

**Can a 'child raise a village'? A case study of South Africa's Community and Individual Development Association (CIDA) City Campus**

By

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Can a 'child raise a village'? A case study of South Africa's Community and Individual  
Development Association (CIDA) City Campus  
by Jessica Keen

Abstract

March, 2008

This thesis is an exploratory study of the Community and Individual Development Association (CIDA) City Campus: the first 'virtually free' university in South Africa. Considered a potential solution to the crisis in tertiary education in South Africa, it provides an accredited BBA degree to economically disadvantaged students. Situated against a literature review that traces the emergence of 'hybrid' organizations and management approaches which challenge the public/private distinction, findings of a mixed-mode survey of 2004-2006 graduates suggest that CIDA not only fulfills an 'access role', but also supports students in ways necessary for them to proceed through their degree. Whilst indicating the strengths of the CIDA model, including employment outcomes, graduates also signal areas for improvement. Importantly, the study also explores the 'externalities' of a CIDA degree. Findings demonstrate graduate support of extended families as well as a large commitment to community-based initiatives in areas such as youth resilience and education.

## Dedication

This thesis is dedicated to the memory of Tukiso Mokoena, a young man who tackled life with passion and unerring optimism for the future. He began a skills training initiative in his community of Orange Farm called Letsatsing – ‘source of light’ – and inspired many people during his short lifetime with his brilliance and desire to see South Africa achieve its greatest potential. Tukiso continues to invite all of us to give of ourselves to our communities, and to do this with dedication and love.

And, in the face of adversity, to simply laugh.

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# Index

<b>LIST OF ACRONYMS .....</b>	<b>7</b>
<b>1 INTRODUCTION.....</b>	<b>9</b>
1.1 PURPOSE OF RESEARCH.....	9
1.2 CORPORATE SOCIAL INVESTMENT IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	12
1.3 CIDA CITY CAMPUS .....	14
1.3.1 CIDA Structure.....	16
1.3.2 CIDA Partnerships .....	18
1.3.3 CIDA Admissions.....	22
1.3.4 Community Ploughback.....	24
1.4 THEORETICAL BACKGROUND.....	26
1.5 TERMS USED IN THIS STUDY.....	27
1.6 THESIS STRUCTURE.....	28
<b>2 LITERATURE REVIEW.....</b>	<b>30</b>
2.1 INTRODUCTION.....	30
2.2 THE CONTINUING DEVELOPMENT DEBATE.....	32
2.3 THE PUBLIC AND PRIVATE SECTORS IN THEORY .....	35
2.3.1 The Public / Private Distinction.....	37
2.4 'HYBRID' DEVELOPMENT MANAGEMENT.....	41
2.4.1 The New 'Responsible' Private.....	41
2.4.2 Partnerships across all divides.....	43
2.4.3 Business – Non-Profit Partnerships .....	46
2.5 THE 'HYBRID' ORGANIZATION .....	50
2.5.1 What is Social Entrepreneurship?.....	53
2.5.2 What does SE look like?.....	56
2.5.3 Social Enterprise or Social Innovation? .....	57
2.5.4 SE and Sector.....	59
2.5.5 Criticism of SE.....	60
2.5.6 Challenges for Research .....	61
2.5.7 Conclusion.....	63
2.6 TERTIARY EDUCATION, DEVELOPMENT AND POVERTY .....	64
2.6.1 The Positioning of tertiary education in the development debate.....	65
2.6.2 Revisiting evidence on Benefits of Higher Education.....	70
2.7 TERTIARY EDUCATION: IN THEORY.....	73
2.7.1 Neo-Classical Economic Growth.....	73
2.7.2 Higher Education Tradition and the 'Development University' in Africa .....	74
2.7.3 Inequities in Access to Tertiary Education: Social Stratification .....	76
2.8 THE PRIVATE/PUBLIC HIGHER EDUCATION DEBATE.....	79
2.8.1 Public Higher Education: Focus on Africa's Universities .....	81
2.8.2 Private Higher Education: A Global Surge .....	83
2.8.3 The Profile of Private HE .....	85
2.8.4 Financing.....	87
2.8.5 Ownership, Profits and Responsibility .....	88
2.8.6 Educational Equity .....	89
2.8.7 Regulation and Autonomy .....	90
2.8.8 Complementary or Competition?.....	91
2.8.9 Diversification.....	92
2.8.10 New Frontiers of Private Higher Education.....	93

2.9 THE SOUTH AFRICAN DEVELOPMENT CONTEXT .....	96
2.9.1 Poverty and Inequality.....	96
2.9.2 Unemployment.....	98
2.9.3 Education.....	102
2.10 TERTIARY EDUCATION IN SOUTH AFRICA.....	102
2.10.1 The Inheritance of Apartheid Higher Education .....	102
2.10.2 Post-Apartheid Education Policy.....	103
2.10.3 The Skills for Economic Growth.....	105
2.11 EDUCATIONAL EQUITY .....	112
2.11.1 Equity: Equal Treatment.....	112
2.11.2 Equity: Educational Opportunity .....	113
2.11.3 Equity: Educational Adequacy.....	118
2.11.4 Conclusions on Educational Equity .....	120
2.12 CHALLENGES OF EDUCATIONAL POLICY IMPLEMENTATION.....	121
2.13 THE PRIVATE ALTERNATIVE.....	123
2.13.1 History of Private HE in S.A.....	123
2.13.2 Profile of Private HE in S.A.....	124
2.13.3 Trans-national Providers.....	126
2.13.4 Public-Private Partnerships .....	127
2.13.5 Corporate Classrooms .....	128
2.13.6 Private HE Issues Revisited.....	129
2.14 CREDENTIALS AND MOBILITY: CIDA CITY CAMPUS .....	130
2.14.1 Student Profiles.....	131
2.14.2 Funding.....	133
2.14.3 Governance .....	134
2.15 CONCLUSION .....	134
<b>3 RESEARCH METHODOLOGY.....</b>	<b>136</b>
3.1 BACKGROUND TO RESEARCH METHODS .....	136
3.2 DATA COLLECTION .....	138
3.3 PARTICIPANT SELECTION.....	142
<b>Table 1: Response rates by survey mode.....</b>	<b>144</b>
3.4 SURVEY DESIGN.....	144
3.4.1 Theoretical design aspects.....	144
3.4.2 Technical design aspects .....	147
3.5 PROCEDURE .....	148
3.5.1 Survey Piloting.....	148
3.5.2 Sampling.....	148
3.5.3 Web Survey .....	150
<b>Graph 1: Web survey response rates.....</b>	<b>152</b>
3.5.4 Postal Survey .....	152
3.5.5 Further means for completing the survey.....	153
3.6 DATA CAPTURING AND ANALYSIS .....	154
<b>4 CASE STUDY: CIDA CITY CAMPUS .....</b>	<b>156</b>
4.1 THE PARTICIPANT GROUP .....	156
<b>Table 1: Comparison of 2005 Student body with Participant group.....</b>	<b>157</b>
<b>Graph 1: Comparison of 2005 Student body with Survey Participant group.....</b>	<b>157</b>
4.2 THROUGHPUT/ EDUCATIONAL OPPORTUNITY .....	158
4.2.1 Economic considerations: Financing a CIDA degree.....	159
4.2.2 Practical Aspects of CIDA.....	160
4.2.3 Social / Emotional Aspects of CIDA.....	162

<b>Table 2: Participant rating 'Quality of campus life'</b> .....	163
4.2.4 'Getting through' the degree.....	163
4.2.5 Recovery and Realising one's Talent .....	165
<b>Box 1: Developing skills and capabilities</b> .....	167
4.2.6 Skills development.....	170
4.2.7 Summary on Educational Opportunity at CIDA.....	173
4.3 OUTCOMES/ EDUCATIONAL ADEQUACY.....	175
4.3.1 Employment Outcomes.....	175
4.3.2 Exploring Graduate Unemployment.....	175
4.3.3 Graduate Income.....	176
<b>Table 3: CIDA Graduate Income</b> .....	178
<b>Table 4: Cross tabulation of Employed Participants Income Per Month and Extent to which job is related to subject of specialization at CIDA</b> .....	179
4.3.4 Graduate Employment: Issues around current work.....	179
<b>Table 5: Employed Participant Group: Issues around current work</b> .....	180
<b>Table 6: Cross tabulation of Employed Participants Income Per Month and Extent to which work demands are what participants expected</b> .....	182
<b>Table 7: Cross tabulation of Participant's rating of 'Internship Placement Office' and Extent to which CIDA prepared participant for current job/situation</b> .....	183
4.3.5 Improving Student Outcomes.....	184
4.3.6 Internships.....	186
<b>Table 8: Participant rating of internship placement at CIDA</b> .....	186
<b>Box 2: Student Internships</b> .....	187
4.3.7 Preparing CIDA students for Work/Life Demands.....	190
<b>Box 3: Preparing Students for work/life demands</b> .....	191
4.4 CIDA EDUCATIONAL QUALITY.....	192
<b>Table 9: Recommendations on how CIDA can improve its quality of education</b> .....	192
4.4.1 CIDA Lecturers.....	193
4.4.2 Improve recognition of CIDA within South Africa.....	196
4.4.3 Curriculum and Classroom concerns.....	201
4.4.4 Student Inclusion and Governance issues .....	203
4.4.5 Summary on Educational Adequacy at CIDA.....	206
4.5 CONNECTION TO FAMILY.....	210
4.5.1 Providing Family Support.....	210
<b>Table 10: Graduate support to their families of origin</b> .....	211
<b>Table 11: Graduate perceptions of the difference their support makes to their family</b> .....	213
4.5.2 Summary on Connection to Family.....	218
4.6 COMMUNITY PLOUGHBACK: CAN A CHILD RAISE A VILLAGE?.....	220
4.6.1 Connection with Home Community.....	221
<b>Graph 2: Graduates' rate of contact with home community</b> .....	221
4.6.2 Graduate Involvement in their Home Communities .....	223
4.6.3 Motivating others to start or continue their education.....	224
4.6.4 Graduate involvement in community-based activities.....	225
<b>Table 12: Participant Involvement in community-based activities</b> .....	225
<b>Table 13: Perceived role in Community-based activities</b> .....	227
<b>Table 14: Support/Improvements needed to increased success of CBA</b> .....	228
4.6.5 Obstacles for civic engagement .....	229
<b>Table 15: Constraints and challenges in engaging in CBA's</b> .....	229
4.6.6 Plans and Skills for civic engagement.....	231
<b>Table 16: "Do you feel you have the skills or talents to respond to the needs of your community?"</b> .....	232
4.6.7 Description of graduates' current or future plans for CBA's.....	233

<b>Table 17: Participant Descriptions of Community Based Activities</b> .....	233
4.6.8 <i>Summary on Community Ploughback</i> .....	241
4.7 ALUMNI SUPPORT OF CIDA EXPANSION .....	242
<b>5 CONCLUSIONS AND DIRECTIONS FOR FUTURE RESEARCH</b> .....	<b>244</b>
5.1 INTRODUCTION.....	244
5.2 THE CIDA MODEL: DOES IT WORK?.....	247
5.2.1 <i>Equity in Access</i> .....	247
5.2.2 <i>Equity in Educational Opportunity</i> .....	248
5.2.3 <i>Equity in Educational Adequacy: Outcomes of a CIDA degree</i> .....	251
5.3 IMPROVING THE CIDA MODEL .....	252
5.3.1 <i>Internships as a pathway to work</i> .....	252
5.3.2 <i>Core Skills</i> .....	254
5.3.3 <i>Tensions with key aspects of the CIDA model</i> .....	255
5.3.3.2 <i>CIDA Lecturers</i> .....	255
5.3.4 <i>Balancing tensions</i> .....	257
5.4 CONNECTION TO FAMILY.....	259
5.5 CIDA PLOUGHBACK .....	261
5.6 THE PUBLIC FACE OF PRIVATE HIGHER EDUCATION .....	265
5.6.1 <i>CIDA's Public function</i> .....	266
5.6.2 <i>CIDA's private structure and partnerships</i> .....	268
5.6.3 <i>CIDA as a hybrid organization</i> .....	268
5.7 FUTURE RESEARCH.....	271
5.8 RECOMMENDATIONS FOR CIDA .....	272
5.9 CONCLUSION .....	274
<b>WORKS CITED</b> .....	<b>276</b>
<b>APPENDIX 1: GRADUATE SURVEY</b> .....	<b>302</b>

## **List of Acronyms**

ANC	African National Congress
AsgiSA	Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative South Africa
BBA	Bachelor's of Business Administration
BRAC	Building Resources Across Communities (formerly known as Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee)
CHE	Council on Higher Education
CIDA	The Community and Individual Development Association
CSR	Corporate Social Responsibility
CSI	Corporate Social Investment
DoE	Department of Education (South Africa)
EPG	Employed Participant Group
GEAR	Growth, Employment and Redistribution
HBU	Historically Black Universities
HE	Higher Education
HWU	Historically White Universities
ILO	International Labour Organization
IOWH	Institute for One World Health
JIPSA	Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition
MDG	Millennium Development Goal
MNC	Multinational Corporation
MSI	Multi-Sector Initiatives
NCHE	National Commission on Higher Education
NEPAD	The New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGDO	Non-Governmental Development Organization

NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NFP	Not For Profit
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
PBET	Post-Basic Education and Training
PriHE	Private higher education
PriVET	Private Vocational Education and Training
PRSP	Poverty Reduction Strategy Plan
PPP	Public-Private partnerships
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RORE	Rate of Return to Education
RSA	Republic of South Africa
SADC	South African Development Community
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SE	Social Entrepreneurship
SEWA	Self-Employed Women's Association
SMME	Small and Medium Enterprise
SETA	Sector Education and Training Authority
UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNIDO	United Nations Industrial Development Organization
UPG	Unemployed Participant Group
WBG	World Bank Group
ZAR	South African Rand

# 1 Introduction

## 1.1 Purpose of Research

This research was initially motivated by the story of a ‘free University’ offered to students without financial means in Johannesburg, South Africa: the Community and Individual Development Association (CIDA) City Campus. In an age where participation in tertiary education is almost an essential prerequisite to being able to participate in the ‘knowledge economy’, access is still predicated on economic advantage. The idea that the generational reproduction of advantage and disadvantage could be altered through a radical approach to higher education was intriguing. Indeed, 14 years after the end of apartheid in South Africa, the challenge remains: in what ways can we transform an economy and a society with historical inequalities so deeply entrenched? Also intriguing was this university’s reworking of the phrase ‘It takes a village to raise a child’. CIDA argues that ‘It takes a child to raise a village’, describing the way its graduates return the knowledge they had learned to their home communities.

The story of CIDA City Campus, and its private sector and donor support, also invites the possibility that there could be mutually-beneficial collaborations and partnerships between the private sector and the non-profit world in development. Globally, many non-profit organizations operate under resource constraints and the use of corporate resources may be one avenue for some to retrieve themselves from financial crisis. Reflecting on CIDA raises important questions: Is this a story of higher education entrepreneurs? Is this an example of private sector led development? Or is this a public benefit institution? Is this a development NGO focused on delivering educational programmes to disadvantaged groups? Can this organization function as a bridge between rich and poor? Could all of the above be true? If so, what theoretical tools are available to understand such an in-between institution? Finally, and perhaps more importantly, what is CIDA achieving by way of

the students it claims to have launched in life and career? Is it conceivable for these business graduates to go on and work in their home communities – that is, to ‘raise a village’ out of poverty?

This thesis sets out to explore some of these questions, most notably, the emergence of ‘hybrid’ organisations which challenge the public/private distinction in organizational life. I address this phenomenon in the literature review, with particular reference to the emerging concept and academic literature on ‘social entrepreneurship’.

However, the primary concern of this thesis is to gauge the employment, family and other ‘outcomes’ of a CIDA degree. This is done by means of a quantitative survey of BBA graduates classes 2004-2006. CIDA is considered by many to be a ground-breaking solution to the crisis of an increasingly elite tertiary education system in South Africa. As a non-profit organization, it ostensibly contributes to the important democratic aim of equalising access and opportunity for achievement in higher education. It garners support from international foundations such as Kellogg Foundation, the Skoll Foundation, the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation, as well as South African government, including First Lady Mrs. Mbeki who acts as current Vice Chancellor. Sustained through these partnerships, CIDA claims to be inventing a genuine ‘win-win’ contract with business challenged by South Africa’s skills shortage, while also fulfilling their social development mission.

However, there is little empirical research which assesses the implications of such an institution and its positioning with reference to the economically disadvantaged student cohort it targets. While one study has assessed CIDA’s admissions policies (Kruss, 2004), the quality and relevance of its educational model have not yet been explored with reference to issues of throughput or educational opportunity. Indeed, while several works have engaged with assessing the role and function of private higher education in South Africa (Kruss, 2004; Mabizela, 2005; Akoojee, 2007), none have been able to draw conclusions on the educational quality of any private providers in the country. A staggering 50 percent of South Africa’s undergraduate students drop out of tertiary education before completing their programs, and only 30 percent obtain their qualifications within five years of initial enrolment (Macfarlane, 2006). It is therefore particularly worthwhile to explore whether CIDA’s model is in any

way successful in creating the resources, opportunities and supportive environment in which students can flourish and complete their degree. Furthermore, in addition to CIDA's 'access role' (providing a degree programme to economically disadvantaged students), it claims to link its graduates with gainful employment and thus secure their social mobility in a country which shows evidence of increasing graduate unemployment (Bhorat, 2002; Moleke, 2003; JIPSA, 2007; see also section 3.2.3 of chapter two). This social mobility is then argued to have a ripple effect as employed graduates will help to improve the lives of their extended families and home communities. Apart from anecdotal information, news articles and videos (for example the Skoll Video, 2007) providing feedback on CIDA's programmes, to date no research has been conducted to sufficiently establish the impact of its programmes beyond measures of employment statistics or individual stories of graduates working in professional workplaces and the particular support they provide to their families and home communities. No work has been undertaken determining the employment outcomes amongst CIDA's graduate population, nor what kind of impact a CIDA graduate has in the lives of their economically disadvantaged families or their home communities. This is significant in a country with one of the most unequal income distributions in the world, an unemployment rate ranging from 25.5% to 42% (Statistics SA, 2007; Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006), and in which 48.5% of South Africans are living below the national poverty line (UNDP, 2003).

CIDA's claims of the work its students and graduates do in townships and rural areas in South Africa are of further interest for higher education policy as CIDA appears to be linking higher education with community-development and educational outreach initiatives. This is potentially significant for South Africa and other African countries for several reasons: 1. While there is a growing middle class in South Africa, there remains much concern that vast sections of society are being left out of the economic gains made since the end of apartheid (Hirsch, 2005); 2. Several have questioned the legitimacy of the university in sub-Saharan Africa due to its inadequate link with rural development needs and a lack of initiatives and research which support disadvantaged communities (for example Wagaw, 2001; Sawyerr, 2004); 3. Since a tertiary degree tends to support the social

mobility of individuals, there is some international consensus that investment in tertiary education is of lesser consequence to education policy and has a lower rate of return, in contrast to investment in primary 'education for all'. This study is a meaningful endeavour at this stage in CIDA's development and worthwhile for all of the additional questions and issues this model raises with respect to the private sector's role in development and the phenomenon of hybrid organizations in existence around the world.

## 1.2 Corporate Social Investment in South Africa

"Much of what is termed philanthropy in a Western context is seen as an obligation and duty in many developing countries, including South Africa" (Kuljian, 2005, p. 6).

In the 2006/2007 financial year, South Africa's corporate social investment (CSI) expenditure reached 3.2 billion South African Rand – approximately \$414 million Canadian dollars – an 11.1% increase from the previous year's spend of R2.88 billion (Email from Gill Siebert February 13, 2008). Even small and medium enterprises (SMEs) give in South Africa, in smaller donations averaging ZAR5,300 per year, totaling an estimated ZAR500 million per year in cash donations from all SME's (10<sup>th</sup> CSI Handbook, 2007, p. 54). In areas of HIV/AIDS, education, the environment, housing, youth development, and so forth, South African companies are assisting in post-apartheid reconstruction and attempting to participate in the ongoing transformation of an economy and society with deeply entrenched historical inequalities. Indeed, proponents of CSI in South Africa feel that: "increasingly, the ability to procure business depends on transformation, as does the corporate license to operate. Corporate Social Investment forms part of this transformation agenda..." (8<sup>th</sup> CSI Handbook, 2005, p. 8). Many have embraced the concept and practice of corporate social investment (CSI), which should be seen as a "specialist developmental function, with an external

focus, beyond the boundaries of business... [however it] is also an integral part of the business and as such should be aligned to, and supportive of, core business objectives” (Ibid).

Until recently, South African businesses have acted primarily through different forms of charity in a more voluntary or ad-hoc fashion, often based on what is called ‘whim’-driven philanthropy (Friedman & Hudson 2005). Since 2004, however, South African companies have been asked to participate in broad-based black economic empowerment (BB-BEE) through participation in Industry Transformation Charters<sup>1</sup> and the Department of Trade and Industry (DTI) codes<sup>2</sup> which represent guidelines of good practice. While these do not force companies to comply with targets, the creation of a ‘BEE scorecard’ has “created a formal and legitimate framework for CSI activity.... For the first time, external parties will have an interest – or even a right – to verify claims made by corporates about their CSI activities. CSI programmes are entering the realm of public scrutiny” (Ibid, p. 17). These new BEE codes were approved by the government’s Cabinet in December 2006 and were published in the government gazette in early 2007 ([http://www.southafrica.info/doing\\_business/trends/empowerment/bee-071206.htm](http://www.southafrica.info/doing_business/trends/empowerment/bee-071206.htm)). This means, according to Trialogue, that “South Africa is the only country in the world where CSI is now codified, heralding a new era of what some are calling ‘Second Wave’ or ‘Next Generation’ CSI” (CSI Handbook, 2007, p. xxii).

One avenue of CSI activity takes the form of partnerships between businesses (or foundations created by corporations) and non-profit organizations. Education is one significant area of CSI partnership activity. For example, 2004-2005 CSI expenditure in education-related non-profit organizations made up 37% of total CSI funding, with just under a third of this going to tertiary education (representing about R300 million) (CSI Handbook, 2005). It is argued that investment in tertiary education is related at least in part to corporate reliance on an educated workforce and that it

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<sup>1</sup> The Industry Charters are guidelines for industries such as oil and petroleum, mining, quarrying, financial services, and so forth and each recommend a small percentage of profit go towards CSI (although, the oil/petroleum charter has no CSI target or allocation) (CSI Handbook, 2005).

<sup>2</sup> The non-sector specific DTI codes present ‘guidelines of good practice’ along with suggested targets for elements of the BEE scorecard. A higher score can be had through monetary contribution with a target of 3% of pre-tax profit for CSI initiatives or in terms of a percentage of BEE achieved (through black ownership, equity and procurement outcomes).

will continue to attract a sizeable portion of CSI funds (Ibid). In a study by Kuljian (2005), CSI funding accounts for 25% of all non-profit income in South Africa, compared to an average of 11% in 28 other countries. As champions of social development, non-profit organizations (NPO's) are meant to be the vital link between the corporate world and disadvantaged communities. Yet, Kuljian (2005) argues that "Despite the fact that they provide significant support, companies remain reluctant to work with the most marginalized, promote their voice and support advocacy campaigns" (p. 20).

Research exploring the outcomes of corporate social investment in a non-profit organization is an appropriate undertaking given the current need for a more thorough evaluation of the ways in which CSI is contributing to South Africa's social and economic development via non-profit organizations. Many businesses today have an annual CSI budget or a corporate social responsibility (CSR) Unit which is often housed within, or in some cases external to, their business. CIDA, as an example of a non-profit tertiary educational institution, relies a great deal on the CSI expenditure of South African and multi-national businesses, to fund its educational and community service programmes.

### 1.3 CIDA City Campus

In the 8<sup>th</sup> Edition of the CSI Handbook, the logo of CIDA City Campus is pictured on the front cover. Perhaps one of the most celebrated examples of corporate social investment in South Africa, CIDA City Campus is the first virtually-free tertiary institution in South Africa. Founded in 1999 by Taddy Blecher, Mburu Gitonga, Richard Peycke and Conrad Mhlongo, the Community and Individual Development Association (CIDA) offers a Bachelor's of Business Administration (BBA) programme to financially disadvantaged students from seven of South Africa's nine provinces. Declared 'revolutionary' (Sunday Sun, 2003), 'Jo'burg's miracle varsity' (Govender, 2002), CIDA was the winner of the 2002 'Age of Innovation' Award in South Africa (van der Merwe, 2002) and in 2002 was appointed to serve as a Regional Centre of Excellence in Higher Education by the Commonwealth Secretariat (Davie, 2005). CIDA's CEO, Taddy Blecher, is winner of the 2006 Skoll

Award for Social Entrepreneurship (at a prize of over \$1million USD; Skoll Foundation, 2006) and was honored at the World Economic Forum in New York in 2002, where he received the Global Leader for Tomorrow Award.

Apparently started ‘from a fax machine’, Blecher sent notices to 350 South African schools inviting the brightest students to apply to a new university created for talented students who’s families could not afford to send their children to university: “The letter struck a chord – and because the only address on the letter was the place where Dr Blecher was working – would-be students began gathering outside the plush consultancy offices. ‘It went ballistic. We had 3,500 applications for a university that did not exist...’” (Coughlan, 2005a, para. 5-7). Apparently, within a few weeks Blecher and other colleagues borrowed a building for the university and without computers, students initially began practicing typing on photocopies of a keyboard (Ibid).

For some, CIDA is “a story to rival any fairy tale, starting with the incredible vision of providing low-cost, high-quality higher education to thousands of disadvantaged young South Africans and culminating with the establishment of the CIDA City Campus, a revolutionary university-level institution which is turning traditional models of tertiary education on their heads” (Van der Merwe, 2002, p. 70). Starting with no resources whatsoever, CIDA apparently keeps operational costs low by having students themselves “assist with the running of the entire campus, from the cooking and cleaning to the administration and registration, which gives them valuable real-world experience (Ibid).

The BBA degree has been accredited by the South African government via the Council on Higher Education (CHE) and is registered by the South African Qualifications Authority (SAQA) at Level 6 on the National qualifications framework (NQF) (CIDA 2007 Brochure). CIDA is also accredited by the South African Institute of Management, an accrediting body for business courses and is provisionally registered by the Department of Education (Ibid). BBA students can specialize in subjects such as Information Communication Technology (ICT), Finance, Marketing, Human Resource Management and Entrepreneurship. Graduating its first class in 2004, the institution has

grown exponentially and has expanded into life-skills training, call-centre training, opened a residential foundation college called 'CIDA Park' in 2005, as well as continued to locate support in a variety of forms from the business sphere, other universities, and celebrities. CIDA states that the combined number of graduates from its programmes (including the BBA degree, Foundation college, Connectivity Banking learnerships and Connectivity Call Centre training) is 3008 as of March 2007, of which 2,697 are employed (CIDA Database 9, Executive Summary). In addition, a Master's programme in Social and Economic Transformation (MSET) was introduced in 2006 to train current and future leadership within CIDA, with 16 persons enrolled in 2007 (CIDA Database 10, 2007).

### 1.3.1 CIDA Structure

CIDA is a non-profit tertiary institution whose mission is "To enhance access to quality higher education that contributes towards the full development of every learner and to the social and economic development of the nation at large" (CIDA website). All students are on 'tuition scholarships' funded by individual donors and South African businesses. CIDA claims to have been established out of a pressing need for accessible, high quality education in order to develop the skills necessary for employment:

Costs of tertiary education are generally very high. In South Africa the average cost to the country to educate a university student per year is around R 35 000 to R 40 000 per annum, and over R 100 000 for a degree. However, only 15% of students currently graduate with their degree or diploma. Therefore the true cost of producing a graduate could be considered in many cases to be between R 700 000 and R 1.3 million. A low cost, high quality, innovative solution is therefore of critical importance for the long term well-being, and social stability and progress of the nation. (CIDA Website, 'The Pressing Need', para. 4-7)

In contrast, CIDA students pay minimal fees: ZAR350 in the Foundation year (introduced in 2005) and ZAR150 per month for eleven months of the next three years of the BBA degree, for a total of ZAR1650 per year (CIDA 2007 Application brochure). This "constitutes 10% of the cost of any

other tertiary education institution in South Africa. It costs CIDA R2 500 per student per year and R10 000 per student for four years', says [CEO] Taddy [Blecher]. In 2002 CIDA had 1600 students that were all on scholarships, which is worth about R64 million." (Succeed Magazine, 2003, p.2).

CIDA claims that it keeps costs to a minimum without compromising quality, through several innovations. For example, students attend classes for 8 to 9 hours per day, "as well as attending remedial classes on Saturdays. Further, CIDA's unique holistic educational methods and remedial programmes, including the inner development of the consciousness of every student, are leading to remarkable pass rates and... other successful outcomes" (CIDA website, para. 1-6). In addition, CIDA's education is "designed to be relevant, cutting-edge, extremely holistic in its nature, and involves business and corporate professionals in the design and delivery of all programmes..." (Ibid).

Furthermore, CIDA claims to have developed a model of 'Human Interface to Technology-Based Learning' which "provides the use of high technology in the learning environment in a way that still encourages the student and develops confidence and success..." (Ibid). CIDA reports that international educators have acknowledged this approach as highly innovative and characterizes the CIDA model as "highly intensive contact education where every student is cared for through CIDA's unique facilitation system" (Ibid).

CIDA's educational model involves seven components, including: 1. Knowledge (business subjects including accounting, finance, entrepreneurship, etc.); 2. Skills (professional skills including teamwork, problem solving, research, computer skills, etc.); 3. Practicum (it's compulsory that students provide their services to areas of the institution, such as general cleaning, painting, gardening, reception, photocopying, and so forth for up to 10 hours per week); 4. Self-management/consciousness development (daily timetable includes time in morning and afternoon for the purpose of self-development; to either practice the Transcendental Meditation (TM) technique, or for silent-reflection/contemplation, or to rest); 5. The Extranet (all students are required to 'ploughback' and teach a course each year in their home community including entrepreneurship, financial skills, health, HIV/AIDS, etcetera in order to gain practical experience in

presentation and build self-confidence); 6. Values and professionalism (students are required to attend daily and follow the dress code and exhibit professionalism); and 7. 'Love of Life' (students are expected to participate in extra-curricular activities in areas of sports, clubs and societies for at least 40 hours per year) (CIDA website, n.d.; 2007 Admissions brochure, n.d.).

### 1.3.2 CIDA Partnerships

CIDA is engaged in a large number of partnerships with South African businesses and multi-national corporations. These partners provide the necessary funding and other resources for CIDA's programmes, while corporates benefit by having access to skilled business graduates who can work in their companies. Partners donate expertise, curriculum, books, IT infrastructure and pay for scholarships and certification exams for students. Indeed, "One of the key ingredients of CIDA's rapid success is its partnership approach, which leverages funding support from a wide range of committed private sector partners" (CSI Handbook 2005, Dell 'case study', p. 142). In a list of forty South African companies highlighted as having collectively spent over 1.1 billion Rand in CSI expenditure in the 2006/2007 financial year at least seven of these companies are partners with CIDA City Campus (CSI Handbook, 2007). These companies include Investec Bank, Anglo American, First Rand Foundation, and Barloworld.

CIDA's founding partners include Investec bank, Puregas and Monitor Company (CIDA website, 'corporate partners'). CIDA's 'platinum level financial partners' include Investec Bank, First National Bank, Dimension Data, MTN, T-Systems, BATSA, and Kellogg Foundation (Ibid). CIDA City Campus is housed in the former seven-story Investec Bank head office on Commissioner Street, in downtown Johannesburg, a building worth R86 million (CIDA website). Apparently, several buildings have been donated to CIDA, due to "businesses shifting out of downtown Johannesburg because of fears of crime" (Coughlan, 2005b, para. 29). In 2003 First National Bank (FNB) donated the building where Nelson Mandela worked as a lawyer from 1942-1945 to CIDA as a 'second campus'. The building, now named after Mr Mandela "will be used to accommodate 3000 students in

the coming years. FNB has also provided R8 million for the renovation of this building” (FNB, 2003, para. 10).

CIDA also has ‘gold’ partners, ‘silver’ partners, as well as partnerships of ‘donations in kind’ from companies such as Amalgamated Appliance (audio-visual equipment), Barloworld, Mondi (paper), Siemens (telephone system and switchboard), Telijoy (televisions), McGraw Hill (R50 million worth of books), Internet solutions (Broadband, internet link, email and webhosting) and many others (Ibid). Daimler Chrysler South Africa for example, identifies CIDA as one of its ‘flagship social responsibility projects’ and has donated an entire fleet of vehicles, mini-buses, and large buses to transport its students from residences to campuses as well as to interviews, training sites, cultural activities and for community upliftment projects organized by students, such as Street family or Black Management Forum, amongst others. Daimler Chrysler hosted the 4<sup>th</sup> graduation ceremony at CIDA for 233 new BBA graduates and has committed R4.5 million to CIDA over the next three years: ““This will be utilised to extend and maintain their current fleet of vehicles, used mainly to transport students between campuses, to their community programmes and campus residences”” (Daimler Chrysler, 2007).

CIDA’s ‘Education partners’, including Investment Solutions, Gemini Consulting, Monitor Company, and PriceWaterhouseCooper (CIDA website, n.d., ‘CIDA corporate partners’), provide lecturing and education programmes at CIDA. In many areas, lecturers are business professionals: “Training in each field is provided by recognised experts who are already successful in their professional arenas. For example, PriceWaterhouseCooper are the lecturers for accountancy... Investment Solutions for investments, Monitor Company for strategy, Bowman Gilfillan for company law and MTN professionals for marketing etc.” (CIDA website, ‘Academic Excellence’, para. 3-6).

Programme development at CIDA also occurs in tandem to industry need. The ICT stream, for example, was created due to the skills shortage in ICT professionals in South Africa. The ICT Academy was launched in 2003, in partnership with T-Systems, DEG, SAP Public Services, Oracle,

Dimension Data, Espial, CompTia, Cisco Systems, SUN Microsystems and OutLearning (Sunday Sun, 2003). Blecher states: “What is most exciting about the CIDA ICT Academy is that worldwide ICT global players have come together to offer their expertise for the good of the country” (Ibid, para. 4). Meanwhile CEO of T-Systems states: “As members of the ICT environment, we are all affected by skills shortage and must address this by training the next generation to become qualified, employable people...[while addressing] the challenges faced by individuals with great potential but who cannot afford tertiary education” (Wolfgang Jakob, quoted in Ibid, para. 9-10). This is an example of CIDA’s corporate ‘win-win’ partnership programme: “that is truly mutually beneficial and allows the corporation to receive meaningful returns through its upliftment of others” (CIDA website, ‘CIDA corporate partnerships’, para. 1). CIDA reportedly was also donated a call centre company ‘Connectivity’ and had trained 1500 call centre agents from Soweto and Diepkloof in CIDA ‘ConnectLab’ as of 2002 (Davie, 2005, para. 10).

In 2007, CIDA also launched the new ‘School of Investments’, its R2 million establishment funded by JP Morgan, for BBA students to gain careers in the investments, asset and portfolio management and financial market trading industries: “It will provide students with a simulated trading desk environment offering Reuters terminals, with all hardware donated by DELL. The students will enter the JSE University Investment Challenge game, gaining practical research and trading skills” (CIDA Foundation UK, 2007b, para. 4). In addition the JSE supplies industry-related guest lecturers, job opportunities in the financial sector and vacation jobs to students (Ibid, para. 8). Reuters commitment includes “the supply of 17 Reuters premium keystations and an annual cash donation – together worth over R2 million per year, plus a commitment to offer regular Reuters training to the students of the school and the opportunities for internships” (Ibid, para. 8-9).

Also in 2007, MACC, the Mastery Academy of Construction at CIDA, was created out of a ZAR1 million donation each from Murray and Roberts and the Barloworld Group. With a shortage of construction skills in South Africa, the purpose of the 1-year MACC course is to train “students in all aspects of construction, such as project management, building sciences, eco-friendly construction

methods, the use of suitable building methods and sustainable technologies.... [as well as] the practical elements of construction, such as brick-making, bricklaying, tiling, painting, roofing, ceilings, dry walling, and earth moving” (Van der Merwe, 2007, para. 2). Graduates were involved in “the refurbishment of the tertiary institutions’ building in the Johannesburg city centre.... [as well as] the construction of four homes for Murray & Roberts’ employees as part of the company’s Letsema trust, in conjunction with Habitat for Humanity” (Ibid, para. 7).

CIDA also locates generous support from individuals, foundations and government including, for example, finance author Suze Orman (donated R1 million; Hazelhurst, 2002), Oprah Winfrey (donated \$1 million USD to build a women’s residence at CIDA Park, Mogotsi, 2003; and sponsors 10 students each year, Davie, 2005), and His Holiness the Dalai Lama (sponsors the tuition of one student each year, Davie, 2005). CIDA also reports support from the government, with former president Nelson Mandela and current president Thabo Mbeki each having made statements in support of CIDA (CIDA website). Furthermore, First Lady, Mrs. Zanele Mbeki was inaugurated as CIDA’s first chancellor in 2006. The Mail & Guardian newspaper quotes her as saying: “CIDA is fundamentally founded on principles of sustainable poverty alleviation, offering development for those who would not otherwise get access and to extricate larger numbers of families from abject poverty, ... I know that through education lies economic freedom for more of our people” (2006, para. 3-4).

Out of a perceived need for more entrepreneurs and small business creators to help advance the South Africa economy, the ‘Branson School of Entrepreneurship’ was launched in 2006 – providing a new entrepreneurship specialization to the BBA degree – and is funded by Sir Richard Branson’s Virgin group (Coughlan, 2005b). In addition, a seed fund has been started by UK businesses in order to provide start-up capital for student micro-enterprises (Ibid). Branson stated in an interview with BBC news: “Currently the economic contribution to South Africa’s entrepreneurial sector is below the emerging markets norm, I believe that increasing entrepreneurship in this country is the golden highway to economic freedom” (Ibid, para. 10).

### 1.3.3 CIDA Admissions

CIDA targets students from financially disadvantaged backgrounds, advertising its scholarship opportunity throughout the country: “CIDA advertises in the regional radio stations and disseminates information to rural schools through students who come from those areas. Application packs are also sent to principals in schools in all the provinces. CIDA has students from 7 of the 9 provinces in South Africa” (Personal correspondence from Mampho Mohau, January 25, 2008). To identify financial need, the ‘Tuition Scholarship Application Form’ included in CIDA’s application form requires that prospective students list the annual income of their parent(s) or guardian(s), their own employment details, as well as attach a certified copy of their salary statement(s). It also asks how many children or dependents are supported by this income and their age(s), as well as how many of these dependents are attending school or tertiary institutions (2007 CIDA application). CIDA reports that: “Most of the parents and guardians of CIDA students are either unemployed or only one of them is employed. A number of our students also stay with extended families because they are orphans and are in the care of their aunts, uncles or grandparents. For those whose parents are employed they are most employed in the R1200 minimum to R5000 maximum income bracket” (Personal correspondence from Mampho Mohau, January 25, 2008).

Once accepted to CIDA, “Any student who is granted a scholarship is required to pay ZAR1650<sup>3</sup> per year (or R150 per month for 11 months), rather than the full fees of R12 000 per year. This is the maximum scholarship provided. This BBA scholarship opportunity is only for three years” (CIDA Brochure for Intake 2006, p. 14). Thus, the scholarship covers 90% of the tuition fee, while the student pays the remainder of ZAR150 per month for 11 months. In order to keep one’s scholarship over the three years of the degree, CIDA students must also maintain good academic standing:

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<sup>3</sup> ZAR1650 is equivalent to \$218.14 CAD per year or \$19.83 per month (at the exchange rate of 1 ZAR = 0.132208 CAD).

The institution is held responsible by sponsors for assessing your individual progress and level of commitment. Each student's performance is evaluated by the institution after 3 months, 6 months, 1 year and yearly thereafter. Where the review committee is of the opinion that the student is not showing signs of making the grade, or of appreciating the institution, the programmes of the institution or the scholarship opportunity they have been given, the scholarship support will be withdrawn. (CIDA Brochure for Intake 2006, p. 14)

In addition to the ZAR150 per month, "The student is also required to pay for his own monthly accommodation costs as well as food and transport costs while studying for the BBA degree. ... During the BBA years CIDA does not offer accommodation" (Ibid). In this regard, question 2.2 of the 2007 CIDA Application Form aims to ensure that prospective students will have adequate financial resources available to cover living costs by asking, "Who will support you financially to pay for your accommodation, food and transport every month?" and "How much will you receive per month to pay for accommodation, transport and food?" (p. 4). CIDA reports that "All CIDA graduates have been on a tuition scholarship; however some had donors who paid for their accommodation, meals and transport" (Personal correspondence from Mampho Mohau, January 25, 2008).

CIDA does reportedly attempt to accommodate some of the practical, emotional and social needs of its students, presenting a more holistic approach to tertiary education. CIDA finds that most students have experienced many life challenges and many exhibit low levels of self-esteem and confidence:

Most of the students come from broken families and have experienced abuse and torment for most part of their lives. There are students who shared a 1 room corrugated iron shack with adults and kids and whose meal of the day has only been porridge they got a school. Some have witnessed how their drunken dads have been abusing their mothers and some have been raped or sodomised themselves. The students come to CIDA with such low morale and not believing that they are also destined for greater things because they have never really felt the

warmth of being loved and cared for. They do not believe in themselves and their confidence levels are at an all time low. (Ibid).

CIDA feels that it provides a campus environment that is friendly and supportive of students:

“CIDA is renowned for its amazingly warm campus atmosphere. At CIDA everyone is a friend. You will feel at home right from the beginning of your time at CIDA” (CIDA website, n.d., ‘Campus Life’). In addition, its 70+ clubs and societies encourage students to participate in group activities: including, for example, Student Radio, Student Christian organizations, soccer, photography, Kung Fu, modeling, Counselling and peer counselling training managed by the University of Johannesburg, ‘Street Family’ (a student organisation running a Soup kitchen and street shelter), Business clubs, and many others (Ibid). CIDA’s self-development options, (one of CIDA’s seven educational components; see section 2.1 above) including transcendental meditation (TM), counselling and self-reflection, are also meant to support the personal development of the student and help them to reach their full potential (CIDA website, n.d., ‘Holistic Education’). There appears to be an emphasis on TM, and CIDA’s website claims this method helps “develop creativity, intelligence, memory, emotional intelligence, focus, comprehension, practical intelligence, self regard, and relationships with others ... [and is] effective in eliminating stress” (Ibid).

#### 1.3.4 Community Ploughback

“The certificates we grant are pieces of paper, important, but on their own worthless. We want to measure mass-scale social and economic transformation, in the lives of our graduates, and the areas and countries in which we work, or we have not achieved our mission” (CIDA City Campus Position Statement, p. 6).

While the opportunity to achieve a university-level qualification can be of great benefit to an individual, CIDA recognizes that the students it admits are ‘leaving behind’ whole communities who

lack educational and other opportunities. CIDA's 'community ploughback' aspect of the curriculum refers to the formal undertaking by students to 'give back' or return the knowledge and skills they have gained at CIDA to their home community.

Social responsibility appears to be encouraged amongst CIDA's BBA students, structured through the 'Extranet' programme. Within the four years of the BBA, students are required to return to teach in their village or township high schools during their holidays (CIDA Foundation, 2005). It is argued that: "The students therefore become the ideal community developers.... The students speak the local language, understand the culture, people, and local folklore, and in this way are highly inspiring role models who have 'made it' in the big city" (Ibid, para. 15-17). CIDA Foundation states that CIDA students have trained over 500,000 South African youth in financial management and HIV/AIDS, and several hundred thousand youth and unemployed people on how to start small businesses. It is, furthermore, hoped that this ethic of civic engagement will continue following graduation. As Chancellor and First Lady, Mrs. Mbeki states:

CIDA seeks to grow generations of nation builders – young people who will make a difference to our country's future. These young people will be future entrepreneurs, financial specialists, information technology specialists, human resource managers, planners, market analysts, bankers, public sector officials, and leaders in many other fields.... More than this however, CIDA asks, and expects, that its graduates will be catalysts for change in communities where they grew up. CIDA students are taught to put something special back into their home villages and towns. This special thing is the contribution only they can make, which is to be role models and mentors of the next generation. (August 12, 2006, p. 1)

With unique initiatives as the Extranet programme, combined with its innovative approach to providing tertiary education, CIDA presents the opportunity to better understand the outcomes of such an innovative and holistic approach to curriculum and programming in a university setting. This is also significant given the current transformation in the South African tertiary education sector and the resulting need for greater awareness regarding particular educational innovations taking place

(Jacobs, 2000). Jacobs defines educational innovation as any form or type of educational practice which is “new to or only marginally implemented in a particular academic context, and which is designed to develop, improve, make more relevant, or be more responsive to the needs of: the academic curriculum; the teaching process; and the learning process” (p. 262). In this context, CIDA could certainly be described as an educational innovation designed to be more relevant and responsive to the needs of its students. The impetus for this thesis research is thus founded in the desire to better understand how CIDA’s BBA graduates are faring since graduation. Such an undertaking is, moreover, clearly vital at this stage in CIDA’s development as a tertiary institution and of great potential value to the study of higher education and international development.

#### 1.4 Theoretical Background

In an attempt to maintain an appreciation for the particularities of the development context in South Africa and the uniqueness and diversity of social structures and organizations which exist within this country, the theoretical approach to this study balances several paradigms: including the concerns of political economy, and orthodox neoliberalism, as well as the proposed ‘third way’ (Giddens, 2002). It is perhaps due to South Africa’s historical context and the emergence of ‘inbetween’ organizations, such as CIDA, seemingly born of post-apartheid capitalism and the imperative of redressing deep social and economic inequities, that this study struggles with finding appropriate theoretical constructs to frame its role in South Africa’s development. Consequently, the literature review in Chapter Two engages with the concern of ‘sector’ – whether private, public, third sector, et cetera – and raises questions around common understandings of the sectoral boundaries which we use linguistically to define organizational form, function, domain and so forth. In the consideration of CIDA’s collective positioning as an example of ‘social entrepreneurship’, a non-profit development organization as well as an institution of higher education with strong ties to the

private business community, a number of theories including the private sector's role in development, social entrepreneurship, and the role of private higher education, may all be beneficial to the discussion of CIDA's organizational attributes and development function. However, while each of these makes some contribution to our understanding of CIDA, each also has various shortcomings. The literature review also focuses on the particular development context in South Africa and the challenges within its tertiary education system. It is hoped that by presenting all of these theoretical areas which appear to speak to CIDA's unique situation as a model of development, that a contribution can be made to the current lack in theory on convergent public/private approaches to development.

