary NGO.	Eligible students' names, drawn in an education lottery, would be submitted to regional assembly points.

ROLE OF THE AMBASSADOR IN SELECTION

Would name selection committee to interview top academic performers and select winners.	Would name a committee to select recipient schools, which would then select scholarship recipients.	Would endorse selection of one or more organizations to administer the program. Thereafter, any member of an impacted group would be accepted on application.	Would endorse selection of several programs for additional funding to expand numbers of scholarships.	Would endorse identification of credible NGOs to work with communities to select recipients.	Would endorse selection of an organization and their selection panel to administer lottery and award of bursaries.
---	---	---	---	--	--

23

ADVANTAGES OF EACH OPTION

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Allows selection criteria to be stated clearly and succinctly.	Supports progressive private educational initiatives in South Africa.	Targets funding with clearly stated rationale for support of each specific group.	No national oversight body needs to be created.	No national oversight body needs to be created.	Uses project resources for as many beneficiaries as possible.
Supports US policy objective of leadership development.	Minimizes need for program administration.	Provides a politically sound means of restricting eligibility for scholarships, thereby defusing charges of elitism.	Makes use of existing confidence relationships between intermediary organization and communities.	Minimizes administrative costs of program.	Provides direct support for the back to school movement.
Supports private education tangibly and symbolically.	Provides no support for SAG schools	Requires no national oversight body.	AID would not be seen as giving support directly to SAG schools.	AID would not be seen as giving direct support to SAG schools.	Rewards poor families for sacrificing to keep children in school.
Provides students with support at the crucial matric level.		Sends a clear message as to U.S. commitment to assisting victims of apartheid.	Would subsidize students who have strong community support.	Provides support to sizeable beneficiary population.	Provides support at the critical matric level.
Provides no support for SAG schools.		Could not be accused of supporting status quo or apartheid education.	Allows communities to make decisions regarding the education of their children.	Balances support for needy students with financing students at progressive, nonracial private institutions.	Size of beneficiary population defuses potential charges of elitism.
					Offers equal opportunity for bursary to all poor black Standard 9 students (approximately one chance in ten).

42

DISADVANTAGES OF EACH OPTION

1.	2.	3.	4.	5.	6.
Very small <u>number</u> of beneficiaries.	Private school students are not the most needy.	Each special group carries risk of <u>countergroup</u> grievance, given factionalism in RSA's education.	US identification as source of scholarships would possibly be obscured.	US identification as source of scholarships could possibly be obscured.	Since bursaries would be used for students to attend <u>DET</u> as well as private schools, could be accused of supporting status quo in education.
High selection costs per individual.	Small number of beneficiaries.	Identifiable groups may be quite <u>small, hard to define</u> (eg. rural vs urban) or <u>difficult to reach</u> .	Only communities with links to the intermediary organization(s) would be involved.	Using bursaries for DET schools could leave US vulnerable to accusations of supporting the status quo in education.	Hopes would be built up then dashed, for at least 9 out of 10 applicants, so the situation could be volatile.
Vulnerability to charges of elitism.	School bursary programs and procedures are already in place, so <u>US identification</u> & <u>credit</u> might be difficult to assure.	SAG more likely to react negatively when bursaries have a clearly defined political purpose.	Regional balance would be difficult to assure.	May not be seen as sufficiently responsive to Congressional directive for Ambassadorial involvement.	Revealing family income to meet need criterion could be demeaning, open to fraud.
Very difficult to assure validity of selection procedures.	Emphasis on support through <u>institutions</u> would diminish the legislation's focus on individual students.	Changing political circumstances could force program focus to change quickly.	No direct support for educational nongovernmental initiatives.	Termination of US funding would require radical retrenching of programs and possibly impair their viability.	
Black communities and leaders would have minimal input in decisions regarding their children's education.	Winnowing applicant institutions could exacerbate existing factionalism among progressives.	Program could be difficult to administer if suitable intermediaries not found.	Student selection vulnerable to "external factors".		
Publicity would have to be limited to avoid negative reactions from unmet hopes, given small number of recipients.	USG could be criticized for subsidizing expensive, potentially elitist, private institutions.				

B. Institutional Considerations

Each of the six programmatic options presented in this paper would need cooperation from one or more South African institutions in order to be implemented. This section provides basic background information on the nature, numbers and capabilities of the organizations which could be involved. The U.S. Mission in South Africa would serve as a contracting agent with the implementing parties and would monitor progress to ensure compliance with the objectives and operational procedures specified in contractual arrangements. This approach will help address the sociopolitical issues previously identified with a bursary program, particularly the need to involve beneficiary communities in program design and implementation. It also takes into consideration practical constraints in deploying additional direct hire personnel in South Africa, which would be required to directly implement the program and ensure adequate geographic coverage, consult regularly with beneficiary communities, advertise the program, handle inquiries, and properly manage program funds.

1. Bursary Programs

No existing bursary program is national and regionally balanced in its coverage. The Trust for Christian Outreach, based in Pietermaritzburg, has limited activities in all regions; their total scholarship allocation this year is R5,000 per region. The South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR) is a national organization with a scholarship program, but administration is handled by its regional offices. Only about 10% of SAIRR's scholarships are for secondary schools; the majority go to students attending universities or technikons. The Catholic Welfare Bureau recently launched a bursary program in the Cape area, but only 30% of the bursaries are for secondary education. Other bursary programs include the Studie Trust, and a number of small, rather ad hoc activities of churches and religious organizations. The Western Cape Teachers Professional Association has a small but growing scholarship program, financed mainly by contributions from its members.

2. Potential Administrators: NGOs Involved in Education

No national organization at present appears to have the capacity to mount and manage a bursary program without significantly expanding its management capacity. If the SSB program funds thousands of students, its administration will require immediate and solid data processing and information management capabilities to avoid confusion and conflict. If several organizations were to share responsibility, each one could possibly manage with a less sophisticated information system.

Some NGO's already have in place reporting mechanisms which satisfy AID requirements, which would presumably ease the information management burden. A number of AID's grantees, however, are still wrestling with rudimentary financial reporting systems, and would not seem able in the short run to add any appreciable extra workload. This limitation would have to be viewed seriously in any program design effort. One possibility would be to work through an existing national NGO to marshal voluntary intermediate or grassroots groups to carry responsibility for selection and monitoring. Management costs should be kept to a minimum by such an arrangement, and it may provide the combination of national and local activities the program would need.

Ideally, USAID/Pretoria would look to the National Education Crisis Committee (NECC) to head a bursary program. The NECC is the nation's largest and most credible black education organization. With virtually all its leadership currently in detention, however, it is not possible to say with any degree of confidence whether participation in a bursary program would be a possibility. If NECC could rely on cooperation from other educational organizations to carry out the logistics of the program, its involvement would lend the authority and prestige the program would need in order to succeed.

Because NECC's ability to participate in the program is highly problematic, we have considered some other possibilities. The South African Council of Churches (SACC) is a very strong and respected organization, but its strict prohibition against accepting direct funding from all foreign governments would create at least two major problems. First, funding would have to be channelled through an intermediary; this would be cumbersome but not impossible. It would, however, be extremely difficult to have the program identified with U.S. assistance, which may undermine the intent behind the Congressional mandate for the Chief Diplomatic Mission's direct participation in the SSB program.

The Educational Opportunities Council (EOC) is another credible black organization, which already has an established working relationship with AID. EOC is doing a good job of selecting and processing candidates for AID's U.S. and South African university bursary programs. However, two difficulties preclude asking EOC to expand into secondary school scholarships. First, its administrative plate is full, and the level of activity under the internal scholarship program is likely to grow considerably in the near future. Asking EOC to accept substantial additional management responsibility would be to jeopardize the smooth functioning of the other projects. Second, EOC is seen as a Transvaal organization by many people from other regions. Sensitivity is great regarding Transvaal's propensity to absorb resources which never reach far beyond the environs of Johannesburg. While EOC is coping well with these concerns in their ongoing projects, if AID were to choose EOC to administer the secondary school bursary project, it would likely create the impression of a Transvaal bias which would require time and effort to dispel.