### 1.5 Terms Used in this Study

Two terms used throughout this study deserve special mention at this point. First, use of the term 'disadvantaged' throughout this thesis is not done without some sensitivity towards, and awareness of, the multiple usages of the term in South Africa. The correlation of racial identification and economic status through South Africa's industrialization and apartheid legislation mean that, "race and economic status continue to be viewed as mutually signifying categories, and phrases like 'historically disadvantaged' are considered to be self-evident" (Waetjen, 2006, p. 202). However, with changes in class structure in South Africa, Waetjen (2006) also raises the question of whether race is the 'most effective category for identifying disadvantage?' With reference to two South African university access programmes which identify 'disadvantage' in different ways, Waetjen (2006) finds that economic and racial identifications of 'disadvantage' may result in significantly different student cohort profiles. Thus, she argues that employing a racial definition of disadvantage, "prioritising black African learners may not reliably predict a 'disadvantaged educational background', identifying variables that can predict economic and educational marginalisation will yet create student cohorts

from targeted 'populations' without evoking or entrenching the anachronistic language of race" (p. 202).

Second, I have adopted Fiske and Ladd's (2004) definition of 'educational equity' which focuses mainly on racial equity as they argue: "racial equity is the overriding issue, given the racial structure of South Africa's education system during apartheid" (p. 4). The authors evaluate South Africa's progress towards achieving educational equity in terms of three standards of racial equity: equal treatment, equal educational opportunity and educational adequacy, and these terms are used throughout this thesis (Section 3.2 of chapter two addresses these three aspects of educational equity within the specific context of South Africa's higher education system).

## 1.6 Thesis Structure

This first chapter has introduced this study and the motivation for it, outlining the practice of corporate social investment in South Africa and summarized the work, philosophy and partnership arrangements of CIDA City Campus. This has been to present an appreciation/background as to the relevance of the current research, which focuses on understanding the impact and positioning of the institution as articulated by its beneficiaries: CIDA graduates. The remainder of the thesis is structured as follows.

Chapter Two comprises the literature review of this thesis and is composed of three sections. Section one outlines the public and private sectors in development theory and describes the emergence of hybridisation in organizational life and social entrepreneurship as one example of hybridisation. Section two reviews the theoretical significance of tertiary education to social and economic development, as well as its contribution to social stratification, especially in Sub-Saharan Africa. It also provides background on the global surge of private higher education in the past few decades, as well as concerns around its financing, ownership, and regulation amongst other issues.

Section three provides insight into the South African development context 14 years after the end of apartheid, the landscape of tertiary education and the extent to which educational equity is being addressed within tertiary institutions. Finally, the history and profile of private higher education in South Africa is summarized, as well as the existing research in relation to CIDA City Campus.

Chapter Three outlines the research methodology for data collection while chapter Four articulates, in detail, the findings of the research. A quantitative survey of 2004-2006 graduates was chosen as a valuable research tool due to the exploratory nature of this study and its usefulness in developing baseline data while also generating themes for future qualitative studies with CIDA graduates. Survey design pursued theoretical aspects related to throughput, employment outcomes, graduate support of family, and community ploughback. Finally, analysis was driven by the principles or philosophies of grounded theory so as to let the data 'speak for itself'.

Data findings in chapter four are structured to include a description of the participant group, findings on throughput/educational opportunity, outcomes/educational adequacy, graduate connection to family and community ploughback, or graduate involvement, in community-based activities.

Chapter Five draws upon research findings of Chapter Four, to reflect on the theoretical issues and arguments raised in Chapter Two. In addition to drawing conclusions, this chapter also provides some recommendations for improvements at CIDA and its potential significance for higher education policy. It finally returns to the debate around hybridization and social entrepreneurship and asks whether this discussion deserves to be entertained within the theoretical debates of international development studies.

## 2 Literature Review

### 2.1 Introduction

Many different approaches were initially taken in the organization of this literature review before deciding on the current framework. This work was first inspired by the interesting aspects of CIDA which meant ‘working backwards’, so to speak, towards the academic literature. Thus, it was not a question of modifying the study to fit into a theoretical debate in development studies, but instead shaping the existing literature in order to fashion a useful backdrop to understand the organization in question.

The focus of this thesis is tertiary education and the role of the private sector in higher education systems in a developing context. However, CIDA City Campus is by no means a typical private sector higher education actor, a reality which necessitated a broader approach to the literature. In order to account for the innovative and strategic aspects of CIDA, including its partnering arrangements, the question initially arose as to ‘what theoretical frameworks are available to analyze organizations that seemingly fall in-between the public/private distinction?’ The literature on ‘social entrepreneurship’, which describes a particular type of not-for-profit organization (NFP) driven by a passionate and resourceful ‘social entrepreneur’, is useful as it describes innovative practices by NFP-leaders in pursuit of effective and innovative ways for responding to social needs and engaging with communities. Such well known examples include Muhammad Yunus of the Grameen Bank, and Ela Bhatt of the Self employed women’s association (SEWA). However, closer analysis reveals that social entrepreneurship describes only one part of a wider movement towards ‘hybridization’ in development which, since the 1990’s, involves, for example, the intersection of market principles with social purposes and the interaction of businesses, governments and NFP’s as collaborators and ‘coproducers’ in public benefit organizations.

This literature review is presented in three sections. The first section will trace the theory relating to the public/private organizational distinction and the limitations of this dichotomy as identified by the literature. It will outline some of the ways in which the public/private boundary appears to be blurring, including: the movement towards corporate social responsibility (CSR); the UN Global Compact; public-private partnerships (PPP); cross-sector partnerships or multi-sector initiatives (MSI) between public, private and 'third' sectors; and new collaborations between business and non-profit organizations to address poverty-related issues. This section will conclude with the literature to date on the emerging academic field of social entrepreneurship (SE), including current definitions, a typology of SE innovations, and the challenges for empirical research.

The second section of the literature review will centre on tertiary education and the discussion surrounding the ways it is linked to social and economic development imperatives. This section will briefly revisit the macroeconomic, individual and social benefits associated with higher education as well as the debate concerning basic 'education for all' versus post-basic education. Attention will be paid to the significant focus on 'high level skills' in science and technology found in development policy prescriptions and the attendant criticisms of this approach. This section outlines tertiary education's contribution to social stratification in African countries and the challenge of achieving greater equity in access to tertiary education which is of particular relevance to this research. The private/public debate resurfaces with reference to the global surge in private higher education. This section will outline the literature to date on the profile, financing, and ownership arrangements of private higher education as well as concerns with competition and regulation. Finally, the section concludes with recent analysis which argues that the public/private divide in education is inadequately conceptualized, given that in some cases the boundary lines are blurred.

The third section of the literature focuses on the South African development context and notes some of the particular challenges and indicators of human development in South Africa, including poverty, unemployment, and HIV/AIDS. Overall increases in income poverty and income inequality, as well as high levels of unemployment in the country are seen to be some of the most

significant challenges the country faces. The potential role for the higher education sector to contribute in part to the transformation of South Africa into a more equitable nation is sizeable. A discussion of post-apartheid education policy is organized alongside the South African government's major policy shifts from the Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP), to the neoliberal macroeconomic policy in Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR), to the recent Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA). The latter policy gives education and training a central role in the country's strategy for capacity building for a more developmental state. Part of it includes the Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) which brings together South African business, labour, government, universities, training institutions and others so as to address, among other things, the issue of graduate unemployment. To understand what progress has been made towards equity ideals in South African tertiary education, data is organized in terms of three educational equity issues: equal access, equal treatment, and equal educational opportunity. The expansion and profile of the private tertiary education sector is outlined historically and current types of provision, including trans-national providers, corporate classrooms, and public-private partnership are highlighted. The final feature of this section outlines the existing research which has been conducted on CIDA City Campus to date.

## 2.2 The continuing development debate

“We should shape our tools to the practical empirical terrain, not distort the inquiry to fit it into the tools. Theories, methods and policy values are not the final horizon; they are merely three inputs into the process of explanation” (Marginson, 2007, p. 309).

As a student of international development studies, one is confronted with an eclectic and sometimes confusing mix of theories and schools of thought which, since the 1940's, have attempted

to account for change in the 'third' world or to motivate particular forms of action. From theories of economic growth and modernization to Latin American structuralism, dependency theory, basic needs, or the neoliberal counter-revolution – there are a number of lenses offered through which we can interpret the nature of change and proposals on how to improve the quality of life for a nation<sup>4</sup>, a community, or an individual. Evidently, development theory is not by any means homogenous nor has it any uniform characterization.

One useful way to view the development debate is in terms of two large paradigms, or large constellations of perceptions and beliefs; comprising the orthodox paradigm and the political economy paradigm. In brief, the 'orthodox paradigm', according to Wilber and Jameson (1992), focuses on a universal unfolding of countries towards a mass consumption society. This can be achieved, according to perhaps the neoliberal school of thought, through a 'laissez faire' approach in which only a market-based economic order can reduce poverty (see for example Lall, 2000). The mechanisms to manage economic affairs will emerge through individual actions while the obstacles to development are poor government regulations and imperfect markets. Policy prescriptions, in brief, include blocking government interference in markets, and providing incentives for the private sector to invest in society.

In the 'political economy paradigm' the focus is on the process by which economic growth is achieved and development is understood as the liberation from oppression and the emancipation of people and nations from the control of others. There is a focus on class structure and external dependency found in, for example, world systems theory, and Latin American structuralism. The remedy to 'underdevelopment' is often seen in terms of a social revolution, increased grassroots participation, or a 'development from below' (see for example Bin et al., 2004). While 'development from below' or the focus on people's participation and empowerment is sometimes thought of as a 'new paradigm', it is arguably still operating within the political economy paradigm with its focus on

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<sup>4</sup> International development studies is a field that focuses its attention on nations in the Global 'South' and seeks to understand how national or international policies, structures or conditions must change for 'development' to occur. However, there is increasing movement towards understanding development as concerning both North and South (see for example Afshar, 2005, p. 533).

greater equity and structural change involving greater access by the poor to productive resources (Veltmeyer, 2006). Critical theories of post-development - which beg either for the end of development theorizing, or for the privileging of local knowledge, respectful partnerships and grassroots empowerment – likewise exists within the political economy paradigm.

Thus armed with various schools of thought with which to provide a theoretical backdrop for this thesis, I was challenged in the pursuit of literature to use as a frame in understanding the positioning and impact of CIDA. Critical review of the organization as a whole however, suggests that it potentially operates within *both* paradigms. With one foot placed squarely in the market – partnering with private foundations and corporations to obtain monetary, physical and instructional resources so as to provide relevant business education; and another foot in the public interest – pursuing greater educational equity in the increasingly elite tertiary sector in South Africa: the question arises as to whether the societal frameworks embedded within neoliberal and political economic theories can adequately address convergent forms of social organization? In other words, are there organizations which allow one to see another route through the often dichotomous, development debate? However, as the focus of this study is to establish the extent to which CIDA is successful at enhancing access to quality higher education that improves the lives of African youth, such theoretical concerns would perhaps be better addressed in a different study.

The test for concepts and theories is in how useful they are in illuminating realities and experience, not whether they validate a particular theory or worldview (Marginson, 2007). For this reason, the initial section of this thesis could take on many singular focuses which would illuminate one aspect of this research. For example, the literature on social entrepreneurship is a useful framework with which to evaluate the leadership and strategic actions by leaders of the organization, while the literature on non-governmental organizations and 'civil society' might look at the structural factors which may enable or limit actions of the organization within the national and global economy. A focused study of corporate social responsibility (CSR) and public-private partnerships would also be germane. Still, all of these points of entry consider only one dimension of the case under review

rather than consider all parts in relation to the whole: the emergence of unique social organizations which combine both public and private 'sectors' in structure and function in response to the particular development imperatives in South Africa. This study will necessarily place mixed public-private organizational forms in perspective.

Accordingly, in order to contribute to the development discussion – and the seemingly irreconcilable paradigms – this section examines the manner in which the public and the private is conceptualized not only in higher education but also in international development theory itself.

### 2.3 The Public and Private Sectors in Theory

“The three sector model common in the West – state, market, civil society or ‘third sector’ – may contrast with the increased degree of ‘blurring’ between such sectoral boundaries in non-Western societies” (Lewis, 2002, p. 579).

Traditionally, the private sector is thought of as individuals maximizing their own self interest or companies single-mindedly pursuing a single bottom line – that of profit. Likewise, understandings of the public sector traditionally consist of a state acting to benefit a country’s population through social programmes and services. While we can acknowledge that these descriptions are grossly general in their characterization, they are images that dominate our understandings of what is ‘public’ or ‘private’.

Public/private sectoral limits confront academics and development practitioners as they contemplate for example, the Millennium Development Goal two, the challenge of achieving global basic 'education for all', and they debate the (in)appropriateness of private primary educational institutions. Sectoral boundaries can become less clear amid the increasing privatization (another confusing term) of state functions, in which there is a shift in activities or production from the state to the private sector. But what sectoral distinction can be employed in examples of private social

enterprise, such as a company whose triple objectives are to ‘produce and market high quality honey that will compete on the world market’, improve rural incomes and promote biodiversity through partnerships with rural communities and development sector organizations?<sup>5</sup> Or what do we make of the increasing number of corporate social responsibility divisions housed within corporations some of which work to promote public awareness of health issues, such as HIV/AIDS?<sup>6</sup> It has become less simple to use the public/private distinction in organizational life, as the form and function of these cases illustrate.

The public and private sectors are longstanding concepts which stem from liberal political philosophy and are used by political-economists and neoliberals alike in their approaches to development. Some authors argue that the public/private distinction has become more sharply defined in the West due to a movement from a patrimonial state to a modern state. In Weberian terms, “the rise of the liberal state specifically entailed a sharpening of the public-private distinction: on the one hand, the privatizing of religious and moral belief and practice and of economic activity formerly regulated by the state; on the other, a commitment to public law and public political discussion” (Starr, 1988, p. 8). Weintraub (1997) argues that the different ways in which we use the terms ‘public’ and ‘private’ “rest on different underlying images of the social world, (and) are driven by different concerns, generate different problematics, and raise different issues” (p. 2 in Akoojee, 2007, p. 71). In addition, there appears to be a politically charged element to the usage of public and private which can evoke strong reactions: as “contesting interests and parties use ‘public’ and ‘private’ not only to describe but also to celebrate and condemn” (Starr, 1988, p. 6).

The founding conceptualization of the ‘public’, for example, within liberal philosophy is that it is the preserve of the state to protect the interests of the most vulnerable, providing welfare and

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<sup>5</sup> This example is referring to ‘Honey Care Africa’, a social enterprise in Kenya (Quist-Arcton, 2002). Wheeler, McKague, Thomson, Davies, Medlaye and Prada (2005) argue that the “success of this partnership-based enterprise has led to the company’s rapid expansion to become the largest supplier of high-quality honey in East Africa” (p. 36). In addition, Honey Care “has allowed a growing number of poor farmers to raise themselves out of poverty in a way that protects and enhances the natural environment” (Ibid).

<sup>6</sup> For example the SA Business Coalition on HIV/Aids (Sabcoha), with over 40 corporate members, 10 large companies and 50 small companies, ‘lobbies and partners with the government, spearheads research and pilots best practice in Aids workplace programmes’ (<http://www.sabcoha.org/>).

support to a whole population – commonly known as acting for the ‘public good’. The private sphere is often positioned in contradistinction to the public. Organizations classified as ‘private’ are often expected to act incompatibly with the government or public realm since they act purely out of self-interest. From the orthodox neoliberal school of thought, individuals comprising the private sector in society are seen as the dynamic drivers of the economy. In contrast, from the vantage point of the political economy paradigm, poverty and inequality are reproduced in developing countries through exclusionary processes which support private actors. Accordingly, many consider the ‘private sector’ in light of the exploiting actions of local or multinational corporations (MNCs) in developing countries and criticize their activities as creating or deepening poverty and environmental degradation (Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001; Stiglitz, 2003; Utting, 2005). Both the orthodox and political economy paradigms in development theory have at their core a notion of the ‘private’ that is correlated with the market place. Thus, they each provide a framework for analyzing the ‘private sector’ which is economic in orientation: for neoliberals the private sector can be both entrepreneurs in the informal economy as well as large corporations; from the political economy paradigm, the private sector is often equated with large corporations requiring stringent regulation and also non-profit organizations promoting private interests such as business associations.

### 2.3.1 The Public / Private Distinction

Perhaps adding to the confusion, there are different usages of public/private amongst scholars. Starr (1998) outlines, for example, that,

to an economist, the marketplace is quintessentially private. But to a sociologist or anthropologist concerned with culture, the marketplace is quintessentially public.... While economists use the public-private distinction to signify the contrast between state and market, analysts of culture... take the public sphere to include the market as well as politics and contrast them both with the private domain of the family... (Starr, 1998, p. 9)

Due to the varying usages of public/private, which are fundamental to legal language, political science, sociology, (among other disciplines which inform the interdisciplinary field of development studies), along with the variety of geographical contexts in which the terms are used, this inconsistency can be frustrating. This is especially the case when things appear to be public and private simultaneously, or to varying degrees, or in different ways.

Indeed, Marginson (2007) argues that scholars are loose in the way they use the 'public' and 'private' divide, and policy makers only add to the ambiguities. The public/private distinction is routinely confused with other distinctions between state/non-state ownership, between state and market, and between market activity and non-market activity. Thus, "in public debate, and sometimes in the scholarly literature as well: public = government = state-owned = non-market, and private = business (or civil society, or family/home) = privately-owned = market" (p. 309). Not surprisingly,

... We quarrel endlessly about whether some act or institution is really one or the other. We qualify the categories: This group is quasi-public, that one is semi-private. In desperation some theorists announce that the distinction is outdated or so ideologically loaded that it ought to be discarded, or that it is a distinction without a difference. Yet the terms can hardly be banished nor ought they. To speak intelligently... without using the words public and private would be as great an achievement as writing a novel without the word 'the'. (Starr, 1988, p. 6)

One of the most frequent usages for public/private is when talking of social organizational types or characterizations. In general, we anticipate that social institutions will have either a public or private mandate or function based upon their origin in either the market/business/civil society (private) or non-market/state/government (public) realm. The 'dramatic expansion' in the size and capacity of 'civil society'<sup>7</sup> around the world in recent years (World Bank, 1997), and the large growth in non-

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<sup>7</sup> The notion of a 'global civil society', contested by several authors, is meant to indicate the activities of voluntary and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) throughout the world. Some critics say that the term itself has a narrow conceptualization and has simply been added on to an international neoliberal policy agenda

profit or non-governmental organizations, has given way to hypotheses about whether there exists a 'Third Sector in the Third Millennium' (Kramer, 2000), or a dynamic 'civic sector' (Drayton, 2005) or a 'social sector'? Yet, this three sector model is questioned as to its global relevance since it has its origins in Western ideas which have emerged as a result of the growth of industrial capitalism and the nation state (Lewis 2002; Seckinelgen, 2002).

For example, in African contexts there is the need to think more broadly about the organizational and moral basis of this 'third sector' which links with local realities (Lewis, 2002; Orvis, 2001). In a similar vein, Osaghae (2006) argues that colonialism and its resulting social formations have an entirely unique history and shouldn't be interpreted 'by analogy' with European experience in which there is only one large public domain (the state). Instead, Osaghae supports Eke's (1975) theory that *two publics* (primordial and civil)<sup>8</sup> were created "due largely to the disjunction between state and society—or the public realm and private realm—under colonialism, the public realm, unlike that of Western society, developed as two publics rather than one" (Osaghae, 2006, p. 238). This puts into question any conceptualization of a 'third' sector as catch-all term for all organizational life that does not fit into western categories of public and private. Perhaps a more fluid understanding of the 'public' domain encompasses both 'civil society'/'third sector' organizations acting for the general welfare and state institutions. Needless to say, one cannot generalize about the achievements of organizations originating in the 'public' as opposed to 'private' sectors in various countries, as this falls short of discerning between the structural variety and historical emergence of public and private institutions. In sum, many theorists conclude that the

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which embraces market-economy social relations (see for example Petras & Veltmeyer, 2001). The term is employed regularly by international development agencies including the World Bank, and is argued by some to be a metaphor for western liberalism (Seckinelgen, 2002). It implies a normative approach to civil society within developing countries which parallels the western liberal model of social arrangements between state, market and third sector which, in effect, "change[s] the internal civil society arrangements at the expense of actually existing/living civil societies" (Ibid, p.18).

<sup>8</sup> The 'primordial public' (what can be termed civil society) is argued to be bound with the sentiments, groupings, ethnic ties, etc. of the public's interest which evolved to fill the gaps created by colonialism. The primordial public functioned as a 'shadow state' that provided basic welfare and services, such as scholarships, schools, microcredit. Thus civil society in fact shares the public realm with the state. The 'civil public' is a separate domain which is "historically associated with the colonial administration and which has become identified with popular politics in post-colonial Africa" (Osaghae, 2006, p. 239).

pervasive duality of private/public, stemming from liberal thought, which place state at one end and the individual at the other – is a false distinction that ignores the reality of blurred boundaries (Starr, 1988; Ostrom, 1996; Akoojee, 2007; Marginson, 2007; Lewis, 2002; Kramer, 2000).

In a ‘parallel literature’<sup>9</sup> based in the U.S. and Western Europe, there have been attempts to perhaps come up with models to represent the transactions between more than three sectors using; four – business, government, informal and ‘third sector’ (Van Til, 1988); or five – personal, business, government, public benefit non-profit, and private benefit non-profit (dividing the ‘NGO’ sector in terms of goal) (Smith, 1991); or seven – state, private, and all the ‘animals in the zoo’ including quasi-nongovernmental organizations (quangos), para-governmental organizations, nongovernmental organizations (NGOs), voluntary associations, and self-organizations (Schuppter, 1991); or even as a series of triangles with the Third Sector at the centre of a typology including the State, Market and ‘community sector’ (Pestoff, 1998). What confronts development theorists and practitioners now is the need to identify the cases, both North and South, in which the sectoral lines have become blurred. There is also the need to revisit the conceptual equation of public organizations as benefiting all versus private organizations as benefiting only a select few, as this may no longer be a suitable framework for analysis.

In his thesis which turns the public/private dichotomy on its head in the context of South Africa, Akoojee (2007) states:

Globalisation and the associated information and communication technologies (ICT) revolution have shaped not only the international order but also traditional notions of public and private. By providing the context for the ascendancy of the rationality of the market, it also provided the basis for a form of global competitiveness. *It led to a range of public and*

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<sup>9</sup> Lewis (1998) argues that two ‘parallel universes’ of academic literature dealing with ‘third sector’ organizations in the North (the non-profit tradition) and South (the non-governmental tradition) exist which barely acknowledge each other. This is unfortunate as “the two literatures actually cover many comparable issues and potential learning opportunities are therefore being missed” (Lewis, 1998, p. 10). In addition, “this separateness runs counter to... potential theoretical convergences apparent in North and South around such concepts as ‘civil society’, ‘social exclusion’ and ‘social capital’” (Ibid).

*private forms that are not 'pure' anymore, although their origins are discernible.* (p. 71-72 emphasis added)

Furthermore, “this convergence of public and private in terms of function, structure and modus operandi results in quite unique social forms” (Ibid, p. 72). Akoojee argues that the work of Giddens (see for example, 2002) provides some understanding for the current convergence between the public and private sectors. This is since Giddens’ work articulates a ‘third way’ out of the dilemma in which ‘late modern’ societies are in: “It represents an attempt to strike a balance between socialism and neo-liberalism, both of which are inadequate as a response to imperatives for social inclusion and societal harmony” (Akoojee, 2007, p. 73). With the many critiques of Giddens’ work in mind, Akoojee furthermore argues,

Regardless of how we view Giddens, ‘third way’ politics has turned the notions of the public and private on their heads. Coming after the excessive marketisation of the Thatcher era, it represented a breath of fresh thinking about the role of private and its incapacity to offer a comprehensive framework by which to respond to those marginalised and need of state intervention. (Ibid, p. 74)

In the section which follows, I will seek to summarize a few of the ‘non-pure’, or mixed public-private forms of governance or management that have emerged over the 1990s to the present (with particular reference to the role of the private sector); corporate social responsibility, private-public partnerships, business-NGO partnerships and multi-sectoral initiatives (MSIs). The idea of the ‘hybrid’ organization will be addressed in the final section of this chapter, with particular reference to one permutation of this phenomenon: ‘social entrepreneurship’.

## 2.4 ‘Hybrid’ Development Management

### 2.4.1 The New ‘Responsible’ Private

It appears as though gradual steps are being taken to either register or encourage the potential of the private sector in development. Topics for consideration of private sector-led

development include the potential ability of micro-credit organizations to support the growth of entrepreneurial activities in the developing world (Chowdhury, Gosh & Wright, 2005; Hietalahti & Linden, 2006; Osmani, 2007). Corporations are being encouraged to develop their products and services so as to serve 'the bottom of the pyramid', thus 'eradicating poverty through profits' (Prahalad, 2006). Others argue that there should be shift in current thinking from a complete distrust of capitalism towards seeing its potential ability to support positive social transformation (Hart, 2005). This trend is also found in NGO *Care Canada's* strategy of 'Making Markets Work for the Poor' and its mission to help farmers working in the informal sector to organize small companies which can export their products to local and international markets and raise their incomes (Watson, 2006).

Businesses are increasingly demonstrating a commitment to society and the environment. The concept of corporate social responsibility (CSR), while highly contentious, is relevant in the consideration of the private sector potentially serving the 'public good'. Although it is an evolving concept<sup>10</sup>, the concept of CSR moves away from traditional corporate philanthropy to include charitable contributions, corporate social investments (CSI) and the direct integration of vulnerable populations within a company's regular business activity<sup>11</sup> (Whellams, 2006, p. 27).

Large businesses in the private sector are increasingly being recognized as potential contributors to development which, due to their scale of operations and resources, need to be integrated into solving large-scale social problems. In 1999, Kofi Annan presented the *Global Compact* which challenges leaders around the world to 'embrace and enact' a set of 10 universal principles in

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<sup>10</sup> Whellams (2007) considers the best definition of CSR to be that of Blowfield and Frynas (2005), which argues that CSR is best understood as an 'umbrella' term describing both beliefs and practices which maintain that "1) Companies have a responsibility for their impact on society and the natural environment, sometimes beyond legal compliance and the liability of individuals; 2) Companies have a responsibility for the behaviour of others with whom they do business (e.g. within supply chains); 3) Companies need to manage their relationship with the wider society, whether for reasons of commercial viability or to add value to society, or both." (Whellams, 2007, p. 27).

<sup>11</sup> On the other hand, CSR should not be regarded uncritically or as an 'inherently positive approach' (Bendell, 2005). Criticisms of CSR include, for example, the contention that corporate policies may have double standards such that they do not address their complicity in underdevelopment. Also, large corporations may seek 'regulatory capture' of public-policy processes through partnerships and consultation, and CSR as a voluntary approach is limited in comparison to legal intervention (Utting, 2005).

the areas of human rights, labour standards and the environment. Proclaimed as ‘the world’s largest voluntary corporate citizenship Initiative’, the compact also encourages businesses to form cross-sector partnerships with the public sector and civil society in order to promote development (UN Global Compact, 2000). The compact claims that ‘responsible business practices not only contribute to the well-being of stakeholders, they have increasingly become a long-term value proposition for business itself’ (Ibid)<sup>12</sup>.

In addition, the 2003 UN Commission on the Private Sector and Development Report, highlights the importance of creating “an enabling environment for the success of the private sector and entrepreneurs” (UNDP, 2003).<sup>13</sup> It presents the suggestion that all actors including government, the private sector and civil society organizations can modify their approach so as to improve private sector development in poor countries. This might be done through, for example, looking at new partnerships between major corporations that might boost the capacity of small and medium enterprises (SMMEs), between the private sector and ‘CSO’s’ (community service organization’s), as well as through supportive regulations for the start-up of small businesses in developing countries. It is to the theme of cross-sector partnership, as public, private and ‘third’ sectors are invited to ‘work together’, that we turn next.

#### 2.4.2 Partnerships across all divides

In a special issue of the journal *World Development*, themed ‘Development strategies across the public-private divide’, Ostrom (1996) argued that the ‘great divide’ between the Market and the State or between Government and Civil society is merely hypothetical and “is a conceptual trap arising

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<sup>12</sup> However, Zadek (2001a) challenges this ‘win-win’ logic at the heart of corporate citizenships and CSR. The idea that, in the long term, “social and environmental gains can deliver financial benefits by producing, for example, business-relevant reputational, productivity and efficiency effects... suggests a *necessary* convergence of financial success with societal good – a domesticated Darwinism at its very best<sup>12</sup>” (Zadek, 2001a, p. 52). Zadek points out there is not evidence that partnerships and CSR initiatives always create long term financial gain for businesses, and the ‘win-win’ proposition will always rest on the identification of financial bottom-line effects to a company’s shareholders.

<sup>13</sup> The commission posed two central questions to global leaders: ‘How can the potential of the private sector and entrepreneurship be unleashed in developing countries? And how can the existing private sector be engaged in meeting that challenge?’ (UNDP, 2003).

from overly rigid disciplinary walls surrounding the study of human institutions” (p. 1073). Ostrom maintains that there is potentially synergetic phenomena that analysis misses by separating them into parts. She develops the concept of 'coproduction' as “the process through which inputs used to produce a good or service are contributed by individuals who are not 'in' the same organization” (Ibid). Thus, there can be a synergy in development and all citizens can play an active role in producing public goods and services. ‘Coproduction’ is somewhat related to the prevalent enthusiasm with ‘partnership’ amongst governments, development agencies, MNCs, NGOs and other groups. The basic idea of partnership<sup>14</sup> is that when it comes to restricted resources available for development work, it is considered logical that different groups work together in a systematic and complementary way to address the challenges faced by any one organization (Tennyson & Wilde, 2000).

While much debate has been on public-private partnerships (PPP) as crossing this private-public divide (see for example Dansereau, 2005), in many parts of the world, public services do not always exist in their ‘pure’ form. While vital in serving all segments of population, there is a decided increase in privatisation of state enterprises as well an increase in private actors taking on elements of public service delivery. There remains a concern with the need for increased ‘efficiency’ in government institutions and better coordination between local and national government. Private-public partnerships (PPPs) are being pursued as an alternative approach to increasing cost-efficiency in a whole range of governmental institutions and contribute to the unmistakable reality that there is a great deal of blurring of private/public taking place. Examples of PPPs in South Africa include for example, water provision in the Ilembe District Municipality of Kwa Zulu Natal in partnership with

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<sup>14</sup> Many argue that ‘partnership’ is somewhat of a slippery term as it can perhaps mean almost anything to different actors. For authors who seek to problematize the term ‘partnership’, see, for example, Unwin (2005) with reference to ICTs for development partnerships in Africa; also Zadek (2001b) on the dilemmas associated with ‘new social partnerships’.

Siza Water Company (Farlam, 2005). Since 1994, South Africa reportedly has had over 50 PPPs at the national or provincial level and 300 projects at the municipal level (Farlam, 2005).<sup>15</sup>

The UN Global Compact has more recently introduced triple-alliances between private-public-and 'third' sectors. 'Multi-stakeholder initiatives' (MSIs) are the title given to these, but they are also labelled 'partnerships' between governments, business and civil society. The main idea behind MSIs is that each sector – rights (state), profits (business) and values (civil society) – will bring valuable resources to the collaboration. Civil society has development experience, knowledge and imaginative low-cost responses to societal challenges, while business has management and technical skills and equipment, and government has access to information and staff focused on the public interest (Tennyson & Wilde, 2000, p. 17). Thus, greater results can be derived from combining skills and resources from different organizational types. This can also lead to a greater understanding between people and organizations that do not normally come into contact with one another.

Bendell (2005) points out that MSIs have become mainstream in international development policy. This is largely since the 2002 Johannesburg World Summit on Sustainable Development (WSSD) which "elevated such initiatives to the level of inter-governmental agreements" (p. 363). Indeed, partnerships with state and non-state actors, including business, are seen to be indispensable to the institutional reform and work of the United Nations in the 21<sup>st</sup> century<sup>16</sup> (Witte & Wolfgang, 2005). One example of a tri-sector alliance in the South African context is the National Economic

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<sup>15</sup> Akoojee (2007) argues that this is part of the 'mixed economy' path the South African government is currently pursuing. That is, in order to move away from excessive marketisation, he argues, it is endeavouring to engage the dynamism of markets by strongly guiding both public and private sectors to work towards responding to marginalised communities. Such a view suggests that achieving social development "requires that all possible means are utilised to realise objects" (p.69). From this vantage, the concept of the public moves into the awareness that various actors – state and non-state – can be involved in working together towards realizing public objectives including reducing poverty, illness and disease, improving livelihoods and providing much-needed services, among other vital objectives.

<sup>16</sup> Inviting corporations to participate in cross-sector partnerships, in particular, is seen to be a definitive movement away from a mistrust of business towards aligning corporate activities with UN goals so as to encourage them to direct their abilities and capital to new 'bottom of the pyramid' markets. In a forward to a report on the effectiveness of UN partnerships, former UN Secretary General Kofi Annan states: "Almost all United Nations agencies, funds and programmes are engaging in partnerships with business... [thus achieving] two complementary objectives: strengthening the work of the United Nations for development, security and human rights and introducing the Organization to different and sometimes more efficient ways of management" (Witte et al., 2005, p. vii).

Development and Labour Council (NEDLAC) which is a forum for multilateral decision making regarding policy, economic growth and social equity with representatives from four areas: business, government and civil society and labour organizations (<http://www.nedlac.org.za/>). Authors such as Googins and Rochlin (2000), Sullivan and Warner (2004), and Tennyson and Wilde (2000) provide further detailed discussion of tri-sector partnerships.

#### 2.4.3 Business – Non-Profit Partnerships

Another approach crossing the ‘great divide’ is that of potential partnerships between businesses and non-profit (public-serving) organizations so as to collaborate on strategies to reduce poverty. Some view this as a new phenomenon. Bendell and Murphy (1999) argue that over the past three decades relationships between the private sector and NPOs have been founded upon conflict, and that the dominant pattern of these relationships remains antagonistic (Bendell & Murphy, 1999). Consequently, “the apparent paradox of NGOs seeking both protest – and partnership-based relations with business reflects a need for ‘a new way of thinking about our problems and our futures’” (Handy, 1994, p. 11 in Ibid, p. 3). Many see the turning point in relations taking place in the early 1990’s when partnerships began appearing mainly in the North, but also to a more limited extent in the South.

Some make the case that alliances between enlightened business and social sector/non-profit organizations can bring great mutual benefit to both and can solve many of their problems by working towards a ‘common good’ (Sagawa & Segal, 1999). Austin (2005) argues that there are a wide range of motivations compelling business and civil society organizations to enter collaborations. In his study of Latin American alliances, such motivations were found to range from altruistic motives to utilitarian motives – from an ethical desire to ‘do the right thing’ to self-interest. However, “regardless of the precise motivational starting point, as long as cross-sector collaborations continue to serve the interests of all partners, [business sector] motivations are likely to evolve” (Austin, 2005, para. 4). Although, ‘mutual benefit’ is not always straightforward, it is argued to be necessary for the

partnership to be satisfactory for people involved and, ultimately, for it to be sustainable (Tennyson & Wilde, 2000). This view is part of the prevalent 'win-win' logic, in which a partnership is often seen to be only viable in terms of the degree to which both partners have interests and objectives which coincide and both continue to receive benefits<sup>17</sup>. There is little research on NGO-business partnerships apart from descriptive case studies, which explicate the advantages of these partnerships.

The power of business-NPO partnerships may reside, to a large extent, in the strengths of the NGO or non-profit organization which, unlike government and business, operate through the 'integrative power of the citizen' (Korten, 1990, p. 97). What Korten terms 'Fourth generation NGO's' may help to transform the institutions of global society as, argues Korten, only independent voluntary groups can work outside the framework of conventional institutional financial and political rewards. Others claim that the state's power is declining vis-à-vis their ability to regulate and control corporate activities, thus in order to prevent challenges to their reputations, they are seeking endorsement of their activities from NGOs (Rodgers, 2000). Otherwise termed 'civil regulation', NGOs may confer legitimacy by endorsing or identifying with elements of corporate behaviour (p. 40).

On the other hand, the perception that civil society is an autonomous realm of 'voluntary, self-generating, mostly self-supporting associational life' able to countercheck the state, and diffuse social and economic power may overestimate their capacities (Wang, 2006). Wang posits that non-profits can offer public goods – in place of state inability; thus meeting 'unsatisfied residual demands' by providing public goods to supplement the government. Yet, "to provide public goods and services, nonprofits have to generate adequate and stable flows of income. This is where voluntary actions may fall far short of the goal" (p. 7). Wang (2006) found that in no country for which data was available, were private foundations or individual charity the primary source of non-profit revenue. This is

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<sup>17</sup>At the same time, some challenge the 'win-win' logic since it does not allow for an understanding of the various types of partnerships, the role of power differences in partnerships, nor the difficulties of sharing benefits from partnerships in a fair manner (Whitte et al. 2005, p. 47). However, others argue that in any partnership-based initiative, there will always be an initiating organization as well as "one or more 'champions': someone – from any sector or from the wider community – who uses his or her profile, reputation or influence to promote a cause, project or organization" (Tennyson & Wilde, 2000, p. 25).

especially the case in many poor countries, as with few paying income tax and low revenue or GDP ratios, they may adopt neither tax benefits to philanthropic giving or tax subsidies through personal income tax, so that “demand exceeds the supply of domestic charitable funds. Thus, inflows of external resources become necessary for the nonprofit sector to survive and operate in those countries” (p. 9). Put simply, they must usually rely on some source of funding and this puts them in a difficult spot: when funded only by government, people question their autonomy, and when they depend on income from commercial activities “people... wonder about the possible consequences of blurred line between them and for-profit business organizations” (p. 4).

A further option has been the flow of resources from NGOs in the North to NGO's in the South, although this can have similar negative consequences<sup>18</sup> (see for example Pickard, 2007). In summary, NGO's operate under resource constraints, similar to that of the public sector, and as a result are looking at different avenues to get out of their own financial crises. For better or worse then, some are now partnering with the private sector. One emerging path has been to look at integrating a for-profit enterprise into the non-profit organization, establishing ‘social enterprise’.

Discussion on the use of corporate resources for development is certainly a controversial one, with serious and legitimate concerns for the viability of business-NGO partnerships. Some argue that dialogue and partnership may not be enough to improve damaging corporate activities, such as big oil companies which fail to improve the nature of their business (Bendell & Murphy, 1999). In addition, Utting (2005) argues that closer relations between big business and NGOs herald the ‘commodification of activism’. These relations meanwhile,

... imply risks associated with so-called ‘regulatory capture’, ‘co-optation’, and the dilution of radical or alternative agendas. A growing number of NGOs that form part of the new CSR industry are being drawn into both the financial circuits and corporate culture of TNCs. The distance between this sector of civil society and the corporate world is narrowing not only in

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<sup>18</sup> For example, in a recent study of Southern Mexican NGO views on ‘partnership’, the observation was that “real development, as understood by a great many Southern organisations, e.g. designed, controlled, and operated by social agents, is being thwarted by a Northern vision too often driven by the need to please back-funders [with a neo-liberal focus on quantifying outcomes]” (Pickard, 2007, p. 580).

terms of its direct relationship but also in relation to perspectives on the market, development, and strategies for reform. (p. 382)

Bendell (2005) is similarly fearful of the potential of NGO co-optation, and advises that as NGO collaborations with industry become more 'successful' in terms of securing funding and recognition, they must simultaneously reassess possible marginalization of groups and continue working in important areas, even if they are less attractive to corporate interests. In other words, it is about "managing the paradox of power that arises when apparent success in working with powerful organisations at the same time undermines one's effectiveness" (p. 370). For Dichter (1999), NGOs might avoid the harmfulness of private sector funding and commoditization of their work by instead scaling down their work. That is, "their capacity to do good by working for change quietly, locally, and modestly may well be their last best hope" (p. 56). The overarching concern is whether or not NGOs can maintain what Wang (2006) terms 'operational autonomy'. She defines this as "an organization's freedom to formulate and pursue a self-determined agenda without undue external pressures, wherever the pressures come from" (p. 4). Wang suggests that in order to ensure that civil society continues to grow, the "only feasible solution to the dilemma is to avoid relying too much on any single source of revenue, whatever the source is" (p. 25).

To date, most of the literature on this subject engages with business-NGO relations with reference to environmental issues, sustainable development or corporate-community partnerships (Goddard, 2005; Bendell, 2000). For instance, partnerships between businesses and NGOs are argued to be essential for the market for fairly traded coffee and promoting consumer spending habits (Linton, 2005). One of the largest drawbacks of the literature is that there continues to be little debate around the potential for partnerships between business and NGOs in the 'South'. Likewise, there is "little empirical research on the nature of conflicts and alliances between NGOs and private sector companies that have led to environmentally and/or socially advantageous outcomes in both the North and the South" (Bendell & Murphy, 1999, p. 9).

From the NGO perspective, there may be some caution about such alliances. For example, in a Learning Circle discussion hosted by the Canadian Council for International Cooperation (CCIC) in 2000 entitled, 'Engaged or Entangled? NGO and the Private Sector on an Agenda to End Poverty', discussion centred on how NGO's might engage strategically with the private sector while at the same time find ways to change their behaviour and make them more accountable.

With public-private partnerships, CSR initiatives, and cross-sector collaborations occurring across organizational life, all with a commitment, at least rhetorically, to greater development outcomes, there is bound to be some concern over 'sector blurring'. Moreover, as some non-profit organizations take up a combination of private and public functions, or share agendas with businesses, it becomes difficult to classify activities using the usual public/private terminology. What are the potential consequences of this, if any? For the theorists and authors presented in the following section, sector blurring does not appear to be a topic for concern. Rather, the emerging literature on 'social entrepreneurship' is focused on 'innovative' practices and groundbreaking solutions to pernicious development challenges, ostensibly, regardless of boundaries – sectoral or otherwise. With the caveat that this literature does not necessarily yet speak to the academic world of international development studies, it may yet make some contribution to the discussion on strategies for development.

## 2.5 The 'Hybrid' Organization

"The interesting cases are nearly always the 'halfway houses,' which defy categorization into the private or the public sector..." (Schuppter, 1991, p. 127)

Thus far the discussion has outlined, at least theoretically, the movement of private companies towards a more 'responsible' social role through CSR, as well as the development of business-NGO relations towards potentially synergetic partnerships and alliances. This discussion

raises a consideration of how these public/private organizational dynamics may be lived out within a single organization.

The public and private, represented as dichotomous categories within both the political economic and orthodox paradigm, are re-conceptualised by Akoojee (2007) who sees that there can be mixed purposes to which the public and private sectors are responsive. This is evident in the array of different public and private organizations currently in South Africa. Akoojee (2007) argues that there are typical government organizations committed to social development as well as typical corporate profit-making organizations. However, in between these two types there are 'new' structures which "have an expressed profit (in the case of government) or social development (in the case of a private company) purpose but have originated in the alternate sector" (p. 76). Examples of these 'mixed purpose' organizations include non-profit organizations of the 'Grameen Bank variety' which use market principles for social purposes, or 'innovation hubs' in which the state provides part of the funding to establish private companies. Of particular concern for this thesis is the type labelled the 'Grameen Bank variety' – the Nobel-prize winning micro-credit banking model in Bangladesh that has inspired the global 'micro credit revolution'. While originating in the private sector,

Its undisputed socially responsive agenda of lending to women entrepreneurs and enabling them to free themselves from poverty (Yunus 1994 & 2002), suggests a form of private organisation dedicated to what the public sector was traditionally responsible for. It therefore represents a different form of the public/private dichotomy. Far from replacing the public sector, it represents an adjunct to the various ways private initiatives can be used to enable public development purposes. (Akoojee, 2007, pp. 82-83)

Interestingly, what Akoojee terms the 'Grameen Bank variety', or what the International Development Research Centre (IDRC) in Canada has referred to as emerging 'hybrid' organizations (IDRC, 2005), can also widely be referred to as *social entrepreneurship*.

Social entrepreneurship (SE) generally refers to incidences of visionary and innovative practice in reducing poverty which may combine some element of business or market acumen with a public social mission (see definitions in section 1.3.1). Indeed, it is argued that the “cross-sector focus [of social entrepreneurship] is congruent with several forces at work in society now” (Dees & Anderson, 2006, p. 60). Indeed, “we are on the verge of adopting a new perspective on how private citizens, in the role of social entrepreneurs, can make significant contributions to providing sustainable solutions to social problems” (Ibid). In education, the environment, health care, and many other areas, stories of innovative market-related approaches to address pernicious social problems or create new models of service delivery have ignited much interest.

In addition to the Grameen Bank, other oft cited examples of SE include The Self-Employed Women’s Association (SEWA) in India, and the Institute for One World Health (IOWH). SEWA is the largest union of women workers in the informal sector. As part of its mission, SEWA seeks to establish the commercial viability of artisan’s products in the textiles and handicrafts sector through the SEWA Trade Facilitation Centre (STFC) – the commercial enterprise arm of SEWA. This is supposed to ensure livelihood security to its 15,000 ‘rural artisan-shareholders’ by integrating them with national and global markets ([http://www.sewatfc.org/about\\_stfc.asp](http://www.sewatfc.org/about_stfc.asp)). Similarly, IOWH is a non-profit pharmaceutical company working to develop effective, low-cost drugs to eradicate disease in the third world. IOWH partners with companies, hospitals, and non-profit organizations in the developing world to conduct medical research on new cures to malaria, diarrheal diseases and black fever, which will then be manufactured and distributed at very low cost to poor people. These organizations take pernicious issues in the public domain – whether health-related or otherwise –not currently addressed by any other existing institutions.

There are numerous other examples of SE which large organizations such as the Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurship, Ashoka: Innovators for the Public, The Skoll Centre for Social Entrepreneurship, and Echoing Green – all seek to promote, so as to support and advance the

work of social entrepreneurs as an alternative approach to development or ‘social change’<sup>19</sup>. This approach also offers a new field for research reflected in centres such as the Centre for the Advancement of Social Entrepreneurship at the Fuqua School of Business (Duke University); the Skoll Centre for Social Entrepreneurship at the Saïd Business School (Oxford University); the Social Enterprise Initiative at Harvard Business School (Harvard University); the Sloan School of Business (Stanford University), and the Schwab Foundation for Social Entrepreneurs (University of Geneva), among several others.

However, social entrepreneurship, like CSR, is still an emergent concept and largely ‘phenomenon-driven’ with cases typically based on anecdotal evidence or case studies (Mair & Marti, 2006). It is also lacking a coherent theoretical framework<sup>20</sup>, such that inquiry into initiatives dubbed cases of ‘social entrepreneurship’ continue to command a great deal of popular attention as well as scope for academic research<sup>21</sup>.

#### 2.5.1 What is Social Entrepreneurship?

“If there is an arena in which we need breakthrough innovations, it is in poverty reduction” (Dees, 2007, p. 5).

The initial premise of social entrepreneurship is that existing government programmes and interventions by development agencies to help the poor are “disappointing in terms of their effectiveness and sustainability, let alone their capacity to scale up their impacts into significant social changes” (Alvord et al., 2004, p. 261). Many non-governmental international development

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<sup>19</sup> The term that is most often used by organizations supporting Social Entrepreneurship is ‘social change’ or ‘social transformation’ rather than ‘development’.

<sup>20</sup> SE can take on a variety of meanings and lacks a unifying paradigm, which some see as a drawback. In contrast to other critics, Mair and Marti (2006) see this as a positive since as an emergent concept it provides the unique opportunity for researchers from different disciplines to “challenge and rethink central concepts and assumptions” as well as use a “variety of theoretical lenses and a combination of different research methods” (Mair and Marti 2006: 40).

<sup>21</sup> CIDA City Campus is often cited as an example of social entrepreneurship, lead by social entrepreneur Dr. Taddy Blecher. For example, CIDA was awarded the 2006 Skoll Award for Social Entrepreneurship (SASE) valued at \$1 million USD, so as to conduct the necessary research to expand its educational model.

organizations (NGDOs) likewise, are “subsidy-providing intermediaries in a declining aid system” which has fostered “multiple levels of patronage, dependency [and] pathological institutional behaviour... a system whose performance after 30 years still leaves much to be desired” (Fowler, 2002, p. 638). At this point in time, NGDOs must “regain a moral underpinning and inspiration for their existence and action that is derived from intrinsic values of ‘civility’ allied to domestic economic embedding and social credibility” (Ibid). Thus, a particular type of private not-for-profit organization (NFP) or non-governmental organization (NGO), driven by a ‘social entrepreneur’, is considered to have risen to fill this ‘gap’<sup>22</sup> in pursuit of more effective and innovative ways for providing social goods and engaging with communities<sup>23</sup>. It is argued that they address underlying causes of problems instead of treating the symptoms, while also reducing needs, not just meeting them, by seeking to create systemic changes (Dees, 1998). It is therefore argued that SE can create new models for the provision of products and services that “cater directly to basic human needs that remain unsatisfied by current economic or social institutions” (Mair & Seelos, 2006, p. 244). One of the earliest scholars in SE is Gregory Dees who defines SE in this way:

Social entrepreneurs play the role of change agents in the social sector, by

1. Adopting a mission to create and sustain social value (not just private value),
2. Recognizing and relentlessly pursuing new opportunities to serve that mission, 3.

Engaging in a process of continuous innovation, adaptation, and learning,

4. Acting boldly without being limited by resources currently in hand, and
5. Exhibiting heightened accountability to the constituencies served and for the outcomes created. (Dees, 1998, p. 3)

Indeed, much literature tends to be focused on the particular behavioural characteristics of the ‘social entrepreneur’ and has emphasized social entrepreneurship in the business sense by drawing on

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<sup>22</sup> Bornstein (2004), a well known author on SE, argues that there exists ‘a gap’ in that there are huge problems at all levels in societies around the world, not being successfully coped with by existing institutions.

<sup>23</sup> At the same time, Drayton (2005) asserts that social entrepreneurship is itself an age-old practice that is visible throughout history – in the work of, for example, Gandhi, Florence Nightingale, etc.. It is just that we now have a terminology with which to describe such individuals with a life-long dedication to changing the existing systems and unequal patterns of society.

previous theories of entrepreneurship by Drucker and Schumpeter to shape the first conceptualizations of social entrepreneurship (Dees, 1998; McLean & Peredo, 2006; Winfield, 2005).

Similarly, Ashoka defines social entrepreneurs as

Individuals with innovative solutions to society's most pressing social problems. They are ambitious and persistent, tackling major social issues and offering new ideas for wide-scale change. Rather than leaving societal needs to the government or business sectors, social entrepreneurs find what is not working and solve the problem by changing the system, spreading the solution, and persuading entire societies to take new leaps. (Ashoka, 2007, para.1-2)

An alternative definition of SE is a “*process* involving the innovative use and combination of resources to pursue opportunities to catalyze social change and/or address social needs” (Mair & Martí, 2006, p. 37). Some useful distinctions have been made by Mair and Martí:

Definitions of social *entrepreneurship* typically refer to a process or behaviour; definitions of social *entrepreneurs* focus instead on the founder of the initiative; and definitions of social *enterprises* refer to the tangible outcome of social entrepreneurship... [although] systematic attempts to map initiatives and definitions are rare... (p. 37)

For the purpose of this thesis, I am ignoring a large amount of work which focuses on the particular behavioural characteristics, motivation, resourcefulness and other abilities attributed to the social entrepreneur as these would be more relevant to another research focus<sup>24</sup>. Detailed discussions of these issues are found in the works of Bornstein (2004), Dees (1998), Mort and Weerawardena (2006), Mair and Seelos (2005) and Lerner and Sharir (2006).

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<sup>24</sup> However, what these works do demonstrate, according to my analysis, is that social entrepreneurship is heavily focused on action-oriented theories and the underlying values and characteristics of individuals and leaders in particular development initiatives. This may yield interesting insights for development theory, as SE is focusing on the interior aspects and underlying motivations behind development practice, an issue of concern for theorists including, for example, Afshar (2005).

### 2.5.2 What does SE look like?

How to classify the work of SE is an attendant issue that has only been examined by a few. Alvord et al. (2004) analyze seven cases of SE and are the first in attempting to find patterns across cases pertaining to the particular characteristics of SE innovations. In all cases, initiatives focus explicitly on “improving the lives of poor and marginalized groups... and mobilizing existing assets of marginalized groups... rather than delivering outside resources and services” (p. 270). They identify the way in which SE innovations grow but maintain core allegiance to one of three forms: Building local capacity (as seen in the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC), *Se Service de la Saison Seche en Savane et au Sahel* (Six-S), and the Green Belt Movement), disseminating a package (Grameen Bank, Plan Puebla), and building a movement (the Self employed women’s association (SEWA), Highlander Research and Education Center). Building local capacity involves “working with poor and marginalized populations to identify capacities needed for self-help... [assuming that] given increases in local capacities, local actors may solve many of their own problems” (p. 267). ‘Disseminating a package’ of innovations is an approach that assumes that “information and technical resources can be reconfigured into user-friendly forms that will make them available to marginalized groups... [using] creativity to adapt existing materials and resources for low-cost diffusion to many users” (Ibid). ‘Building a movement’ is an example of SE that “mobilizes grassroots alliances to challenge abusive elites or institutions... [assuming that] increasing political voice of marginalized groups can help solve their major problems” (p. 269-270). This latter typology is similar to Fowler’s (2000) concept of SE in which new solutions to social problems are both located in and drawn from civic action and support from a citizen base. At the same time within these three patterns described by Alvord et al. (2004), each case reflects “quite different analyses of the underlying problems and very different roles for the marginalized groups involved” (p. 270). In addition, Mair and Marti (2006) use institutional entrepreneurship theory to argue that SE’s leverage resources to either create new institutions or transform existing ones and have the

ability to change norms, for example Muhamad Yunus, founder of the Grameen Bank, who changed the idea that money cannot be loaned without collateral, much less to the poor.

### 2.5.3 Social Enterprise or Social Innovation?

While a large body of literature locates the concept of SE in the world of non-profit organizations, the literature appears to be lacking resolution as to whether SE encompasses both not-for-profit and for-profit initiatives with a 'social bottom line', or just not-for-profits. Dees and Anderson (2006) argue that these groups comprise the two main schools within 'the field' of social entrepreneurship today: Social Enterprise and Social Innovation. From the 'social enterprise' school, social enterprises that carry out for-profit business activity to support other non-profit activities can be viewed as social entrepreneurship (Mair & Seelos, 2006; Alter, 2000). For example, Mair and Martí (2006) argue that SE can "equally well take place on a for-profit basis" and that the choice of set-up is "dictated by the nature of the social needs addressed, the amount of resources needed, [and] the scope for raising capital" (p. 39). The illustration of a SE for-profit initiative, as mentioned previously is the Grameen Bank and its more than 20 for-profit social ventures such as Grameen Knitwear, Grameen Telecom and Grameen Energy, all of which are seen to have created income-generating strategies for village women (Alter, 2000). Another highly referenced example is *The Big Issue*, a general interest magazine sold on the streets of Scotland and now in other parts of the world in which its vendors, homeless people who have undertaken rehabilitation within a foundation, are supported by the publications' sales. The vendors are argued to become independent business people supported by the profits they make on each magazine (Hibbert, Hogg & Quinn, 2002). Skoll Award for Social entrepreneurship winner Martín Burt, of Fundación Paraguaya, created a social enterprise in the form of a technical agricultural high school in Paraguay which pays for itself: a 'self-sufficient farm school' (Fundación Paraguaya, 2007). Students spend half their time in the classroom and the other half learning 'in-the-field' so that they become 'agro-entrepreneurs', learning how to market and sell their produce in a real business setting (Ibid).

A social enterprise can be defined as “any business venture created for a social purpose - mitigating/reducing a social problem or a market failure - and to generate social value while operating with the financial discipline, innovation and determination of a private sector business” (Alter, 2000, p. 12). The social enterprise school in SE theory is argued to involve the art of simultaneously pursuing financial and social returns on investment in which income-generating ventures have social benefits.

Some argue that for-profits that take innovative action towards building social capital can be called socially entrepreneurial (Johnson, 2001; Thompson, Alvy, & Lees, 2000). SE is even aligned with CSR to outline the way in which some individuals in corporations are not solely driven by economics but can behave in a ‘socially entrepreneurial’ manner, categorized as either ‘active’ or ‘frustrated social entrepreneurs’ (Hemingway, 2005). Additionally, Fowler (2002) explores SE as a new source of inspiration for NGDOs by taking it as “an evolving practice and as a paradigm for development beyond aid” (p. 638). He concludes that SE “offers a more risk-strewn framework for the future of NGDOs... [where the risks lie in] adopting the social entrepreneur framework as a basis of self-survival” (p. 652). These latter views indicate the way in which SE has been employed to signify a wider range of activities or simplified into a social enterprise ‘framework’ that can be adopted. Alter (2000) situates these organizations which generate both social and economic value along a hybrid spectrum - from traditional for-profit to traditional non-profit - yet separates them by their primary purpose: profit (shareholder return) and social value creation (p. 14). However, this proliferation of usages is indeed worrisome to some as it may undermine SE’s real significance (Martin & Osberg, 2007, p. 39).

From the ‘social innovation’ school, Mort and Weerawardena (2006) argue that we should not include for-profit ventures in our definition. If SE is taken as strictly originating from the non-profit, private sector then there are additional questions for debate which the literature has not yet addressed. In what ways are SE organizations and strategies more highly-evolved than ‘traditional’ non-profits? Are those organizations which include market-based strategies more resilient or

effective than traditional non-profit organizations? How are they able to operate within the particular social and economic constraints of the nation in which they reside? Dees and Anderson (2006) attempt to reconcile these two schools by arguing that there are commonalities between them. They posit that “by focusing on enterprising social innovation, the common ground between the two schools, we can provide practical guidance, raise intellectually challenging questions, and address a topic that could provide crucial for society” (p. 60).

#### 2.5.4 SE and Sector

Which sector SE initiatives belong to remains a key question for most theorists. Social enterprise as a “field of experimentation and innovation” (Seelos & Mair, 2005, p. 245) is often typified as a situation in which all stakeholders have the potential of benefiting (Wheeler et al., 2005). Mosher-Williams (2006) argues that “the increasing hybridization of organizations working to solve social and economic problems, and the new legal ‘space’ being hollowed out by these emerging entities, illustrate the need for theory that goes beyond sector boundaries” (p. 149). She reasons that scholars of social entrepreneurship should take on the theorization of sector, intimating that this is essential for understanding and contributing to the ‘emerging field’ of social entrepreneurship. The idea within SE discourse that traditional sector boundaries are breaking down leads some to think this may

...change the way we think about ‘sectors’. Instead of emphasizing legal forms of organization, such as nonprofit, forprofit, and governmental, perhaps we can focus on communities of practice that include different organizational forms serving a common purpose, such as the improvement of elementary and secondary education or the preservation of bio-diversity. (Dees & Anderson, 2003, p. 16)

The idea of ‘sector-bending’ refers to a “wide variety of approaches, activities, and relationships that are blurring the distinctions between nonprofit and for-profit organizations... [defined] around four broad types of behavior: Imitation, Interaction, Intermingling, and Industry Creation” (Ibid). Dees

and Anderson (2003) contribute to the discussion on whether the sectoral divisions in the social sciences are inadequate, by drawing our attention to ‘communities of practice’ – whether for- or non-profit – all working with similar intent and purpose. On the one hand, there is the potential to stimulate debate towards a more inclusive view of the ways in which many different groups, communities and organizations may work towards particular development goals. On the other hand, Alter (2000) is satisfied with the in-between position of the social enterprise which lies “at this intersection of business and traditional nonprofit” (p. 13).

#### 2.5.5 Criticism of SE

Cheney and Roper (2005) foresee opposition to SE, since those concerned with “the negative aspects of business will be resistant to the blurring of the boundaries between public, private and civil society suggested by social entrepreneurship with the potential for increased influence of business beyond the private sector” (p. 102). For example, objection to the term ‘entrepreneurship’ at the linguistic level has been made because “if the colonization of the social and public sectors by the language of business is accepted, the breakdown of barriers between the sectors becomes normalized” (Ibid). Also there are those interested in maintaining the purity of the non-profit sector which has “long been associated with the creation and maintenance of a strong civil society” (Ibid). From a rights-based approach, Cook, Dodds, and Mitchell (2003) fear that in furthering SE “the remnants of rights-based eligibility to universal welfare services would disappear due to the differentiation of service provision based on location” (p. 68). They also argue that corporations may end up being able to determine for themselves where social spending should occur, which may fundamentally change the character of these organizations rendering government a ‘venture capital provider for welfare’ placing the onus of reform on communities themselves (Cook et al., 2003). In addition, lack of attention to the ‘public sector’ and the role of the state in SE is iterated by Mair and Seelos (2005) who argue that we need research to “more accurately define how the public sector can best collaborate with and support social entrepreneurship” (p. 245). Indeed, governmental policies

are part of the context in which SE initiatives take place and they can often be “constrained by environmental dynamics” (Mort & Weerawardena, 2006, p. 28).

In Cook et al.’s (2003) criticism of SE they argue that SE is based on false premises which fail to understand the causes of mass unemployment which stem from the neoliberal economic model. Specifically, they argue that SE local schemes can only create a small number of jobs within a constrained macroeconomy. Furthermore SE assumes that governments face financial constraints in the provision of welfare services, which in their view, is not true. In sum, they see SE as indistinguishable from neo-liberalism and not in any way a solution to unemployment and welfare needs.

Amid governmental policy changes, intra-sector competition and changing social and business contexts, SE initiatives operate in a complex environment. Furthermore, it is admitted by most that solutions require “fundamental transformations in political, economic and social systems... the test of social entrepreneurship... is change in social systems that create and maintain the problem” (Alvord et al., 2004, p. 261). Finally, how the sectoral lines of society should be drawn or defined remains a question for social entrepreneurship theorists to conceptualize.

#### 2.5.6 Challenges for Research

One might concur with those who argue that the literature is ‘fragmented’ and without an “empirically derived coherent theoretical framework” (Mort & Weerawardena, 2006, p. 25). Given this confusion, effort must be made to “clarify and define key concepts and constructs” (Mair & Martí, 2006, p. 37). Indeed, “lack of a theory of SE may be a barrier to the full recognition and more focused support that might be needed to enables these initiatives to grow to a scale where they can make substantial contribution to eradicating poverty in all its forms” (Mair & Seelos, 2005, p. 243). In addition, SE is not a term which is well known in the field of social sciences nor, for that matter, have academics in the area of international development studies given it much attention (although Sayer’s (2005) mention of SE is an exception). For this reason, some of its proponents are,

...concerned that serious thinkers will... overlook social entrepreneurship, and we fear that the indiscriminate use of the term may undermine its significance and potential importance to those seeking to understand how societies change and progress. Social entrepreneurship, we believe, is as vital to the progress of societies as is entrepreneurship to the progress of economies, and it merits more rigorous, serious attention than it has attracted so far. (Martin & Osberg, 2007, p. 39)

It will remain to be seen whether social entrepreneurship, like social capital, or other such concepts, will continue to interest academics. Mair and Martí (2006) raise the question of whether SE is an independent field of research. Dees and Anderson (2006) argue persuasively that: “the most intriguing examples of social entrepreneurship, as well as the ones that provide the greatest basis for building a field of study, are innovations that used elements from both sectors to create social value” (p. 48). Thus, in contrast with Martin and Osberg’s (2007) focus on the pioneering role of the entrepreneur, it is those hybrid elements or public/private organizational characteristics which mark the potential for a ‘social entrepreneurship’ field.

In the literature, some argue that it is difficult, and perhaps not desirable, to put a measurement or quantifiable indicator on ‘social value creation’. Both Drayton (2005) and Bornstein (2004), for example, argue for the use of narrative to deliver the message and explain the work of social entrepreneurs as the most effective medium for communicating the impact of SE. At the same time, most argue that because of the competitive environment in which social enterprises exist as well as the demands made by outside funders, there has been a movement towards measuring outcomes. While most agree with Dees (1998) that the ‘outcomes’ of SE are social value creation, others look at the importance of monitoring and evaluation and the positive impact this has on an organization’s ability to grow and respond to a complex environment (see for example Alvord et al., 2004). In addition, Mair and Martí (2006) argue for SE research to go ‘beyond descriptive studies’ to realize SE as a source of “explanation, prediction and delight” in which “further empirical and conceptual work is needed to establish a comprehensive picture of social entrepreneurship” (p. 37, 42). Indeed it is

related to the common goal of assessing social impact, which is “one of the greatest challenges for practitioners and researchers in social entrepreneurship... yet it is necessary to make major efforts in this direction and to develop useful and meaningful measures that capture the impact of social entrepreneurship and reflect the objectives pursued” (p.42). From a research standpoint, evaluating the claims of ‘successful’ SE initiatives through rigorous independent research, will certainly remain of interest to all concerned

#### 2.5.7 Conclusion

The literature on social entrepreneurship rightly identifies the overwhelming inability of many of our existing institutions to respond to the needs of the world’s poor. However, there is a more critical account of the concomitant social, political and economic factors, both global and national, which is lacking and which would be useful to help improve SE theory. Finding an adequate and mutually agreed upon definition of social entrepreneurship, including which elements of entrepreneurship theory should be included in the concept, appears to be one of the challenges for theorists. A consideration of which types of geographical, political, social or economic environments are enabling for the transformative work of SE is one area which requires more substantial theorization. In addition, how the sectoral lines of society should be redrawn remains a question for social entrepreneurship theorists to conceptualize. This is important as many SE initiatives exist as hybrid organizations which incorporate a social enterprise or for-profit company to support their work. Finally, there are central questions which research must address: Can SE in fact transform social and economic systems? How effective are SE organizations in transforming the livelihoods of people and communities? In what ways are SE organizations partnering with public and private sector organizations? To what extent is social-enterprise, or for-profit activity, increasing their capacities beyond traditional NGDOs? And finally in what ways do SE initiatives operate adjunct to other programmes run by governments or non-profit organizations in the public sector?

The underlying question to be revisited in later discussion of this study is whether the public/private/third sector frameworks embedded within neoliberal and political economic theories adequately address hybrid or social entrepreneurial forms of social organization. For the purpose of addressing this question, this first section has necessarily delved into the underlying theoretical issues with regards to NGO-business partnerships and social entrepreneurship so as to place in perspective the developmental focus of this thesis: private (non-profit) tertiary education. The following section will focus on tertiary, or higher, education as it relates to development in all its aspects – enhancing human health and well-being, increasing opportunities for employment, providing needed skills for the macro-economy, and so on. The discussion of public and private forms of organization will, nonetheless, resurface in a slightly different manifestation as we consider analysis on the value of private or public institutions comprising the tertiary education sector.

## 2. 6 Tertiary Education, Development and Poverty

Education is commonly acknowledged to be the cornerstone of development. The publication ‘Where is the Wealth of Nations?’ (WBG, 2006) signals the significance of knowledge and education for development, finding that when measured properly ‘natural capital’ (forests, oil, etc.) accounts for only 5% of world wealth and ‘produced capital’ (factories, roads) for only 18% of world wealth. ‘Intangible capital’, which includes education and governance, is the largest factor accounting for 77% of the world’s wealth, placing education and knowledge at the forefront in the pursuit of financial prosperity. Tertiary education, in recent times, is particularly acknowledged to be of “paramount importance for economic and social development” (Cheru, 2003, p. 81). One of the most crucial issues for education is the debate on how post-secondary or tertiary education is meant to correlate with the development imperatives of a particular country. Amid the many challenges facing higher education systems around the world, the question remains: how might tertiary

education link effectively with efforts to reduce poverty? If it is vital for creating the knowledge and skills necessary for development, what levels, curriculum and types of educational institutions allow countries to 'compete' in the global economy? Is the East Asian model of skill formation, with its focus on mass primary education, a valuable example that offers the route to 'economic salvation' for countries in Sub-Saharan Africa<sup>25</sup>? How can tertiary sectors resist maintaining the elite status quo? In what examples does private higher education provide access to less-privileged groups?

This section will focus on the broad debate pertaining to tertiary education and development, with particular attention paid to the universities of various African countries. It will also include a more particular focus on the tremendous growth in private higher education worldwide and the questions the literature raises on issues such as equity, quality, and regulation. Finally, some questions will be broached with regards to innovative mixed higher education institutions which have both public and private functions. This section will end the theoretical literature review and will lead into the final section on the South African development context and the specific challenges within its higher education sector.

#### 2.6.1 The Positioning of tertiary education in the development debate

Primary education has figured more prominently in international development policy than any other level of education. Equity considerations would seem to favour an emphasis on wide access to primary education for an entire population, 'education for all'<sup>26</sup>. Bennell (1995) asserts that this is for political and ideological reasons, such that primary education has been emphasized by the World Bank in the last few decades in order to support World-bank inspired/or designed structural adjustment and poverty alleviation programs. Riddell (1996) believes this to be based on three

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<sup>25</sup> Tikly et al. (2003) assert that in Africa: "the East Asian model of skill formation has attracted considerable attention from many countries (including Rwanda) hoping to find in it a route to their own economic salvation" (p. 297). They furthermore question the universal validity of the East Asian model, in particular, they counter that altered global economic circumstances indicate that a more balanced expansion of all levels of education, especially post-secondary, is essential for the changes in industrial enterprise.

<sup>26</sup> Education for All (EFA) is an international campaign launched by UNESCO in which countries at the World Conference on Education for All in 1990 committed to universalize primary education and reduce illiteracy by 2000. This date has since been moved to 2015 in line with the millennium development goals (MDG's).

arguments in particular: finding a positive link between primary education and indicators such as child health and agricultural productivity, rate of return analysis with the highest rates of return to primary education, and the East Asian industrialization experience (see for example, Mingat, 1998; UNESCO, 2000). For example, using rate of return analysis (RORE)<sup>27</sup>, the World Bank and other institutions have found primary education to have the highest private and social returns, and therefore the highest profitability on investment for every country in the world (Psacharopoulos, 1981; 1988; 1994; 2006). In contrast many have challenged what Bennell (1995) terms, the ‘received wisdom’ of RORE and questioned its accuracy as a form of analysis to direct social investment<sup>28</sup> (Weale, 1993; Bennell, 1995; Riddell, 1996; Tikly, 2003; Bloom et al., 2005; Palmer, 2006). Palmer (2006) instead finds that there can be *declining* returns to primary education over time. In Ghana, the over-emphasis on basic education has led to a lack in educational managers, teachers, and curriculum developers, all of whom are products of post-primary education. Fryer and Vencatachellum (2005) in their study from Machibisa Township, South Africa, find there are *no* returns to primary education. They claim that “age, gender and previous experience are more relevant than education for most blacks... [which] contributes to challenging the consensus on high returns to primary education in developing countries” (p. 516).

Nevertheless, investment in primary education has been the major educational focus for many governments, NGO’s and international institutions for the past three decades<sup>29</sup>. As a result, many consider the de-emphasis on secondary and tertiary education throughout the 80’s and 90’s to

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<sup>27</sup> RORE analysis attempts to measure average annual earnings among people with different levels of educational attainment and analyzes social and private rates of return by “comparing amount of public subsidy received by education with the amount of extra tax society was able to levy on resultant higher earnings” (UNESCO, 2000, p. 39). RORE is based on the idea that if education is treated as an investment by society in its people, then a given society will be made better off by an increase in educational investment as long as the rate of return is higher than for other public investments.

<sup>28</sup> For example, Bennell (1995) argues that RORE is not subject to systematic scrutiny and often uses deficient data as well as dissimilar methodological approaches to make its claims (p. 184). RORE also fails to account for quality of education and other quantitative estimates for returns to education which “point to the importance of post-basic levels... [and evidence] that the pattern of private returns to education being higher for higher levels of education is common across SSA [Sub-Saharan Africa]” (Palmer, 2006, p. 7).

<sup>29</sup> There are notable exceptions, as Gorostiaga points out that “UNESCO, the UNDP and the Economic Commission on Latin America accept the multiple challenge of promoting primary education, attending to basic needs, as well as advancing higher and technological education” (Gorostiaga, 1999, p. 200).

have resulted in a misguided education and development policy in Africa equivalent to ‘throwing the baby out with the bathwater’ (Bekele & Gutema, 2004; Bloom et al., 2005; Brock-Utne, 2000; Sawyerr, 2004).

When it comes to tertiary education, the link is seldom made to its potential contribution to reducing poverty<sup>30</sup>. Bloom et al. (2005) similarly critique the absence of tertiary education mentioned in Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper’s (PRSPs)<sup>31</sup> for poor countries. This evidences a lack of recognition that tertiary education, in fact, trains personnel to improve infrastructure, such as construction of roads, railways and telecommunications: all necessary infrastructure, they argue, essential to improving people’s living conditions.

More recently, Palmer (2006) argues that post-basic education and training (PBET) *is* a pathway to poverty reduction, improving the quality of education at all levels, enabling marginalised groups who attain post-secondary education to use their education and skills to improve their livelihoods directly (p. 10). Thus, improving access to post-basic education while establishing a context in which skills can be utilized, Palmer argues, is a direct pathway to improving people’s livelihoods.

Others argue that there is no direct correlation between any particular level of education and its contributions to poverty reduction. Instead, useful lessons for policy could be drawn from in-depth analysis of “pathways to poverty reduction from tracer studies that explore links between specific kinds of educational provision, educational content and specific kinds of life outcome for specific kinds of people from specific kinds of background” (Thin, 2007, p. 4). One such tracer study of secondary and university school leavers in Malawi, Tanzania, Uganada and Zimbabwe high employment among graduates in positions that effectively utilize the knowledge and skills they

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<sup>30</sup> One notable exception is the research of Robert Palmer (2006) at the Centre of African Studies, University of Edinburgh, which finds that in order to achieve a balanced mix of skills and knowledge for poverty reduction and growth, all levels of education and training need to be supported.

<sup>31</sup> PRSP’s were introduced in 1999 by the World Bank and IMF, requiring heavily-indebted poor countries (HIPC’s) to prepare and undertake public consultations on three-year plans for improving the country’s efforts in reducing poverty. See any of the following for in-depth critique and analysis: Booth (2003), Cheru (2006), Geske (2005), Gould (2003).

acquired in university, along with little evidence of permanent brain drain. It would seem then, that not only is secondary and university education beneficial for those who received the education, but “it is self-evidently the case that the entire development process hinges on the availability of a critical mass of well-trained personnel, especially in the context of rapid globalisation” (Ibid, p. 82).

Gorostiaga (1999) argues that globalization excludes those without competitive capacity, such that “the main determinant of poverty today is neither lack of natural resources nor geographical marginality, but rather the lack of appropriate human capital to produce added value, make use of technology, and attract investments” (p. 182).

Various key documents now highlight the importance of looking at post-basic levels of education and training: most notably the Commission for Africa (2005), the UNESCO/World Bank Task Force Report; ‘Peril and Promise’ (2000), the UN Millennium Project (2005)<sup>32</sup>, UNIDO’s Industrial Development Report 2005 and the World Bank’s ‘Constructing Knowledge Societies’ (2002). In particular, low investment in tertiary systems in developing economies is noted as a ‘remarkable mismatch’ between “the increasing recognition of the need for domestic knowledge systems and a quite generalised recent decline in the allocation of resources to capability building in the developing world, a trend contrary to that found in the experience of the successful catching-up countries” (UNIDO, 2005, p. 62). In this regard, the South African example is highlighted as being particularly relevant for African countries, as it acts in contradistinction to the prevalent focus on basic education:

Notwithstanding the complex challenges faced, there is a need for other African countries to try to respond to the emphasis on post-basic education and skills that South Africa has developed. Intermediate and high level skills will be important across the region to attempts to

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<sup>32</sup> The Millennium Project’s 10<sup>th</sup> thematic taskforce on ‘Science, Technology and Innovation’ places universities as central to development. Universities can have a greater development role, it is argued, by becoming more entrepreneurial, becoming involved with local communities, engaging in under-funded R and D, introducing entrepreneurship training and internships into curricula, and focusing on business incubation and community development (UN Millennium Project, 2005).

promote international competitiveness whatever the specificities of national context. (Akoojee & McGrath, 2006, p. 432)

Given conflicting arguments, promotion of a balanced view in which all levels of education have a place in every nation is perhaps warranted. Gorostiaga (1999) puts it succinctly:

The fallacy that tensions and conflicting interests are inherent between basic and higher education subsystems in the struggle over scarce resources condemns the countries of the South to be providers of cheap and unskilled labor, reproducing dual citizenship, and eliminating the possibilities for systemic competitiveness. The educational continuum comprises all levels from basic to higher education, in public, private and mixed sectors. Therefore complementary interactions should take place among the subsystems and between public and private education. (p. 192)

The combination of this criticism alongside new evidence on the benefits of tertiary education systems for developing countries in the 'globalized economy' has led to a revision in thinking amongst many international development institutions. One of the themes of the recent 2007 UKFIET International Conference on Education and Development was in fact titled 'Balancing growth in education: primary, secondary and tertiary contributions' (<http://www.cfbt.com/UKFIET/default.aspx>). Similarly, it is the topic of a University and College Seminar Series being held across Canada in November, 2007, entitled "Investing in Quality Education at All Levels" (<http://www.akfc.ca/>). Investment in higher education systems, as well as primary and secondary education, is now seen as crucial to long-term social and economic prosperity for developing nations.

The following section revisits some of the economic, individual and macro-economic benefits linked with tertiary education.

## 2.6.2 Revisiting evidence on Benefits of Higher Education

### *Macroeconomic benefits*

In the previous section, a focus on basic education represented what Tikly, Lowe, Crossley, Dachi, Garrett & Mukabaranga (2003) refer to as the ‘evolutionary’ development strategy. That is, Skill development in [the evolutionary strategy]... focuses on low-level skills, in agriculture or in low-skill, labour-intensive manufacturing. Only a limited range and number of high-skilled workers are initially needed and demand for high skills will grow only slowly. Basic literacy and numeracy, with some science, are deemed to provide an adequate base to support acquisition of low skills and within education the priority is firmly focused on developing primary education (eg. World Bank). (pp. 296 – 297)

In contrast, the ‘leap frog’ strategy is promoted by others who argue for the urgency of the high skills required to jettison developing countries into the global economy. For example, Bloom et al. (2005) argue that India’s emergence as an economic power of late is in part due to years of efforts to provide quality higher education. The UNESCO/WBG Taskforce (2000) similarly argue that from 1991 to 1995, East Asia experienced faster growth per capita than Latin America due to the higher education levels of the East Asian workforce account, highlighting post-secondary education as a strong factor in encouraging economic growth for developing countries. The United Nations Industrial Development Organization (UNIDO) draws parallels between the successful instances of ‘economic catch-up’ by Korea and Taiwan Province of China during the latter half of the twentieth century and its explosion in enrolments in secondary and tertiary education. (UNIDO, 2005). UNIDO’s report opines that while

...the actual extent to which overall educational capital determines economic growth is still in debate... cross-country data show a positive correlation between tertiary enrolment rates and measures of per capita income (in Fagerberg and Godino, 2004). Furthermore, evidence on the centrality of scientific and engineering education to technological capability formation and on the latter’s effects on economic growth is sufficiently strong to invite further qualitative

investigation. Although investing in higher education in developing countries had been previously seen as a non-priority, this has changed in recent years. (p. 43)

### *Individual benefits*

Individual benefits<sup>33</sup> for graduates of higher education are well known and include improved employment prospects, higher salaries and a greater ability to save and invest. Graduates may also experience better health and improved quality of life (Bloom et al., 2005). At the same time it is acknowledged that while there are significant benefits to individual students, in many poor countries access to tertiary education is limited by income, excluding many students with potential (WBG/UNESCO, 2000). Of note, there is no mention in the literature of benefits to the *families* of graduates, especially in the case of students from disadvantaged backgrounds who manage to gain access to and graduate from a tertiary institution<sup>34</sup>. In this regard, Walker does note that there can be “redistributive effects between social groups, households and within families where better education is shown to reduce gender inequality” (Walker, 2006, p. 168).

### *Social benefits*

Perhaps more importantly, social, or public benefits, which have been hitherto neglected, include helping developing economies gain ground through technological catch-up with graduates more aware of and able to use new technologies. Higher education may also create greater tax revenue, increased savings and investment, lead to more civic society, improve a nation’s health, improve technology and strengthen governance (Bloom et al., 2005). Graduates can also become entrepreneurs, community or public leaders, help to create an enabling economic environment,

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<sup>33</sup> Individual benefits are more commonly referred to as ‘private benefits’. For the purpose of clearly separating this section from the broader issue of ‘private’ vs. ‘public’ provision of higher education, I am instead using the term ‘individual’ in this section.

<sup>34</sup> This will be an issue that I will attempt to explore later in the discussion of my findings from the survey of graduates who attended CIDA City campus.

strengthen institutions, help develop infrastructure and conduct university-based research with potentially far-reaching social benefit (UNESCO/WBG, 2000).

Therefore, public investment in tertiary education should not be considered socially inequitable or simply contributing to establish the elite of society. Such arguments overlook two issues: first “an educated and skilled stratum is indispensable to the social and economic development of a modern society, giving benefits to the society as a whole and not merely to those educated. [And second], higher education has acted as a powerful mechanism for upward mobility in many countries, allowing the talented to thrive irrespective of their social origins” (UNESCO/WBG, 2000, p. 50).

Post-secondary education is also argued to contribute to “the development of a supportive *transformative context* that catalyses a country’s education and training outcomes (at all levels)” (Palmer, 2006, p.10). It is within the higher education system that students are trained to become good quality educators, curriculum developers and administrators in primary and secondary schools.

Finally, it must be mentioned that universities, in particular, are designated an important role for social development for their potential contribution to superior quality knowledge generation and dissemination, since “application, no matter how vigorous and well-intentioned, of unsound knowledge cannot, in the long run, conduce to development” (Sawyerr, 2004, p. 29). Walker (2006) too opines that graduates may help foster public debate and dialogue about social and political systems.

On the other hand, Sawyerr (2004) clearly sees that there is a contradiction as “even though its broader social purposes include the equalisation of life chances, higher education tends to pull in the direction of individual competitiveness and the reproduction of privilege – a contradiction that needs to be addressed by those who advocate the treatment of higher education as a public good” (p. 42). Sawyerr thus advocates for finding ways to counteract this tendency through for example community service, and a democratic culture built within the institution so as to balance the tendency to privilege.

## 2.7 Tertiary Education: In Theory

While there is renewed advocacy for higher education as key to social and economic transformation in poor countries, this attention stems from different theoretical underpinnings. The following sections will place the many theories supporting tertiary education into two broad categories. First, links to the neoclassical economic growth model and its focus on human capital formation will be established. The subsequent section will focus on the more ‘traditional’ view of the university in light of culturing human reason and capabilities, as well as the particular importance of the ‘development university’ in Africa as essential for building democratic states.

### 2.7.1. Neo-Classical Economic Growth

Part of the renewed focus on tertiary education is associated with the neoclassical economic growth framework (see for example Lucas, 1988). An essential part of this economic model focuses on ‘human capital’ formation. The concept of human capital dates back to Adam Smith’s 1776 *Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* and has been a particular focus for exploring the links between education, productivity and incomes since the 1960’s. In relation to the endogenous growth model developed by Lucas (1988), human capital is considered to be an additional factor of production that will raise the production possibility of a country in which schooling and education are the means of accumulating human capital. It is argued that the additional force behind economic growth is technical change which in part comes from improvements in knowledge about how we transform inputs into outputs in the production process.

Tertiary education is thus recognized as the ‘key driver’ for Africa (WBG, 2005) in the so-called ‘knowledge economy’ whereby links are encouraged between education and business or industry in the form of ‘new partnerships’. Education is also viewed as related to capacity building, upgrading human capital through acquiring skills appropriate to developing ‘entrepreneurial attitudes’, rectifying the ‘skills deficit’ in developing countries, and finding a job (Human Resources

Development Review, 2003; OECD, 2000; World Bank, 2005; Commission for Africa, 2005; NEPAD, 2005). Glenda Kruss (2004) puts it succinctly:

The new 'global consensus' promotes a free market vision of 'high-skills', basically proposing that technological change requires greater education and training to develop a high-skills workforce, which will lead to high wages and economic growth and thus improve the social living conditions of all citizens. Education and training that will equip individuals for economic opportunity and choice of occupational status has thus become critical. (p. 70)

Particular worldwide focus is on developing high level skills in science and technology. Policy prescription from the 2005 Commission for Africa, for example, advises donors to make a major investment to improve Africa's capacity, "starting with its system of higher education, particularly in science and technology" (Commission for Africa, 2005, p. 14).

In addition, the WBG Taskforce (2000) argues that most developing countries urgently need specialized professional skills, such that professional schools play a key role in national development<sup>35</sup>.

#### 2.7.2 Higher Education Tradition and the 'Development University' in Africa

The global consensus on 'high skills' is often criticized as an overly instrumental or narrow view of education which results in the 'commodification' of knowledge (Peters, 2003; Sawyerr, 2004; Tikly, 2005). Tikly (2003) challenges the way in which skills formation has been reduced to a 'technical issue', especially when addressed within the dominant discourse on human capital. In addition, the appropriateness of the 'high skills economy' is considered questionable "in contexts where the impact of... new technologies and forms of production [has] been partial and uneven, and where the majority of the population relies on 'low skills 'in order to subsist'" (Tikly, 2005, p. 302).

The overwhelming focus on specific fields of education in relation to 'high skills' development

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<sup>35</sup> At the same time, the WBG/UNESCO Taskforce report does not focus solely on specialized skill needs for LDC's, and devotes an entire chapter to the case for liberal or general education and building capacity within research-based institutions.

indicates an instrumental integration of education with training and ignores the centrality of the instructor in effective learning (Wood, 2005, p. 343).

In line with such critique against the 'high skills' approach, there can be no universal solution to the 'skills' required for development, instead solutions need to be contextualised to individual countries. In African countries, in particular, skills priorities must be decided "through resolving fundamental tensions or pressure points ... [between] different interest groups and social classes ... [with] very different views of... what skills they consider 'relevant' in the context of globalization" (Tikly, 2005, p. 302). To find this balance, some underline the centrality of government and their role in 'levelling the play field' in order to ensure opportunities to different groups (Carnoy, 1999).

From another perspective, Walker (2006) puts forward Amartya Sen's capabilities approach as an alternative to human capital theory since "the 'bettering of a human life does not have to be justified by showing that a person with a better life is also a better producer" (Dreze & Sen, 1995, in Walker, 2006, p.168):

Education is also of intrinsic importance in that being educated is a valuable achievement in itself, for its own sake. Education is in itself a basic capability which affects the development and expansion of other capabilities... Not having education harms human development and having a full life... Overall, education contributes to interpersonal effects where people are able to use the benefits of education to help others and hence contribute to the social good and democratic freedoms. (p. 168)

Walker's views are in line with the traditional thinking that higher education promotes an open search for truth, democratic values and freedom of academic thought.

Another way of viewing tertiary education is in relation to building democracy in which, for example, the African University in particular is viewed as 'a crucial part of state revival', the empowerment of individuals and the enhancement of the social impact of higher education (Peters, 2003; Ndebele, Association of African Universities, 2005). Wagaw (2001) explains how during the first decade of post-independence, Africans and African leaders were committed to the creation of

institutions of higher learning since Africa “was exploited, humiliated and robbed of its essences in the past by outsiders, due primarily to its lack of knowledge and skills of the type provided by institutions of higher learning” (p. 54). In order to be liberated and attain full freedom and economic prosperity, tertiary education was the tool to achieve these enduring goals. Sawyerr (2004) mentions the University of Ghana, Sudan University, Makerere University, University of Ibadan and the University of Dar-es-Salaam as examples of institutions which during the 1960’s and 1970’s provided rich learning contexts in a wide range of subjects and were true ‘havens of reflection’ supporting enlightened discussion of national and global issues.

Nevertheless, since the 1980’s, there have been heavy constraints on the capacity of tertiary institutions in Africa to live up to this ideal, particularly the ideal of the ‘development university’. This is since tertiary institutions are inextricably linked to changes in political economy. Structural adjustment policies and the concomitant decline in government funding and investment in tertiary education, as well as the new international division of labour over the past few decades illustrates the way in which tertiary education reflects other changes in the macroeconomic environment and the global economy. Meanwhile, as institutions attempt to respond to these changes, they are simultaneously criticized for not living up to the many ideals that are demanded of them and for becoming irrelevant to the life of the people. Yet with calls for the ‘revitalization’ of the University in developing regions (Arbab, 2000) especially in Africa (Cheru, 2003; Sawyerr, 2004; Wagaw, 2001), there remains some hope for the potential of tertiary institutions to coordinate their learning in the context of development imperatives and assume a more active role in society.

### 2.7.3 Inequities in Access to Tertiary Education: Social Stratification

Randall Collins’ *The Credential Society* (1979) draws a complex picture of the way in which class conflicts in the U.S.A. became channelled within institutionalized education systems which work to consolidate culturally elite universities with professional associations. Collins’ conflict theory of stratification shows that there is an underlying political element to credential systems which work to

monopolize income strata and thus perpetuate inequalities between groups. Thus, educational requirements “have become built into the definitions of the ‘positions’ themselves. Moreover, as direct ethnic and sexual discrimination becomes increasingly illegitimate and subject to legal challenge, educational discrimination becomes increasingly relied upon as a surrogate means of group domination” (p.199). While some of Collins’ arguments are less than relevant to the discussion of this study, he does underscore the political aspect of a college or university degree. The degree is a currency which can be used to preserve higher economic strata. This is evidenced most clearly in states such as communist China and apartheid South Africa<sup>36</sup>, “which dramatically altered stratification processes in their societies through educational policies” (Buchmann & Hannum, 2001, p. 80).

It is often the case in developing countries, where there is much competition for state funds, that universities educate an elite strata of society. That is, subsidies to higher education simply work to maintain the status quo through education of the middle to upper classes who go on to obtain elite positions in the economy. As Schultz (2004) states:

The main drawback of higher education in Africa is that it benefits children who are mostly from upper economic classes, living in urban areas, whose parents are well educated relative to the standards of their generation... higher education is heavily subsidized by government and financially benefits predominantly the upper classes and thus increases future economic inequalities in Africa. (p. 143)

Since access to university in Africa is seen to be increasingly restricted to children from professional family backgrounds, others argue that unless some “appropriate support can be provided to students from poorer backgrounds, the role of higher education in reproducing social and economic inequality will be further reinforced” (Al-Sammarrai & Bennell, 2003, p. 82). Sawyerr (2004) furthermore argues that school access could be used as a ‘rough proxy’ for social class in many African countries.

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<sup>36</sup> As is well known, the South African National Party government used the educational system, amongst many other measures, to block the social mobility of the black majority while ensuring the advancement of the white minority.

In Ghana, for example, the data shows “a skewing of opportunity for university admissions in favour of high income and residence in selected urban centres” (p. 18-19). The evidence in Mozambique also shows this tendency, such that “if measures are not taken... we will witness, with the impossibility of social mobility through education, the consolidation of a closed socio-economic elite in Mozambique, concentrated in Maputo” (Mario et al., 2001 in Sawyerr, 2004, p. 19). Consequently,

University education in Africa contributes significantly to the upward mobility of all who receive it. It is also invariably accompanied by a gravitation of such people to the major urban centres in the key regions of the country, where the better schools at both primary and secondary levels tend to be located. The upshot is that children of the better-off residents in the small number of urban centres tend to be better prepared for entry into university, whether on the basis of secondary school examination results or special university entrance examinations. This puts them at a significant advantage in the fierce competition for the limited numbers of university places. Thus *the advantages of one generation are reinforced in the next.* (pp. 17-18, emphasis added)

Sawyerr is not advocating that countries lower their public subsidy to higher education, but that they find pro-active ways to redress the equity balance at all levels.

The discussion of educational equity at the tertiary level in developing countries for many scholars, hinges predominantly on the issue of *access* for less advantaged youth. As will be seen later in the discussion of South African tertiary education, access is only one of several issues surrounding the complexities of encouraging educational equity following apartheid.