A third possibility would be to request the two major national teachers unions, the African Teachers Association of South Africa (ATASA) and the National Education Union of South Africa (NEUSA), to collaborate on administering the program. These unions could work through their memberships, based in schools throughout South Africa, to facilitate the selection process. Several political issues, however, make this an unlikely short-term option. While both unions advocate, in principle, collaboration to achieve more cost-effective use of scarce donor resources, divergent union policies presently preclude working jointly on assistance programs. There are, moreover, numerous independent regional unions which are powerful in their own areas but do not have a national base. ATASA and NEUSA would have to reach satisfactory working relationships with these unions to operate effectively in their areas and achieve satisfactory geographic breadth. As the independent unions have chosen not to affiliate to either of the national bodies, such negotiations could be lengthy and would further exacerbate the project's administrative complexity and fragility. Simply choosing one union to administer the program appears inadvisable. Education union politics in South Africa are highly charged, and such a decision would inevitably have negative consequences that would mitigate the program's political benefits.

26

Another possibility is to work with South African religious leaders to form an ad hoc body of representatives for the purpose of managing the secondary school bursaries program. Each religious body could call on its local clergy to work with school principals and communities to carry out student selection. Selection would be very low, and the moral authority of the religious leaders would help assure that the process would be both free of anomalies and seen as such by all parties. It would also keep the process from being completely in the hands of the schools, which may avoid the bursaries project being perceived as an effort to support the DET. As with other options, however, there would be serious administrative and political obstacles. Either a central coordinating and management body would have to be established to monitor student selection, ensure consistency across regions and handle finances, or these responsibilities would have to be contracted out to a credible firm or organization. To achieve credibility with the major denominations, the program would have to be endorsed by SACC, the South African Catholic Bishops Conference and other existing development arms of religious organizations. The major religions, moreover, are not always able to transcend the political differences manifested within the black community. Their participation would not guarantee that selection would proceed smoothly. It could also complicate reaching individuals without any religious affiliation.

3. Correspondence Programs

Two major programs offer correspondence education at the secondary level. The South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED) operates Turret College, a non-profit institution with an enrollment of about 1500 students. SACHED's long history of commitment to the process of social and political change in South Africa makes it a strong candidate for assisting special groups, such as political detainees wishing to pursue a secondary education through correspondence. The other available correspondence program is a for-profit organization, Damelin College.

4. Community-Based NGOs

The intuitive attractiveness of this option is marred by serious logistical and political problems. Although there are many community-based NGOs in South Africa, very few have any national linkage or relationships with intermediary organizations which would ease the administrative burden of attempting to achieve regional balance.

Another problem is the question of what portion of a given community's population is effectively represented by a community organization. Factionalism is so serious and rife, even at the local level, that a U.S. good faith choice of an institution to choose scholarship recipients could result in intense criticism.

5. Progressive Nonracial Schools

A number of schools which purport to be progressive and nonracial have been founded in the past twelve to eighteen

months. Many of these have some ties to churches or religious organizations. Some twenty-five have submitted proposals to AID soliciting support for their programs. Because they are fairly recent, it is difficult to judge their capability to use scholarship funds appropriately and effectively. Criteria would have to be developed to measure whether a given school appears to be truly nonracial, or if a token number of black students have been admitted, as one commentator put it, to improve their color scheme.

Preliminary checks indicate that many of the newly-established schools would not stand up to close examination of the racial makeup of their students - much less their faculty and administration. Most would be found to have black enrollments of less than 10%, a few black faculty, and an all-white administrative staff. Possibly ten schools nationwide would survive such scrutiny and be capable of responsibly administering scholarship funds for admitting new black students up to the limits of their absorptive capacity.

C. Time Constraints

The 1988 South African school year begins at the end of January. Rational assessment of the work to be done before an SSB program can become operational leads directly to the conclusion that it would be unrealistic to attempt to award scholarships through any new entity before the 1989 academic year.

Bursary programs follow a schedule of soliciting application starting in June or July, with an October closing date. Screening and selection are completed in November, and notices are sent out in December. The application time window could conceivably be shortened to a month or six weeks, but screening, selection and notification schedules are not easily compressed. That means the process would have to begin by late August or early September.

Upon receiving Congressional consensus on one of the six administrative options discussed in this paper, the U.S. Mission in South Africa would still need to discuss specific programmatic details with community, business and religious leaders, as well as major education and development organizations in South Africa, to secure their support. While all six administrative options have been formulated and reviewed with knowledgeable South Africans, discussions have been limited to a conceptual level to avoid creating expectations for any particular program. Lastly, AID would need to negotiate contracts and implementation details with any organization(s) undertaking a bursary scheme. Under normal circumstances, this process would require 6-8 months. While the contracting process could be compressed slightly, an extensive consultation period is critical to ensuring the program's viability.

Possibly the most realistic approach for 1988 students may be to finance "semi-finalists" under existing bursary schemes -- qualified students who did not receive awards due to financial constraints. This option, however, has at least two

difficulties. First, to comply with the CAAA the Ambassador must be involved in the selection process. Given the above time constraints and that each program's regular selection procedures would have already been completed, a second screening with the Ambassador's participation may be inappropriate. Second, our funding would be awarded to those who had failed to win the regular competition which could prompt criticism of unfair procedures.

CONTENTS

A. Political and Educational Impact

Bursaries would address severe individual needs of secondary school students and their families, but would have little or no systematic effect; they would essentially not be relevant to the current intense political debate concerning necessary changes in South African education. On the whole, while persons surveyed felt that the financial strain facing secondary school students from poor families is so immediate and dramatic that an SSB program could be politically credible if carefully designed, many strongly felt that bursaries actively support the status quo and could be perceived as such.

Bursaries would be available to a very small proportion of the target beneficiary population. At a maximum, our calculations show that by keeping bursaries to the minimum size needed to cover basic fees and related costs of government day schools, the program would support about eight thousand of the 1.2 million black students in junior and senior schools.

At the same time, demand for bursaries is very strong, so awarding even this relatively small number of bursaries would draw considerable attention. The program would likely enjoy visibility out of proportion to the financial investment involved. Given this possibility, the program could be accused of subversive underlying motives -- essentially, of buying the allegiance of key young leaders -- and could become a target for the vast numbers of dissatisfied students who fail to obtain assistance.

Providing bursaries, without attention to complementary educational investments needed to improve the system, would have little impact on secondary school success. Other needed inputs, such as materials resource centers, language bridging programs, compensatory education programs, or in-service teacher training, would help improve and sustain student performance within the system. The immediate effect of a bursary program - making badly needed money available to black students - would not have an institutional development impact.

It should be recognized that a bursary program would have little impact on access to secondary school or on the dropout rate. Since most bursary applicants would already be in secondary school in five of the six options presented in this paper, the access question would generally be moot.* And even if the bursary made the critical difference between staying in school or dropping out for every recipient, the numbers would be miniscule compared to the more than 100,000 black students who will drop out of every age cohort between Standard 6 and Standard 10.

* Option three is the exception as students excluded from secondary school would be eligible for correspondence courses.

Symbolically, the effect of a bursary program would probably be mixed. On the one hand, bursaries would affirm the U.S. philosophy of the importance of education. They would make a statement that no person is too poor or obscure to matter. Yet by in effect buying into the existing education system, a bursary program could give aid and comfort to the backers of "separate but equal" education in South Africa.

B. Administrative Options: Advantages and Disadvantages

Choice of one or more agencies to administer the program would be controversial. Some existing bursary programs currently refuse to give money for attendance at private schools, other give bursaries only for such schools. Buying into one or another program, while it would likely be efficient in terms of cost and time, would mean either accepting current policies or requesting that they be changed. Starting a new organization, while attractive on some grounds, would involve serious problems of institutional development, complicated by the volatility of the secondary school situation. Either buying into or creating a program would likely also bring downline problems of dependency and disruption when the flow of funds runs out. Choosing bursary selection committees would also be problematic: if one buys into an existing program, their committees and procedures are presumably in place. Choosing committees from scratch for a new program would, on the other hand, inevitably be politically controversial from both radical and conservative standpoints.

Given our overall objective of improving secondary school success of black students, we can summarize each option's likely contribution to its achievement as follows:

BEST AND BRIGHTEST -- This option would likely make little or no contribution to achievement of the overall objective, since recipients of the scholarships would be highly likely to complete secondary school successfully whether or not they receive a U.S. bursary. The tangible benefit to them would be to attend a higher quality school for their last year than would have been possible without a bursary program. The fact of their winning such a prestigious award would have considerable symbolic value for all black students.

SUPPORT FOR PROGRESSIVE, NONRACIAL SCHOOLS -- In the medium to long term, this option would likely make a concrete contribution to improvement of black students' secondary school success by helping democratize the still somewhat elitist efforts currently underway to redress some of the most salient problems of the "separate but equal" system. As is the case with the previous option, the few hundred students who would be helped directly would not constitute substantial movement toward achievement of the objective.