### *Policy Recommendations*

There are many different policy suggestions surrounding increased access to tertiary education for marginalized or financially disadvantaged students in developing countries. The World Bank/UNESCO Taskforce (2000) recommend that poor countries need to help “disadvantaged groups to overcome the endemic problems that exclude them from the system” through public

reinvestment at all levels of the education system, as well as an examination of ways to reform tuition and fee structures that exclude these students” (p. 40). A balance between ‘equity and excellence’ is advocated: “Proactive efforts to attract promising members of disadvantaged groups must be coupled with well-designed, consistently delivered remedial support” (p.41). But this arguably requires changes in ideology at the state level in order to create conditions that counteract prejudiced access to higher education (Sawyerr, 2004).

Alternatively, Levy (2006) argues that there can be a powerful development role for serious private ‘non-elite institutions’, “to bring comparatively unprivileged groups into the development process—a major ‘access’ role within often highly stratified societies—and in so doing to serve the evolving and globalizing job market” (p. 9). Indeed, the central question becomes, to what extent can a private institution of higher education assist in counteracting the trend towards reproducing privilege through education?

## 2.8 The Private/Public Higher Education Debate

One of the ways out of the ‘crisis’ in public higher education in developing countries is the inclusion of private higher education. Private provision of higher education is often mentioned as a valid option for developing countries to both increase access to education as well as enhance skills required for economic growth. Accordingly, higher education policy suggestions routinely include the recommendation to ‘diversify’ as a national imperative: countries should diversify vertically through new institutional types, whether traditional research universities, professional schools, polytechnics or community colleges. They should also diversify horizontally through new private providers such as for-profit institutions, philanthropic and nonprofit organizations, and religious groups (WBG/UNESCO, 2000). Another rationalization for encouraging private education provision is the chiefly neoliberal conception that reliance on state funding is anathema to the development of higher education. As an *Economist* writer suggests to countries trying to create successful higher-education systems:

First: diversify your sources of income. The bargain with the state has turned out to be a pact with the devil. Second: let a thousand academic flowers bloom. Universities, including for-profit ones, should have to compete for customers. A sophisticated economy needs a wide variety of universities pursuing a wide variety of missions. These two principles reinforce each other: the more that the state's role contracts, the more educational variety will flourish.

(Wooldridge, 2005, p. 4)

This laissez-faire type of policy prescription embraces the idea of students as 'customers' and tertiary institutions as operating in competition with each other in a higher education 'marketplace'.

Of course, there is enormous debate over the appropriateness of private HE as a strategy for human resource development. The debate concerns the purpose and function of tertiary institutions for student development and for a nation's knowledge needs. Nevertheless, with private higher education as an existing reality around the world, a main focus for study has been to classify the various types of private higher education institutions. A more holistic research agenda looks to further this field by engaging with what private institutions are actually doing within the context of higher education systems as a whole and questions, for example, whether they are competitive with or complementary to the public sector (see for example, Levy, 2006).

The Higher Education Task Force (UNESCO/WBG, 2000) distinguishes three types of higher education (HE) institutions: public (Research universities, provincial or regional universities, professional schools), private not-for-profit (provincial or regional universities, professional schools, etc.) and private for-profit (vocational, professional schools, etc.). While this does not engage with all of the complexities of institutional type, this simple categorization is useful to frame the following three sections: Public HE, Private HE, and not-for-profit forms of Private HE. However, there will be much overlap and reference will be made to the higher education system as a whole so as to avoid treating each as a separate sector working in isolation.

### 2.8.1 Public Higher Education: Focus on Africa's Universities

Historically, the establishment of higher education institutions in Africa following independence was based on the desire to educate high-level human resources that would be based on African realities, educating young people who “would be able to tackle the many issues of development more effectively than outsiders with limited knowledge of the local contexts” (Wagaw, 2001, p. 51). Across the continent, universities increased from 52 in 1960 to 143 by 1980 (Sawyerr, 2004). Sawyerr explains Africa's particular HE expansion in terms of three factors: first was the need to staff public services, professions and business in newly independent countries, second is the high rate of population growth with large youthful populations, and third is the expansion of primary and secondary education which has increased the pool of secondary school graduates. The link between education and development continues to be recognized in Africa, where it is hoped that “higher education institutions can be ‘potent agents of change’ which can respond or collaborate with the development imperatives of Africa” (Wagaw, 2001, p. 50).

However, as is common around the world, a major difficulty that public higher education faces is the decline in government funding. It is further argued that “the global crisis in higher education is nowhere more evident than in Africa . . . the small number of higher education students in Africa have to learn in rapidly deteriorating physical conditions and the context of declining educational quality” (Gutlig, 2000 in Grewal, Imenda & Kongolo, 2004, p. 198). Per capita expenditure has dropped from an average of US\$6300 in 1970 to less than \$1500 by 1990 (Ibid). Many poor nations have become financially strapped because of rising debts and deficits – due in large part to structural adjustment programmes that many developing nations signed on to. For African institutions,

The collapse of national economies resulted in sharp reductions in the capacity of the state to maintain support to universities at the levels provided in the early years of independence, especially in the face of competition for resources from other social and economic sectors...

From about the middle of the 1980s this was compounded by the policy of directing

resources towards basic education as well as the enrolment explosions. A further factor was the coincident reduction in the general support of higher education by international donors. (Sawyer, 2004, p. 23)

While many have written of the deterioration of African tertiary institutions in the 1980's and 1990's, Sawyer (2004) argues that what needs to be emphasized is the "consequential transformations in the teaching, learning and research environment. Teaching and residential facilities now cater for multiples of the number of students for which they were built" (p. 24). So for instance, the Université Cheikh Anta Diop (UCAD) in Senegal, with a capacity for 13,000 students, now has over 23,000. Similarly, Makerere University in Uganda, with a capacity for 21,000 now has over six times what it had in 1994. While Makerere University faces huge pressure on space, facilities and staff, it has recently been characterized as having made its recovery, due in large part to the introduction of student fees and a move towards privatization.

For some, the trend towards privatization as well as charging student fees, along with the fact that many university students in Africa are from advantaged backgrounds would appear to "provide support for increased cost recovery from university students" (Al-Sammarrai & Bennell, 2003, p. 82). The privatization of public HE institutions along "with tuition and other charges rising, [makes] public and private institutions look more and more similar" (Altbach, 2000, p. 1). Indeed, both the private and public sector are engaged in major privatization (Levy, 2000). Private sector involvement, online distance education, partnerships and franchising arrangements are other ways public institutions are raising funds to invest in buildings, residences, libraries, research or staff salaries. Cheru (2003) recommends African countries be strategic with their education budgets, that is, by investing in areas of high return such as vocational training, science and technology, and agricultural research and development (p. 83).

Significantly, this decline in public tertiary institutions in Africa, and around the world, is indirectly linked to the growth of private higher education that springs, in part, from neo-liberal economic policies that have limited the capacity of public HE institutions. Arguably, "no country

pursues such political economic policies in order to lead to private (or other) higher education consequences, and it is rare that those consequences are thought through when political-economic policy is made” (Levy, 2005, p. 34). Consequently, “as public universities have almost collapsed in sub-Saharan Africa, private institutions offer an alternative route to education in countries like Zaire, Kenya, Liberia, Madagascar, Zimbabwe, Tanzania and Uganda” (Kruss, 2004, p. 3).

Thus while government’s continue to struggle with the ability to fund the expansion of higher education to meet student demand, public institutions are for the most part trying to get out of their financial crisis through a movement towards privatization, forming private partnerships, expanding into distance education, charging student fees and finding creative new sources of revenue. It is “the combination of unprecedented demand for access to higher education and the inability or unwillingness of governments to provide the necessary support [that] has brought private higher education to the forefront” (Altbach, 2000, p. 1). As the most rapidly growing section of tertiary education in almost every part of the world, Private HE has become a significant topic for debate.

#### 2.8.2 Private Higher Education: A Global Surge

Public sector dominance of HE has not always been a historical reality. Levy (2006), argues that higher education was historically neither public nor private in the way we use the terms today. Instead, they were more like ‘private-public configurations’. Thus despite the dominance of the public side of higher education in the twentieth century which was tied to the emergence of the nation-state, a ‘continental model’ which was carried by colonialism to large parts of the world, the reality has not always been this single-sector dominance (Ibid).

The ‘unprecedented growth’ in the private higher education sector around the world is seen most powerfully in Asia – including Japan, South Korea, the Philippines and Indonesia – where approximately 80% of enrolments are in Private HE and only 20% are in Public HE (Altbach, 2000). For example, Malaysia went from having one University in 1962 to ten public universities, seven private Universities, six polytechnics, 33 teacher colleges and 415 private colleges in 1998 (Lee, 1999).

China's Private HE sector is reported to have more than 800 private higher education institutions (WBG/UNESCO 2000). Similarly, Latin America, traditionally dominated by the Catholic Church in the private sector, went from 148 Private HE Institutions in the 1980's to 2,923 by the mid 1990's (González, 1999).

Sub-Saharan Africa has traditionally relied on public HE, as “the public-oriented traditions of the main colonial powers, the British and the French, and the limited financial resources available in the private sector in most African countries have meant that traditionally little private higher education has existed”<sup>37</sup> (Altbach, 2000, p. 4). South Africa is the notable exception, in which the origins of higher education are found in private initiatives (see section 3.4.1). However, it must be pointed out that there are well-established private religious universities – Protestant, Catholic and Muslim – which have long operated in Kenya, Tanzania and Uganda. Many report a huge rise in the number of private universities in Africa during the 1990's which ‘few could have predicted’ (Altbach, 2000; Levy, 2005; Mabizela, 2005; Sawyerr, 2004). Data shows, for example, that Ghana had no private universities in 1995, whereas it had twenty-one registered private universities and eight in operation by 2003 (Sawyerr, 2004). Also in 2003, Ethiopia's private HE institutions constituted 60% of all HE institutions, and private HE made up 24% of total tertiary enrolments (World Bank, 2003). On the other hand, private HE in Kenya shows the limitations of this trend in Africa, as its public universities are becoming increasingly privatized and strongly competitive (Otieno, 2005). Consequently, public and foreign universities compete for dominance and challenge the small Kenyan Private HE sector (Ibid). Yet generally speaking, Africa demonstrates that it shares in the global trend of private sector HE occupying the highest growth in the higher education sector overall.

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<sup>37</sup> As will be illustrated in a later section, South Africa is an exception in this case as it has a long history of private higher education dating back to the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

### 2.8.3 The Profile of Private HE

While much concern remains over the extent to which ‘public goods’, investments that benefit society at large, can or should be the focus of private enterprise, discussion about private education provision revolves largely around defining the types of private provision that exist. Tracking and categorizing the many different private institutions so as to make accessible units for analysis has been challenging. Altbach (1999, 2005), one of the leading scholars in this field, admits that knowledge on patterns of private HE is very limited. Furthermore, there is much confusion about how terms such as “new providers, traditional providers, crossborder providers, for-profit, non-profit, private and public providers are used. Serious attention needs to be given to developing a typology for these concepts that can be used internationally but that also respects the individual contexts of different countries” (UNESCO, 2003, p. 10-11).

Overall, the global expansion of private higher education is characterized as mostly taking place at the low end of the higher education system<sup>38</sup> (Altbach, 1999). Altbach points out that this is due in part to their focus on programmes of an applied nature as well as their limited resources, but also the reality that it takes time to build up academic reputation and status. For-profit private post-secondary institutions often specialize in business management, computer studies, or other high demand areas and are usually ‘low prestige’ and vocationally oriented, “many of which do not have authorization to offer degrees” (Ibid, p. 7). These institutions usually do not engage in any research, and focus on providing market-relevant skills and training for job-ready application following graduation. Furthermore, the large non-university tertiary sector is mostly for-profit and charges full-fee costs.

According to Sawyerr (2004), some common characteristics of the new private universities in Africa include their small enrolment size, limited range of programmes and courses as well as a concentration in courses with a strong vocational and market-relevant character. A small minority of these private universities also include theology and arts courses, even up to the Masters and PhD

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<sup>38</sup> Altbach explains that there are some exceptions, with top-ranking Private institutions in developing countries including; Pakistan’s Aga Khan University which is funded by the Aga Khan foundation as well as Argentina’s San Andres and DiTella, both with top reputations.

levels. However, Sawyerr argues, private universities have ‘inherent limitations’ and are likely to be unable to offer a full range of courses similar to a public university since this would require large capital investments typically unavailable to private providers.

Sawyerr argues that non-profit and religious-based private institutions make up the bulk of the growth in Private University education in Africa. Caddell and Day (2005) believe that these types of institutions can have diverse religious, spiritual or cultural orientations which can promote certain civic values valuable to society. While some are franchises of local institutions, others teach the curriculum of foreign institutions. Linkages or partnerships such as these are believed to serve the purpose of providing legitimacy, programme support and staff to the private Universities.

Altbach describes the ‘*multinationalization* of Private HE’, a trend Africa appears to participate in. Multinationalization involves private-public partnerships in which institutions in mostly Northern countries establish links, franchises, branches and other arrangements with universities or local businesses in the ‘South’. There is a major concern over pursuing such a market approach to higher education in developing countries as it is argued that “they are particularly exposed to becoming unregulated markets for higher education exporters because of insufficient government capacity to regulate due to political and governance instability”(UNESCO, 2003, p. 7).<sup>39</sup> UNESCO (2003) notes that “it is difficult to provide systematic information on the crossborder providers as sources of information are not centralized, registration or licensing processes are not in place, and definitions and measurement criteria are not standardized” (p. 10-11). There is also some concern about the quality and accountability of cross-border academic programmes, and fear that there is no real collaboration in their creation.

One particular focus of concern has been around “so-called garage universities [which] sometimes disappear as quickly as they appeared, leaving students with severe difficulties in establishing the quality of their credentials” (WBG, 2000, p. 32). Concern over the sustainability of

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<sup>39</sup>There is related to the fear of higher education potentially becoming a tradeable commodity under the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS), through the liberalization of trade in education. It would likely most benefit countries with established higher education sectors such as Canada, Australia, the US, and the UK, to expand into developing country ‘higher education markets’.

these institutions is further expressed by Castro and Navarro (1999) who are apprehensive over the ability of small and less prosperous private institutions in Latin America to “design and offer a reasonably good education ... [and conclude that] the usual pattern of leaving the lower end of postsecondary education entirely in the hands of the market may not be a good idea” (p. 45).

#### 2.8.4 Financing

Globally, the majority of new private institutions rely on student tuition for financial survival. For Altbach (1999) this means that students must be able to afford their fees, effecting the socio-economic demographic of students and the kinds of programs available: “in this way, private institutions may exacerbate class or other divisions in society” (p. 5). Furthermore, the willingness for people to pay for private higher education is based on the premise that they will gain market-friendly qualifications and with the very low average household income in much of Africa, “courses without immediate employment prospects are a luxury few can afford” (Sawyer, 2004, p. 34). Thus the central concern over private HE is that in the case of for-profit institutions, their primary motivation for establishment is simply profit. The standard argument to denounce these institutions is thus: investments that benefit society at large should not be the focus of private enterprise.

However, there are exceptions to the for-profit trend evident, for example, in some religious based organizations which may rely on an endowment fund contributed by alumni or supporters for their financing. In another private configuration, more than 2,000 privately managed colleges in India, called ‘private aided’ institutions, are financed almost entirely by public funds (Altbach, 1999; Tilak, 1999).

Those who support the notion of private HE institutions argue that such institutions reduce the burden on developing country government budgets (WBG/UNESCO, 2000). Private institutions that provide free educational services or financing scholarships and vouchers may also serve a public purpose. It is observed that as the private sector develops and grows, there will be debate around

whether private institutions should have access to government funds for research, student fees, construction, and so forth (Altbach, 1999).

#### 2.8.5 Ownership, Profits and Responsibility

While traditionally speaking, colleges and universities have been non-profit institutions operating under state authority to provide education and undertake research, there is a global trend towards the for-profit higher education market. It is argued that “in many contexts the distinction between for-profit and not-for-profit private institutions is of greater practical significance than the more traditional division between public and private institutions, since not-for-profit private institutions frequently resemble public institutions in terms of their mission and their structure” (WBG/UNESCO, 2000, p. 29). However, the “border between nonprofit and profit making is sometimes difficult to discern” (Altbach, 1999, p. 6). In some countries for-profit HE is permitted by law, yet in many other countries it is “not yet accepted culturally or legally, and as a result some new schools resort to skirting existing regulations” (Ibid, p. 7).

In the face of this private expansion, the issue of private sector responsibility arises. Gorostiaga (1999) maintains that the role of a private university in the ‘South’ is to “provide a high-quality and relevant public service under nonprofit private management, with efficiency, transparency and accountability to society” (p. 203). Private universities are argued to have a new responsibility in the South, “as well as an opportunity to break with both the obsolete old university model and the new model restricted to isomorphism” (p. 204-205).

For those advocates of the public good, the apparent domain of public and non-profit institutions, “the major policy issue remains: how can new for-profit providers and... cross-border providers contribute to the development agenda of a developing country and not weaken it?” (UNESCO, 2003, p. 7). The main concern is that for-profits may fail to serve the public interest since they must operate as businesses. For example, they might under invest in certain subjects, even

if they are important to the well-being of society (WBG/UNESCO, 2000). The public sector thus, “retains a vital and... irreplaceable role in the higher education sector” (Ibid, 38).

Altbach (2000) does not ask a great deal from for-profit institutions over and above their providing good quality postsecondary training, since “by their nature they cannot create universities that have the traditional academic values, programs and ethos. An orientation to the ‘bottom line’ will simply not permit this” (p. 13). Thus, private for-profit HE must simply be responsible for maintaining “meritocratic values at the same time as it encourages social mobility” (p. 14).

#### 2.8.6 Educational Equity

In spite of the growth of HE in Africa, Altbach (2000) asserts that “shortages of capital and student inability to pay for the cost of tuition will make the expansion of private higher education in Africa more difficult and probably a slower process than it has been in most other regions” (p. 4). Thus, some conclude that private HE cannot be seen as working to enable access to a wide range of socio-economic groups since poor students lack the ability to pay (WBG/UNESCO, 2000; Sawyerr, 2004). Most private institutions cannot afford scholarships for poor students or academic support programs for under-prepared students. The conclusion for some then is that “private universities contribute little to social mobility or to providing educational opportunities for bright but underprivileged students” (Altbach, 1999, p. 11).

Conversely, some argue that new private institutions ‘tend’ to the issue of graduate unemployment by being more ‘market-relevant’ and have lower fees, in comparison to public institutions, which can make HE more affordable for some (Nyarko, 2001). Private providers may also fill the gap in education and training opportunities available for young people when they leave school (Kruss, 2004). Data further shows that there is an improved gender balance in enrolment for private universities compared to public universities (WBG/UNESCO, 2000). In the context of Africa’s private universities, Sawyerr (2004) explains this phenomenon through the apparently lower

entry requirements for private universities, as well as high attendance in humanities and vocational subjects, and flexibility of some programmes which cater to the needs of women with families.

Levy (2006) argues that the main development role of ‘non-elite private institutions’ can be “powerful: to bring comparatively unprivileged groups into the development process—a major ‘access’ role within often highly stratified societies—and in so doing to serve the evolving and globalizing job market” (p. 9). For example, in South Africa, Akoojee and McGrath (2007) believe that Private Vocational Education and Training (PriVET) does contribute to access for the poor, especially among the pre- and unemployed learner cohort.

There are notable private HE exceptions which provide opportunities for less privileged students – for example, BRAC’s University in Bangladesh, Ashesi University in Ghana and South Africa’s CIDA City Campus. The debate around private higher education and equity is central to this thesis: to what extent is the case in question (i.e. CIDA) contributing to enlarged access for disadvantaged students in a highly inequitable society? Furthermore, is increased access to higher education sufficient for furthering social mobility and what are the implications for higher education policy and the development process overall?

#### 2.8.7 Regulation and Autonomy

As the number and diversity of institutions has increased around the world, co-ordination and control of Private HE has been difficult. The cost, both legal and financial, can also be high. Levy (2005) argues that where private higher education sectors are new, there is an element of surprise that is reflected in national laws which do not provide any guidance for their role. Thus, private roles “often emerge in gray zones neither covered clearly nor forbidden by law” (p. 36). Where private providers exist outside of state control there is a potential ‘source of innovation’ and entry point for ‘new ideas and dynamism’ into the economy (Nyarko, 2001). On a somewhat related note, Sawyerr (2004) believes that the arrival of private universities has expanded the pool and range of stakeholders in the higher education policy arena. This has meant “an increase in the voice and

policy weight behind advocacy for the interests of higher education. On the other hand, where the interests of the public and private proprietors diverge or indeed conflict, the policy debate on higher education is enriched by the contestation of views” (p. 35).

At the same time, private institutional legitimacy is often questioned as they introduce elements which part from a higher education sector with traditional institutional forms and missions. In countries with a longer more continuous history of private higher education, there is less of a shock (Levy, 2005). Levy argues that in the case of Sub-Saharan Africa where private higher education was for the most part rare until at least 1980’s or 1990’s, it is consequently showing signs of shock to the new emergence of private higher education, since “most have had traditional realities or at least influential myths of standardized institutional roles and practices, often set by national policy” (p. 34). There is fear that private institutions may fail to offer instruction at adequate standards and this leads some to argue that some form of regulation is the only route in order to protect students and ensure standards of academic quality.

Private HE operates with much autonomy in most countries since it receives little, if any, state money. Yet laws in relation to non profit organization’s and corporations or even regulations concerning HE do indeed govern some aspects of Private HE (Altbach, 1999). In a few countries, there is particular legislation for Private HE, as is the case in South Africa, where the movement for regulating private HE has been strong (Kruss, 2004). In contrast to calls for regulation, some argue that the best solution would be instead to prop-up private institutions, that is, to give “some degree of public support to private education” (Castro & Navarro, 1999, p. 55). This argument suggests that higher education policy should make efforts to integrate both public and private interests with a view to the HE sector as a whole.

#### 2.8.8 Complementary or Competition?

There is uncertainty over whether private providers are in some ways weakening the traditional public sector or whether they are enhancing the capacity of the state to meet unmet

demand for higher education (Sawyerr, 2004; UNESCO, 2003). Are private providers becoming directly competitive with public institutions or are they acting to complement the traditional higher education sector? Or is competition to be a desired outcome, as in the case of Hungary, where it is argued that “private initiative will bring competition and dynamism into a conservative academic system” (Darvas & Nagy-Darvas, 1999, p. 180). For African universities in particular though, some argue that public universities can be weakened since the majority of teaching staff for private universities are drawn from the public institutions (Sawyerr, 2004; WBG/UNESCO, 2000). On the other hand, it is also pointed out that private sector employment may be the only route for African professors to subsidize their small and often inadequate public salaries (Sawyerr, 2004).

Regardless, it is recognized that many private institutions are not in direct competition with public institutions since they may widen the range of choice in the tertiary sector. They offer, for example, specialization in areas such as computer science, a subject not traditionally offered by public institutions. They also offer distance and part-time study to those unable to afford the time and resources for full-time on-campus learning (Sawyerr, 2004). In some African countries, they can sometimes be positive alternatives where there are frequent closures or instability on public university campuses which lead to lengthening of course terms (Ibid).

#### 2.8.9 Diversification

The issue of diversity appears to be central to the legitimacy of private HE institutions, since as Levy (2000) puts it, “to make a difference, for better or worse, private higher education must bring something important not otherwise found in the higher education system” (p. 15). Essentially Levy’s argument is that we cannot assume organizational diversity is the inevitable outcome of private HE’s growth internationally. Rather, if we focus on intersectoral comparison instead of separating private and public sectors, his analysis “shows that the private sector is copying the public sector” (p. 18). Furthermore there is mimicry within the private sector, as “the first private institutions are often copied by subsequent institutions trying to gain a footing and legitimacy” (Ibid, p. 34). Intrasectoral

differences are diminished for example when private institutions gain access to public subsidies or add expensive fields of study, thus adding diversity to the sector as a whole but meaning the end of a private-public distinction. Public institutions might also “assume management or governance practices hitherto associated with the private sector” (p. 35) or incorporate tuition and other private income into their financing. Differences are also diminished by the way in which public institutions are increasingly offered more autonomy by the state in exchange for their increasing accountability: an “‘autonomy-accountability’ formulation... [which] was hitherto associated, at least in a general sense, with private sector institutions” (p. 36). Levy concludes that it is “clear that certain institutions within a sector can differentiate themselves from others within their own sector while simultaneously become somewhat more like institutions in the other sector” (p. 36). Levy’s argument is similar to Akoojee’s (2007) thesis, as mentioned in the previous section, which illustrates how institutions can originate in either public or private sectors yet take on functions more akin to the other sector. Levy’s analysis contributes to the literature on private sector higher education, allowing us to part from a narrow focus on ‘sectors’ and instead see higher education in terms of fields or populations and the higher education sector as an interrelated whole.

Thus the question still remains for research on private higher education: can it be ‘pro-poor’? Or does it operate solely in the realm of the market? Or, is it possible that Private Higher Education has a ‘public’ face and may contribute to pro-poor access to quality education? What criteria can we use to measure institutions operating in this arena?

#### 2.8.10 New Frontiers of Private Higher Education

‘In few other areas of debate are pre-conceptions more likely to be found than in that regarding private education’. (Bangay, 2005: quoted in Caddell and Day, 2006, p. 414).

The purpose of this section is to explore the parameters of the brief literature which accepts that in some cases, it is difficult to apply the label public or private to institutions which diverge from

our analysis thus far. As the previous sections have illustrated, much of the research on the private sector's role in higher education focuses on creating categories of provision, expressing concerns over equity of access, regulation, and the quality of provision. Moreover, it should be recognized that the investigative and academic work on the private sector's contribution to education is of an 'ideologically charged nature' (Caddell & Ashley, 2006). That private providers may have both a social and market orientation to their mission, for example, by providing education to those who can afford it while also financing scholarships to disadvantaged groups, is a hitherto under explored terrain. Using Levy's arguments in the previous section as a starting point, it would seem that there are instances in which institutions within the private sector may distinguish themselves from others while becoming more like institutions in the public sector. Levy forms part of a group who challenge how the public –private educational divide is conceptualized as they observe that, for better or worse, in some cases the boundaries are blurred (Caddell & Day, 2006; Levy, 2006; Mthembu & Yeowart, 2004; Akoojee, 2007).

Amongst tertiary educational institutions, one of the mixed-type of institutions is that which is termed 'private philanthropic universities': not-for-profit private institutions resembling public institutions in terms of their mission and structure which "generally fall somewhere between public and for-profit institutions, sharing some of the strengths, weaknesses, and objectives of each" (WBG/UNESCO, 2000, p. 29). 'Private institutions of excellence' in developing countries, such as Aga Khan University (AKU) and Lahore University of Management Sciences (LUMS) in Pakistan, may also be included in this phenomenon, since they were established through private philanthropy. For instance, AKU's goal is to "improve the quality of disadvantaged Pakistanis through instruction and research in health sciences, education and other fields... [while] LUMS... [was] to overcome problems of low quality in bureaucratic public universities and to help ensure a steady supply of well-trained business people" (Ibid, p. 57). BRAC – the Bangladesh Rural Advancement Committee (BRAC) – may also be added to this list as they established a private undergraduate institution in 2001 with courses including computer science, electronics and communication engineering, economics,

and BBA, etc. They have since expanded to provide an MBA programme and post-graduate degrees in, for example, Disaster Management and held their first convocation in 2006. What is interesting in their case is that as a celebrated NGO with roots in non-formal education, they include tuition wavers for disadvantaged students to access their programmes. They also offer full tuition wavers and allowance for students from disadvantaged backgrounds in partnership with the Ford Foundation.

Perhaps it is the non-profit nature of private HE institutions combined with innovative programming and philanthropic missions which distinguishes this unique group of institutions from other private institutions. Altbach (1999) opines that those “universities that are ‘at the top’ or aspire to be at the top of the prestige hierarchy will be non-profit institutions. They share the norms and values of top universities worldwide in terms of academic freedom and the involvement of the faculty in institutional governance” (p. 7). Surprisingly, of all the African private institutions in existence, it is those institutions with least reliance on fee income that Sawyerr (2004) argues hold the most promise for moving towards full programming and larger enrolments. This is since the ‘extreme market orientation’ of some private institutions (especially for-profits) only exist to cover their costs and be competitive, while offering courses that offer sure employment. There is not enough literature on this point to identify whether these institutions differ operationally or diverge in terms of governance and values from other private institutions.

Conceivably, those private institutions which take on public missions or gain governmental support, in effect, demand us to rethink our public-private sector boundaries while asking instead that we distinguish higher education in terms of educational mission, equitable access and sustainability. It may be, as will be explored in the case of CIDA City Campus, that some private providers diverge from or exceed the capacity of traditional public institutions. In this case, they attempt to address the pernicious issue of equitable access and remedial study for a particular socio-economic group of youth typically barred from the public domain.

The following section will outline the landscape of the tertiary education sector in South Africa and the barriers to access for the majority of African youth. The significance of the issue of access, as was noted in section two, is that access to knowledge and skills are essential for the social and economic mobility of African youth. In every area of South African society, the urgency to transform the gross inequalities of the racially divided past has not abated. This is especially so in the tertiary education sector, which has the potential to make the 'rainbow nation' a reality.

## 2.9 The South African Development Context

South Africa is a country that holds great hope in the imaginations of people who have glimpsed some of its brutal history. Thirteen years after the end of apartheid South Africa the urgency to transform the gross inequalities of the racially divided past has not abated. It is regularly acknowledged that this new democratic country has a long ways to go to reconcile the current inequities created through centuries of human deprivation.

South Africa ranks 120<sup>th</sup> on the UN Human Development Index (UNDP, 2003), which gives it middle-income country status. This leads some to surmise it is one of Africa's richest countries. However, since 1995 human development in South Africa has declined from a Human Development Index (HDI) of 0.73 to a HDI of 0.67 in 2002. Inequalities in income and access to education, social services and other aspects of life continue to be constructed along strong racial and spatial biases. The following sections will note some of the particular challenges and indicators of human development in South Africa, including poverty, unemployment, education and HIV/AIDS.

### 2.9.1 Poverty and Inequality

It is estimated that 48.5% of the South African population, or 21.9 million people, fall below the national poverty line (UNDP, 2003). Other income poverty estimates range from 45 to 55

percent of the population, as well as between 20 and 24 percent of the population living in extreme poverty (Akoojee, 2007, p. 107). This poverty has discernible spatial and racial dimensions. For example, the share of urban households classified as poor increased from 13 to 16 percent between 1996 and 2001 (on a \$2 a day poverty line) (Bhorat & Kanbur 2006, p. 5). Notably, the share of rural poor in national poverty is declining, as the number of rural poor accounted for 56 percent of all poor households in 2001, down from 62 percent in 1996 (Ibid)<sup>40</sup>. The Eastern Cape, Limpopo and Free State provinces exhibit the highest rates of poverty ranging from 59.9% to 68.3% of the population living below the national poverty line (UNDP, 2003). So while overall income poverty has increased since the end of apartheid, income inequality has also increased. This is evident in the Gini co-efficient which shows South Africa to have one of the most unequal income distributions in the world – rising from 0.596 in 1995 to 0.635 in 2001 (UNDP, 2003). In addition, the richest 20% of the population have 62.2% share of income or consumption, while the poorest 20% have 3.5% share of income or consumption (Ibid).

Poverty can also be measured in terms of non-income measures such as lack of access to basic services<sup>41</sup>. The UNDP's 'Service Deprivation Index', which indicates the number of households considered deprived of access to 'good' quality basic services, has increased from 5.68 million to 7.24 million between the 1996 and 2001 censuses, or from 63 to 65 percent of the total population (UNDP, 2003, p. 8). This may be because per capita expenditure in services, including health, education, social security and welfare, have all declined (between 1995-2002), while defence expenditure has increased (Ibid).

In terms of the data on race, it has been found that between 1995 and 2000, absolute and relative poverty levels amongst African-headed households increased, whereas for non-African households it either remained the same or declined (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006, p. 4). Thus, "one in ten

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<sup>40</sup> One of the explanations given for this is that rapid urban migration is reshaping the spatial nature of poverty in South Africa, with an increase in migrant households in rural areas alongside new challenges for richer provinces and cities.

<sup>41</sup> Lack of access to basic services and infrastructure "necessary to sustain basic human capabilities... [is a measure of human poverty, since] inequality of access to social services (such as education) leads to a further widening of the gap between the capabilities and opportunities of social groups" (UNDP 2003: 8).

Africans is considered to be malnourished and one in four African children are stunted” (Woolard, 2002 and Everatt, 2003 cited in Akoojee, 2007).

It is perhaps important to also consider what progress South Africa has made towards reducing poverty. For example, households with access to piped water increased from 80 to 85 percent between 1996 and 2001, while African households with access to electricity increased from 44 to 62 percent over the same period (Bhorat & Kanbur 2006). Meanwhile, access to formal housing “grew by 42 and 34 per cent for deciles 1 and 2 between 1993 and 2004, and 21 and 16 per cent for deciles 3 and 4. Access to piped water increased by 187 per cent over this period, while the growth was 31 per cent in the 4th decile” (Ibid, p. 8).

In addition, it is anticipated that South Africa’s recent shift to ‘pro-poor’ fiscal spending will enhance equity through social security provision. Bhorat and Kanbur (2006) assert: “the introduction of a new state transfer, the child support grant, together with very high take-up rates in existing social grants – most notably the old age pension – has made the state’s social security provision the most effective anti-poverty intervention” (p. 7). Indeed, they note that 61% of social security spending in 2001 was allocated to the most income poor, i.e. individuals in the 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> income deciles (Ibid).<sup>42</sup>

### 2.9.2 Unemployment

There is a strong correlation between poverty, inequality and unemployment in South Africa. That is, changes in the labour market demonstrate the ‘key transmission mechanism’ for understanding shifts in income poverty and inequality (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006). In 2003, the economy provided “only 11.56 million jobs for 16.81 million economically active South Africans... resulting in 5.25 million unemployed, or an official unemployment rate of 31.2 per cent, which is

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<sup>42</sup> Of course it must be noted that increased state expenditures are an essential, but not sufficient condition for improvements in people’s wellbeing: “the provision of the asset or service therefore, remains only a first step in ensuring that vulnerable households are sufficiently empowered to extricate themselves from permanent or transitory poverty” (Bhorat and Kanbur 2006: 10).

substantially higher than the 19.3 per cent unemployment rate recorded in 1996” (UNDP, 2003, p. 10). Using the broad unemployment rate<sup>43</sup>, unemployment increased from 31 to 42 per cent over the same period (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006). Viewed in terms of household income, this signifies that “83 per cent of households in the bottom fifth have no people in employment... [or] 38 per cent of African households in 1999 contained no employed people – up from 32 per cent in 1996” (Everatt, 2003, p. 78 in Akoojee, 2007, p.109). There is also a strong youth dimension to unemployment, with persons aged up to 30 years constituting 56% of the total unemployed, and persons aged 15 – 24 comprising 3% of the total unemployed in 1999 (Bhorat & McCord, 2003). Kraak (2004b) estimates that 826,000 youth ‘arrive on the labour market’ annually having completed Grade 12 or having dropped out of education and who now seek a job (p. 29). Of those, 29% of African entrants will find employment, compared with 50% of coloured entrants, 70% of Indian and 75% of white entrants. This leaves a total of 518, 893 school-leavers who fail to acquire jobs.

Using the most recent Statistics South Africa data, the unemployment rate, using the narrow definition, was 25.5% as of September 2006, compared with 25,6% in March 2006 (Statistics SA, 2007). These rates remain enormously high by most standards. Indeed, opinion surveys show that South Africans believe unemployment is the biggest economic problem in SA (Hirsch, 2005).

Some explain South Africa’s unemployment in terms of the restructuring of the economy through market liberalization and the focus on capital intensive modes of production. This has been at “the expense of encouraging employment potential ... resulting in increasing capitalization of production activities and corresponding direct job losses” (UNDP, 2003, p. 10). Many conclude that the average growth rate of the economy has not been sufficiently high enough to create employment.

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<sup>43</sup> There is debate around the appropriate definition of unemployment in South Africa. The ‘narrow’ measure of unemployment excludes “the unemployed who wanted work but did not search actively in the reference period” while the broad measure includes this group (Kingdon & Knight, 2001, p. 2). Kingdon and Knight (2001) point out that “in 1998 it made a difference between an unemployment rate of 26 per cent and one of 39 per cent. The ILO... suggests that including the non-searching unemployed may exaggerate the level of unemployment, implying that the broad measure includes people who are out of the labour force. Similarly, the South African Statistical agency’s recent decision to drop the non-searching unemployed from the official definition of unemployment and from the denominator in calculating the unemployment rate implicitly assumes that such people have voluntarily withdrawn from the labour force.” (Kingdon & Knight, 2001, p. 2)

Thus between 1995 and 2002 “aggregate employment grew by some 1.5 million jobs, at an average rate of 2.3 per cent per annum...slightly below the economic growth rate over the Period” (Bhorat & Kanbur 2006, p. 6). Meanwhile, job creation has not kept pace with the amount of new workers<sup>44</sup>, over 5 million in 2002, entering the job market, resulting in the amount of unemployed people from 4.2 million in 1995 to close to 8 million in 2002 (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006). There are many worries about the future prospect of South Africa continuing at this pace of income inequality and high unemployment. High levels of income inequality in South Africa are, for example, argued to be significantly correlated with criminal activity including theft and violent crime (Ibid).

Kingdon and Knight (2002) explain South Africa’s high unemployment in terms of barriers to entry into employment in the country’s small informal sector: “repression and disempowerment of Africans under apartheid would have inhibited the development of entrepreneurial and social skills and of social networks. These factors are important for confidence in entering the self-employed sector” (p. 8). In contrast, Kraak (2004a) recommends that the government shift solely from a ‘high skills’ development focus towards a multi-pronged strategy which involves labour-absorbing employment using low and intermediate skill levels in different productive sectors. Nevertheless some focus on high-skills development is warranted, she argues, with an estimated shortage in ‘key professions’ in the period 2001 to 2006 including nurses, teachers, managers, as well as computer-related professionals.

In terms of the representation of race in employment, there remain great inequities. Makgetla’s (2006) analysis demonstrates that by the mid-2000s, senior management and professionals remained highly unrepresentative (see Table 1). The structure of employment by race, in the table reproduced below, shows that virtually no changes have occurred since 2000. African women, for example, represent only 11% of senior management and professionals in both 2000 and 2004.

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<sup>44</sup> The term more often used is ‘economically active population’ (EAP). The EAP consists of those people who are either employed or who are seeking employment, and are aged between 15 and 65 (Hirsch, 2005).

**Table 1: Structure of employment by race: 2000 – 2004**

	African		Coloured/Asian		White	
	Men	Women	Men	Women	Men	Women
<b>2000</b>						
Senior management and professionals	18%	11%	10%	5%	37%	19%
Technicians and clerical workers	20%	26%	6%	12%	12%	23%
Skilled production and service workers	52%	25%	9%	4%	8%	2%
Elementary	41%	39%	10%	7%	2%	1%
Domestic	4%	86%	0%	10%	0%	0%
Total	37%	32%	8%	7%	9%	7%
<b>2004</b>						
Senior management and professionals	20%	11%	10%	4%	37%	17%
Technicians and clerical workers	20%	27%	8%	12%	12%	21%
Skilled production and service workers	57%	20%	9%	4%	8%	2%
Elementary	51%	32%	9%	5%	2%	1%
Domestic	4%	86%	0%	9%	0%	1%
Total	40%	28%	8%	6%	10%	7%

*Source:* Makgetla (2006, p. 83), Calculated from Statistics South Africa. Labourforce Surveys for September 2000 and 2004. Pretoria.

In addition, it is estimated that the HIV/AIDS pandemic is going to have a dramatic effect on poverty, employment, and the overall economic future of South Africa. UNDP (2003) data shows that 21.5% of the population aged 15-49 has the virus. Furthermore, it is known to have

“disproportionately struck young, economically active adults as well as those categorised as semi-skilled or unskilled” (Bhorat & Kanbur, 2006, p. 13).

### 2.9.3 Education

Apartheid’s restricted access to essential public services, such as education, on the basis of race, is believed to impact ‘longer term’ outcomes for the new South Africa (Bhorat, 2004).

Educational reform arguably offers the potential of bringing about substantial changes in the pattern of employment and wealth ownership in South Africa (UNDP, 2003, p.6). As Bhorat and Kanbur (2006) argue, “in terms of state provision of education... it remains the most important asset to extract households out of poverty... and the resource shift in this sense is extremely positive” (p. 8).

Yet, potential resource shifts surrounding poorer sections of society is perhaps more possible for those low-income households in which someone has a tertiary level education. Economic growth has managed to “disproportionately create employment for more educated individuals” (Bhorat, 2004, p.8). So for example, whereas 64 out of every 100 tertiary educated individuals found employment in the 1995-2002 period, this figure was only 35 for those with matriculation and 14 for those with incomplete secondary education (Ibid).

The potential for the higher education sector to contribute in part to the transformation of South Africa into a more equitable nation is sizeable. The following section will attempt to deal with the challenges in this regard.

## 2.10 Tertiary Education in South Africa

### 2.10.1 The Inheritance of Apartheid Higher Education

The history of education under apartheid has been well-documented (see Kallaway, 2002; Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Kruss, 2004). The new government inherited networks of educational institutions defined by race, governed through structures designed to maintain the system of

apartheid (Badat, 1995; Fedderke, de Kadt & Luiz, 2003). The inherited institutions included 36 Universities and technikons: 17 white, 17 black and 2 mixed (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). The Historically Black Universities's (HBUs) were restricted to levels (undergraduate degrees and diplomas) and fields of study (mostly liberal arts, humanities, education and law) that "would not undermine the existing racial division of labour and which, in the case of those institutions linked to the bantustan project, would service the administrative and bureaucratic requirements of separate development structures" (Wolpe, 1995, p. 279). Akoojee and McGrath (2006) argue that as a result the new ANC government inherited a "seriously dysfunctional skills development system" (p. 424). Problems included, racialised and gendered skill sets; state and business sector abandonment of responsibility for building skills in one of the most "conflictual industrial relations systems in the world" (Ibid); and finally, South Africa's "apartheid-driven industrial development path had led to an intense polarization of skill between high skill and low skill elements; with a serious underdevelopment of the intermediate skill segment, which is seen as essential to successful industrialisation and competitiveness internationally" (Ibid).

The new South African constitution, which maintains that all races are equal under law, necessitates the transformation of tertiary institutions, reflecting a "strong anticipation in South Africa, as there was in the sixties and seventies in many newly independent African countries, that higher education would contribute to social and economic development" (Cloete & Moja, 2005, p. 694). Building on the rallying cry of the liberation movement that 'the doors of culture and learning shall be opened!' (ANC, 1955), the impetus for redressing inequities and pursuing strategies for social and economic development are both integral to the formation of policy in tertiary education in South Africa.

#### 2.10.2 Post-Apartheid Education Policy

In 1994, it was necessary that the students and staff of tertiary institutions start to reflect the social composition of South African society. There was also the desire that resources be made

available to historically disadvantaged social groups, including for example, a demand for increased funding and improvement in the quality of HBUs (Badat, Cloete, Moja & Pillay, 2005).

Following 1994, some argue that educational movements were not organized to make the link between educational and political movements, and human resources development. Educational movements were, for example, not prepared to engage in areas such as curriculum transformation (Badat, 1995). This meant the fracturing of the objective of ‘people’s education for people’s power’ (Ibid, pg. 142). Thus, tertiary education since 1994 is argued by many to be ‘braided into the bargain struck’ between the National Party and the ANC such that the basis of reform in 1994 was shaped by political compromise and an unequal balance of power (Fiske & Ladd, 2004; Cloete & Moja, 2005). One of these compromises was that historically white universities and technikons were given operational independence which allowed access to private resources that allowed them to maintain their strength. This meant that “negotiations around education were more about the incremental reform and reconstruction structures and institutions than about the ‘total, rapid and sweeping displacement of existing institutions’” (Badat, 1995, p. 142). The initial policy debate over education was “whether equality or development should constitute the essential point of departure for policy formation for educational transformation” (Ibid, p. 141). In the National Education Policy Initiative begun in 1992, the tensions between equity and development focused around whether to increase access for large numbers of black students (‘massification’) with the likely reduction in quality and courses which would not provide skills in critically needed areas; versus maintaining an elite system and investing resources into science, engineering and other forms of technology. While the latter approach might lead to effectiveness and contribute to development, it would not satisfy demands for greater access (equity), “a course of action difficult for a democratic government to defend” (Cloete & Moja, 2005, p. 695). The result in the 1994 Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) was an educational policy which supported human resource development on a mass scale so as to support employment growth and overcome the inheritance of racial and gender stratification in the workforce:

The Government's economic policies require human resource development on massive scale. Improved training and education are fundamental to higher employment, the introduction of more advanced technologies, and reduced inequalities. Higher labour productivity will be the result of new attitudes towards work and especially new skills in the context of overall economic reconstruction and development. New and better management skills are urgently required. (RDP White Paper, 1994, 3.2.6).

As a result, the workplace as a site 'where HE can occur' lent a "new and complex relationship to higher education – both as a product of democratic inclusiveness and of economic productivity" (Winberg, 2004, p. 97).

### 2.10.3 The Skills for Economic Growth

#### 2.10.3.1 Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)

The National Commission on Higher Education<sup>45</sup> (NCHE) determined in 1996 that moving from an elite to a mass higher education system could address both equity and development needs. The NCHE suggested more 'goal-directed funding' so that funding would produce more 'high-level skills' needed for economic growth as well as increased participation and provide equity in access (NCHE, 1996). Yet, the need for increased efficiency and expanded access within a context of limited increases in public expenditure, is to be implemented instead through using more 'innovative delivery systems and cooperation in course delivery' as well as through mergers to incorporate existing university or technikons within a region (Ibid, 1.41). The result of this report was the Education White Paper 3: A Programme for the Transformation of Higher Education (1997) which accepted this framework of goal-oriented, performance-related funding along with a quality assurance system (Higher Education Quality Committee) and an integrated qualifications framework (South African

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<sup>45</sup> Appointed by Nelson Mandela in 1994, the NCHE proposed to "assist in the vital task of transforming a crucial area of cultural and intellectual life in the service of the larger transformation of the nation's political, social and economic order" (NCHE, 1996).