SUPPORTING ESPECIALLY IMPACTED GROUPS -- Uniquely among the options, this program would address the needs of youth for whom the system has failed, offering a second chance to persons who have little or no other opportunity to complete their secondary education. As such, it clearly would help improve blacks'

possibilities for success in secondary school, although how detainees would perform in correspondence courses would be impossible to predict, given the extraordinary circumstances which they would study.

NON-GOVERNMENTAL OUTREACH -- Because recipients chosen under this option would know that the eyes of their community would be watching their performance closely, they would be likely to work very hard to justify the confidence placed in them. Their success would help strengthen the necessary movement to increasing community involvement in and control of the nation's schools, which will be a critical factor in improving black students' overall chances for success. The largest drawback is the inevitable political difficulty of creating a selection process which has credibility with all parts of the community.

AUGMENTING EXISTING SCHOLARSHIP PROGRAMS -- By buying into ongoing programs this option would achieve some of the benefits ascribed to the others -- it would provide some support for innovative private schools, could support some of the especially impacted groups, and would help some of the subsistence level students whose needs are directly addressed in the following option. There are very few existing programs, however, and most of these are regional in scope. Hence, it would prove extremely difficult to have uniform policies, or to distribute scholarships equitably to all areas.

MAXIMIZING BENEFICIARIES -- This option would eliminate the desperate need for funds faced by 8,000 poor black students in their final year, and in so doing would inescapably improve their chances for success. The major disadvantage would be the likelihood of encountering significant implementation problems, since the lottery system proposed for student selection would have to operate faultlessly under close scrutiny by community and political organizations, scholarship applicants and most likely, the South African Government. On the other hand, if the job were done very well for the three years mandated by the CAAA, we could face further complications in summarily cutting off a highly visible program.

C. Pending Issues

This brings us to the purpose of this paper, i.e. to elicit a set of decisions concerning the CAAA mandate to finance scholarships for students pursuing a secondary education in South Africa. We have seen that in this period of scarce resources that opportunity costs are high. Despite a strong visceral demand for secondary school scholarships, particularly among black parents, implementing a scholarship program would use resources that could otherwise contribute more directly and concretely to achievement of U.S. objectives in South Africa, both within and outside the education sector. The risks and uncertainties involved in mounting a scholarship program would also mean a significant investment of staff time in administering the program in such a way as to minimize the likelihood of political damage if any of the several possibilities outlined in the paper should occur. Early on, the Mission will have to consult community leaders

...
-- many of whom favor the SSB idea, but recognize the risks in carrying it out -- to finalize details of implementation procedures and secure the financial support of the SSB initiative in this volatile area.

In order to proceed further with an SSB program, feedback is required on the following points:

1. Immediate Preference -- Are any of the options outlined more attractive than the others; or, alternatively, which would be unacceptable? The Mission recognizes that consensus would be difficult to achieve, and would be pleased simply to know which are the acceptable options, if any.

2. Long-term Preference -- In the event one approach might be seen as a desirable interim strategy, while another is seen as more appropriate for future emphasis, this should be specified.

3. Level of Commitment -- At this time AID requires advice as to the funding available, since that will be a critical factor in project design. Inevitably, South African reactions to a U.S. proposal for secondary school scholarships will be linked to the level of U.S. financial commitment.

4. Term of Commitment -- Following on the above point, it will be important to have assurance that funding will be available for the entire three years, or to be advised if the term will be shorter or longer than the three years stated in the CAAA. Given the attention an SSB program would attract, even with minimal publicity, creating expectations which could not be fulfilled would be particularly dangerous.

Should there be agreement to move forward with one of the bursary options, the following steps will be required:

1. Complete detailed project design and documentation, incorporating feedback and direction received in response to this report.

2. Negotiate implementation plans with selected groups and organizations.

3. Execute agreements with all grantees.

4. Set up and oversee staffing of new programs as necessary.

5. Facilitate award of the first scholarships, if possible, by January, 1988, so as to cover the cost of the term beginning at that time. As indicated in Section IV, C, there are severe constraints to meeting this target.

RESPONSES TO THIS REPORT OR QUESTIONS PERTAINING TO IT SHOULD BE DIRECTED TO THE A.I.D. SOUTH AFRICA DESK OFFICER (Tel. 647-4323).