Qualifications Authority) as well as a strong emphasis on equity for students. The 1997 White Paper iterates that “goal-oriented public funding of higher education institutions is intended to result in: more equitable student access, improved quality of teaching and research, increased student progression and graduation rates, and greater responsiveness to social and economic needs” (DoE, 1997, 4.8).

Also in 1997, the Higher Education Act to regulate higher education was established to create a single co-ordinated higher education system and for HE institutions to “enjoy freedom and autonomy in their relationship with the State within the context of public accountability and the national need for advanced skills and scientific knowledge” (DoE, 1997, preamble).

In sum, while the RDP emphasized equity and human resource development, the 1997 White Paper, following the reformulation of the neoliberal macroeconomic policy in Growth, Employment and Redistribution (GEAR)<sup>46</sup>, focuses on ‘greater efficiency’ measures for institutional redress. In 2000, Educational policies introduced the need for a more managerial direction to address the challenges of ‘effectiveness, efficiency and equity’ and use benchmarks, measurable outcomes and quality audits. These were argued to be unavoidable due to the “difficult choices and tough decisions that have to be made in the national interest and in the pursuit of a higher education system characterised by the dynamic impulses of quality, excellence and equity” (Council on Higher Education, 2000 in Winberg, 2004, p. 98). There is a government initiated institutional and financial framework in South Africa which promotes skills development (Skills Development Act, 1998), and promotes ‘life long learning’ for workers in which companies are required to spend a certain percentage of their earnings in training their workforce (Skills Development Levies Act, 1999).

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<sup>46</sup> There has been much criticism of the neoliberal economic policies of GEAR. Peet (2002), for example, argues that the ANC’s GEAR policies were created as a result of outside influence of neoliberal economic discourse and pressures coming from World Bank and IMF representatives, the business sector and media. On the other hand, Hirsch (2005) argues that the ANC formulated GEAR through a considered process which took into account post-apartheid realities and chose, amongst other things, outward industrialization, namely because “inward industrialisation could not sustain growth for any significant period of time, except on the basis of huge multilateral loans, which the ANC would not consider because of fears of threats to South Africa’s sovereignty” (chpt.4, no pagination).

Several argue that the shift in focus from redressing inequalities, as reformulated in GEAR and translated into higher education policy, has sacrificed equity simply to satisfy the demands of globalization and the market economy (Ntshoe, 2003; Wood, 2005). Wood (2005) argues that the recent developments in the field of higher education in South Africa are linked to deep changes in the nature of work, in that “the changing world of work provides the ground for policy-makers to exert new pressures and impose new limits upon the activities of institutions of higher learning” (p. 341). These changes are ‘deeply ambiguous’ and “contradictory from an emancipatory perspective, representing as they do a series of local and global political settlements which define a new social contract in higher education” (Ibid).

The debate in South African higher education in the post-apartheid era coincides with the broader global educational discussion regarding the ‘knowledge economy’ (as mentioned in section two). The tension between the still popular desire for equity, redress and development has new pressures in which higher education is prescribed an “important role in providing society with individuals trained in such a way that they can respond to the demands of knowledge-based occupations” (DoE, 2003, 3.1). Several argue that the attention to equity objectives are rhetorical, such that managerialist concerns appear in emancipatory and ‘participatory guises’.

Mgobozi (2004) argues that the need for effectiveness, efficiency and equity guided by the use of comparable outcomes<sup>47</sup> and audits are not necessarily negatives in and of themselves. Instead, Mgobozi argues, the drive for outcomes in the labour market is creating an environment in which education continues to be one of the major ways of driving inequality in South Africa. Tertiary institutions are increasingly asked to respond to the demands of the labour market, and because of this some recommend a more differentiated version of tertiary system. This means greater

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<sup>47</sup> It should briefly be mentioned here that the entrance of Outcomes based education (OBE) in South Africa is argued to have “triggered the single most important curriculum controversy in the history of South African education” (Jansen, 1999, p. 3). The focus on delivery, accountability, vocationalisation and market-value at all levels of the education system signal transnational shifts in the understanding of curriculum. Indeed, within the public tertiary education system, there is a “bitter controversy within South African universities, as in some other countries, particularly around the introduction of outcomes-based education, and much hand-wringing and pathos among academics of various persuasions” (Wood, 2005, p. 342).

unevenness and variability in terms of the skill needs and “they are unlikely to be only high skills” (Kraak, 2004a, p. 276).

Kruss (2005) estimates the fallout of this drive for efficiency in relation to global competitiveness and economic development has been a tension with the popular desire for equity and redress, the latter of which historically black institutions are strategically located to address. HBI's such as Venda, Unitra and Fort Hare are geographically located to play a ‘catalytic role in sustainable rural development’ that “more strongly foregrounds a commitment to regional and local socio-economic development than developing high technology development capacity aimed at enhancing global competitiveness.” (p.182). Her argument is that not all institutions need to – or are able to – take on research at the high technology level, in line with international benchmarks, and instead tertiary education requires a balance within and across institutions in the HE in order to “avoid greater polarisation and inequality emerging in South Africa” (p. 197).

As a final point, Grewal et al. (2004) contend that those who critique the career-oriented path for higher education, ignore that in South Africa an “important factor in favour of career-based HE is the whole issue of social and economic mobility. It is much safer for students to enter HE in specific career-directed programmes of study if socioeconomic mobility is high on their personal and family agendas” (Grewal et al., 2004, p. 205). We will return to the important issue of social and economic mobility in the section on private higher education South Africa.

#### 2.10.3.2 Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA)

In 2005 President Mbeki introduced the Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative for South Africa (AsgiSA). AsgiSA aims to overcome short- to medium-term barriers to the country's overall developmental vision, including halving unemployment and poverty. Rather than a new policy platform or planning process, it is meant to “foster coordination and implementation of prioritized programmes”, and otherwise act as a “modality for prioritizing and pursuing implementation” (The

Presidency, 2007, p. 29). As a shift in ANC policy emphasis, it is argued to be significant, demonstrating a determination by the government to take the lead in development (Akoojee & McGrath, 2006). Following from the routinely-criticized policies of GEAR, Akoojee and McGrath argue that, since 2004, the South African government has given education and training a central role in the overall strategy for capacity building for a more developmental state. That is, although many parts of AsgiSA are found within previous policies, it demonstrates “an attempt to balance the twin traditions of the RDP and GEAR, of poverty reduction and growth” (Ibid., p. 426). It appears to be founded in the knowledge that South Africa’s development path is not sustainable, especially with the fear that: “If all indicators were to continue along the same trajectory, especially in respect of the dynamic of economic inclusion and exclusion, we could soon reach a point where the negatives start to overwhelm the positives<sup>48</sup>” (Republic of SA, 2003, p. 102).

AsgiSA outlines six main constraints to accelerated and shared growth in the SA economy, including a lack of suitably skilled labour. That is, despite South Africa’s average GDP growth rate of 3% over the past ten years, it is evident “we lack... skilled professionals, managers and artisans, and that the uneven quality of education remains a contributory factor... the price of labour of the poor is pushed up by the fact that many live a great distance from their places of work” (AsgiSA, 2005, p. 5). Some of the educational responses to this challenge include programmes to increase math and science high-school graduates to 50,000 by 2008; upgraded career guidance programmes; and an upgrading of the further education and training colleges (FET) and expanding adult basic education and training (ABET) (Ibid). It would appear that increased funding to tertiary institutions is potentially forthcoming, since in the 1-year review, the priorities for 2007 include the target that, “funds for FET [further education and training] colleges and other tertiary programmes must be implemented and reviewed” (Presidency, 2007, p. 23).

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<sup>48</sup> This dynamic of inclusion and exclusion is often referred to in ANC policy as the dynamic of the ‘first’ and ‘second’ economies, the latter of which represents, in short, ‘the condition lived by millions of people on the margin of the modern, industrial economy’ (Hirsch, 2005). Yet, the use of the term ‘second economy’ is critiqued as being a weak element in AsgiSA, as “without a clearer notion of what the second economy is supposed to mean and its relationship to both informality and poverty reduction, it is difficult to see this as other than a naive rhetorical flourish” (Akoojee & McGrath, 2006, p. 428).

Akoojee and McGrath (2006) argue that AsgiSA's identification of skills and education as central to development demonstrates government acceptance of international thinking around the impact of globalization and the knowledge economy:

First, globalisation reduces the scope for state intervention in many traditional areas of social and economic policy (e.g., interest rate setting), leaving education as one of the few key areas of accepted state intervention. Second, the discourse of the knowledge economy heightens older arguments about the centrality of human capital investment to individual and national economic performance. This conjunction has encouraged governments internationally to see education and skills as a core tool for increasing economic competitiveness and promoting social inclusion. (p. 428)

South Africa has done so while also “drawing on the powerful legacy of multiple domestic discourses... a drive for expansion... intertwined with a concern to overcome the massive educational inequalities generated by colonialism and Apartheid” (Ibid). It also draws on “elements within the trade union movement [including Congress of South African Trade Unions, which] identified skills as central to a shift towards a post-Apartheid industrial system based on higher skills, wages and productivity” (p. 428). And finally, the “drive to higher skills found resonance with the position of elements of business leadership, who also saw higher skills as central to a new industrial system” (Ibid).

To direct South Africa's efforts in skills acquisition, The Joint Initiative on Priority Skills Acquisition (JIPSA) brings together business, labour, government, universities, training institutions and others so as to tend to, among other things, the issue of graduate unemployment. Research at the University of Cape Town illustrated there are almost 200 000 unemployed graduates in South Africa with certificates, diplomas and degrees (JIPSA, 2007). Unemployment is also rising faster for black graduates overall, with an unemployment rate from 6.6% in 1995 to 9.7% in 2005 (Ibid). It is argued that the reason behind graduate unemployment is a “mismatch between the skills of the graduates and the skills demanded by the economy” (JIPSA, 2007, p. 20). In addition, in some cases,

Graduates have the formal qualifications, but their training falls short of industry expectations.

In other cases, there are insufficient numbers of graduates with skills that are in short supply.

In addition, graduate unemployment is aggravated by factors such as race, field of study, the institution from which the person graduated, employer perceptions of the graduates' quality and employability, a lack of soft skills among graduates (including interpersonal, communication and presentation skills), their lack of access to employers and networks, their attitude, lack of work experience and whether or not they have a driver's licence. (Ibid)

Solutions identified include the following: providing 'top-up or bridging courses' to graduates; providing life skills programmes to address lack of soft skills and networks; offering retraining programmes to expose graduate to new sectors; coaching and guidance for those with lack of work experience; as well as placement programmes to 'fast-track professional development' (Ibid). In the 2007 State of the Nation address, President Mbeki mentions the private sector's contribution in "the ongoing efforts to link unemployed graduates with employment opportunities... we wish to thank the many companies, public and private, big and small, which have responded in a splendid and practical manner to this initiative" (Mbeki, 2007, para. 59). Furthermore, JIPSA identifies that the finalization of the National Qualifications Framework Review is important to address people's concern over the accreditation and quality assurance of technical and vocational training programmes (JIPSA, p. 26).

In sum, AsgiSA "outlines a very different development path from the current orthodoxy of the Millennium Development Goals and Poverty Reduction Strategy Papers in spite of the common commitment to halving poverty" (Akoojee, 2007, p. 114).

#### 2.10.3.3 Initial assessment of AsgiSA

There are some initial concerns about AsgiSA. Fig (2007) questions the way in which development is conceptualized within AsgiSA, as it appears to perpetuate the narrow macroeconomic

thinking of equating growth with development. Akoojee and McGrath (2006) explain that the business sector in South Africa “worries that the ANC has shied away from its concerns with labour market inflexibility in the face of trade union opposition, and that the regulatory framework is still too burdensome.” (p. 429) On the other hand, labour groups feels the “initiative goes too far in the very direction of labour market flexibility” (p. 429). Latter proponents critique the large infrastructure projects which are not likely to meet the needs of the poor and the complete absence of HIV/AIDS from the strategy as one of the largest constraints on future development (Ibid).

In assessing the likeliness of AsgiSA’s success, the authors articulate three serious challenges to post-basic education and training: first, how to build strong institutions with finances and staffing that can deliver effective programmes; second, how to make provision relevant to both social and economic needs; and third, how to nurture the skills and culture of the public service even as they deliver services (Akoojee & McGrath, 2006). Nonetheless, the ‘AsgiSA experiment’ should be observed closely by African countries and development agencies as “a valuable new perspective on how to support the internationally accepted goal of halving poverty through interventions in education and training” (Ibid, p. 432).

## 2.11 Educational Equity

While each of these permutations in higher education policy pays some, at least rhetorical, attention to the need to address ‘equity’, it is also necessary to assess what progress has actually been made towards equity ideals. Outcomes such as increased access, equal treatment, as well as equal educational opportunity according to Fiske and Ladd’s (2004) three-pronged definition of educational equity, will be employed for this analysis.

### 2.11.1 Equity: Equal Treatment

One of the elements in the discussion of educational equity is ‘equal treatment’ which means that “no one should be treated differently simply because of his or her race” (Fiske & Ladd, 2004, p.

5). In 1994 there was a lifting of restrictions on black student enrolment in historically white institution's which has meant a success in growth in enrolment figures and increased access for large numbers of black students. For example, "overall number of enrolled students grew by 193,000 (36 percent), but with growth in the first five years considerably slower (14 percent) than in the 1999-2003 period (19 percent)" (Cloete & Moja, 2005, p. 697). Thus in the composition of the student body, the proportion of African students in the total university enrolment increased from 41 percent in 1994 to 60 percent in 2003. Yet while the doubling shows change in the racial composition of institutions, if equity is measured in terms of the African *participation* rate, or in other words the representative proportions of the population, it shows that African students only increased from 9% in 1994 to 12% in 2003 – while White students have remained at above the level of 60% over this same decade (Ibid).

With 12% participation in tertiary education, Africans have only slightly improved their positions. Thus "even if the numbers change drastically in an elite system, the effect on the larger social system is negligible" (Ibid, p. 699). In terms of admissions, there is argued to be an issue with university administration which, while formally admitting African students, can work to subtly exclude them through use of language such as Afrikaans and in other ways (Walker, 2005). While there has been equal access, the gap between 'those with' and 'those without' higher education has not decreased (Ibid). So while some success has been made, equity defined as equal treatment, important though it may be for symbolic reasons, does not address the potential of educational attainment for previously disadvantaged students.

#### 2.11.2 Equity: Educational Opportunity

Equal educational opportunity under Fiske and Ladd's (2004) definition now includes the need for some affirmative or positive action in order to 'redress' or counter past educational

disadvantage. So while black students may complete matric<sup>49</sup> and gain access to HE institutions, there are low retention rates and students are not often successful in completing their studies. Large increases in enrolments have also not equalled high graduation rates. According to Badat et al. (2005) the average graduation rate<sup>50</sup> only increased from 15% in 1993 to 16% in 1999, and then declined again to 15% in 2003. Thus, with the exception of the historically white English-medium institutions, “the retention rates for the system started to decline in the post-1997 period. In other words, students may have gained access to institutions, but were not successful in completing their studies” (Badat et al., 2005). Hence, “neither the decrease in throughput rate nor the lack of entry by black students into the high-status areas fit with the policy intentions of the 1997 White Paper” (Bunting, in Badat et al., 2005, p. 57). A recent study shows that “3 years after entering higher education, only 26 percent of university and 19 percent of technikon students (or 27,000 from 120,000) had graduated” (Cloete & Moja, 2005, p. 708). This leads some to argue that while the government’s ‘efficiency target’ is 67 percent graduation (Cloete & Moja, 2005), this narrow understanding of efficiency has disregarded the root causes of dropout rates.

In February 2006, the Education minister, Naledi Pandor, revealed that a staggering half of South Africa’s undergraduate students drop out before completing their degrees and diplomas (Macfarlane, 2006, p.6). In addition, only 30% obtain their qualifications within five years of their initial enrolment. The DoE cohort study cited in the article shows some attempt by the government to understand the root causes of drop outs. In the study, universities emphasize inadequate preparation as the main problem, along with inflated school results. Others mention the impact of HIV/AIDS, especially for students in charge of families where parents have both died, or students

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<sup>49</sup> Inequality in terms of matriculation passes at the secondary level is also acute between different population groups. So “while Blacks constitute 71% of all matrics that passed in 2003, only 5.2% of the whole Black cohort achieved results that would gain them university entry; whilst 35.9% of the white cohort and 42.1% of the Indian cohort passed with endorsement” (F.W. DeKlerk Foundation, Black Economic Empowerment in South Africa, May 2005: 10). Previously disadvantaged schools also ‘continue to produce the highest number of matric failures’ as “black pupils that attend formerly white schools outperform Black pupils that attend previously Black schools” (Ibid, p. 10). In addition, about 10,000 fewer students were registered for the 2001 matriculation examination, “and the immediate effect is that the 36 public higher education institutions now have another year of drastic reduction in much-needed students from which to select” (Jansen, 2001, p.6).

<sup>50</sup> This is calculated as graduates in a year divided by head enrollments.

become too ill to continue their studies themselves. The Association for Black Empowerment in Higher Education, cited in the article, also points out that for most black students, “English is not even a second language but a foreign language. Unless we look at modes of delivery in higher education, it won’t matter how many black students get into, say, the University of Cape Town” (Ibid). A wider perspective that the literature on this subject is not able to cover is furthermore illuminated by the voices of students. Thus, the same article quotes the president of the South African Students Congress who explains dropouts occur mainly due to financial reasons, a problem affecting even those able to secure a National Student Loan. This is since “students who can’t afford food will clearly not cope with the academic environment” (Ibid). The solution, in their view is “free education, through depending on a student’s academic success. The government can afford this... but they say they don’t have the money” (Ibid). Student protests regarding the increase in student fees have become common news in South Africa. The most recent, at the time of writing, are the protests launched by University of Witwatersrand students in early October followed by protests by University of Johannesburg students the week after regarding the proposed 5 – 8% fee increase for students (M & G, 2007). As one policy recommendation, Ntshoe (2003) supports the practice of ‘democratising access’ and achieving social justice through the abolition of higher education tuition fees as a way to promote equity.

The issue of the finances for education is corroborated by Grewal et al. (2004) who find in their study of the factors underlying technikon and university enrolment in South Africa, that the largest consideration for prospective students is financial. Ntshoe (2003) similarly argues that despite the fact that disadvantaged groups are increasingly enrolling in higher education, “the majority of blacks who enroll are from families that can afford to pay for enrolment. Thus students from poor families remain excluded” (p. 391). Indeed, opportunity is directly linked to student’s financial resources. For example, in 1999 at the University of the Western Cape, a HBU, 86% of students who left with good standing did not return because of financial reasons (Cloete & Moja, 2005). The

situation of disadvantaged students is also compounded by the under funding of the National student loan scheme.

Furthermore, Hesa (Higher Education South Africa) recently stated that dropouts are affected by student's financial ability as well as a "lack of career guidance and advice, and the impact of HIV/AIDS, among other things" (M&G, 2005). Being affected by HIV/AIDS is directly linked to student success in so far as their learning suffers. However, the impact of HIV/AIDS on student enrolment, for example, is difficult to determine, argues Ntshoe (2003), as "the disease is virtually unnoticeable, largely unreported and undetected. In addition, the government prohibits disclosure of the figures relating to the disease" (p. 387).

There is also argued to be a lack of commitment to teach new students, especially black students, on the part of academics (Cloete & Moja, 2005). Grewal et al. (2004) support this claim and assert that "all institutions need to work hard on the equal and fair treatment of students, as there is a perception that this is not happening at present" (p. 213). In sum, inadequate secondary school preparation together with unequal opportunity for black students to succeed in graduating from tertiary institutions, and the inability to pay for the high costs of tertiary education combined with social constraints such as impact of the HIV/AIDs pandemic and cost of personal living, are clearly major areas for concern for the prospect of improving educational equity in South Africa.

Another dimension of equal opportunity is in relation to the institutional variations in pass rates and differential investment in Public tertiary institutions. Since student numbers are linked to government subsidy, "it is no surprise that the financial position of the historically black universities deteriorated significantly" (Badat et al., 2005). This is because enrolments at the historically black universities fell by 35,600 between 1995 and 2000, while historically Afrikaans-medium universities gained 54,200 students over the same period (Ibid). Thus government subsidies to HBU's dropped by 102 million South African Rand (ZAR) over the 1999-2001 budget cycle while the HWU's, both English and Afrikaans medium, gained more than ZAR 230 million in subsidies (Ibid). In addition, long-term investments for HWU's increased to account for 82% of the long-term investments in HE

between 1993 and 1999. The fall in enrolments is explained due to the inability of HBU's to attract white students (they are still more than 99 percent black), as well as a decline in retention and graduation rates. It can be concluded that the policy to fund all institutions based on enrolment subsidies has meant that the problems faced by historically black institutions have not been addressed or lead to the creation of the desired 'level playing field' amongst the variously located tertiary institutions.

While institutional redress was part of the 1997 White Paper, Cloete and Moja (2005) explain that the government continued to use an old apartheid formula for funding – with only a small amount for interim redress – which meant that the “policy implemented was largely symbolic and gave signals that inherited inequities would be addressed” (p. 705). For HBUs the new South Africa was a ‘disaster’ since the policy intentions of institutional redress and increase in capacity did not materialize and instead, the gap between the HBUs and the HWUs increased (Badat et al., 2005).

Jansen (2001) argues that the basic problem of infrastructure must be addressed first instead of ‘highly complex curriculum reform’ and assessment systems (such as the National Qualifications framework) “with dazzling language, ambitious outcomes and confusing implementation pathways” (p.3). Thus, some argue that higher education has something of a ‘two economies’ character with “a group of institutions connected with the global knowledge system... and a second group that is struggling locally for survival” (Cloete & Moja, 2005, p. 714). In South Africa, where both family socioeconomic status and educational opportunity are closely connected to racial group membership, the implication is that for financially disadvantaged students, HBUs are more affordable as they charge lower fees (Grewal et al., 2004). Many students also attend HBU's as they are closer to their homes and the student can live with their parents or relatives, thus reducing costs (Ibid; Ntshoe, 2003). The issue of the location of tertiary institutions is a significant one, as in addition to tuition costs, “parents from historically disadvantaged communities cannot afford to pay the ... accommodation fees demanded in HAIs [historically advantaged institutions]” (Ntshoe, 2003, p. 392).

However, employment prospects for graduates of HBIs are not as good (Grewal et al, 2004; Ntshoe, 2003; Bhorat & McCord, 2003). This leads us to consider the question of educational equity in light of employment outcomes.

### 2.11.3 Equity: Educational Adequacy

This third aspect shifts attention to educational outcomes and to the 'adequate' level of education needed "for someone to participate fully in both the political and economic life of the country" (Fiske & Ladd, 2004, p. 9). Though difficult to measure, proximate variables include the nature and quality of education as well as the attainment of employment. One of the issues to be concerned with is the new phenomenon of graduate unemployment. As previously discussed, despite the increased likeliness of being employed as a result of having a tertiary qualification, unemployment levels across all education levels increased from 1995 to 2002, with the largest percentage growth in unemployment levels among people with matriculation or tertiary qualification (Bhorat, 2002). Unemployment grew by 139% for those with a tertiary qualification – and tertiary unemployment rates went from 6.44% in 1995, to 15.37% in 2002 (more than doubling). Bhorat notes that "the high unemployment amongst degreed individuals is a surprise, and puzzling. This is more so, given the skills-biased employment shifts noted for the long-run in South Africa" (p. 13). When disaggregating the increases in tertiary<sup>51</sup> unemployment rates by race, "the burden of graduate unemployment has been borne by African individuals" with 10% unemployment in 1995 and 26% unemployment in 2002, compared with 2% unemployment for whites in 1994, and 4% in 2002 (p. 14). When looking at different tertiary qualifications, the data indicates that Africans with a University degree or post-graduate degree have a lower unemployment rate of 16.41% in 2002, compared with a 26% rate for all tertiary qualified African participations (Ibid). For whites, the figures were 3.15% and 4.63% respectively, thus "there can be no doubt that we are witnessing the beginning of a graduate unemployment problem in South Africa" (p. 15).

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<sup>51</sup> These figures for tertiary workers include a variety of qualifications including certificates, diplomas, technikon qualifications and university degrees.

In another study by Moleke (2003), it was found that 70% of white graduates find employment immediately, compared with 43% of Africans, 42% of coloureds and 47% of Asians. Most significantly, “a higher proportion of graduates from historically black universities (65.4%) experienced periods of unemployment compared to graduates from historically white universities (34.6%)” (p. 2). The implication of this is that “graduates with the same educational qualifications have difference prospects. This could be an indication of discrimination... in light of the private and public sector commitment to furthering the professional advancement of historically disadvantaged groups” (Moleke, 2005a, p. 13). Cloete and Moja (2005) argue that unemployment for graduates could reflect insufficient curriculum design in relation to labour market needs both in skill and quality, denying graduates the competencies needed in fields of high demand. In the discussion over quality of institutions, Moleke (2005b) also states that field of study plays a major role in securing employment. For example, 79.3% of graduates in the medical sciences find employment immediately, compared to only 46.8% in humanities and arts find employment immediately. For graduates in the field of economic and management sciences (EMS) 65.4% find employment immediately, while for 23.3% it takes between one and six months, and for 9.9% it take can take between seven months and two years (Moleke, 2005a). There is also a slight gender difference with more males gaining employment immediately (62.3%) compared with 57% of females (Ibid). An additional cause for concern is that African graduates were found to be mainly employed in the public sector while white graduates tended to find work in the private sector, with little mobility between the two sectors (p. 40).

Moleke (2005a) asserts that one of the issues is that in the past HBU's have generally produced “graduates in the humanities and arts whose labour market outcomes are comparatively poor” and that “a possible explanation of these differences may lie in the different quality of education in these institutions, whether perceived or real” (p. 13). This skews participation in higher education, argues Moleke (2005b), with most Africans “still graduating in non-professional fields” (p. 41). So while tertiary graduates have a better chance in the labour market than those with none,

higher education qualifications do not necessarily turn into improved job prospects. The ‘earnings-effect’ of tertiary graduates is subsequently “subject to both racial differentiation and differentiation based on the quantity and quality of tertiary education” (Bhorat & McCord, 2003, p. 137).

The importance of higher education as developing the skills and capabilities to immediately begin work and gain employment in the South African context is underscored by Kruss (2004):

There is evidence of a strong expectation on the part of employers in South Africa, that higher education graduates should be directly employable, that is, ready to ‘hit the ground running’.

Universities have traditionally prepared graduates to be indirectly employable, providing a general formative grounding on a broad disciplinary base, which employers built on to develop the requisite specialized skills, knowledge and dispositions to produce skilled employees.

Employers in the private and public sectors in South Africa now require ‘real-time’ learning and graduates who are directly employable on leaving higher education, who will not need further extended periods of occupational specialization or workplace training and initiation. (p. 90)

Engaging in further studies following graduation is one route that graduates often take to increase their job market potential, skills, and earnings. Indeed, Moleke (2005a) found that 71% of graduates studied further after their first degree, with the main reason being to improve their career prospects and enhance their careers (p. 33).

#### 2.11.4 Conclusions on Educational Equity

While tertiary education is clearly a part of the social and economic agenda for the country in South Africa and the desire for equity has been the foundation of policy reform, there has only been success in addressing equal *access* in education. More interventionist policies have, in the past, been neglected which might improve the quality of HBUs as well as support equal opportunity for financially disadvantaged students in order to avoid an increasingly elite and narrow higher education sector.

## 2.12 Challenges of Educational Policy Implementation

The question that must be asked, despite all of the policy that has addressed transformation and equity, is ‘why has so little changed on the ground?’ Several argue that the transition years and rapidly changing social context suggest the need to create policy as an end in itself, with policy having a signalling function to mark symbolically a shift from the system of apartheid (Jansen, 2001; Cloete & Moja; 2005). This issue of implementation was addressed at the Council on Higher Education Transformation in 2003, where it was admitted that “producing policy, it seems, is far easier than putting it into practice, or implementing it in a social reality that is messy and complex” (CHET, 2003, p. 3). One of the discussions they mention is the issue of the ‘political considerations’ that are at the root of questions of implementation and that the present government seemed to operate with a “top-down model of normative policy and its implementation, that was not sufficiently negotiated” (Ibid, p. 8).

Indeed this raises the question of who speaks for higher education? Higher Education South Africa (Hesa), the new voice of higher education institutions in South Africa established in May 2005, argues that since 1997 the national government has been ‘remarkably one-sided’, “with the state increasingly tightening its grip on a sector marked by often uncertain and fragmented leadership” (M & G, May 2005). Jansen (2001) believes that the reason for the ‘top down’ approach in South Africa, and in much of the third world, is that the state “does not trust its institutions of higher education, even as the same institutions are often blasted for not being ‘development universities’... that address the pressing social and economic problems of their environments” (p.10). On the other hand, the Centre for Development and Enterprise (CDE), a non-profit organisation which receives its core funding from South African corporations, states that “the government needs business as an active partner in the difficult task of rethinking the higher education system. The stakes are high. Effective and strategic business participation in the debate about the future of South Africa's system of higher education could make all the difference between success and failure” (CDE, 2002, para. 5). This

tension between business and civic organizations on the one hand, and government policy-makers on the other hand explains, in part, the lack of coordination in strategizing for both equity and development imperatives in HE.

Some critics question whether equity has been discarded in educational policy under the pressures for increased economic growth, structural adjustment and the fiscal measures to restrict spending in social sectors. Overall, government funding of higher education as a percentage of GDP has decreased from 0.72 in 1994 to 0.66 in 2004 and decreased as a percentage of state expenditure from 2.69% to 2.68% in the same period (Badat et al., 2005). Cloete and Moja (2005) report on the DoE's plan to cap student enrolments in which the argument is that in order to maintain a 'sustainable funding level per student' and improve 'efficiency', institutions should increase graduate 'outputs' by not taking more students but increasing throughput rates. Yet, there is no proof that such an approach will improve efficiency with better staff/student ratios, and this could "worsen the already existing phenomenon that is creating greater inequity among institutions" as it will take better prepared students from private schools and put greater pressure on equity, particularly for poor black students (Cloete & Moja, 2005, p. 710). Winberg (2004) too argues that

In short, South African higher education is to cost the state less, and deliver more: academic staff are to do more work as teachers, researchers, community activists and administrators; they are to be monitored and evaluated, and made accountable upwards to management, downwards to students, and outwards to communities (p. 97).

The Department of Education SEPHE Report states Government's acknowledgement that the higher education system has grown more rapidly than the available resources: the short-fall in funding "has put severe pressure on institutional infrastructure and personnel, thus compromising the ability of higher education institutions to discharge their teaching and research mandate. This cannot continue if the higher education system is to contribute to the national development agenda" (DoE in Hesa 2005, p. 2).

## 2.13 The Private Alternative

One of the proposals to address the large desire for tertiary education as well as respond to the 'skill needs' of the country is private provision of tertiary education.

### 2.13.1 History of Private HE in SA

There is a long history of private higher education in South Africa responding to varying social and economic demands of the country (Fehnel, 2002; Kruss, 2005). The origins of higher education are in private initiatives, including for example the South African college privately begun in 1829, evolving into the University of Cape Town in 1918. Private institutions, maintains Kruss, emerged in response to the demands of the colonial economy and society, laying the basis for the public provision of higher education. They later arose to meet new demands from the growth in mining and manufacturing industries by means of technical and vocational education. In the 1970s, private institutions grew to respond to new economic and skills requirements in sectors not addressed by public universities, while in the 1980s, global dynamics began to shape education in South Africa and student enrolment grew in private correspondence colleges.

Many describe how the private sector established a more central role in higher education during the 1990s resulting in rapid expansion (Kruss, 2004; Fehnel, 2002; Subtzky, 2003). The new policy context after 1994 meant private correspondence colleges and professional institutes entered the higher education market due to their 'increased status, legitimacy and recognition'. The 1996 legislative framework for opening private colleges, for example, opened the legal space for 'education entrepreneurs'.

Higher Education in South Africa includes both public and private provision, however it excludes all further education and training (FET) colleges. The National Qualifications Framework (NQF) integrates education and training into a single qualifications system which is administered by

the South African Qualifications Authority<sup>52</sup>. Legally, the Higher Education Act of 1997 gives the operational framework for all post-secondary public and private providers. Private providers must go through a registration and accreditation process. Private providers may register “based on evidence that an institution is financially capable, maintains acceptable and comparable standards and complies with the requirements of the appropriate quality assurance body and any other reasonable requirement determined by the Registrar of private higher education” (Kruss, 2005, p. 273). Meanwhile registration only applies to institutions that offer learning programmes resulting in qualifications such as certificates, diplomas or degrees on levels 5 to 8 on the NQF” (Kruss, 2004, p.18). This brief overview demonstrates that South Africa, on the whole, has established systems of regulation for private institutions. These have been developed over the past ten years and function so as to prevent the exploitation of South African students, while also encouraging PriHE to act in line with the relevant needs and changes in the labour market.

#### 2.13.2 Profile of Private HE in SA

In a study of 86 private institutions registered with the Department of Education in 2001, Subotzky (2003) concludes that of these 86 institutions, approximately 85,000 students were enrolled in their programmes, reflecting a “smaller private higher-education sector than originally anticipated” (p. 421). This leads Kraak (2004b) to argue that “emerging off a low base, the magnitude of the growth [of Private higher education] does not yet threaten public provision (as was previously feared by public providers)” (p. 17).

Of the total enrolments, 48% of students were enrolled in the field of education, 20% enrolled in business studies and 9% enrolled in science fields. Overall, this means that “while the key business, information technology and education fields were well served, very few private enrolments were in the key scarce skill fields of science, engineering and technology proper, or health and social

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<sup>52</sup> The implementation of NQF is argued to be a “long term process, resulting in anomalies in the articulation between general schooling, public technical colleges at the FET level, and public higher education” (Kruss, 2005, p. 274).

services” (Subotzky, 2003, p. 423). In addition, the vast majority of private institutions were at or below level 6 on the NQF, with 2,500 enrolled in master’s programmes and 32 doctoral students. This, Subotzky argues, indicates that private HE in South Africa, as is the trend globally, exists at the ‘lower levels’ (p. 422) of human resources development, feeding those employment sectors that were previously shown to have the slowest employment rates (see Section 3.2.3. *Equity: Educational Adequacy*). It is furthermore regarded to be a deracialised sector, contrary to assumptions of elitism, with African students making up 62% of enrolments. Kruss (2006) argues that many indicators other than race and gender, such as age, socio-economic status, educational background and citizenship, interact in complex ways to form the demographic profile of students attending private institutions in South Africa.

The primary feature of all private HE institutions is their for-profit or entrepreneurial nature. Indeed, managers of private initiatives themselves stress “that they are in the ‘education business’” (Kruss, 2005, p. 265). Only a few, primarily with religious orientation, are non-profit (Kruss, 2004). The state does not subsidise private HE and it functions through a diversity of funding sources including corporation sponsorship, tuition, investments and consultant services. Ownership of these institutions also varies, “from major listed companies to family-owned business, which may lead to diversity in internal governance and control” (Ibid, p. 16).

Private HE institutions can also vary in size, and can go from, for example, 40 part-time students in a corporate classroom to 7,500 full time students in a franchise college (Kruss, 2004). Other common characteristics, outlined by Kruss (2004), include first of all, an orientation towards contract academic staff with a small management core. Second, many have a ‘main campus’ with small library facilities, but invest considerably in multi-media teaching equipment, and rely strongly on electronic resources and course materials, increasing access in terms of distance education. Third is the tendency to have “limited resources for students...usually out-sourced student canteens, minimal space for student socialization or individual study and few sporting facilities” (Ibid, p. 24).

Now that a portrait of private HE in South Africa has been elucidated, the following brief sections will sketch out some of the categories of private institutions in South Africa; including trans-nationals, corporate classrooms, and public-private partnerships or franchising colleges.

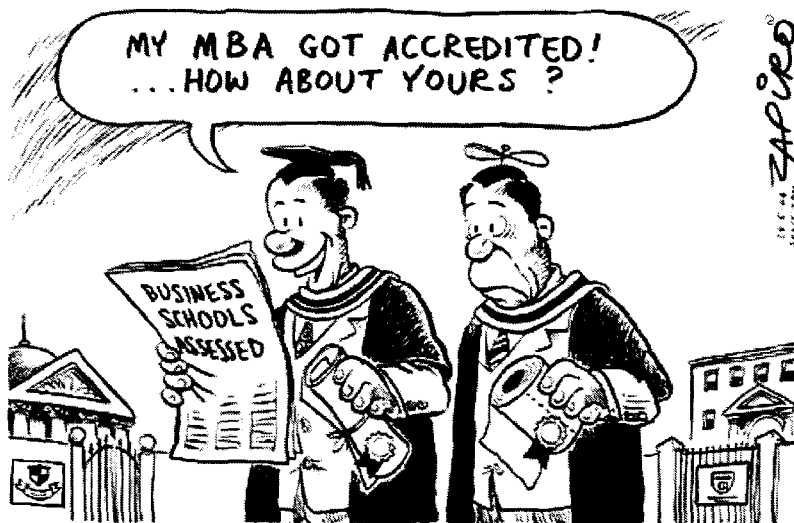
### 2.13.3 Trans-national Providers

‘Trans-national education’ refers to a type of higher education in which the courses of study are provided by an awarding institution which is located in a country different from the one where the learners are located. Trans-national providers have received much negative critique from public universities in South Africa who viewed them as a major competitive threat (Kruss, 2005). Indeed, Schoole (2004) warns against the increase of foreign private schools in South Africa and the potential increase in the free trade in ‘education services’<sup>53</sup>. According to Kruss (2004), South Africa was seen as a potentially lucrative education market, by Australian new private and old public providers and by new British universities such as University of Buckingham.

At the same time, transnational providers make up only a very small portion of private HE enrolments and are argued to be less of a threat than otherwise imagined. Subotzky (2003) found that of the approximately 85,000 students enrolled in private HE in 2001, only 1,242 of those were enrolled in transnational institutions. The South African government responded to these warnings and in 2000 stopped the operation of foreign private universities in the country altogether. A review of the MBA program in South Africa saw many foreign institutions losing their accreditation, an event which occasioned a political narrative by cartoonist Zapiro (M&G, 2004; see image below). In 2000, when the Department of Education did not give conditional registration to 75 of 200 institutions that applied, more than 30 were foreign universities (Kruss, 2004). At the same time, Kruss suggests that foreign institutions are still seeking ways of continuing collaboration in new forms.

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<sup>53</sup> Schoole (2004) is referencing the issue of free trade in education services in relation to a debate taking place at the World Trade Organization (WTO). The pressure since 2003 to liberalise South Africa’s education system he believes is an issue to think about in terms of what the General Agreement on Trade in Services (GATS) means for “staff, students, sovereignty and the place of the university in modern society” (p. 52).



Source: Mail and Guardian Online. Zapiro. June 1, 2004.  
<http://www.mg.co.za/zapiro/imageHistory.aspx?YearId=2004|MonthId=6|DayId=1>

#### 2.13.4 Public-Private Partnerships

The 1997 White Paper on Higher Education supported private provision of higher education in the form of ‘partnerships’ between various public and private institutions (DoE, 1997). These new partnerships were mostly ‘entrepreneurial expanding’, involving historically white Afrikaans Universities and technikons, and often manifesting as satellite campuses, or ‘franchising colleges’ (Kruss, 2005). Yet, Kruss (2005) points to the subsequent abuse of state subsidy funding by these public institutions as they “did not take sufficient academic responsibility for the programmes and students involved in such agreements... [and] staff often had a personal financial stake in the private partner” (p. 270). Indeed, Mabizela (2005) argues that the phenomenon of partnerships was left to develop ‘ad hoc’, “driven by perceived labour market demand on the part of students.... [such that] government policy has only recently begun to focus on the quality of partnership programmes and delivery” (p. 68). Some public higher education institutions claimed they entered into partnerships with providers in other locations to make HE accessible for geographical and formal access. However, Mabizela indicates that this ignores ‘epistemological access’: “access to higher education

does not end with physical access” (p.55). While these institutions did broaden access, “we need to question whether intellectual development and the capacity to deal with academic demands and challenges, which can be translated into daily social challenges, was indeed the driving purpose” (Ibid). In addition, Mabizela finds that very few of these programmes responded to the actual skill needs of the country and did not always offer the necessary knowledge to fill the objective of ‘entrepreneurial’. The majority of students enrolled in privately run institutions are African and Mabizela argues that “these institutions exploited the desperation of many black students who were left in want by the legacy of skewed apartheid architecture” (Mabizela, 2005, p. 65).

In 1999 a moratorium was placed on these partnerships and a new policy was developed in 2001 to regulate these public/private partnerships. Indeed, while there is a national quality assurance programme in place for public institutions, Mabizela argues there should be quality assurance for private institutions as well as ‘responsible partnerships’, more strongly oriented towards addressing social demands, not narrowly addressing the financial demands of institutions. Mabizela’s (2005) study also suggests that the setting up of distance education programmes and satellite campuses in areas where the majority of students could be expected to be African, meant that public institutions did not take on the more difficult challenge of providing for the needs of disadvantaged students either through bridging years to obtain their requisite entry levels in areas of mathematics or science, or through focusing on improved learning environments and quality in teaching.

#### 2.13.5 Corporate Classrooms

Another form of private provision is referred to as the ‘corporate classroom’. These are private providers which “offer education and training directly tailored to the workplace needs of specific corporations and their industries” (Kruss, 2005, p.276). They are an emerging form of “lifelong learning centres developed within private corporations at the HE and training level, on their own premises to train their own staff to overcome... shortcomings of public provision in meeting corporate demand” (Kruss, 2004, p. 20).

#### 2.13.6 Private HE Issues Revisited

Some of the current debates mentioned in section two on private HE worldwide, are also prevalent in South Africa. For example, in South Africa there is the need for the private sector to complement the public system, rather than compete (Subotzky, 2003). In this regard, Kruss (2004) has determined that there are two private sub-sectors. One sub-sector functions to ensure 'mobility' or to respond to a demand for 'better' education than the public sector, while the other functions to offer 'credentials' or to train a work force and offer specialized credentials. It is the 'mobility' sub-sector which Kraak (2004b) argues is in more direct competition with the public HE sector offerings. Thus the urgency to ensure no competition between public and private 'credentials' providers is unnecessary since "they are oriented towards the critical intermediate skill level, within the higher education band" (p.126).

In the debate regarding regulation vs. autonomy, Subotzky (2003), believes the South African government is attempting to find the right balance between regulating private providers and leaving them room for movement. In the 1997 White Paper, the challenge is articulated as follows: "to create an environment which neither suffocates educationally sound and sustainable private institutions with over-regulation, nor allows a plethora of poor quality unsustainable 'fly-by-night' operators into the higher education market" (DoE, 1997, section 2.56 in Subotzky, 2003, p. 428).

In addition, there are some concerns about the quality of Private HE. Schoole (2004) argues that the country needs to "safeguard the quality of [both] public and private education" (p. 51). At the same time, Kruss (2004) makes no conclusions about the quality of private provision in South Africa, arguing instead that "quality of education provision is notoriously difficult to study" (p. 132). Overall, she believes the main question should revolve around whether private providers are offering quality post-secondary programmes that adequately meet the human resource development needs of South Africa and whether they coordinate with what SETA is prioritizing.

One way to safeguard a distinction between public and private providers and the quality of education has included measures by the government to protect the use of the term ‘university’ in an amendment to the Higher Education Act in 1999 (Subotzky, 2003). Although, Subotzky argues that several see the traditionalist view of the term ‘university’ as “untenable ... in light of the proliferation of new organizational and instructional forms (including virtual, corporate and transnational universities using flexible mixed modes of learner-centred delivery in real time and space which preclude a universalist definition of ‘the university’” (p. 419-420). Furthermore, Kruss (2004) argues that “in the contestation around private higher education, ‘credential’ providers have been criticized for not being more like universities, when that is not what they are about” (p. 126), underscoring that it is not the role for credential providers to take on the same functions of the ‘traditional university’ with its research and knowledge production tradition.

#### 2.14 Credentials and Mobility: CIDA City Campus

Kruss (2004) has attempted to find “a way out of the dichotomized debate about the public and the private in South African higher education... towards a means of engagement, by offering a more nuanced understanding of the private sector in South Africa” (p. 5). In her study of 15 private institutions, ‘FC4’ – franchising college 4 – refers to CIDA City Campus<sup>54</sup>. To my knowledge, this is the only published academic work which includes empirical research with relation to CIDA City campus, making a discussion of her salient findings with reference to CIDA relevant.

CIDA is from the outset identified as a unique, non-profit private institution which does not fit into the usual pattern of other franchising colleges. While Kruss argues that CIDA bears some convergence with other franchising colleges in its focus on ‘career-oriented’, ‘high-status degree-level’ and ‘internationally recognized qualifications’, it diverges from most PriHE cases in its “emphasis on an alternative vision, of African-based education where the content is relevant for developing nations, that ‘allows for extremely low cost, relevant, practical, technology based and cutting edge, mass scale

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<sup>54</sup> Permission was granted by the author to identify the institution as CIDA City Campus and all data referring to CIDA students, in this thesis (Kruss, personal email, August 3, 2007).

higher education” (p. 71). Kruss states this case had “the value of redress and development most centrally articulated in its vision, shaped by its history as an offshoot of an NGO” (Ibid). She elaborates, saying:

In this orientation, and given its niche market specialized focus on the B Admin programme, this case is more strongly convergent with the cases meeting a demand for ‘different’ education. Further support for this categorization lies in the fact that the founders and key staff were motivated by a philanthropic zeal, and the entire educational process was imbued with the principles of the Transcendental Meditation movement, with which it had strong educational links. In this sense, the case offers a ‘different’ education more akin to the usage in the international literature, linked to a specific cultural or religious group. For the purposes of further analysis, this case too was re-categorised with those that respond to a demand for ‘different’ education, but bearing in mind that this is tempered with a strong element of responding to a demand for ‘more’ education. (p. 72)

In 2001 it is stated as having one main campus with a total enrolment of 1,185 full-time students, 10 management staff, 5 full-time service personnel, as well as 5 full time academic staff, 50 voluntary part-time teachers and 17 full-time facilitators/tutors.

#### 2.14.1 Student Profiles

Of all the cases in Kruss’ study, CIDA was the only one where the student profile was all African school leavers from disadvantaged backgrounds coming from five different provinces and with over 60% female enrolment. The student profiles of the other cases were all from affluent socio-economic backgrounds or some in newly privileged socio-economic positions. The few institutions that did have a high proportion of African students, the students were from South African urban areas such as Gauteng, or urban areas of other SADC countries, such as Botswana. CIDA’s case, in Kruss’ view, responds to a demand for access to HE for those experiencing barriers that are directly related to historical disadvantage. In addition,

In line with its stated aim to cater for ‘the poorest of the poor’, the enrolment pattern reflects that it attracts non-traditional students in the sense that they are not able to gain entry to public institutions because of financial constraints. Significantly, this case operates not-for-profit, and students pay nominal fees. Students are drawn from poor, often rural communities and, as part of the admission requirements, need to show that they are ‘sponsored’ by their community... The majority were the first in their families to enter higher education, but almost 70 per cent had matriculation exemption. The admission policy was quite clear that students should have matriculation exemption, and that ‘bright and deserving’ candidates should be particularly targeted, but the current enrolment patterns reveal that here too, students who do not have the educational requirements to enter the public universities are being catered for. (p. 85)

For some students in the study, interviewed by Kruss, their choice to study at a private institutions “was motivated by a strong desire to ‘get the tickets’, to obtain recognized formal credentials, in order to increase opportunities for direct employability, whether in a formal organization or in self-employment” (p. 90). CIDA students were a contrasting kind of ‘non-traditional student’, and instead of choice, “[they] felt that given their life circumstances, ‘we did not choose, we were chosen’, and expressed appreciation for the financial opportunity afford them to study further, to obtain a formal qualification” (p. 92). At the same time, “they too articulated the understanding that they were being prepared directly for employability” (Ibid). Kruss notes that her study is unable to comment on the actual employment outcomes amongst students and evidence in this regard is only anecdotal with reports that graduates were highly successful in finding employment. In this regard, the current study will be useful to establish these claims.

Further data on the profile of the students include that 97.8% were African/black, 2.2% were Coloured, and all were of South African nationality. In a table on their previous schooling, 9.9% were from former model C, 11.6% from former HOR, 31.9% from former HOD, 37.9% from former DET, 8.7% from private schools, and none were from foreign schools. According to a table

on 'highest level of education of parents of students surveyed', CIDA students ranked the lowest with 82.% of parents having matric or lower, 14.9% with a certificate or diploma, and only 2.8% a degree. In terms of the main 'influences on student choice of institution', the highest reason for CIDA students was identified as 'fees are affordable'. Also regarding trends in relation to student choice, interestingly, 69.4% of CIDA students applied to a public institution and almost all, 68.4%, were accepted. Furthermore, only 10.1% began their studies at a public institution and 3.5% left after failing courses at a public institution. In CIDA students assessment of the programme's preparation for working life, in terms of abilities, there are very high scores in all categories, especially in the categories 'ability to be creative', which was rated at 4.6 out of 5, 'ability to work as a team' (4.8), and 'ability to communicate well with others' (4.7). Finally, as to the willingness of students to recommend their institution, 88% of students recommend CIDA as a place of study.

#### 2.14.2 Funding

CIDA fees for 2001 are listed as ZAR350 per annum in year 1 and ZAR100 per annum in year 2. While all of the other cases rely primarily on student fees as their major source of funding, CIDA is the exception. Kruss notes that CIDA has "no sustainable source" but relies rather on a creative blend of company donations, 'recycling waste', and student employment. She explains that [CIDA] has developed an innovative approach informed by a notion of 'recycling waste', where it takes human and material 'waste', and uses it to advantage. Partnerships with big business and corporate donations are the key source of funding. For instance, the owners of a property that was not used in the Central Business District were persuaded to offer it as the tuition site at no cost; old computers and furniture donated by businesses are required for use or resale; unemployed graduates, pensioners and wealthy business people who want to make a social contribution are recruited to teach and manage the institution; and students contribute their time and labour for the day-to-day running of the institution. This pattern is highly unusual and there is no other such initiative at the present time. (p. 102)

### 2.14.3 Governance

Kruss notes that a key dimension of governance in private institutions relates to their partnerships and collaborations. That is, a private provider's function as demonstrated in its origins, identity, target group and student profile, "make it attractive to particular kinds of investors, which leads to particular kinds of associated ownership patterns. In turn, the central function means that providers rely on particular kinds of associated partnership to fulfill their educational mandate" (p.109). CIDA, which operates not-for-profit, "has distinct partnership relationships that are voluntary and mutually beneficial in the sense of promoting black economic empowerment" (p. 108). For example, "a major accounting firm, concerned to access a pool of black graduates that will assist it to meet its equity targets, runs the accounting department in return for the opportunity to select students whom they will employ on graduation" (Ibid). Similarly, "a major empowerment bank has sponsored students to train rural communities in financial management, at low cost to the bank and with the advantage of student funding, work and community experience" (Ibid). These partnerships "add value both to the company involved and to the educational processes of the private provider. In this regard, there is a degree of convergence with the corporate credential type of provider" (p. 108-109).

### 2.15 Conclusion

Kruss' study helpfully frames the subsequent sections of the current study, with regards to the analysis of responses by CIDA graduates to the survey. Student outcomes, with regards to employment, returns to their family and civic engagement, as articulated by the graduates themselves, can be viewed in light of the "baseline data" of Kruss' research.

Overall, the discussion in this section has moved between debates referencing both private and public forms of HE, alongside the imperative for greater social and economic equity in South Africa. In the case of each tertiary institution in South Africa one might ask the question, "How and to what extent can higher education advance the goals of social equity and economic development,

consolidating an active, deracialised democracy?” (Jonathan, 2002, p. 91 in Kruss, 2004, p. 128). To this end, a more in-depth study of CIDA City Campus, building on the work of Kruss, will confront this question. This study will also analyze this case in light of the theoretical debate of whether or to what extent a private institution can operate in the ‘public good’. And finally, as an innovative, perhaps ‘hybrid’, institution adding to the landscape of tertiary education in South Africa, this study will examine to what extent it is successful at what it claims to be doing.

### 3 Research Methodology

The purpose of this research is to determine the extent to which CIDA, as an educational 'intervention', has been successful in achieving its intended outcomes. CIDA ultimately wants to be measured by its graduates. As CIDA states, "We want to measure mass-scale social and economic transformation, in the lives of our graduates, and the areas and countries in which we work, or we have not achieved our mission" (CIDA Position Statement, Partners Version, p.6). For this reason, it was decided that a survey of all of its BBA graduates to date would help to determine whether the degree programme was a valuable experience for its graduates. This chapter outlines the methods used in this study.

#### 3.1 Background to Research Methods

It is perhaps important to point out that the current research does not engage in examining the social entrepreneurship phenomenon as its subject of inquiry. Examples of this type of work might include,

1) research on embeddedness, which has been characterized by taking on really rich empirical contexts ... 2) the study of how context... influences the formation of intentions to become a social entrepreneur, and how it enables and constrains the emergence of social entrepreneurship; and 3) efforts to uncover the dynamics of success and failure in social entrepreneurship, and in particular to understand how the goals and objectives pursued evolve over time. (Mair & Martí, 2006, p. 13)

Current studies in the field of SE primarily incorporate qualitative methods, including case study analysis, narratives, discourse analysis or ethnography (Mair & Martí, 2006). While these would be useful to explore the organizational context, leadership and other dynamics within CIDA, SE research appears to take as its assumption that the SE organization – whether in the area of health,

education or otherwise – is already successful in achieving its mission and objectives. As previously stated however, this thesis attempts to evaluate the extent to which CIDA, as a tertiary educational institution, is successful in achieving its mission<sup>55</sup> as well as instilling a sense of social responsibility in its graduates. This focus necessitates posing research questions which relate to the educational outcomes of its programmes. Quantitative methods can be useful in this regard and so were chosen for use in this study. Survey methods are particularly appropriate as they may be used for descriptive, explanatory and exploratory purposes (Babbie & Mouton, 2001, p. 232). Survey research is also “the best method available to the social scientist interested in collecting original data for describing a population too large to observe directly... [and] for measuring attitudes and orientations in a large population” (Ibid). In the context of South Africa, “survey research is still recognized as indispensable for establishing socio-economic trends in the South African population” (p. 230). A survey design allows us to establish base-line data as well as gain a general sense of student experiences. It also allows for the assessment of curricular or other elements of the BBA programme that may be significant to current and future CIDA students.

The main method for data collection in this study is therefore a quantitative survey of all of CIDA’s graduates, classes 2004 – 2006. With both the advantages and drawbacks of survey research in mind, it should not be underestimated as, at least initially, a valuable research tool in this situation for the following reasons:

1. It is only the second time that a research study has been conducted at CIDA City Campus, since its inception in 1999 (Kruss, 2004 being the first in relation to enrollment trends in South African private HE). However, it is the first study which attempts to comprehensively explore how BBA graduates are faring in the world since graduation<sup>56</sup>. For an institution

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<sup>55</sup> As mentioned in Chapter One, CIDA’s mission is “To enhance access to quality higher education that contributes towards the full development of every learner and to the social and economic development of the nation at large” (CIDA website).

<sup>56</sup> While a small-scale telephone survey was undertaken by CIDA with a sample of BBA graduates, this was limited to solely determining an average annual income for its graduates primarily as a means to provide statistical feedback to donors on CIDA’s graduate outcomes.

with an innovative approach to providing university education to financially disadvantaged students, this study is vital at this stage in its development as an institution.

2. A quantitative survey provides baseline data which can then be repeated in subsequent years to determine how well CIDA's programmes are responding to the educational and other needs of its students over time, and how successful they are in preparing students for employment.
3. An initial exploration into graduate commitment to community re-building will help determine whether or to what extent CIDA has inspired students to become leaders in their home communities.
4. Exploratory analysis of the quantitative data base will generate questions relevant to the student body of CIDA. These themes can then be explored by means of qualitative studies in the future.
5. Finally, while a survey is inevitably categorized as a quantitative research method, inclusion of open ended questions allows for the possibility of gathering a rich array of participant descriptions of their life experiences and outlooks on their time at CIDA. Written-text data works alongside the apparent quantitative questions both to support or deny their statistical conclusions as well as to raise further questions, challenging the researcher from reaching tidy and summarized understandings of participant experiences.

### 3.2 Data Collection

Ideally, a survey must offer equal opportunities for each member of the population to have the chance to be included in the sample. Dillman (1991) states that non-coverage error arises when

“some members of the population are not covered by the sampling frame and therefore have no chance of being selected into the sample” (p. 227). This study was therefore designed as a mixed-mode survey. Mixed-mode surveys are data collected by two or more methods (whether telephone, mail, web, or in-person interviews) for a single survey purpose (Dillman, 1991). Surveys were self-administered and provided to participants via mail and the internet. Telephone and E-mail surveys were two additional modes added during the final stages of data collection (see section 5 of *procedures*). Increased interest in mixed-mode surveys, “propelled by rising costs and a recognition that different members of a single household may be accessible to one method but not another, forces an explicit recognition of the survey mode itself as a source of measurement error” (Ibid, p. 228). Research in the U.S. has shown that having a second mode of data collection increases survey response rates (McCabe, Diez, Boyd, Nelson, & Weitzman, 2006). Research in Japan found that a mixed-mode survey can somewhat improve response rates, and more importantly can reduce representation bias (Hayashi, 2007). In addition to offering respondents choice of mode and potentially reducing costs, “switching from one mode to another sometimes provides an opportunity for speeding the completion of a survey” (NUStats, n.d., para. 4; see also Hayashi, 2007).

Furthermore, mixed-mode surveys have received attention due to both the researcher’s interest in using the Internet for questionnaire-delivery and the reality that participants may not be as enthusiastic about responding to questionnaires over the Internet (Diment & Garrett-Jones, 2007).

However there are some concerns over bias. Diment and Garrett-Jones (2007) find that “a sample biased toward females is less likely to benefit from the mixed-mode approach than a gender-balanced sample” (p.411). Hayashi (2007) finds that an inherent problem in mixed-mode design is that the mode affects respondents differently. There is also some suggestion that there are gender differences in response patterns between web and mail surveys with men more likely than women to respond to web surveys and less likely to respond to mail surveys (McCabe et al, 2006; Carini, Hayek, Kuh, Kennedy & Ouimet, 2003). This certainly is supported by the gender bias in the participant group of this study where more males than females responded.

Significantly, McCabe et al. (2006) state that “non-randomized mixed mode studies, including web and mailed paper surveys have been conducted at multiple universities, and very few substantive differences between survey mode have been found” (p.1620). There also does not appear to be a difference in responses to web and paper modes of survey, as randomized studies found that web surveys “closely resemble the responses of hardcopy mailed paper surveys. For example, both survey modes are self-administered and they each rely on visual information through which the respondent controls the speed of answering questions” (Ibid, p. 1625).

The main approach to data collection was web-administered survey questionnaires. The world-wide web is seen to provide researchers greater access to participants, reducing printing and distribution costs of questionnaires, time taken to conduct the data collection, and “the need to transcribe received surveys and solve data entry errors associated with this task” (Schmidt, 1997, p. 5). Sills and Song (2002) argue that “for special populations that regularly use the Internet in their daily lives, the new medium has been found to be a sensible means of achieving meaningful results” (p. 23).

Web-based surveys particularly grapple with issues of bias and non-coverage. One central issue is that, “despite being geographically unrestricted, biases are known to exist in the population that frequently accesses the web” (Schmidt, 1997, p. 1). Research has found that “the propensity for Internet use depends on access to and capacity to use the technology” (Diment & Garrett-Jones, 2007, p. 410). In one Australian study, Internet survey response was found to be more than twice as attractive to male respondents as to females (Ibid). Non-coverage is “a common problem in Internet surveys because... even finite populations lists become outdated rapidly as users change e-mail addresses. Due to this problem, reported rates of undeliverable or ‘bounced’ requests in Internet based surveys are as high as 28% (Swoboda, Muehlberger, Weitkunat, & Schneeweiss, 1997) and as low as 8% (Smith, 1997)” (Sills & Song, 2002, p. 24). In one student survey, there were 487 mailer-daemon and automated system administrator replies indicating respondents were not able to receive e-mails. While researchers continued to send emails to over-quota email accounts with the hope that

subsequent waves would be successful, 3.9% of respondents were not able to be contacted (Sills & Song, 2002, p. 24). Diment and Garrett-Jones (2007) point out that the need to ensure high-quality samples of potential respondents and the increase in spam means that “even where e-mail contact is feasible, post, fax, or telephone should remain the preferred method for inviting responses” (p.414).

In this case, CIDA’s graduates all had the opportunity to learn email and internet skills during their studies at CIDA. Therefore, it was assumed that all have some capacity in using e-mail and internet, and at least some graduates use internet and e-mail at their workplace. Thus, the advantage of a web-survey involving research with business graduates is that many will likely have become accustomed to using E-mail and internet on a daily basis. However, it was not assumed that internet/e-mail access and the capacity to use this technology would be universal to the survey population. This may be due to such factors as unemployment, lack of Internet at a workplace, infrequent usage of personal E-mail accounts, or possible lack of ease with internet and e-mail usage (such as using dial-up internet access). As a result, there can be great variations in response rates in web surveys, ranging from rates as high as 70% and as low as 0% (Sills & Song, 2002).

In a study of accessibility to Law Schools in Ontario, while researcher’s had addresses or emails for 90% of Law graduates, there was only a 25% response rate (Personal Email from William Boyce, April 10, 2007). In a web-survey of international students in the U.S., there was an overall response rate of 22% (Sills & Song, 2002, p. 25). Thus, the mixed-mode survey was adopted so as to avoid non-coverage errors. To this end, graduates were invited to participate in the study via telephone and were given the option of either a mail-survey or web-survey. It was later determined that the web-based and mail survey were not sufficient methods for graduates to complete the questionnaire. Thus, e-mail and telephone were used as additional modes of communication in the later stages of data collection (see section 5 of *procedures*).

### 3.3 Participant Selection

The *population* of this survey includes all 2004, 2005, and 2006 graduates from CIDA City Campus' BBA programme. The population of a survey is "the total collection of units or elements you want to analyze" (Nardi, 2006, p. 108). I was provided contact lists for 2004, 2005 and 2006 graduates which totaled 507 persons. Given the small number of total BBA graduates, it was decided to sample the entire group. As Nardi (2006) points out, "when the population is small enough, you can easily survey every element of the population" (p.109).

A common concern in survey research is how large a sample should be to make for a useful study. Nardi (2006) points out that "when a population is more homogenous, fewer elements are required to get a representative sample" (p.121). In this case, the 2004-2006 graduates might be considered a homogenous population, since all are recent graduates, all studied for a particular degree programme in an English-medium institution, and all are either African or coloured. However, the group is heterogeneous in such factors as gender and subject of degree specialization.

Of course, a larger sample size is preferable and a high response rate has less chance of significant response bias than in a low rate (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). However, Dillman (1991) points out that "a low response rate does not necessarily entail non-response error, i.e. a discrepancy between the frequency of a population characteristic and that estimated by the survey that occurs because some people did not respond" (p. 229). Thus, Dillman argues, those who respond to a survey may not be measurably different from those who do not respond:

The usual reasons that surveys are commissioned is that the distribution of certain population characteristics is unknown and a survey becomes the tool to find out the distribution of those characteristics. Thus, it is usually impossible to compare respondents with nonrespondents on precisely those variables of most survey interest. (Ibid)

Where little is known of the population, such as is the case with CIDA graduates<sup>57</sup>, limited ‘respondent-non-respondent comparisons’ (p. 229) can sometimes be made. However, one cannot know whether differences exist around the variables of interest that led to the purpose of the survey (for example, graduate participation in community-based activities). For this reason, “response rate has de facto become the accepted proxy for nonresponse error... [with the assumption] that the higher the response rate the lower the potential of nonresponse error and therefore the better the survey” (Ibid, p. 229).

Some recommend the use of incentives to increase response rates (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). In this survey, a draw for a digital camera was advertised to graduates in an effort to increase response rates.

A total of 375 people were contacted and invited to participate in this survey. While the calling team<sup>58</sup> attempted contacting all 424 2005 and 2006 graduates, they were only able to speak with a total of 336 graduates via the telephone. An additional 39 graduates were successfully contacted via telephone in my second wave of calling (see section 5.5 of *procedures*). From the 375 people contacted, 135 completed the survey. With a survey population of 507 graduates, this results in a 27% survey response rate.

A total of 99 respondents completed web-surveys out of a total of 199 web-links sent to e-mail addresses which did not result in error messages or undeliverable-types messages were received. Sixty-six percent of females (n=41), compared with 79.5% of males (n=58) completed the survey via the web. However, age and graduating year does not appear to be a factor in survey mode choice. A further 17 completed mail-surveys were received out of a total of 80 sent. Despite the use of registered mail, 22 participants actually received the survey package, with results in a revised response rate of 77% (see Table 1; also section 5.4). A further 15 surveys were completed via email and five by

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<sup>57</sup> The only response-nonresponse comparison that can be made is that of employment statistics as CIDA reports employment levels for each graduating class. This comparison will be outlined in the Data and Analysis chapter.

<sup>58</sup> The calling team was made up of four CIDA Park Foundation college students who were trained in making calls to graduates and inviting them to participate in the survey.

phone. Response rates were not estimated for the five telephone surveys and 14 e-mail surveys which took place as neither were presented as options to graduates when they were contacted by telephone.

**Table 1: Response rates by survey mode**

Survey Mode	Number of participants contacted	Number of responses (returned surveys)	Response rate
Mail-Survey	22*	17	77%
Web-Survey	199**	99	50%
E-mail Survey	199	14	n/a
Telephone Survey	n/a	5	n/a

\* Twenty-two graduates confirmed receiving the survey package/or notification of the package. This number may be higher, as we were unable to reach by phone another 29 graduates who were sent packages in the mail.

\*\* This represents the number of successful e-mail messages sent to address provided that did not result in error messages or undeliverable-type messages.

### 3.4 Survey Design

The two elements which informed survey development were: a) theoretical aspects explored through the content of the survey, including knowledge of CIDA's educational programmes and a review of the literature regarding challenges for tertiary-level students in South Africa, and b) technical aspects related to survey design decisions.

#### 3.4.1 Theoretical design aspects

The questionnaire sought to address both questions related to the effectiveness and quality of CIDA's curriculum or outcomes, whilst also addressing pertinent issues affecting many students attending South African universities. The survey was structured into four parts: a) personal details; b) cida experience; c) perspectives on community; and d) cida replication. The content of the

questionnaire, however, covered seven significant areas: (1) basic demographic information; (2) throughput information (e.g. financial sources, social/emotional/practical supports, work preparation, etc.); (3) outcomes information (e.g. employment status, etc.); (4) feedback regarding CIDA educational quality; (5) graduate connections to family of origin; and (6) graduate 'ploughback' to home communities or other South African communities. As an exploratory survey, some areas of the survey had to be restricted to a small number of questions as there were a large range of issues which required coverage.

With respect to outcomes-related information, the questionnaire sought to answer the following: *Was the CIDA degree adequate enough to create desired employment outcomes?* To this end, Section A, questions seven to eight, ask graduates their employment status and current income. Employed participants were asked categorical questions around work expectations and skills use, as well as the relevance of their employment to their subject of specialization. They were also asked an open-ended question about the extent to which CIDA prepared them for the demands of their work (See appendix A, Section B, question 7.1). Unemployed participants were asked an open-ended question about what they feel are the main obstacles to gaining employment (See appendix A, Section A, question 8.3). In open-ended question form, all participants were asked how CIDA might improve the quality of education it provides (See appendix A, Section B, question 5).

Section B, questions one to four, relate to issues of educational throughput. Here, the research question was: *Did the education provide enough opportunity in the form of the necessary economic, practical and social aspects needed to proceed through the degree?* Questions aimed to establish how long CIDA graduates took to complete their degree and what financial resources they relied on for their tuition and living expenses. Graduates were asked questions related to their emotional resilience, in terms of which supports were most helpful in 'getting through' their degree. Graduates were also asked to rate important aspects of their campus experience, including elements unique to CIDA City Campus, such as student transportation and campus lunch. Finally, graduates were asked to rate internship placement and career counselling.

The extent of graduate connections to family were explored in Section C questions one and two, which sought to establish to what extent graduates' are supporting their family of origin, whether via sending money home or offering certain skills. Graduates were asked to describe the impact that their support makes at home and whether they are able to provide as much support as they would like.

A large portion of section C was also designed to address the issues of community Ploughback and attempted to ascertain the extent to which respondents participate in community-based initiatives in their home communities. This was because:

It is this CIDA value, a concern for others - not just our immediate families - but also people in our communities who remain trapped by poverty and lack of opportunity, which makes a CIDA graduate special. As Chancellor I admire the marvellous [sic] energy and love CIDA students and graduates put back into their communities and am inspired by the hope they bring to others. It is this quality that will have the biggest impact on South Africa's future, and not merely the personal success of each of the graduates, important as this is. (First Lady Mbeki, speaking at CIDA graduation, August 12, 2006, p. 2-3)

As graduates and participants in CIDA's Extranet, the research question is thus: *are they still committed to 'community ploughback' and in what ways?* For that reason, questions focused on levels of contact and perceptions around their home communities.

Finally, Section D briefly described CIDA's plans for expansion and creation of new campuses. This short section was created mainly for CIDA's strategic purposes as they will likely need alumni support for their expansion in the future. It asked graduates whether they would be willing to become involved in expansion and in what capacity, as well as to comment on CIDA's plans.

### 3.4.2 Technical design aspects

For ease of completion, the questionnaire was designed, according to Babbie and Mouton's recommendations, to be "spread out and uncluttered" with "boxes adequately spaced apart" (p.239-240). Most questions incorporated a 5-point, Likert-type scale (e.g. *not at all, a little, somewhat, quite a lot, a lot*). Important advantages of this format include efficient use of space and quicker completion time for respondents (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Facilitating quicker survey completion is important in the context of this study as the questionnaire covered a large range of issues and was quite lengthy.

Because this was an exploratory study, it was necessary to ensure that response categories provided in close-ended questions were exhaustive. As such, many possible responses were listed as well as the category "Other (please specify\_\_\_\_)". In some areas, more than one question on a topic was asked to allow for potential issues with the wording of questions. For example, Section A of the survey asks the following:

**If employed,**

- 8.4) Are you employed in a job related to the subject you specialized in at CIDA? (E.g. Human Resources, ICT, Investment etc.)
- 8.5) Do you feel your knowledge and skills are being put to good use in your current job?
- 8.6) Are the demands of your work what you expected?

However, an inherent downside to survey research is its inflexibility: "by designing questions will be at least minimally appropriate to all respondents, you may miss what is most appropriate to many respondents" (Ibid, p. 263). Thus, in each section it was felt important to ask at least one open-ended question so as to allow the participant to articulate issues/concerns that may have been neglected in response options. This would also permit the inclusion of statements which perhaps speak to the uniqueness of the participant's work, life or study experience.

### 3.5 Procedure

#### 3.5.1 Survey Piloting

It was important to pilot the survey for two reasons. First of all, I am a white Canadian and it was necessary to ensure that I had structured questions and used language in the survey that was appropriate and relevant to CIDA graduates. And second, as Babbie and Mouton (2001) argue, “pre-testing is crucial in the cases where more than one cultural or language group is included in the study” (p. 244). This is important because graduates are from seven of nine provinces in South Africa and represent diverse cultural and language groups.

The questionnaire was piloted with a number of discussion groups over a three-week period. These groups included members of CIDA Core<sup>59</sup>, who themselves were 2004 and 2006 graduates and were therefore meant to represent CIDA graduates. During piloting, the survey was also widely circulated via e-mail and hard copy to the same group of CIDA core members. Furthermore, the survey was sent via e-mail to CIDA management, including the executive committee for review and comment.

Following eight revisions based on the piloting, the survey was formatted as a Microsoft Word document to be printed for the postal survey. It was also placed on a self-designed secure website which automatically sent answered questionnaires to an Access database.

#### 3.5.2 Sampling

Four foundation college students at CIDA Park were trained to follow a telephone script to inform potential participants about the survey. They invited graduates to participate in the survey and used contact lists of 2005 and 2006 graduates provided by CIDA management. Graduates were given the option of either being sent the survey via postal mail or a web-link sent via e-mail, whichever method was easiest for them. CIDA had also provided a complete list of 2004 graduate

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<sup>59</sup> CIDA Core is the position title given to CIDA graduates who work in an area of the CIDA institution, whether in charge of the learning of a class of foundation college students at CIDA Park – as a tutor – or in other departments at CIDA City Campus and CIDA Life Skills.

contact details, namely email addresses. These graduates were therefore invited to the study via email and provided with the same options as the 2005 and 2006 graduates.

The majority of the phone calls were made to cell phones and the calling team updated the spreadsheet with a graduate's new phone number, e-mail address or postal address. It was important to update contact lists as this not only facilitated continuous contact throughout the study but also provided updated information to CIDA.

When a person was entirely unreachable by any of the phone numbers listed, this was also noted. In addition, the calling team began to ask graduates if they had the contact details of any of their fellow graduates. This is akin to the survey method of 'snowball sampling'. 'Snowball sampling' is when a chosen few are surveyed and then are asked to provide names of other people they know (like themselves) who would be willing to participate in the study (Nardi, 2006). As Nardi outlines,

It helps if people are contacted first by their friends and then give permission to give you their names. You survey them and ask for a list of more names, and so on and on. Clearly, this is not random, and the final sample is made up of networks of people who tend to be somewhat similar in other characteristics (social class, race/ethnicity, etc.), since people tend to pass along questionnaires to those who are their friends. (p.120)

This study did not choose participants based on any criteria, as all graduates were included in the population. Therefore this study did not use snowball sampling. However, it used the techniques described in this sampling method in order to generate a larger sample size. Prior to sending the web-link of the survey, I sent an e-mail message to graduates to forward this email to CIDA graduate friends or to send the contact information (whether mobile number or e-mail address) of graduates who's up-to-date information we were missing. It is not known how many participants heard about the survey verbally from friends and completed the survey online. However, several graduates with e-mail facility (interested in the survey), forwarded the email announcement of the survey to their friends via e-mail or sent a list of their friends' email addresses or phone numbers. This in turn helped update the contacts database for CIDA.

The 336 graduates contact by the calling team resulted in the gathering of 261 e-mail addresses and 75 postal addresses from graduates interested in participating. This, in addition to the list of 66 e-mails for 2004 graduates, amounted to having either an e-mail or postal address for 402 graduates out of a total of 507 (79%) of BBA graduates.

### 3.5.3 Web Survey

The main survey mode in this study was a web-based survey available for completion following an agreed upon login, mounted on a website. The list of e-mail addresses compiled by the CIDA Park Foundation college students was helpful, as it allowed for the medium of communication between myself and potential participants. An initial 'test' e-mail was sent (using the blind carbon copy - 'b.c.c.' – function to protect people's privacy). The purpose of this initial e-mail was three-fold; first, to inform graduates about the survey's purpose and intended outcomes in further detail; second to approximate how many e-mails could be identified as valid addresses (by subtracting the amount of 'failed' messages returned); and finally, to request graduates to forward on any current contact details they had of their friends who were fellow graduates of CIDA (see section 5.2 sampling). A large number of messages 'failed' as a result of misspelled addresses, unreliable web-based email services, or over inbox quota issues. Accounting for failed messages received (142) and additional accurate e-mails gained (14), the total potential email recipients amounted to 199. Efforts to revise some of these barriers included the following action:

- 1) Requesting graduates to either forward the notification email to friends or send their friends' contact information, whether mobile number or e-mail address to my e-mail address;
- 2) Work through the list of 'failed' e-mails and check any obvious spelling errors for proper names or companies and resend;

Following from this 'test e-mail', the link to the website was sent in a subsequent e-mail.

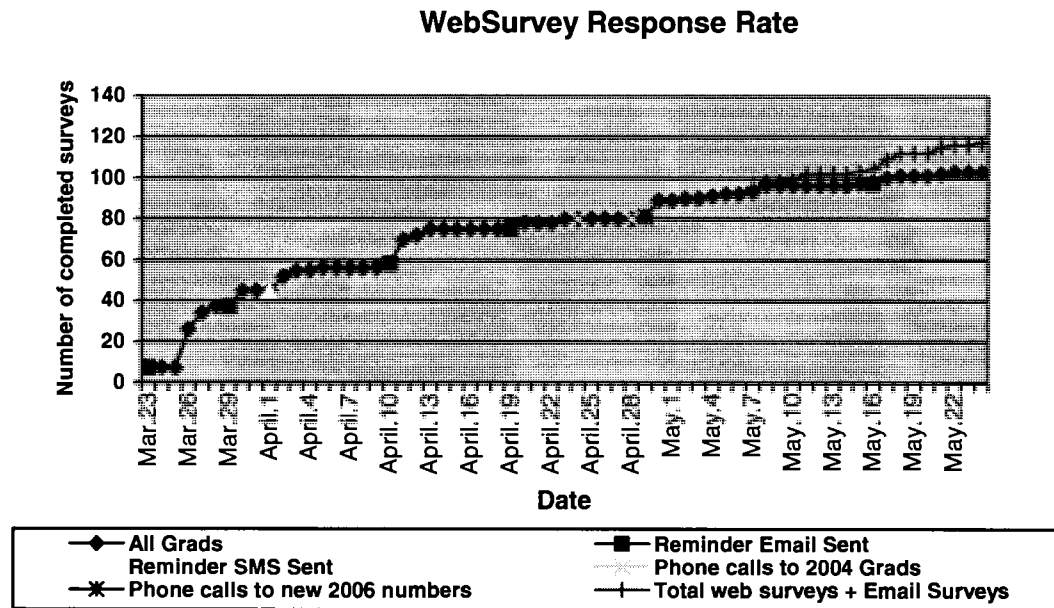
Emails were sent to addresses without a personal salutation, using instead 'Dear CIDA Graduate'. Research shows that "personalization might be less successful in increasing response rates if a relationship between surveyor and surveyee is absent prior to the survey request" (Heerwegh et al., 2005, p. 97). Also, personalization "could introduce a social desirability bias with regard to sensitive questions. Therefore, one should be cautious to personalize the email contacts when a survey on sensitive topics is conducted" (Ibid). Participants were given two weeks to respond by completing the survey online.

Four separate 'reminder e-mails' were sent over the course of several weeks as standard survey practice to increase response. As Nardi (2006) explains,

Following up with reminders (regular mail, e-mail, phone calls) one week after distribution, for example, and another reminder a week or ten days later, increases response rates. But when names or identifying numbers are not used, you have to send reminders to everyone, including those who already returned their surveys. It is essential that the reminder notice acknowledge those who have already sent their forms back. (p. 123)

'SMS messages' were also used as a tool to remind graduates about the survey. A return rate graph is a useful tool to record the rates of return among respondents. Babbie and Mouton (2001) see such a graph as "an invaluable tool" allowing the researcher to "show the number returned each day – rising, then dropping. Another should report the cumulative number or percentage...it is your guide as to how the data collection is proceeding" (p. 260). As seen in the graph below, there is a rise in survey completion in the days just following these reminder e-mails or SMS messages. There was similar increase in responses following the sending of a survey formatted in Microsoft Word, towards the end of data collection. The total number of web participants is 99.

**Graph 1: Web survey response rates**



#### 3.5.4 Postal Survey

The survey mail-out was prepared by a team of one BBA student and one CIDA core member. Mail-out questionnaires included a pre-paid return envelope addressed to CIDA Park. As Nardi (2006) points out: "...prepaid postage increases response rates. Giving them to people and asking them to send surveys on their own results in fewer returned ones, especially for those on limited incomes" (p. 123). Surveys were sent by means of 'registered mail' allowing me to track delivery of packages. The South African postal service showed that 79 of the 80 surveys had been delivered successfully at the stated address. As no postal surveys had been returned to CIDA Park by the survey deadline, I telephoned the 80 graduates. Twenty-nine did not receive the survey package, 16 confirmed receipt of the package, and 6 received a notice to collect the package from their local post office. I was unable to reach 29 graduates.

It appears that data entry errors are the main reason for surveys not being received. For a few people, their mailing address had changed and for others yet, they had provided their 'home'

address and were currently in their 'local' address in Johannesburg. A number of ways were found so that those who did not receive the survey would be able to participate. This included requesting people to pick up a copy of the survey from CIDA City Campus' Job centre. Other participants were emailed copies of the questionnaire. A total of 17 completed surveys were returned by mail to CIDA Park.

### 3.5.5 Further means for completing the survey

After several weeks, it was determined that the web-based and mail survey were not sufficient methods for graduates to complete the survey. A number of graduates expressed that their companies placed restrictions on the use of internet at the workplace and thus only had access to e-mail. Thus, a copy of the survey was developed in Microsoft Word which had boxes that could be completed and protected from editing. These documents were sent to the entire email list and the total number returned via e-mail is 14.

In addition, after briefly looking at answers to the completed web surveys, it was found that the overwhelming majority of those participating identified themselves as 'employed'. As per the data provided by CIDA, 32% of 2006 graduates, for example, were believed to be unemployed (CIDA, 'Database 9', 2007). This meant that by and large the group participating in the survey to date was employed and that the survey was biased towards this group. In order to reduce bias, I began telephoning a large number of graduates. In addition to the entire list of graduates who had previously agreed to be mailed the survey, I phoned an additional twenty-five 2006 graduates whose information was found by the CIDA Job Centre, five 2005 graduates and the entire list of 2004 graduates<sup>60</sup>. This process also allowed me to find out more about the range of obstacles that graduates were experiencing in being able to access the survey. Reasons included a lack of access to

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<sup>60</sup> Telephone responses from this second wave of calling were as follows: From the 2004 list, 10 reported they had received the email regarding the survey; 14 hadn't received the e-mail and gave their new e-mail address; 41 resulted in 'the subscriber you have called is not available'-type messages. From the 25 updated numbers on the 2006 list; 9 provided their current e-mail address (confirming they have internet access); 15 resulted in voice mail, a busy signal or wrong number; and one had no internet access and volunteered to participate in a phone survey.

the internet, non-use of e-mail addresses they had previously set up, and a lack of time in their schedules.

Unsolicited, several graduates ventured that they would be agreeable to participating in the survey via the telephone. I made appointments for a date and time that they would be available for approximately 30 minutes. Informed consent was gained verbally in these cases. As Babbie and Mouton (2001) point out, “telephone surveys have many advantages... people can communicate a lot about themselves over the telephone, even though they are not seen” (p. 257). However, there were several challenges with this method, such as the quality of the phone line due to South African cellular networks, and the frequent repetition of questions and verbal-confirmation of statements that this necessitated. While more than ten telephone survey appointments were arranged with graduates, a total of five surveys were completed. While this is not a large number, it does mean that a certain type of graduate is a constituent in this survey, namely one who does not have access to internet or e-mail, and of which four of the five are unemployed.

### 3.6 Data Capturing and Analysis

All data was captured in MS Excel and analyzed in SPSS. Analysis is limited to descriptive statistics, following on the exploratory nature of the study. Pearson chi-square tests were performed on much of the data, given the categorical structure of the questionnaire. A *p* value of 0.01 is employed to indicate a statistically significant difference.

In addition to statistical tests, conceptual content analysis was carried out on open-ended questions. Codes were applied for existence and were generalized around the data (Babbie & Mouton, 2001). Lössch (2006) argues that questionnaires should not be analyzed “focusing only on statistical significance and generalization” (p.136-137). Thus, data analysis in this study follows suggestions by Glaser (1994) and Field (2005) examining the consistency and size of the effects rather than their statistical significance.

All analysis was driven by the principles or philosophies of grounded theory (see for example Charmaz, 1993; Charmaz & Mitchell, 2001; Strauss & Corbin, 1994). Grounded theory is “a general methodology for developing theory that is grounded in data systematically gathered and analyzed. Theory evolves during actual research, and it does this through continuous interplay between analysis and data collection” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 273). Grounded theory was originally developed by Glaser and Strauss in *The Discovery of Grounded Theory* (1967). This work stated that grounded theory methodology was applicable to both quantitative and qualitative studies; however it has largely been used in qualitative research (Ibid, p. 277). Charmaz (1993) argues “these methods can be used with either quantitative or qualitative data in a variety of disciplines although they are typically used in qualitative research” (p. 1).

Grounded theories “are grounded directly and indirectly on perspectives of the diverse actors toward the phenomena studied by us. Grounded theories connect this multiplicity of perspective with patterns and process of action/interaction that in turn are linked with carefully specific conditions and consequences” (Strauss & Corbin, 1994, p. 280). Because of the exploratory nature of this study, combined with the innovative model of CIDA, the approach was to let the data ‘speak for itself’, as opposed to working from pre-established hypotheses. In addition, unique answers to open-ended questions were accorded consideration and represented in the analysis as much as those that had been coded through content analysis.

## 4 Case Study: CIDA City Campus

### 4.1 The Participant Group

One hundred and thirty-five BBA CIDA City Campus graduates participate in this study. Just over half of the participants graduated in 2006 (51.9%) while 31.1% graduated in 2005 and 16.3% in 2004. Sixty two (45.9%) participants are female, while 73 (54.1%) are male. Overall, participants range in age from 22 to 31 years (mean = 25.14; SD=1.989).

Participants are from geographically diverse areas and were born in seven of South Africa's nine provinces. This reflects CIDA's student population since they have "students from 7 of the 9 provinces in South Africa" (Personal correspondence from Mampho Mohau, Jan 25, 2008). Most survey participants were born in KwaZulu-Natal (28.9%), Limpopo (25.9%) and Mpumalanga (20%). Fewer participants were born Gauteng (12.6%), Free State (7.4%), North West (3.7%) and Eastern Cape (1.5%) provinces. A comparison of the participant group with CIDA's 2005 student body is found in Table 1 and Graph 1 below. As the table and graph illustrate, there is much similarity between the composition of CIDA's BBA student body in 2005 and the survey participant group. Exceptions include: the larger proportion of survey participants who grew up in Mpumalanga and North West (23.7% compared with 7% in the 2005 student body); the smaller proportion of female survey participants (45.9% compared with 58% in the 2005 student body); and the smaller proportion of survey participants who grew up in rural areas (40.3% compared with 60% in the 2005 data), however this may be due to the methods used to classify rural areas (see footnote 1).

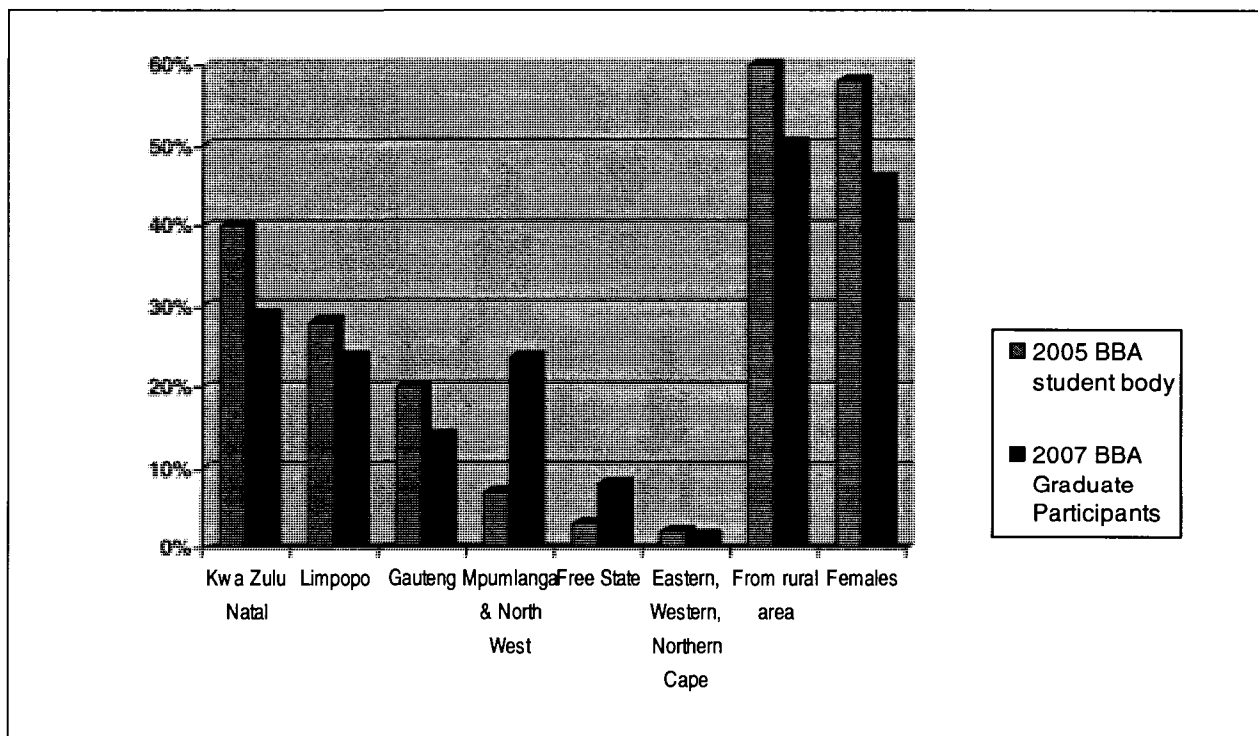
**Table 1: Comparison of 2005 Student body with Participant group**

	BBA student body in 2005		BBA Graduate Survey Participants	
	n	%	n	%
<b>Black students</b>	1351	98%	N/A	N/A
<b>Kwazulu-Natal*</b>	551	40%	39	28.9%
<b>Limpopo*</b>	386	28%	32	23.7%
<b>Gauteng*</b>	276	20%	19	14.1%
<b>Mpumalanga &amp; North West*</b>	97	7%	32	23.7%
<b>Orange Free State*</b>	41	3%	11	8.1%
<b>Eastern, Western, Northern Cape*</b>	28	2%	2	1.5%
<b>Rural areas*</b>	827	60%	52	40.3%
<b>Female students</b>	800	58%	62	45.9%
<b>Physically disabled students</b>	28	2%	N/A	N/A

Source: CIDA City campus Position Statement, 2006, p. 22.

\*Survey participant numbers refer to the participant's province of growing up, rather than province of birth.

**Graph 1: Comparison of 2005 Student body with Survey Participant group**



Using the South African Government's Census reclassification of rural and urban enumeration areas (EA) within South Africa<sup>61</sup>, the data shows that of the 124 graduates (91.9%) who listed their city, township or village of birth, 41.9% (n=52) are from rural enumeration areas, while 58.1% (n=72) are from urban enumeration areas. Of those who identified their town, village or city of growing up (n=129), 77 participants (59.7%) grew up in urban areas, while 52 participants (40.3%) grew up in rural areas. More females (n=43) than males (n=34) grew up in urban areas and more males (n=37) than females (n=15) grew up in rural areas. It shows that the participant group is evenly split for males in terms of a rural/urban area of growing up, yet the majority of females represented in the survey (n=58) grew up in urban areas (74.1%, n=43). In addition, 96.3% (n=129) identify their ethnicity as Pedi, Zulu, Sotho, Swati, Tswana, Tsonga, Xhosa, Venda, Ndebele, Southern Sotho, Swazi, Shangaan, 1.5% (n=2) Coloured, and .7% (n=1) as Indian. This is similar to Kruss' (2004) data in which CIDA students were 97.8% African and 2.2% coloured.

Graduates completed their degree from between four years to six years – yet the mean time for completion is 4.4 years (SD=.563). This indicates that the majority of students were able to complete their degree within the four year period; with the notable exception of 32.6% (n=44) of graduates who took 5 years, and 3.7% (n=5) who required 6 years for completion.

#### 4.2. Throughput/ Educational Opportunity

Educational equity means treating admissions equally, regardless of race, religion, gender, and so forth. As the literature review has demonstrated, substantial inequity remains in South Africa. In efforts to rectify this inequity, CIDA takes concerted action to only admit 'bright and deserving' students from financially disadvantaged circumstances, reflecting an 'affirmative action' admissions policy, hoping to redress inequities in access to tertiary based on ability to pay for one's degree.

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<sup>61</sup> The South African Government reclassified the country into rural/urban areas according to urban-formal and informal (urban) and rural-formal and tribal-area (rural) in the 2001 Census. For example, this means a 3.8% increase in urban dwellers from 1996 to 2001: from 57.5% in 2001 to 53.7% in 1996 (Statistics South Africa, 2003, p.5).

However, in addition to providing access, it is important to consider whether the education has provided enough opportunity in the form of the necessary economic, practical, social and emotional aspects needed for students to proceed through the degree – the focus of this section.

#### 4.2.1 Economic considerations: Financing a CIDA degree

Half of all graduates in this survey (50.4%) used a combination of resources to finance their tuition and living costs during their 4-year degree. A large proportion (55.6%, n=75) indicate that family helped with finances. Twenty-three percent (n=31) indicate that they had a sponsor to finance their degree, while 11.1% of participants (n=15) wrote that they had a mentor help finance their degree<sup>62</sup>. Only 35.6% indicate that they held a scholarship. This is far less than expected, since the majority are meant to be on 'tuition scholarships'<sup>63</sup>. Very few participants (2.2%; n=3) had to acquire a national loan to finance their degree, although 19 people (14.1%) acquired a CIDA loan to help with costs. Thirty-nine participants (28.9%) had a part-time job to help with the cost of studies. A few participants list 'other' financial sources, including; 'myself', being 'funded by my political party', 'ICT Grand', 'small projects' and 'TEBA Loan'<sup>64</sup>. There appear to be no significant differences to graduation time when considering financing for degree. Results of a Chi square test suggest that financial source does not impact on time to graduate (expected counts less than 5, with answers in all financial source categories for those taking 4 or 5 years to graduate).

As interesting as these figures are, they should be considered with caution. The structure of the survey meant that although participants could indicate use of a combination of sources, in the web-survey they were not able select more than one option. While some participants listed all sources of funding in the 'other' section, not all did. Many (50.4%; n=68) selected the option 'a combination' and moved to the next question. These findings do however demonstrate the variability

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<sup>62</sup> A sponsor usually refers to a company or an individual who provides the tuition costs for a student or group of students. A sponsor may also choose to fund the accommodation and living costs of a student as well. A mentor is a person who has committed themselves to supporting the educational success of a particular student by taking on a guidance role.

<sup>63</sup> A CIDA City Campus brochure (n.d.) states, for example: "Each member of our student body is on a tuition scholarship" (p. 6).

<sup>64</sup> TEBA is a Bank loan that students may apply for in South Africa to fund their studies.

in sources of financial aid for students and suggest the remaining reliance on family (18%; n=25) in spite of financial restraints. This may indicate that a large proportion of students are relying on their families for financial support, though it is unclear to what extent. Future studies might elaborate on family support and the broader intricacies of financial support available to CIDA students. For example, more information on the coverage of mentors and scholarships for all students would also be useful, as all are reported to be on 'tuition scholarships', yet not all mentioned this as a source. These results seem to demonstrate that tuition scholarships, while vitally important for the affordability of the BBA degree, might not be sufficient given the accommodation, food and others costs associated with living in Johannesburg. This may be especially true for those students without family income to draw on to help with these costs. CIDA claims to address other practical needs of its students, as outlined in Chapter 1, and the following section considers the accessibility of these additional resources to students.

#### 4.2.2 Practical Aspects of CIDA

To obtain a holistic sense of resources available to students while attending CIDA, students were asked to rate nine important aspects of campus life and living in Johannesburg (see question *BQ4*). Transportation, campus lunch and off-campus accommodation (*BQ4h, b & i*) are all important practical aspects of student living. Overall, students ideally need to be present and alert in class as well as lodged suitably so as to have the opportunity to be successful in their studies. As mentioned in chapter one, CIDA transports its students to and from their residences to CIDA campuses each school day. CIDA also provides a hot lunch each school day for all BBA students at its campus on 54 Commissioner St. Finally, while accommodation is not provided by CIDA, having safe and affordable lodging in downtown Johannesburg is an important practical aspect of student living.

Of those participants who rated CIDA transportation (n=132), 79.6% (n=105) felt that this service was acceptable (okay), good or excellent. More specifically, 43% (n=57) felt transportation offered by CIDA was good or excellent, suggesting a valuable service contribution in this regard.

There were no comments in relation to transportation, although four participants identified that they either didn't use CIDA transportation or used public transportation during their degree.

Conversely, participant responses to 'Accommodation off-campus' (n=128), suggest a particular need for improvement. Eighty-five percent of respondents (n=109) felt off-campus accommodation was only poor to acceptable. There were many comments with regards to off-campus accommodation which highlight its importance for students. One participant stated: "When it comes to accommodation CIDA has helped many students because [its] affordable". On the other hand, some remark on the unsuitable location of student accommodation: for example, "Accommodation[s] were mostly base[d] in very scary place[s] where violence, rape, mark is [widespread], places such as Hillbrow, if they could move the [students] to place like Braamfontein". Similarly, some believe that CIDA has a "responsibility for the security of their students off-campus" and that it is "their duty to organize accommodation for students". Recommendations by participants include, for example, the proposal that CIDA "builds its own residential area (for BBA Students), [instead] of relying [on] flat rentals. As Cida Park, currently only accommodates only Foundation Students<sup>65</sup>." One participant underlines the importance of arranging accommodation for first year students in the BBA programme, especially those moving from outside Gauteng province. She states, "CIDA needs to arrange for proper accommodation for students, especially first years, so that they can have a place to arrive to when they first go to register". One unemployed graduate comments "there's no proper accommodation for students; many students are just running around jo'burg they don't know where to go...". Steps are currently being taken by the institution with the acquisition of a CIDA Park extension property adjacent to the Foundation College, such that reportedly all CIDA students will be staying at CIDA Park or CIDA Park extension property in the 2008 academic year, presumably at a low cost to students (Personal correspondence from Mampho

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<sup>65</sup> This participant is referring to students attending the CIDA Park Foundation College in Johannesburg. CIDA Park is a residential college which was established in 2005 to teach life skills and remedial courses in core or 'foundation' subjects and is now compulsory for all students admitted to CIDA prior to entering the BBA programme.

Mohau, January 25, 2008). This accommodation will be provided at an approximate cost of R400 per month, (Personal correspondence with Taddy Blecher February 24, 2008).

Most graduates felt that the 'Campus Lunch' requires improvement (43.7%; n=59) or was merely 'Okay' (32.6%; n=44). As the only comment regarding lunch notes: "the campus lunch has gone from good in 2001 to worse in 2003-2005. Not sure about 2006-7". In general, CIDA is usefully supporting students with their transportation needs, however attention should perhaps be given to improving meals and, more importantly, ensuring safe lodging for its students.

#### 4.2.3 Social / Emotional Aspects of CIDA

Quality of campus life, campus celebrations, and the opportunity to make friends are all important social elements which make for a healthy student life. Participants were also asked to rate a number of social aspects of CIDA's campus life. Rating of quality of campus life suggests a range of experiences. Forty-six point seven percent of all participants felt that the quality of campus life was good or excellent, 21.5% felt it was okay, and only four participants (3%) indicated that it was poor (see Table 2).

Central to quality of campus life are the social connections one is able to establish. In this regard, participant responses suggest that many students enjoyed the convivial atmosphere at CIDA. One element of student life is the 'opportunity to make friends' (*BQ4c*), which 81% (n= 106) of participants who responded (n=131) felt was good or excellent. One participant, for example, states:

I think CIDA was like home to me while I was away from home, the way people [welcome] one another really makes you feel comfortable and even forget [you're] at a place where its your first time to be that is why I say its the best place to make friends.

Seventy-one percent (n=95) of participants rated Campus celebrations (*BQ4c*) as okay, good or excellent, indicating that most graduates were satisfied with events at CIDA. However, one participant states: "I would like to comment on the point of celebrations. For last years graduation it was very bad when it comes to refreshments, because they have provided enough refreshments for

Mrs. Mbeki's inauguration, but for graduation ceremony there was nothing to eat". This comment points to the limited financial resources for any 'extras' at CIDA. Perhaps such inequities leave students feeling discontent when an elaborate catered event, in this case the inauguration of First Lady Mbeki as chancellor, exists in contrast with an important student celebration, their own graduation ceremony. As CIDA runs on a low-cost structure, catering would have been paid for by an outside company in support of such an event, such as Investec Bank, who partners with CIDA. While this may be disagreeable for some students, this is one of the ways that CIDA's model operates, through functioning at a fraction of the cost of a typical public tertiary institution.

**Table 2: Participant rating 'Quality of campus life'**

	<i>n</i>	%
Poor	4	3.0
Needs improvement	39	28.9
Okay	29	21.5
Good	39	28.9
Excellent	24	17.8
Total	135	100.0

n=135

#### 4.2.4 'Getting through' the degree

One potential factor impacting completion of a tertiary degree is the availability of people and resources to draw on for support. Increasingly, international resilience literature is identifying the value of relationships and resources in positive outcomes for youth living in high-risk contexts (Ungar, Brown, Liebenberg, Othman, Kwong, & Armstrong, 2007; Ungar, 2006; Ungar, 2005). As Ungar (2006) explains:

In the context of exposure to significant adversity, whether psychological, environmental, or both, resilience is both the capacity of individuals to navigate their way to health-sustaining resources, including opportunities to experience feelings of well-being, and a condition of the

individual's family, community and culture to provide these health resources and experiences in culturally meaningful ways. (p. 8)

Findings underscore the value these may have on a student's ability to continue with studies by increasing one's ability to navigate the challenges of tertiary-level studies (see for example Day, 2006; Ungar, 2005). In this regard, participants were asked to rate the extent to which friends, teachers, tutors, and family as well as other resources such as transcendental meditation (TM), TM Sidhis<sup>66</sup>, and prayer, (*BQ3*) helped them 'get through' their degree. Clearly, the most important factor amongst participants is 'prayer'. Ninety-five percent (n=131) of participants said it helped 'a lot' or 'quite a lot'. Following this, 81.7% (n=131) said 'my family' helped 'a lot' or 'quite a lot' and 69.1% (n=133) said 'my friends at CIDA' helped 'a lot' or 'quite a lot'.

As in other parts of the survey, the data appears to be unevenly distributed on the extent to which TM was helpful. Of those who answered (n=127), excluding those who answered the question as 'not applicable' (n=16), 19.8% (n=22) said it helped 'a lot' or 'quite a lot', 32.4% (n=36) 'somewhat' or 'a little' and, the overwhelming majority, 47.7% (n=53), 'not at all'. Again considering only those who answered the question (n=126), 22% (n=23) said TM Sidhis helped 'a lot' or 'quite a lot', 23% 'somewhat' or 'a little', and, the majority again, 55% selecting 'not at all'. We can conclude therefore, that TM is unhelpful for the majority of participants in supporting their emotional resilience.

Participants comments around this question, point to their own dedication, hard work, self motivation or focus on achievement and goals during their degree (16 people or 14%) as reasons for successfully completing their degree. Four participants also mention some form of exercise or sport as helping them. In addition, three people mention the CIDA or city library, two mention facilities or

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<sup>66</sup> According to [www.tm.org/sidhi](http://www.tm.org/sidhi):

The TM-Sidhi program is a natural extension of the Transcendental Meditation program and may be learned after two months of regular practice of the Transcendental Meditation technique. Practice of the TM-Sidhi program accelerates the progress of the individual towards realizing his full potential -- the state of enlightenment. ... The TM-Sidhi program develops higher levels of intelligence, learning ability, creativity, and neurological efficiency. Scientific research studies indicate that the TM-Sidhi program cultures a profound integration of brain functioning (EEG coherence). The enlivenment of pure consciousness during the TM-Sidhi program promotes an optimal state of brain functioning and provides the basis for the unfoldment of the individual's full creative intelligence." (para. 1,3)

internet, and two mention the background that they came from. Three participants mention their mentors or high school teachers, another writes RAU counseling, and several mention a loved one, such as a girlfriend or child. All of these answers show a range of people, resources and individual characteristics that participant's consider essential for their success.

#### 4.2.5 Recovery and Realising one's Talent

As mentioned in the introductory chapter, CIDA outlines the typical profile of their students as young people who often display such characteristics as low-self esteem, low problem solving skills, low development of cognitive abilities, or low levels of happiness and anxiety perhaps due to rape or other forms of abuse.

Of the 131 of participants who answered the question 'Do you feel that CIDA helped you to recover from any past problems or issues?' (*BQ6*), 96 participants (73.3%) felt that CIDA either helped 'a lot' or 'quite a bit'. A few (13%, n=17) indicated 'somewhat', 7.6% (n=10) 'a little', and 6.1% (n=8) 'not at all'. It appears that slightly more males (62%, n=44) felt that CIDA helped them 'a lot' than females (48.3%, n=29). In addition, a higher proportion of participants who grew up in rural locations credited CIDA with 'a lot' or 'quite a bit' of emotional help (84.3%, n=43) compared with participants who grew up in urban locations (66.2%, n=49). What is interesting is that current level of income has no relation to participant perception of recovering from past problems or issues. For example, three participants earning R7000-8,499 p/month indicated that CIDA did not help in recovery 'at all', while all participants earning less than R3,500 per month suggested that CIDA did indeed help to some extent (n= 13). This suggests that although personal success may contribute to personal growth/healing, personal healing is not measured by participants in terms of income.

The question on personal recovery was intentionally worded loosely and served to elicit issues which participants found significant for them personally (*BQ6.1*). Many made reference to the opportunity CIDA provided them by resolving the financial constraints which would ordinarily bare them from accessing higher education. For example, one 2005 participant states: "After my matric

my parents couldn't afford tertiary education so CIDA was an angel in disguise." Similarly, a 2006 graduate states "I did not have financial assistance to pursue my studies at any leading institutions. However, CIDA made all my dreams come true." Another 2006 graduate writes: "they provided me with an opportunity to study when I had [run] out of options". A 2004 graduate writes, "[The] biggest problem I had was after I finished my matric what would I be doing then for me that was very stressful for me. To get CIDA scholarship was indeed a blessing for me."

There are also a wide range of comments by participants as to how CIDA helped them in terms of developing skills and *capabilities* (Sen, 2000; Walker, 2006), as well as how CIDA was for them an environment in which their personal transformation was supported and encouraged. These various dimensions have been arranged according to, but not limited by, the following categories:

- Increased self-esteem and self-confidence;
- Ability to deal with the past;
- Becoming grounded;
- Decision-making, problem-solving and thinking capabilities;
- Increased maturity and growth;
- Ability to see one's own potential;
- Ability to see new opportunities;
- and life transformation, in general

These categories are presented in Box 1 and include whole quotations from the participants so as to better view, and perhaps recognize, their views and perspectives.

## Box 1: Developing skills and capabilities

### Increased self-esteem and self-confidence

*"I was a little shy not being able to make presentations in front of people but now its better. Thanks to CIDA."*

(2006 grad, female, 24 yrs)

*"I had low self-esteem when I first came to CIDA. TM really helped especially at the beginning. [TM] helped with my self-confidence."* (2006 grad, female, 23 yrs)

*"I was an introvert when I started my studies due to being sexually molested as a child. While I was at Cida I learned how to deal with my emotions and become more confident in myself and my abilities."* (2006 grad, female, 24 yrs)

### Ability to deal with the past:

*"A lot of personal issues back from home have become very easy to work out and to deal with. The family like environment that Cida puts forward makes it more easy to deal with [troubles or problems] from the past, which at some point can cause one not to focus and to repeat mistakes, look down on themselves and think nothing is worth living for. Trust me, I know from [experience]".* (2006 grad, female, 30 yrs).

*"I was struggling at home, sometimes I will sleep without food on the table but through Cida I knew how to put food on the table. The management, staff and friends were too helpful financially and with [their] advices."* (2006 grad, female, 23 yrs)

### Becoming grounded:

*"For me CIDA grounded me as an individual you know. It gave me direction made me become a focused person. It's something I've always tried to [do]. They gave me self-responsibility".* (2006 grad, female, 24 yrs)

*"Cida [reminds] individuals not to forget their background."* (2004 grad, male, 29 years)

### Decision-making, problem-solving and thinking capabilities:

*"Before I came to CIDA I had so many problems and I couldn't cope with them but Cida taught me to be strong and learn to take things as they come. Now I am now able to solve my problems."* (2006 grad, female, 22 yrs)

*"The fear of making the final decisions, and sticking to whatever I decide. I would normally [ask for] input [from] someone [else on the] scenario, but I [have] changed."* (2006 grad, male, 24 yrs.; on the ability to be self-referral and make decisions independently of others).

*"Meditation developed my thinking capabilities."* (2006 grad, male, 23 yrs)

Increased maturity and growth:

*"Cida has instilled a strong sense of focus, discipline and moral behaviour in my life. All the years spent there were awesome and eye-opening."* (2006 grad, male, 24 yrs)

*"I matured tremendously while I was at CIDA and this is prevalent in my current job. I am a junior by age only, not by the way I think."* (2005 grad, male, 24 yrs)

*"CIDA has grown me from being a boy to be a man, because I managed to cope from independently and be self-controlled."* (2006 grad, male, 27 yrs)

Ability to see one's own potential

*"For me being at CIDA made me to realize my potential of which I think its something that I struggled [with] while I was at high school."* (2006 grad, female, 24 yrs)

*"I did not have hope or [a] future before CIDA [believed] in me. My family background was poor and I [am] proud to say I have changed that I have a future ahead me and a lot of opportunities in the Government sector."* (2005 grad, male, 29 yrs; on the way that CIDA believed in their potential)

Ability to see new opportunities:

*"CIDA opened so [many] opportunities for me and I am grateful for that."* (2006 grad, male, 26 yrs)

*"Since I graduated from CIDA I see [opportunities] of starting businesses in my [area]."* (2006 grad, male, 24 yrs)

*"Cida gave me the opportunity to be who I am today I had a dream but I did not know that one day I will live it.*

*Thanks to Cida a million times. I love it so so much. Thanks to Teddy. I just don't know how to thank him.*

*Sometimes I even become emotional when I think of this great opportunity, My parents I very proud of me today.*

*Thank you Cida once again".* (2006 grad, female, 27 yrs)

*"Yes, because I never thought that I will be going to tertiary to further my studies and they have [provided] me with an opportunity to achieve my dream as (PDH)<sup>67</sup>."* (2006 grad, male, 27 yrs)

Life Transformation:

*"If I [didn't] get that opportunity from Cida I don't think my life would have been this, thank you CIDA".* (2005 grad, male, 26 yrs).

*"I am so [grateful] to Cida because if it wasn't by CIDA where will I be, here I am taking care of the family and others as well".* (2005 grad, female, 23 yrs)

*"I will be [nowhere], no qualification, not even have an idea of the life in the city. [Thanks] CIDA for pulling me from [as] far as Limpopo in the heart of [a] rural area and Build me to who I AM TO DAY."* (2006 grad, male, 28 yrs).

*"I've reached my destiny because I really wanted...badly to further my studies, so here am I today, I've got a degree of my own."* (2006 grad, male, 28 yrs)

*"If CIDA was not there I should not be where I am today. My life has changed and even people were amazed of my success and they never thought I will go so far due to the background that I grew under. I have a life of which was useless without CIDA. I have a family of which was going to suffer if CIDA was not existing. I have got [a] society that is still struggling however ".* (2005 grad, female, 30 yrs)

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<sup>67</sup> This participant's use of 'PDH' likely refers to the short form of 'previously disadvantaged historically', which is a term often used in South Africa.

Almost all participants experienced some form of recovery from past problems or issues negatively affecting their lives, though each person's experience was unique. While this is in part due to CIDA resolving the financial constraints which had previously barred them from accessing higher education, there a range of ways in which personal growth occurred for participants while at CIDA. CIDA is evidently an environment in which participants feel their personal transformation was supported and encouraged. While we cannot pinpoint direct causality, graduates feel CIDA instilled in them values of discipline, focus and self-worth. Personal growth and recovery from past issues appears to have been supported at CIDA by way of a family-like environment and a supportive management and staff. Some graduates report that CIDA helped them to realize their potential, and this is perhaps connected to an institutional culture that demonstrates a strong belief in the abilities and potential of its students. Through CIDA, graduates reflect that they developed confidence and thinking capabilities, for some, through the practice of meditation. It is possible there is a relationship between participants' experiences of self-discovery at CIDA and current feelings that the world is full of opportunities for them to discover.

#### 4.2.6 Skills development

Using a broader conception of skills development which doesn't reduce skills to the technical performance of tasks (Tikly, 2003), graduate participants were asked 'To what extent did the following resources at CIDA either provide you with skills or help you to realize your talents?' (*CQ7.1*). Participants were asked to comment on contemplation, meeting or hearing inspiring leaders, meditation, CIDA's teachers, seeing the success of other students, the extranet programme and 'other'. Of those who answered the question (n=132), 118 people (89.4%) indicated that meeting or hearing inspiring leaders was a significant experience for them. Of those who answered the question (n=130), seeing the success of other students was helpful for 110 participants (84.6%) either quite a bit or a lot. The rating of the extranet programme (n=129), indicates that it was also quite or very helpful to 64.4% of participants (n=83). Perhaps surprisingly, the lowest result was for CIDA's

lecturers (n=125), where only 34 graduates indicated they were quite or very helpful (27.2%; n=34) and 38.4% (n=48) indicated that lecturers did not help at all. The concern with lecturers is further underscored by 53 participants who comment that CIDA's educational quality would be improved by hiring additional, good quality lecturers (see Section 3.6: Improving Outcomes).

Another interesting result relates to how participants feel meditation helped them get through their degree. It provides a contrasting view to the earlier discussion (see Section 2.3a) on the extent to which TM helped participants overcome past difficulties (where 47.7% chose 'not at all'). Of those who answered the question (n=129), 61 participants (47.3%) said that meditation helped either 'a lot' or 'quite a lot' in realizing their own talents. It helped 30 participants (23.3%) somewhat, 21 participants (16.3%) a little, and 17 participants (13.2%), 'not at all'. Read comparatively, these results seem to indicate that while the majority of participants found meditation helpful to the extent that it provided them with certain career skills and aided in the realization of their talents, it was not helpful as a resource in terms of finding emotional strength. This finding is underscored by the rating of contemplation, answered by 123 participants, in which 71 (57.7%) participants indicated it helped either 'quite a lot' or 'a lot'. Further questions in follow-up qualitative interviews would be helpful here to pinpoint exactly what skills or talents participants felt they had discovered in connection with meditation.

Some participants gave additional answers in the 'other' option provided. Answers include CIDA curricular involvements such as "connectivity training", "practicum", "tutorials", "library", "Real business research", "Sports especially CIDA Choir", "Student Christian Organisation", and "because I was part of ICT academy". Extra-curricular involvements and projects which helped in this regard included: "being involved in the running of the Street Family / Love Life projects", "part-time work while studying at CIDA", and "Participation in JHB Central Police Station Youth Desk as a Co-ordinator". People who helped in this regard included: "my friends", "CIDA family" and "CEO motivation". Individual resources associated with resilience also came out again clearly in this question with answers including: "My will to succeed in life", "self motivation", "Self dependent",

and “progress on my work loads”. The range of resources drawn on by respondents demonstrates that CIDA has a variety of opportunities for skills development for students which encompass both individual and group activities.

CIDA’s ‘Extranet’ programme, a compulsory component of the CIDA program in which students teach youth in their home communities during their holiday’s, is a unique opportunity for students to discover their talents and develop their skills (see section 2.4 of Chapter One). One participant writes, in relation to skills development, “seeing other communities developing I have realized that it is not a magic but the right approach [with] the right people”. With respect to CIDA’s Extranet programme, the majority (64.4%) said Extranet helped either ‘a lot’ or ‘quite a lot’. However, it would seem that not all participated in the Extranet, as two participants made the point that they ‘never did extranet’. Participants who responded to more specific questions on Extranet (n=118) noted that Extranet activities which were quite or very useful for skills development included working on a team with my peers (87.3%; n=103), delivering training in home communities (78%; n=92), and seeing the changes in students (73.2%; n=87).

CIDA’s Extranet and other opportunities unique to CIDA, such as hearing or meeting important figures from South Africa and abroad, all appear to be worthwhile experiences for most participants. For some graduates, student-initiated community service projects or part-time jobs also provided the opportunity to develop important skills around team-work and develop confidence through delivering training. On the other hand, some participants point to self-focused activities in which they must rely on themselves and their own hard work, as proving to be worthwhile in realizing their own skills and talents. In this regard, meditation also appears to be a relevant self-development ‘skill’ for about half of participants to realize their skills or talents, although this is not true for 17 participants. A significant finding here is that lecturers at CIDA play little role in a student’s discovery of their own skills and talents and that this leaves much to be desired in the eyes of its graduates.

Two other important elements related to throughput are: 1) the provision of career counseling during one's degree so as to make well-informed career choices and 2) access to a work experience so as to increase one's job prospects. The importance of internship experiences and suggested improvements with corporate placements is indeed a recurring issue for respondents in response to several questions (*BQ4f&g, BQ5, BQ7.1*). For this reason, issues related to career counseling and internships will be addressed in the subsequent on outcomes section so as to avoid any overlap.

#### 4.2.7 Summary on Educational Opportunity at CIDA

The economic aspects of student throughput at CIDA indicate that participants relied on a variety of financial sources to fund their tuition and living expenses while in Johannesburg. While many had tuition scholarships and some had mentors, findings also suggest that a large proportion of students are relying on their families for financial support, though it is unclear to what extent. Several unique and practical resources at CIDA such as transportation appear to be a valuable service contribution for students, though for some the daily lunch needs improvement. Student accommodation is a particular area requiring more intervention by CIDA management to ensure safe, downtown-Johannesburg accommodation for its students (although reportedly all CIDA students will be accommodated at CIDA Park or CIDA Park extension property in the 2008 academic year).

In terms of campus life, one of the most enjoyable aspects of CIDA student life is the opportunity to make friends in a family-like campus atmosphere. It is interesting that many participants enjoyed campus life, despite the fact that the campus is located in the heart of downtown Johannesburg in a large corporate tower. Campus celebrations were also a positive experience, though some students may resent the inequities in funds available for public events versus those for student events.

The most important factor for participants in getting through their degree is prayer, which seems to suggest students' faith in something higher guiding their lives or the importance of religious

practice. Relationships and support from family and friends are also important aspects for student's emotional resilience in getting through the challenges of the degree. For some participants, it is their own self-focus and determination which contributes to their resilience so as to stay focused on goals and academic achievement.

Almost all participants experienced some form of recovery from past problems or issues negatively affecting their lives, though expressed in different ways. While this relates in part to CIDA providing affordable access to tertiary-level education, there a range of ways in which personal growth was encouraged for participants while at CIDA. CIDA's supportive environment and staff enabled positive self-development experiences for graduates, including experiences such as: increased self-esteem and self-confidence; the ability to deal with the past; the experience of becoming grounded; improved decision-making, problem-solving and thinking capabilities; increased maturity and growth; and the ability to see one's own potential and new opportunities.

In terms of skills development, the Extranet and other opportunities unique to CIDA, such as hearing or meeting important figures from South Africa and abroad, all appear to be valuable experiences for most participants. For some graduates, student-initiated community service projects or part-time jobs also provided the opportunity to develop important skills around team-work and develop confidence through delivering training. Here again, some participants point to activities in which they must rely on themselves and their own hard work, as worthwhile in realizing their own skills and talents. While almost half of participants found TM to be unhelpful in supporting their emotional resilience, meditation and contemplation do appear to be helpful self-development practices when it comes to discovering one's skills or talents. A significant finding here is that CIDA lecturers play little role in a student's discovery of their own skills and this is underscored by a general assertion that a commitment to CIDA's educational quality necessitates the hiring of additional, professional full-time lecturers with a commitment to student learning. This topic will be explored in further depth in the following section on educational outcomes.

### 4.3 Outcomes/ Educational Adequacy

#### 4.3.1 Employment Outcomes

Perhaps the most crucial outcome of the CIDA degree is that all students be employed and earning reasonable salaries following graduation. CIDA estimates that 87% of its 2004 graduates, 84% of 2005 graduates, and 68% of 2006 graduates are employed (CIDA, 'Database 9', 2007). The data in the current survey shows higher employment rates for each year in contrast to CIDA's estimates – all 2004 participants are employed (n=22, 100%), 95% (n=40) of 2005 participants are employed, while 85.7% (n=60) of 2006 participants report that they are employed. Thus the overwhelming majority (91%, n=123)<sup>68</sup> of survey participants identify themselves as being employed. In addition, no survey participants indicate that they are self-employed.

Engagement in further studies is one indicator which might demonstrate to what extent participants are meeting one of the desired qualities of a CIDA graduate: to be a 'lifelong learner' (CIDA City Campus position statement, 2006, p. 26). A significant proportion of the employed participant group (EPG; 29.3%, n=36), indicate that they are continuing their studies. In contrast to the unemployed participant group (UPG), it appears that employed respondents are more likely to find opportunities to increase their knowledge or skills, perhaps as a result of being employed, so as to increase their opportunities in the labour market. So while only one of the 12 unemployed participants is continuing their studies, almost one in three of employed participants is continuing their studies.

#### 4.3.2 Exploring Graduate Unemployment

Nine percent of survey participants identified themselves as unemployed (n=12). The UPG is almost evenly split gender-wise, and includes five females and seven males. One of the 12 unemployed participants indicated they are continuing their studies which may explain their

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<sup>68</sup> This is the 'valid percent'. There is one participant who didn't identify their employment status, although they reported their income and answered questions on their current employment, indicating they are employed. This person's responses are included in the employed group in section 3 on graduate income.

unemployed status. The UPG is almost entirely made up of 2006 graduates (10 of the 12), while two are 2005 graduates. Given the length of time since graduation, this is perhaps not unacceptable and may reflect the time it takes to find employment. A slightly higher percentage (41.7%, n=5) of the UPG took 5 years to complete their degree in comparison to the overall average (32.6%, n=44). But this is not a large distinction. Also, given the small number of participants in this group it is difficult to read anything definitive into these findings.

In answering the question as to what resources they draw on to support themselves, 10 of the 12 participants write that they are 'living at home' or receive support from home. One participant indicates 'my boyfriend supports me'. Another simply writes, 'learnership'<sup>69</sup>, which indicates this graduate, though technically unemployed, is engaged in a structured learning programme in a work environment in order to increase their employability (see footnote 10).

In answer to the question, "what do you see are the main obstacles to your gaining full employment?", nine of the 12 participants feel that their major obstacle is a lack of 'experience'. One writes, "They want experience and I don't have enough experience". One phone participant, suggests, "Maybe if they [CIDA] put our C.V.'s on the website prospective employees could see them on their website". Furthermore, since two participants are either on leave from work or engaged in a working experience, we might revise our unemployed participant group as comprising only ten participants who strictly qualify as unemployed. In sum, unemployed participants are supported by their relatives or partners and the majority feel their lack of experience is the main obstacle for them to gain employment.

#### 4.3.3 Graduate Income

Ninety-nine employed graduates selected income per month categorically, starting from R0 to R10,000 plus (A27). The median income per month for employed participants (n=99) is R5,000 –

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<sup>69</sup> South Africa's EDTP-SETA (Education Training and Development Practices and Sector Education Training Authority) defines a learnership as a "mode of delivering a learning programme, which combines work-based experience with structured learning. It is one of the means of achieving a qualification. A person who completes a Learnership will be able to demonstrate the practical application of competencies (skills, knowledge, values, and attitudes) in an employment context". (para. 1) ([www.etdpseta.org.za/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=567](http://www.etdpseta.org.za/modules.php?op=modload&name=News&file=article&sid=567))

6,999<sup>70</sup> (see Table 3). The average salary of the majority of employed participants is therefore R60,000 – R84,000 per annum. This is well below the estimated average earnings of BBA graduates, which CIDA estimates at R95,000 per annum (CIDA, 'Database 9', 2007). CIDA explains the R95,000 annual salary figure in terms of several factors, including an average of a sample of graduates reported earnings. Reference is also made to a CEO of a company who cites the average B.Com/BBA graduate starting salary at R110,000 per year. Thus, CIDA views R95,000 as a conservative figure as it is below the average starting salary for a BBA graduate. It is important to bear in mind that while CIDA might expect graduates to earn in this range, incomes would depend more on the labour market than a CIDA-specific qualification.

Representing the ZAR95k estimate, only 17.2% (n=17) of participants earn income in the R84– 102k per annum range. A small proportion (9.1%; n=9) earn more in the 102 – 120k range, the majority being 2005 graduates. In addition, 11.1% (n=11) of participants earn R120,000+ per annum. While in all other categories year of graduation and gender have no relationship with earnings, nine of the 11 graduates in this topmost income bracket are male, and almost evenly spread in terms of year of graduation.

Viewed differently, only 37.4% (n=37) of participants earn the estimated average earnings of BBA graduates of 84k to 120k+ per year. Yet, as mentioned previously, 31.3% (n=31) of participants earn only R60 – 84k, and almost a third (31.3%; n=31) earn even less. Eighteen participants (18.2%) earn R42 – 60k, although this figure is heavily weighted by 2006 graduates, eight earn R30 – 42k and four earn a mere R18 – 30k per year.

With participants reporting salaries well below the starting salary for a B.Com/BBA graduate, it could be that they are working in places where they are not applying their business degree knowledge. It is possible that graduates have not been as successful in gaining employment related to their subject of study at CIDA, and have instead settled for a job that is unrelated to their knowledge or

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<sup>70</sup> This is approximately equivalent to \$653 to \$915 in Canadian dollars (1 ZAR= 0.0130752 CAD.)

skill set. Thus, we are perhaps witnessing ‘invisible’ underemployment<sup>71</sup> in the case of those participants who report income at levels incommensurate to the education that they have received. Results of a cross tabulation illustrate that participants in almost all income brackets are in positions that are ‘not at all’ to ‘very much’ related to their subject of specialization at CIDA (see Table 4). Alternatively, CIDA’s starting salary estimate of 95k may require revision if, following a future study, it is found that graduates are indeed working in their relevant field. As mentioned previously, income is however more dependent on the labour market.

It is perhaps difficult to say whether this data on income is representative of the participant group or representative of CIDA’s employed graduates in general, since about a fifth of employed graduates (n=24) chose not to list their income. This may be for reasons of privacy, or a number of other reasons.

**Table 3: CIDA Graduate Income**

Income Per Month	Income Per Annum	Number of Participants	Percentage of Employed participant group*
R0 – 1,499	R0 - 18k	1	1%
R1,500 – 2,499	R18 - 30k	4	4%
R2,500-3,499	R30 - 42k	8	8.1%
R3,500-4,999	R42 - 60k	18	18.2%
R5,000-6,999	R60 - 84k	31	31.3%
R7,000 – 8,4999	R84 - 102k	17	17.2%
R8,500- 10,000	R102-120k	9	9.1%
R10,000+	R120k+	11	11.1%
n=99			

<sup>71</sup> While the judgment of underemployment should be based on a person’s own assessment, ILO statisticians agree it is “better to deal with the more specific (more quantifiable) components of underemployment separately; the “visible” underemployment can be measured in terms of hours of work (timerelated underemployment) whereas “invisible” underemployment, which is measured in terms of income earned from the activity, low productivity, or the extent to which education or skills are underutilized or mismatched, are much more difficult to quantify.” (ILO, 2007, p.1)

\*These percentages represent the ‘valid percent’ or answers of the participants (80.5%, n=99) from the employed participant group (EPG, n=123) that chose to answer this question by selecting an income bracket. Twenty-four participants of the EPG (19.5%) chose not disclose their income.

**Table 4: Cross tabulation of Employed Participants Income Per Month and Extent to which job is related to subject of specialization at CIDA**

		Extent to which job is related to subject of specialization at CIDA?					Total
		Not at all	A little	Some- what	Mostly	Very much	
Participant Income per month	R0 - 1,499	1	0	0	0	0	1
	R1,500- 2,499	2	1	0	0	1	4
	R2,500- 3,499	1	2	3	1	1	8
	3,500-4,999	11	4	1	0	2	18
	R5,000 - 6,999	8	7	4	2	10	31
	R7,000 - 8,4999	1	1	4	4	7	17
	R8,500 - 10,000	1	1	2	1	4	9
	R10,000+	2	1	2	2	4	11
Total		27	17	16	10	29	99

n=99

#### 4.3.4 Graduate Employment: Issues around current work

Employed graduate participants were asked to answer questions related to their current employment (AQ8.4-8.6). In answer to the question, ‘Are you employed in a job related to the subject you specialized in at CIDA? (e.g. Human Resources, ICT, Investment etc.)’, almost a third of participants (30.1%; n=37) responded that their current employment was ‘very much’ related to their CIDA specialization (see also Table 5). However, a quarter of participants (27.2%; n=27) indicated

their job was ‘not at all’ related to their subject studied at CIDA. Qualitative interviews would further help to sketch a more detailed picture on the various pathways from subject of specialization at CIDA, to the experience and relevance of the CIDA internship to this subject, and on to current positions whether related or unrelated to their studies. For these participants, the majority (n=19) earn in the lower income ranges: from ZAR3,500 to ZAR6,999 per month. It seems that those who feel that they are not employed in a job related to their area of specialization also tend to earn less than the expected average income for a BBA/B.Com graduate. Interestingly, eight of these 19 participants earn between ZAR5,000-6,999 a month, the mean income for the whole group. A further four participants who feel likewise, earn ZAR7,500 to ZAR10,000+ per month.

In addition, almost half of those participants for whom their job is not related to their specialization (n=28) also indicated that their skills are not at all being used in their current job (42.8%, n=12) and work demands are not at all what they expect them to be (46.4%, n=13). One of these 28 participants wrote: “The work I am currently doing does not need that much skills and knowledge. However that makes it easier for me because I am more knowledgeable than my demands. Sometimes I feel this is not for me” (2005 grad, female). Looking at those participants whose job is not directly related to their specialization *and* who feel their skills are not being used in their current job (n=12), the majority earn ZAR3,500 – ZAR4,999 p/month (45.5%, n=5) although there is one representative in each of the other income categories (except ZAR8,500 – ZAR10,000).

**Table 5: Employed Participant Group: Issues around current work**

	<b>“Extent to which job is related to subject of specialization at CIDA”*</b>	<b>“Extent to which knowledge and skills are being used in current job”*</b>	<b>“Extent to which demands of work are what you expected”*</b>
Not at all	23.8%	12.5%	16%
A little	17.2%	19.2%	15.1%
Somewhat	16.4%	15.8%	20.2%
Mostly	12.3%	23.3%	31.1%
Very Much	30.3%	29.2%	17.6%
	n= 122	n=120	n=119

Conversely, 52.5% (n=63) of employed participants indicate that their knowledge and skills are either mostly or very much being used in their work, irrespective of type of employment. For example, nine participants not working in a job related to their specialization indicated that their skills were being used in their current job 'somewhat', 'quite a bit' or 'a lot'. Three participants comment elsewhere in the survey (see section 3.5b), that although their current job is not related to their specific studies, they feel CIDA prepared them well for work demands. For example: "Even though you're not using the studies you worked on; the way I am, I'm more than prepared; I feel I can do whatever I takes" (2005, male graduate; in answer to *BQ7.1*). This suggests that even if some respondents are not in a job for which they formally studied for at CIDA, they feel their knowledge and skills are being put to adequate use in their current job. Of the 52 participants working in jobs 'mostly' or 'very much' related to their specialization, 96% (n=50) also feel their knowledge and skills are mostly or very much being put to good use in their current job. In addition, work demands were mostly or very much expected for 75% (n=39) of this group. This data suggests the interrelatedness of these three aspects of work (relevance of subject of specialization, skills use and the anticipation of work demands) for some participants.

Finally, employed participants were asked 'Are the demands of your work what you expected?' (*AQ8.6*). Slightly fewer participants than in the previous question answered 'mostly' or 'very much' (48.7%; n=58), while 31.1% (n=37) answered that work demands were either 'a little' or 'not at all' what they had expected. This indicates that some participants felt they were not aware of what would be expected of them in their jobs or perhaps that they felt less than prepared to meet certain work demands. On the other hand, one participant is pragmatic when it comes to work life meeting graduate's expectations: "It all depends on the individual. Studying and entering the real world will always be a shock no matter where one studied" (2005, female graduate; in answer to *BQ7.1*). Of course, further questions around which particular elements of work graduates were not expecting or were unprepared for, would provide richer information for this question. When one

compares income with the questions on relevance of studies to current job it perhaps shows that the higher the income graduates earn, the more likely it is that the demands of their job are what they expected. While the assumptions of the chi-square test were violated, it is interesting that all of the participants who indicate that work demands are ‘very much’ what they expected (n=16), are earning from ZAR5,000 – ZAR10,000 or more per month (see Table 6).

**Table 6: Cross tabulation of Employed Participants Income Per Month and Extent to which work demands are what participants expected**

		Extent to which work demands are what they expected?					Total
		Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Mostly	Very much	
Participant Income per month	R0 - 1,499	1	0	0	0	0	1
	R1,500-2,499	2	0	1	0	0	3
	R2,500-3,499	0	1	2	3	0	6
	3,500-4,999	4	6	3	5	0	18
	R5,000 - 6,999	5	8	5	9	4	31
	R7,000 - 8,499	1	1	6	5	4	17
	R8,500 - 10,000	1	0	1	3	4	9
	R10,000+	1	0	3	3	4	11
Total		15	16	21	28	16	96

n=96

When participants were asked, ‘to what extent did CIDA prepare you for the demands of your current job or situation?’ (BQ7), of those employed participants who answered (n=121): 39.7% (n=48) indicated ‘a lot’, 42.1% (n=51) indicated ‘quite a bit’, 10.7% (n=13) ‘somewhat’, 5% (n=6) ‘a little’, and a small 2.5% (n=3), comprised of only male participants, chose ‘not at all’. These findings suggest that the majority of employed graduates perceive CIDA as preparing them for the demands of the work world. This is a significant finding as it supports one of CIDA’s intended educational goals which is to ensure students feel prepared for the world of work.

One of the best opportunities for becoming work-ready is through an internship placement, yet there appears to be no connection between a participants rating of internship placement at CIDA (*BQ4f*) and their feelings of preparedness for their current job. A chi square test showed expected counts less than 5, indicating a variety of responses in how students view their internship experiences (see Table 7). However, the next section underscores the centrality of the internship experience to graduates, as well as recommendations on how CIDA can better prepare its students.

**Table 7: Cross tabulation of Participant's rating of 'Internship Placement Office' and Extent to which CIDA prepared participant for current job/situation**

		Extent to which CIDA prepared participant for current job/situation					Total
		Not at all	A little	Some-what	Quite a bit	A lot	
Participant rating of 'Internship Placement Office'	Poor	2	1	3	6	4	16
	Needs improvement	0	1	5	15	11	32
	Okay	1	1	3	8	9	22
	Good	0	2	1	15	9	27
	Excellent	0	1	1	5	15	22
Total		3	6	13	49	48	119

n=119

Exceeding CIDA's estimates, 91% of graduate participants in this survey are employed and 9% are unemployed. One in three employed participants and one of the 12 unemployed participants are continuing their studies. The majority of unemployed graduates are from the most recent graduating class of 2006 and almost all are currently supported by family or a partner. The main obstacle for gaining employment appears to be a lack of experience. Although a third of employed participants are earning comparable salaries for BBA/B.Com graduates, most are not: another third of participants earn only R60-84k, and a final third of participants earn less than R60k per annum. Although difficult to establish, we might speculate that since almost two thirds of participants are

employed in positions below the estimated starting salary for a B.Com/BBA graduate, there may be some 'invisible' underemployment taking place.

On the whole, most employed graduates feel that CIDA adequately prepared them for their current job or situation. Indeed, many participants report they are working in positions related to their subject of specialization. Furthermore, even if some respondents are not in a job related to their CIDA specialization, they still feel their knowledge and skills are being put to good use in their current job. Such findings point to the relevance of CIDA course contents to current labour market demands and/or requirements. There remain, however, graduate experiences of skill underutilization and poor work preparedness. While 'entering the real world will always be a shock', a few participants felt that they were not aware of what would be expected of them in their jobs. There is some indication that graduates who feel their current work demands are what they expected are also earning higher salaries on average.

#### 4.3.5 Improving Student Outcomes

Comments by graduates in the area of student preparation vary. Most participants feel that CIDA prepared them well for their careers and feel confident and able to tackle the challenges that might arise in the work environment. As some of the participants say:

"Now I can interact with everyone from every walk of life. I can have interviews with anyone. It boosted my confidence. They're doing a good job." (2006, female graduate).

"I believe that at this moment CIDA is doing fine when coming to preparations of their students. At CIDA we used to work as Syndicates, in a work environment nowadays most companies want team workers that's why I'm saying they are on the right [track]." (2006, male graduate).

"As I said they are doing fine because I remember with my experiences I was taught how to work as an HR administrator from them, so I didn't really struggle with anything, my

computer skills were excellent and they even taught me how to speak professionally.” (2006, female graduate).

“Even though you’re not using the studies you worked on; the way I am, I’m more than prepared; I feel I can do whatever I takes” (2005, male graduate).

“CIDA is doing well because they do bring experts in all fields so if they keep that up, it will equip the students for the demands out there.” (2006, female graduate).

There are however various external factors influencing their effectiveness post-graduation. These factors include a perceived negative attitude by companies towards the CIDA degree, challenges in finding a suitable job, and having to resort to work in positions for which participants feel they are over-qualified:

“In my case... I am doing something I was not prepared for by CIDA but otherwise I think the CIDA programme was up to [scratch] considering all given circumstances.” (2005, male graduate).

“CIDA has prepared its students for the world out there, the problem is finding the right job to match your skills and some companies are still underrating [the] CIDA degree” (2005, female graduate).

“The work I am currently doing does not need that much skills and knowledge. However that makes it easier for me because I am more knowledgeable than my demands” (2005 grad, female).

Some participants appear to be working in positions which they feel are less than ideal in relation to their career goals, however they demonstrate awareness of what capabilities and skills they have and what constraints exist in the job market or workplace. Graduates identify the areas in which CIDA can support better outcomes for its graduates including, for example, developing greater recognition

of the CIDA degree in South Africa, providing training opportunities throughout the degree and making improvements to the coordination of internships with companies.

#### 4.3.6 Internships

For one term in their fourth year, CIDA students have internship placements with various businesses to gain work experience in their chosen field. The majority of graduate participants (58.4%; n= 77) said internship placement was either okay, good or excellent (*BQ4f*). On the other hand, almost a third of participants (29.5%; n=132) said it needs improvement.

When viewed in terms of employment, the EPG appeared to be almost evenly split in their responses, ranging from internship placement needing improvement (26.7%, n=32) to excellent (18.3%, n=22). This seems to indicate that there is a wide range of experiences when it comes to internship placement amongst CIDA students. In contrast, over half of the UPG feel that the internship placement ‘needs improvement’ (58.3%, n=7). This may indicate that unemployment amongst graduates is in some way connected with their experiences with internship placement.

**Table 8: Participant rating of internship placement at CIDA**

	EPG*		UPG*		TOTAL	
	N	%	N	%	N	%
Poor	16	13.3%	-	-	16	12.1%
Needs Improvement	32	26.7%	7	58.3%	39	29.5%
Okay	22	18.3%	-	-	22	16.7%
Good	28	23.3%	3	25%	31	23.5%
Excellent	22	18.3%	2	16.7%	24	18.2%
TOTAL	120	100%	12	100%	132	100%

\* Please note ‘EPG’ refers to the employed participant group, while ‘UPG’ refers to the unemployed participant group

While the majority of employed graduates perceive CIDA as preparing them for the demands of the work world (BQ7), participant comments related to job preparedness provide a far richer picture as to how well CIDA is doing in preparing students for the working world. All 135 participants gave comments in this question (BQ7.1), with the largest proportion of participant comments (n=44) making reference to some aspect of internships or the need for more practical work experience during the CIDA degree. Likewise, the largest number of comments following question BQ4 are in relation to internships. Due to the large emphasis on internships, the general meaning system and suggestions provided by these participants (in answer to BQ7.1) are summarized and presented in Box 2.

## Box 2: Student Internships

### Meaning System

- Internship experiences play a large role in current job success (n=2); skills learned through internships make it easier in the workplace later on (n=2).

### Suggestions for Internships and Training Opportunities

#### Students

- Need more practical training opportunities *throughout* the 4-years of the degree (n=11)
- Need more professional work experiences or internships, perhaps even on a volunteer basis (n=10)
- Need assistance with finding part-time or holiday jobs while studying (n=6)
- Need internships to last for longer than 2-4 months; suggested period of minimum 6 months (n=5); Internships are currently too short, not allowing for enough work exposure (n=2)
- Need internships to be more relevant to a students' subject of specialization (n=7)
- Need a career centre/monitoring system to check-up on students during their internship placements (n=3)
- Ensure company commitment: so that the companies who take students, actually expose them to a real working environment and set challenging tasks (n=2)
- Need to assist international students at CIDA to get a job and Work Permit.(n=1)

Many graduates recognize the value of their internship experience and its contribution as an applied and practical learning exercise. Retrospectively, graduates regard the internship (as well as all other practical opportunities such as part-time jobs, training initiatives, etc.) as contributing to their current job success. As one participant writes, “Internship! Internship! Internship! It helped me a lot and played a big role in my career” (2004, female graduate, earning R8,500-10,000). At the same time, two participants stated that the length of internships was too short and five participants stated six months should be the minimum period. For example: “Longer internships e.g. six [months] or so. Because I feel I didn’t learn enough in two months, I was still learning and suddenly the internship ended” (2006, female graduate, earning R3,500-4,999).

Eleven participants feel internships should be introduced to students at an earlier stage in their studies: “Offer internships as early as the third year so that students get more [exposure] into the real corporate world” (2006, female graduate).

Another issue for concern for six participants, is the relevance of internships to one’s subject of specialization. As one participant states, “I am happy with what is being done but recommend the HOW part of it [is evaluated]. Internships must not be aimed at getting students to the workplace but being placed [in] an area nearer to their area of specialization...” (2006, male graduate). One unemployed graduate similarly states: “When placing interns, they must look at their major subjects. [Students] Must do internships at the relevant departments to put what they [have] learned into practice e.g. HR, Finance, etc.” (commenting on *BQ4*).

Three participants recommend that CIDA also begin closer monitoring and evaluation of internships. That is, CIDA should “... Follow up with organizations [companies] directly to check on student’s progress during internships. Align the internship programme to correct companies that can offer the work place experience” (2006 graduate). Similarly, another participant writes that CIDA needs “... monitor the program with the host company to ensure that they are given the [real] work there” (2004, male graduate). Another graduate states: “They should make sure that the companies that take the students for internships do expose the learner to real working environment” (2006, male

graduate). These comments around partner companies seem to infer that there is a lack of commitment by companies to provide 'real work' opportunities or challenging work.

One participant writes of her experience: "We need people to tell us what it is really like out there. Not waiting til the internship in final year. When we went to internships we heard we are going to work in that area; but [it] is not really like that. We end up doing filing instead of doing HR..." (2006, unemployed female graduate). This latter comment on the inadequacy of the internship experience is telling, as for this unemployed graduate, it is her inadequate work experience which she perceives as the greatest barrier to finding employment. In another part of the survey she comments (in response to *AQ8.3*), "They want experience and I don't have enough experience", perhaps indicating that her internship was not 'enough experience'.

These examples illustrate that participation in an internship is not a sufficient condition to ensure successful employment outcomes amongst CIDA graduates. Critical consideration must also be paid to the willingness of companies to dedicate their own time to teaching and providing challenging work experience which will allow students to learn and gain useful skills. In this regard, graduates also suggest that more attention be paid to matching of student skills and career goals with particular partner companies. These internships should then be monitored and evaluated so as to ensure that students are being given meaningful work experiences, establishing a solid basis for their future success in employment.

In addition to company commitment, one graduate feels that CIDA should be giving attention to how students are represented to companies in efforts to secure internships:

In terms of assisting students to get some internship[s], they must stop telling companies we are desperate and I think NO, I [know] we deserve better and we can offer a lot to [any] companies in the world as we are competent enough not the management setting some [boundaries] on how the companies must offer us. (2006, male graduate)

A Pearson correlation co-efficient demonstrated a strong positive relation between participants rating of internships and their rating of career counseling at CIDA ( $r=0.552$ ,  $n= 131$ ,  $p=.01$ ). Importantly,

there were similar participant concerns in relation to ‘career counselling’ (BQ4g). Indeed 59.8% (n=79) of participants indicated that career counseling was either poor or needed improvement (n=132). As one participant writes, “I don't remember any career counseling”. Another participant states; “Students are not given proper guidance”.

Overall, participants point to the need for large improvements in the provision of career guidance for students and for internships to be fairly organized, planned well in advance, and made more relevant to their main subject of specialization. Simultaneously however, participant responses also suggest that the internship system is a valuable one, albeit one that requires some improvements. This is perhaps underscored by participant suggestions for increased and/or additional training or skills initiatives and that these begin during students’ first year. As one participant recommends, “Continue to arrange the training initiatives that are tailored to prepare students for the workplace rigours. I was part of such training initiatives and it paid handsomely” (2006, 24-yr old male graduate). Such programming includes the desire for more partnership arrangements with outside companies. One participant states: “They should engage students [in] more intense workplace rotation programme[s], from first year of study, where they learn [about] pressurized decision making” (2006, unemployed male graduate). Similarly, another graduate states, “What they are doing with the internship programme I think is good but they can do much more even way before they are ready to leave school during 1<sup>st</sup> and 2<sup>nd</sup> year” (2006, female graduate).

#### 4.3.7 Preparing CIDA students for Work/Life Demands

Participant comments also highlight the positive ways in which CIDA is adequately preparing students for the working world (n=18; BQ7.1, see Box 3).

### Box 3: Preparing Students for work/life demands

#### Meaning System:

- CIDA is doing well in preparing its students (n=18), and should continue in the following ways (n=14):
  - Working with industry experts
  - Placing people in companies
  - Balancing theory with practice
  - Teaching respect and keeping a formal dress code
  - Providing Practical holiday projects for students
  - Organizing work into group Syndicates
  - Extranet and practicum
- My current job is not related to my specific studies, yet I feel CIDA has prepared me well (n=3)
- CIDA is doing its job, but ultimately it is 'up to the individual' to work hard and do their assignments; CIDA can only challenge students to do their best (n=10)

Participants again make reference to the importance of the individual in ensuring personal preparedness. As one participant states, "They [CIDA] are doing enough the rest is up to [the] individual" (2006, female graduate). Another writes: "It all depends on the individual... All the institution can do is ensure that they are teaching you the right quality stuff" (2005, female graduate).

Suggestions to current and future students by graduates include, for example: "Focus and do your assignments with passion and ask for help when it is needed. The syndicates make it very easy to understand your tasks and actually [are] very helpful in promoting team work" (2006, female graduate). Another participant states:

I think CIDA is doing well it depend[s] on each of us to make sure we are doing our homework properly; when you go for an interview [you need] to do research on the company and [prepare for] interview [questions], if they employ you work hard, do research, read to get

more knowledge of your job don't only depend on the training you get from employers. (2006, female graduate)

This focus on self-reliance and individual initiative are once again a positive sign that CIDA is preparing students for the challenges of being successful in businesses in South Africa.

#### 4.4 CIDA Educational Quality

One way to determine how well a graduate rates the quality of their degree programme is by whether or not they would recommend anyone to study there. Of the 132 participants who responded to this question (*CQ1*), 94.7% said 'Yes' they would recommend CIDA to others, while only 5.3% said 'No'. This suggests that CIDA is viewed as having provided a valuable learning experience. In a more open-ended question, participants were also asked 'What would you recommend that CIDA do to improve the quality of education that it provides?' (*BQ5*). One-hundred and twenty-three participants gave written responses to this question. Not including the 11 participants who responded that CIDA's educational quality is excellent or that it is improving, participant recommendations are categorized in Table 9.

**Table 9: Recommendations on how CIDA can improve its quality of education**

	n	%
1. Hire qualified, full-time lecturers	54	43.9%
2. Become more like other Tertiary Institutions/ Accreditation Concerns/ More course choice	35	28.4%
3. Adjust Curriculum /Classrooms/Books	30	24%
4. Meditation	9	7%
5. Student inclusion/Fairness/Transparency	6	4.8%
6. Management, organizational practices & Mission	6	4.8%
7. Internships/practical work/job exposure	5	4%
8. Accommodation	4	3%
9. Student Services	4	3%
10. Student Funding & Tuition Issues	3	2.4%

n=123

With educational quality in mind, the following sub-sections are ordered into the areas which participants felt a need to comment: 1. CIDA's lecturers, 2. Be more like 'other tertiary institutions' and better recognition within South Africa; 3. Curriculum and Classroom Issues; and 4. Student Inclusion and Governance issues (encompassing items four to six in Table 9)<sup>72</sup>.

#### 4.4.1 CIDA Lecturers

Participants (n=54) state that CIDA needs to 'hire more lecturers', 'find qualified lecturers', 'find more experienced lecturers with knowledge of the subjects', or 'hire full-time, professional lecturers'. A 2006 graduate explains: "Maybe they should hire proper or professional lecturers; some of them are not South African. If there are many lecturers, some of the people they just run away. After class these they just leave, they're not available" (female graduate, 24 yrs). Another writes (in answer to *CQ7*) "sometimes there were people who came to train us, they need tutors who know the subjects not just someone who does it the day he or she comes". And, a 2005 graduate says:

What I've learned over the years... most of them they've got external industrial lecturers... maybe they can have more full time or permanent [lecturers]. What we find is that those people they just come and lecture and lecture and then they just leave. We encounter a problem after that, we've got no one else to ask things after. Maybe they can have a combination of full or permanent [lecturers]. (2005, male, 28 yrs)

Similarly, CIDA needs "To recruit permanent lecturers for each and every course, than to hire different people each and every year" (2006, male, 28 yrs). Clearly, the issue for some is the perceived lack of time and commitment to students that CIDA's lecturers have. The articulated desire is that they be full-time staff devoted solely to teaching at CIDA. This would make staff more available to students outside of lectures for questions, guidance, feedback, etc. This would also make CIDA more like other tertiary institutions with full-time professors who work in particular

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<sup>72</sup> Please note participant recommendations referencing issues from seven to ten in Table 7 have been left out of this analysis since these are covered in previous sections.

departments and provide weekly 'office hours' for students to visit them. However, this would in effect change a component of the CIDA educational model:

Local and international professionals deliver the education in our syllabus and we believe that skills and knowledge are best transferred by those who use it daily. Leading professionals and visiting international guest speakers present most of our courses. These are highly successful business people who have already achieved success in the real world. (CIDA City Campus Position Statement, 2006, p.186)

Not only is there the desire for *more* lecturers and *full-time* lecturers, but also the perception that current lecturers from the business and industrial realms are neither entirely qualified nor committed to their job at CIDA. One participant recommends CIDA "get best qualified lectures not some part time business people who are more focused on their full time jobs than lecturing" (2006 graduate, male 26 yrs). In addition to time and commitment, there are similar comments on the quality of current lecturers. "[CIDA needs] to employ high class educators, quality [lecturers], and not people who... [come] in to lecture when they feel like. CIDA needs to have quality for it to grow and to be competitive, so that it can produce [a] Great bunch [of] Grads" (2004, male 26 yrs). Another concern is that there is a lack of consistency from year to year with lecturers which negatively effects the progress through different subjects: "[CIDA needs the] right people in [the] right position, presentation skills for students, [consistency with] subjects from 1st year, 2nd year and 3rd year" (2005, male, 26 yrs).

To achieve full-time, quality lecturers, participants recognize that CIDA would have to increase their budget for lecturing/teaching staff: "Invest more in acquiring the best to provide lessons" (2006, male, 22 yrs). Similarly, "CIDA must not be afraid to spend money on [professors] to come and teach at CIDA" (2004, male 24 yrs). Another graduate acknowledges the incentive that increased salaries would make to lecturer quality:

I don't deny that CIDA is a nonprofit organization, but it [needs to] give its staff good salaries because there are a lot of companies that donate millions if not thousand of rands to the institution, otherwise it will [lose] quality lecturers... (2006, male, 24 yrs).

This statement also makes reference to the priorities of donor funding to CIDA, which often do not go towards lecturer salaries but to things of another nature (such as developing new academies, hiring management positions, etc.). Another student points out that CIDA's donor connections should allow CIDA to locate excellent staff:

CIDA is funded and supported by lot of organizations and therefore I feel that CIDA can do better in attracting the BEST [lecturers] & employing them and [retaining] them at CIDA for the benefit of CIDA producing the best graduates... (2005, female, 26 yrs)

One participant also disapproves of CIDA's approach of hiring lecturers from outside of South Africa so as to lower costs in this regard: "the quality of lecturers is also not too good as tutors from other African countries were brought in cause they were cheaper and difficulty came in when trying to understand what they were saying because of their accent..." (2006, female 24 years).

Another suggestion for improving lecturer quality is for CIDA to create a system of evaluation of lecturers: "Evaluate [lecturers] teaching methods on a regular basis so [as to] avoid high volume of Failures" (2004, male, 29 yrs). A few other students point to the lecturing style, feeling that students are 'spoon fed'. For example, one participant states "They must stop spoon [feeding] the student and let them take control of their education" (2006, male, 27 yrs). The feeling that students are 'spoon feed' is a message that is further underscored in other responses to the question on student preparedness (BQ8). One participant feels there is too much 'leeway' given by lecturers:

I feel that CIDA, with the facilitators; tend to be more spoon-feeders than allowing students to get information on their own. Some of the lecturers are not strict enough on the students. There's too much leeway. You are at a loss in the workplace because [of this]. (2006, female graduate; in answer to BQ7.1)

Similarly, another graduate directs CIDA to: “Stop spoon feeding them, they should be able to take [challenges] and do things for themselves – its hard when you leave the institution and have to face life on your own” (2005, female graduate; in answer to *BQ7.1*). Of course this is an area which requires further inquiry and particular research which would assess teaching quality and the learning environment of CIDA classrooms, particularly as the CIDA mandate incorporates ‘active-learning’ techniques.

In summary, participants articulate that there need to be more, full-time, better quality lecturers who are experts in their respective subjects and who will be available for students outside of lectures. Lecturers also need to modify their teaching style from that of ‘spoon feeding’ towards interactive methods which help inspire the learner to find answers independently. Some graduates observe that even though this would mean increasing the budget for lecturers, CIDA’s corporate partners and other donor organizations should, of necessity, be invited to invest in salaries for experienced teachers and lecturers from outside the business realm. These suggestions, to all intents and purposes, direct CIDA towards a more traditional educational model found at public universities. To ensure all of these teaching ideals, CIDA management is furthermore recommended to create an evaluation framework for lecturers so as to improve lecturing standards and ultimately improve student learning experiences and pass rates.

#### 4.4.2 Improve recognition of CIDA within South Africa

“Many universities in South Africa don't even recognise the degree and that doesn't make prospects for employment good. We must be able to compete on paper (qualifications/ credentials) with other graduates...” (2005, male, 25 yrs, earning R10,000+)

Some of the comments on lecturer quality simultaneously refer to CIDA needing to be more like ‘other tertiary institutions’. There is much cross-over in this regard. There are three main

concerns voiced by graduate participants: 1. a desire for CIDA to be comparable in quality to other recognized tertiary institutions; 2. a desire for more subjects and fields of specialization; and 3. a desire for increased recognition of the CIDA degree by South African tertiary institutions and employers.

Firstly, some participants feel that CIDA should try to align itself with other tertiary institutions in South Africa. One participant marks this difference: “lectures and the study materials we used some how differed from other institutions” (2005 grad, male, 26 yrs). Another states the desire for CIDA to ‘compete’ with other institutions, “Lectures must be of high quality to compete with big institution like Wits, UCT, Rau, etc.” (2005, male, 26 yrs). Several other participants simply write ‘Benchmark’. For example, a 2004 graduate writes: “Benchmark itself and curriculum against other recognised institutions on an annual basis to ensure that CIDA students get the same education as students from other educational institutions” (2004 grad, female, 24 yrs). In other words, “Just ensure that everything is in line with what other tertiary [institutions] are offering in terms of education” (2005 grad, female, 24 yrs). One participant sees other tertiary institutions as inculcating more independence and introducing the research tradition to its students: “It needs to align itself with other tertiary institutions and train students to be [independent] (encourage students to do research and give feedback on findings)” (2004 grad, female, 25 yrs).

On the other hand, a few participants recognize that CIDA’s mission as a tertiary institution is also unique: “Research and Development, standardize the curriculum with some of the other institution, and still continue with their core-values, because they define what CIDA is” (2005 grad, male, 24 yrs). Another participant states:

I think personally CIDA is now an institution like any other institution, but when it started the aim was to help needy people of South Africa it's now moving bit by bit away from that aim. Which was something that country needed. To me it lost its unique [value]” (2005 grad, female, 23 yrs).

This last quotation indicates a desire to move in the opposite direction from becoming more like 'other tertiary institutions', and instead return to its 'roots' per se. However, why this participant feels CIDA has moved away from the aim of helping 'needy people of South Africa' is not clear.

Secondly, 14 participants suggest that CIDA offer more faculties and fields of specialization for students to choose from. One participant states: "Offer more streams for learners to choose from, not only BBA" (2006 grad, female, 24 yrs). Another similarly writes: "They must not only [focus] on [Marketing, Finance] and HR. If they include other [fields] it will be a great help to many [disadvantaged South Africans]" (2005 grad, male, 29 yrs). This might be done through "[Networking] with other higher learning institution to find out more about their courses" (2006 grad, male, 26 yrs). Overall, there is a demand for more course variety: "Provide a variety in the subject courses offer, expand into other fields" (2006, female, 26 yrs). Suggestions include engineering and travel.

One participant suggests that CIDA offer higher levels of study, as other tertiary institutions do, "They have to start to offer honours and masters" (2005, female, 26 yrs). On the other hand, another participant suggests the opposite: Cida must offer "more fields of specialisation and it should be done from the lower lower levels, and students should be given the chance to choose their own courses" (2004, female, 24 yrs). As is evident, a number of graduates believe greater course variety and subject choice is one pathway to towards improving CIDA's quality of education.

A third concern voiced by eight participants centers around the challenges they have experienced in gaining recognition of CIDA courses in order to attend another tertiary institution or pursue an honour's degree. Many articulate this as a problem in terms of other universities being able to recognize CIDA courses and curriculum. As one participant states: "Cida needs to affiliate themselves closely with other bigger and more recognised universities when it comes to their curriculum and course materials. Many universities in South Africa don't even recognise the degree..." (2005, male, 25 yrs). Some participants feel that CIDA should improve the quality of its courses so as to transfer better to other tertiary institutions: "To make BBA degree to be more than

now because if we want to do honours we still need to do other subjects before we can commence our studies” (2006, male, 27 yrs). Stated differently, “Cida must link its CURRICULUM with such [schools as] UNISA, Wits etc because we got problem if we want to further our [studies at these particular institutions]” (2005, male, 25 yrs). In other words:

[CIDA needs] to ensure that their courses/subjects are in line with other higher learning institutions. This is to ensure that when one has completed BBA at CIDA one can be able to do Honours at any institution in the Country without being told that you need to do [additional courses]. (2004, male, 27 yrs)

Several graduates feel CIDA needs to take steps to ensure CIDA is better known to other tertiary institutions. A 2006 graduate writes: “Market CIDA a lot so that it is well known to other Universities... get some of the [professors] at [various universities] to do moderation and QA<sup>73</sup> so that it is well known and everybody will be confident in CIDA degree. Ensure that CIDA is fully registered and develop [its curriculum]” (2006, male, 24 yrs). CIDA should improve: “By making sure that it's well known to the rest of universities and other institutions to make it easier for us to study further” (2004, male, 23 yrs). Furthermore, this appears to revolve around the sticky issue of CIDA’s current accreditation. One participant states: “What I can say is not about improvement but issue of ACCREDITATION. I can't [enroll] for Honours at any university. CIDA is accredited by SAQA and CHE but I cannot be recognized” (2006, male, 23 yrs). This perhaps speaks to the challenges with the NQF, since “Implementing the NQF policy vision is a long term process, resulting in anomalies in the articulation between general schooling, public technical colleges at the FET level, and public higher education....” (Kruss, 2005, p. 274). Also, CIDA is a relatively new university, amidst a huge swell of new institutions added to the private sector. Consequently, there may be a lack of knowledge of the BBA degree situated at level 6 on the NQF scale public universities, as well as some reluctance to recognize CIDA’s degree.

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<sup>73</sup> QA likely refers to ‘quality assurance’.

Upon further reflection on these three concerns, it remains clear that CIDA's mandate is to help provide a tertiary education to those who otherwise would not be able to attain one due to financial constraints. Given the financial structure of CIDA then (i.e. corporate donations etc.), having full time faculty and encouraging a true university research approach would mean CIDA would require infinitely greater financial resources. This would of course then raise new barriers for exactly those students it set out to help. However, improving recognition of the CIDA qualification amongst other South African Universities may mean that some of the CIDA graduates could position themselves to obtain post-graduate degrees in more traditional university settings. Also, it is at the graduate level, that more funding in the form of bursaries becomes available and that a strong research capacity amongst faculty becomes more important.

To conclude, while some participants acknowledge the unique aspects of CIDA's degree, several participants articulate a wish for CIDA to be 'more like other tertiary institutions' in terms of educational quality. Along these lines, several participants also desire for CIDA to differentiate itself through more subjects and fields of specialization, some at the higher levels like master's or MBA degrees, and some at the lower levels. This seems to suggest that some participants, had they had other programme choices, may have studied subjects other than a business studies programme, as seen by the requests for programmes in Engineering, Travel or Tourism. Indeed, Kruss' (2004) work shows that 69.4% of CIDA students in her study applied to a public institution and almost all, 68.4% of students, were accepted at the public institution. While the majority could not attend due to financial constraints, one might guess that not all of CIDA's students applied to BBA or B.Com degree programmes at these institutions and had other academic interests.

Finally, several graduates aspire to having increased recognition of the CIDA degree by South African tertiary institutions and employers, as well as the ability to link their course curriculum with these institutions. It would be interesting to find out more about what steps these graduates have taken towards getting their degree recognized by another tertiary institution and what message they had received with regard to the quality of the CIDA degree. For example, were any institutions

critical of CIDA's provisional accreditation status? Were CIDA's courses so dissimilar in content from other universities that they could not be recognized by other institutions? Did graduates perceive any prejudice towards themselves as graduates of a non-profit and less traditional tertiary institution? However, CIDA is aware of several graduates who have already gone on to Honours, post-graduate and MBA degrees at such institutions as UNISA and Wits University (personal correspondence from Taddy Blecher, Nov. 23, 2007). One graduate in particular was not accepted by a university and had to write to the CHE (Council on Higher Education) to complain, who then advised this university they were obliged to accept him. Nonetheless, this should be a significant area of concern for CIDA, and they perhaps should, moving forward, assist those graduates who wish to pursue other degrees through the application process.

#### 4.4.3 Curriculum and Classroom concerns

There are a wide variety of comments in the category of curriculum and classroom concerns. With reference to CIDA's classrooms, four participants mentioned the size of class as not being conducive for learning. One participant suggests that students have class groups: "[Divide] students into class groups, about 50 students per class, at least for subjects like projects and operations management" (2006, male, 24yrs). Another explains:

they should make classes smaller, loudest students [sit] at the back and [its] very hard to hear what the lecturer is saying. You're trying to strain your eyes to see what is written on the board.

Minimize number of students in class. #2) make their [teaching] method use large screens, improved. Sometimes quality of microphones could be better. (2006, female, 24 yrs)

Another participant writes: "Make use of other buildings donated to ensure that enough classes and space is provided for lectures and separate place for Exam rooms...." (2005, male, 26 yrs). One participant feels this is related to the 'disappointing' actions of CIDA management: "...What [disappoints] is that how long it has been said that there'll be proper classes at the main campus. All they build is office" (2005, male, 26 yrs; commenting on BQ4). This statement reflects the perception

that management is not following through on promises made to students, such as the creation of classrooms.

Evidently, the quality of classrooms for lectures and classroom size is a concern for a few participants. It is less clear what would make for 'proper learning classrooms', yet it appears that some do not like CIDA's lecture setup. While it is not unusual for class numbers to be large in an undergraduate institution, CIDA is, however, a unique institution relying mainly on multi-media and technology, thus CIDA might perhaps pay attention to improving acoustics.

"More focus should be on communication skills as this is the major problem (I assume) why most of the unemployed graduates have" (2006, female, 23 yrs).

Another area of recommendation by participants (n=6; BQ7.1, n=1; BQ5) is in reference to the quality of English-language preparation and communication skills. As one participant succinctly states:

The best that CIDA can do is ensure that students, especially those who come from non-English speaking backgrounds are able to communicate in the chosen language of South Africa's business community. If one is able to communicate and understand what is going on then it is possible even in the most difficult of business situations to make things work [well].  
(2005, male, 25 yrs)

One participant remarks that students need to be pushed to regularly speak English: "plead on student to speak English more because in workplace that is the [medium] of exchange. If you fail to express [yourself] in English it a bit of a problem. Encourage students to talk [English]" (2006, female, 22 yrs; BQ5). English communication skills are apparently covered in a 'Business communication' course taken by BBA students throughout their degree (Correspondence from Taddy Blecher, February 24, 2008). They are also now covered in remedial courses in the CIDA Park Foundation College curriculum - a foundation year required for all students prior to entering the

BBA programme. This is not an uncommon issue amongst South African students, as a Council on Higher Education (CHE) and Human Sciences and Research Council (HSRC) study finds that 77% of tertiary students in their study cited difficulty with their institution's language of instruction (M&G, Nov 20, 2007). These findings would perhaps support the opportunity for students to pursue English remedial courses throughout the BBA, perhaps even as a weekend option, in addition to the course in 'Business Communication'.

With an assortment of comments on curriculum and classroom issues, several concerns stand out as important. First of all, some participants feel that CIDA's classrooms need to become more like 'proper classrooms'. For example, several feel that smaller groups of students in classrooms would be more conducive to student learning. Participants also feel that CIDA needs to focus on additional English-language instruction and communication skills courses which would improve students' confidence with the language, especially as it the language-medium of business. Graduate comments reflect important concerns which may be used by the institution to assess whether these issues and suggestions are universally applicable or supported by the student body.

#### 4.4.4 Student Inclusion and Governance issues

A significant number of respondents expressed concerns regarding CIDA's management. While sixty-five percent (n=87) of the 134 responding participants rated management's helpfulness as okay, good or excellent, 35% (n=47) said management either needed improvement or was poor (BQ4d). There is no correlation between those who perceived CIDA management as less-helpful and employment outcomes, since the majority of the UPG rated management more highly than the EPG, with scores of either 4 or 5 (good and excellent). Nor is there any correlation between year of graduation and their perception of management's helpfulness. Nevertheless, there is some concern that there is unfairness practiced by management towards students, and that "CIDA management were not supportive" (2006, male, 26 yrs). Another graduate believes that "[CIDA] needs to look at

their job placement as only certain people close to the management who get opportunity to work part time and for any employment opportunity” (2004, male, 27 yrs).

Another concern that appears to be closely linked to concerns around management style is the strong emphasis on meditation. Two participants for example, perceive meditation as a factor that distracts CIDA management from central educational goals:

Good model of education system, but wrong management style of the institution. Perhaps there is a conflict of goals between TM and Education. Nonetheless, CIDA is fine except that it needs to employ professionals and run like a public institution in terms of required standards and quality of education. (2006, male, 22 yrs *comments on SBQ4*)

Changing the strategy of focusing on TM than the [education] itself. If the [Founders] can give other people to run the campus and come when needed. (2006, male, 26 yrs)

Such comments are underscored by others who perceive a bias towards students who meditate versus those who do not: “I think is by treating student [equally] that is meditators and non-meditators” (2005, female, 25 yrs).

Some participants feel that students lack choice with regard to practicing TM: “They have to make sure that their students are given an opportunity to choose what is best for them not [necessarily] being forced to practice what they do not believe in” (2006, male, 26 yrs). In contrast, one participant writes: “from my past experience, Cida is doing wonders, to some of us, it would never be possible to do tertiary, but due to Cida, the help of [transcendental] meditation... I am where I am today” (2006, female, 30 yrs). Thus, while one participant appears to see TM as a beneficial option which contributes to CIDA’s quality of education, several others perceive some measure of unequal treatment of students by management. Future studies would do well to further explore this issue in a more in depth manner. Participants suggest the need to ensure that the self-development options chosen by individual students are respected by all staff members (in both tacit and explicit ways) so that students feel supported/validated in their choices.

Another concern related to governance at CIDA concerns decision-making processes and communication with students. As one participant comments: “involve students in everything”. Another writes, “consult with the student and [understand] their needs”. It is suggested that this be done through student representation: “[CIDA must] Pay attention to student needs via the SRC - Support Student Initiatives - Re-affirm values of [integrity] to both staff and students”. Similarly, another graduate writes: “I believe [CIDA should follow] a consultative approach with its stakeholders, (students being the primary Stakeholder) to make decision making representative of different views and to improve its relations with the stake holders.” Similarly, “[Transparency] between management and students will make the institution unstoppable. Only the sky is the limit.” Looking forward, one graduate states: “The CIDA management and students needs to work together to improve the campus life and the level of education.” (in comments on *BQ7.1*).

While the majority of students indicate that CIDA’s management is helpful towards its students, approximately a third feel that management could improve upon its helpfulness. Respondents raise issues such as support from management, focus of management and increased respect of student choices regarding supports such as TM. Despite the fact that meditation is referred to by CIDA as an optional element for students, there are a few concerns that there is a lack of choice or force involved as well as a bias towards those who do choose this option. In addition, a few feel that management’s decision making processes lack transparency and do not include students’ views and particular needs. Several advocate for a management approach which seeks to consult students as important stakeholders of the institution through the student representative council (SRC). Several others feel that it is only a matter of students and management ‘working together’ and acknowledge that CIDA has evolved greatly from when it first began with its ‘paper keyboard’ typing lessons. Indeed, as a new tertiary institution, management is continuously striving to make improvements that will benefit its students.

#### 4.4.5 Summary on Educational Adequacy at CIDA

As outlined in Chapter Two, despite the increased chance of being employed in South Africa as a result of a tertiary qualification, unemployment has risen amongst tertiary graduates overall and has been found to affect a higher proportion of African tertiary graduates (Moleke, 2003). With the contention made that unemployment amongst graduates reflects insufficient curriculum design in relation to labour market needs both in skill and quality (Colete & Moja, 2005), this section has attempted to assess the quality of CIDA's education as voiced by its graduates, in relation to adequate job preparation and employment outcomes. That 91% of participants in this study are employed, suggests that CIDA is achieving its key goal of teaching employable graduates. However, it is not clear why two thirds of participants are not earning comparable starting salaries for a BBA/B.Com graduate. One potential answer may rest with the finding that, with some exceptions, participants in jobs not directly related to their subject of specialization tend to earn less than the expected average income for a BBA graduate. Future studies might look at such dimensions as potential invisible underemployment, starting salaries for CIDA graduates as compared with other BBA/B.Com graduates, and analyses of types of work and levels of skill required, and so forth. CIDA might also follow up more closely with graduates to determine whether they are in employment relevant to their career goals or are in need of assistance or additional training/internship experiences to increase their employability. Such information could provide valuable feedback to curriculum development and the structuring of training and workplace opportunities for BBA students.

Turning to the issue of skills, knowledge and workplace competencies, most respondents feel that CIDA adequately prepared them for their current job. Many participants feel able and confident in their workplace and report they are working in positions related to their subject of specialization. Furthermore, even if some respondents are not in a job related to their CIDA specialization, they still feel their knowledge and skills are being put to good use in their current job. Such findings point to the relevance of CIDA course contents to current labour market demands and/or requirements.

CIDA is without doubt taking the right approach in its focus on learning through practical experience by way of student internships, namely Practicum and the Extranet. Many participants state that they desire *more* of these practical learning experiences, whether through part-time jobs, training sessions, longer internship periods, or exposure to professional work environments *throughout* their four years of study. We also know that work experience is crucial as it is cited as the major obstacle for gaining employment amongst the few unemployed participants in the survey. Important to CIDA, while over half of participants found their internship experience to be valuable, almost a third of participants felt placements needed improvement. So while the internship aspect of CIDA's programme is relevant, CIDA perhaps needs to strive for better quality internships by taking a more active role in monitoring student internships, ensuring company commitment to providing 'real work' experiences and by better matching placements with the career goals/subject of specialization of the student. CIDA might also ensure that its career counselling programme is improved and/or is universally implemented, as some respondents report they received no career guidance whatsoever during their time at CIDA. With one in three employed participants pursuing further education, it may be conjectured that CIDA has also set many of its students on the path of lifelong learning.

For a number of participants, it is felt that CIDA provides every opportunity for students to find success and that ultimately students are responsible for their own learning. These responses point to the development of what Olivier and Wood (2004) term an 'internal locus of control', where people "believe they are in charge of their own destiny, and that their actions can make a difference to the outcome..." (p. 291). This is an importance aspect of self-efficacy, which

...refers to the belief that the student holds about his or her capability 'to organize and execute the courses of action required to produce given attainments'. The problem therefore facing [South Africa's] tertiary institutions, and foundation programmes in particular, is how to increase the self-efficacy of students, to ensure that they benefit from input provided to help them develop the necessary academic and social coping skills. (Olivier & Wood, 2004, p. 289)

It is clear from some of the statements by graduates, that they have achieved one aspect of self-efficacy as evidenced in their answers which advise CIDA students to take personal responsibility for their educational outcomes.

However, a few suggest that students might become more self-assured in the workplace if CIDA were to provide additional English-language communication skills courses. CIDA has already aimed to address this issue, as all students admitted to CIDA must participate in a one-year foundation programme<sup>74</sup> before commencing their BBA studies. The focus of this foundation year is on improving recent matriculants' capabilities with English writing/reading and presentation skills, mathematics, life skills, amongst other subjects.

There appears to be a tension between acknowledging those aspects of CIDA which are unique to higher education, and the desire for CIDA to become 'more like other universities'. For example, this is found in respondents' desire for full-time academic lecturers at CIDA rather than industry or business professionals and smaller class sizes. While CIDA's educational philosophy supposes that 'skills and knowledge are best transferred by those who use it daily', there are important concerns around the quality of teaching by these lecturers. An independent evaluation of CIDA's lecturers might be worthwhile, as well as an exploration of having a mixed-teaching faculty comprised of both outside business professionals and full-time academic professors with student office-hours. However, this recommendation would move CIDA once again towards becoming 'more like other universities' and away from its unique low-cost model which relies on part-time professionals. This is the tension that exists and is evident throughout much of the participant comments. Perhaps a balanced solution will have to be sought between graduate recommendations and CIDA management's strategic vision; based on the shared objective that CIDA students must have

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<sup>74</sup> A Foundation programme refers to "a programme designed to increase student access to higher education, specifically for those students who come from schools in historically disadvantaged environments. Students who do not meet standard admission requirements may enroll in a foundation programme, successful completion of which will guarantee admission to mainstream degree courses" (Olivier & Wood, 2004, p.289).

opportunity in their lectures to develop self-efficacy and independent thought, amongst other academic skills.

The same approach will have to be found when it comes to whether or not CIDA should expand beyond its BBA programmatic focus towards more subjects and fields of specialization, whether at higher (e.g. Masters/MBA/research based) or lower levels (e.g. technical/training/vocational). Working to increasing awareness and recognition of the CIDA degree within other universities in South Africa may be a helpful step which CIDA can take to ensure that its graduates have less difficulty with getting their degree recognized by these institutions when applying for further degrees.

Finally, some respondents point to the need for improved student relations with management, the need for staff to support student choice in relation to self-development options at CIDA, specifically with reference to TM, and transparency in CIDA's decision-making processes. It is perhaps worth bearing in mind that student-administration relations amongst South Africa's tertiary institutions are often fraught with tensions and concerns over decision-making processes and lack of consultation with student groups. For example, as mentioned in Chapter Two, student protests targeting decision-making involving tuition fee increases are not uncommon at South Africa's tertiary institutions (Mail & Guardian, 2007). Furthermore, CIDA is an NGO and as such is responsible to communicate and support the participation and input of its stakeholders, including its primary beneficiaries, its students. Several respondents see improvement at CIDA as a collaborative project to be worked towards together. As 2006 graduate writes: "Management is really trying to improve situations as CIDA is a new institution" (in comments on *BQ7.1*). This graduate sees CIDA's growth in the long-term and demonstrates an awareness that improvements efforts are being made by management on behalf of its students. Similarly, "I think the Quality of education is improving each and every year because what we learned from 2002-2006 is different from what they [are] doing now... comparing to previous years it improves each and every year..." (2006 grad, female, 24 yrs). A 2004 graduate reflects on CIDA's early days: "I studied at the time CIDA was still developing (The

first time i learned about the computer keyboard was on a paper) lots of things, that is why there's was always room for improvement in many areas” (in comments on *BQ4*).

#### 4.5 Connection to Family

##### 4.5.1 Providing Family Support

CIDA does not measure its educational outcomes based only on the employment and income earned by its graduates. CIDA believes that students’ families, including extended families, are also benefit greatly in many respects. As mentioned in Chapter One, most of the families of CIDA students live well below the poverty line.

A central claim made by CIDA is that through nurturing and educating young leaders from disadvantaged communities, as graduates they will in turn uplift their families and communities (Skoll Video, 2007; CIDA 2006 Graduation Programme). It is argued that income earned by graduates via salaried positions will go directly into the hands of their financially disadvantaged families. For example, in 2005, “CIDA graduates earned over R80 Million- money which goes directly into the hands of the less advantaged” (CIDA City Campus, n.d. b, para.10). To this end, the survey questionnaire included a section exploring these issues in the lives of graduates (see appendix 1, section C).

It is perhaps worth keeping in mind that the education of first-generation tertiary students from socially disadvantaged backgrounds may ‘naturally’ lead to various financial and other benefits for their families and extended families. Therefore it is difficult to determine to what extent CIDA, as an institution, has nurtured students to maintain their connection to their families. What is important in this case is that family-level benefits through employment are increased through attainment of tertiary qualifications. And, as argued in this study, an institution as CIDA facilitates access to a degree for this particular cohort of students. In all likelihood, this would not be possible in most public institutions in South Africa.

One-hundred and thirty participants indicated that they are currently able to support their family of origin (CQ2). The most prevalent types of support provided are offering advice, sending money, and providing emotional support. There is no relationship to gender, employment or income in how participants answered this question.

**Table 10: Graduate support to their families of origin**

Type of Support	n	%
Offer their advice	112	86.2%
Send money home	109	83.8%
Provide emotional support	100	76.9%
Provide financial skills	72	55.4%
Do work to help in the home	69	53.1%
Make phone calls home	68	52.3%
Assist in building	54	41.5%
Support in other ways	22	16.9%
n=130		

Graduates also identified other ways in which they support their families, as well as their extended families. Four graduates assist through paying their siblings or relatives school fees, while three support through career guidance and counseling skills. One participant identifies herself as a 'peace maker'. Two participants bought their families a house, one participant buys furniture, another buys clothes, and another food. One participant identifies themselves as being there to help in 'any other emergency'. Having resources available in times of need or emergency is perhaps crucial, and it appears as though graduates are increasing the safety net for their families.

Even unemployed graduates are able to support their families in some way. Seven of the 12 unemployed graduates answer that they are able to support their family. While none are able to send money home, six provide emotional support, three support with their financial skills, six provide advice, and five do work in the home.

Indeed, level of income has little to do with whether or not a graduate sends money home, unless one is unemployed or earning R0-1,499 per/month. In all other income categories graduates send money home to their families, supporting CIDA's claim that income generated by graduates is transferred back to disadvantaged families. A Chi square test revealed expected counts less than 5, demonstrating the overwhelming majority of participants send money home. However, the amount that is transferred is possibly less than the level estimated by CIDA, as 62 employed graduates in this survey earn less than the estimated average of a BBA graduate (R95,000 per annum, see section 3 "Outcomes/Educational Adequacy").

Looking beyond estimates of impact in terms of income earned, it is perhaps more helpful to see how participants describe the effect of their support. It needs to be reiterated that as the survey is based on 'self-reporting', responses represent personal perceptions of the difference they make. However such narratives still serve to highlight both the commitment of students to their families and the variety of ways in which their support impacts on family. The clarity of their descriptions combined with their later comments regarding the many ways in which they feel they can improve on this support (see below) suggest participants reflected seriously on their answers to these questions.

Participants were asked 'What kind of a difference do you think this [support] makes at home?' (CQ2.2). One major response from participants who answered (n=125) is that their support decreases the level of stress experienced by their family, increasing levels of happiness and peace of mind (n=21; 16.8%). For example, "[my support] provides a [peaceful] environment at home as well as an atmosphere of relaxation" (2006, female, 24 yrs). Another writes, that his support means there are no "Worries and stress of thinking about making end means" (2005, male, 27 yrs). In a similar vein, others comment on the way in which their families no longer experience financial risk in the same way. One participant writes: "They are able to 'budget' their money and save some for unexpected events". One graduate perceives that not only are his family experiencing 'relief' but so is the wider community of the village: "It improves the family to a better life and ensure that the younger [ones] have a solid foundation to study and also to learn more things without any stress from

the family. It also bring a relief to the parents as well as the Village at large since now [they] are supportive of the community” (2006, male, 24 yrs). Somewhat similarly, another writes “It improves their confidence among the community” (2006, female, 23 yrs).

**Table 11: Graduate perceptions of the difference their support makes to their family**

	n	%
1. Decreasing worry, and bringing peace of mind, or hope to family members	21	16.8%
2. Improved standard of living and other material changes	21	16.8%
3. Some immense or ‘immeasurable’ kind of difference	16	12.8%
4. Positive effects of sharing knowledge, giving advice, or motivating others, etc.	17	13.6%
5. Being the sole breadwinner and meeting the expectations of my family (as a university graduate)	15	12%
6. Building social cohesion within the family and family pride	13	10.4%

n=125

A second major response from participants (n=21; 16.8%) is that their support has improved their family’s standard of living and lead to a better quality of life. For example, one participant states: “I think it’s [a] huge difference... I managed to build a house for my grandmother, buy my new car for myself” (2005, male, 28 yrs). Another participant writes, his support is going towards “[making] my home to be like other homes” (2006, male, 26 yrs). Another graduate writes of her family’s movement away from poverty: “They use to sleep with empty [stomaches] but since I have started working is not happening anymore. [They] are living the different life than before they know” (2005, female, 30 yrs). Others mention how material goods have been newly introduced to their families: “We [are] now [experiencing] a better life like others, we never had a TV but managed to buy one” (2005, female, 22 yrs). Participants similarly refer to their purchasing power: “[Now] they can buy whatever they want to buy with money” (2006, female, 23 yrs). Often the comparison is made to being able to live ‘normally’ or like ‘other’ families, for example one participant states: “This makes a difference in a way that my family is living the same life as other families, my sibling are

having a chance to go to school just like other kids” (2005, male, 27 yrs). Perhaps this comment by a 2004 graduate best sums up the feelings of many participants: “This changes the standard of living at Home. Like many other families in the country we now [concentrate] on succeeding in life rather than survival” (2004, male, 27 yrs). Gaining proper nourishment means that families are able to experience improved health, while enabling siblings to go to school means that they will also experience all of the empowering aspects of an education. A new focus on ‘succeeding in life’ speaks powerfully to the opportunities and aspirations that family members can look towards and pursue, rather than focusing their energies on survival. Through their financial input, graduates’ families are buying houses, household goods and other products, allowing families to live a more comfortable life which in turn enables many other possibilities besides. Even the introduction of a television set may bring in an access to national news and information about the world hitherto not experienced.

Closely linked to improved standard of living is the sense of immeasurable differences in families following graduation. Many graduates (n=16) convey simple statements such as ‘huge’, or capitalized words such as ‘A LOT’ or ‘BIG DIFFERENCE’, suggesting that the difference their contribution makes to their family is beyond measure. One participant writes: “It is a true miracle...” (2006, female, 23 yrs), while another states: “A lot, [it] is [immeasurable]” (2005, female, 23 yrs). This seems to suggest that the perceived impact of their support is transformative on many levels. Graduate contributions allow families to move beyond experiences of poverty which can mean that any number of possibilities is opened up for family members to experience an improved quality of life.

A fourth set of comments by participants (n=17) considers the effects of their sharing knowledge or advice to their family or community. For example an unemployed participant writes: “I [help] in making them understand how to tackle life and business problems... my community is proud of me because I used to share my knowledge with them especially when coming to AIDS Survey” (2006, female, 28 yrs). Others describe their financial knowledge as being helpful: “I am able to expose my family to financial products that can give them solutions to most of their problems. I

am not spoon feeding anyone but helping them (my family) to stand on their feet” (2005, male, 24 yrs). In this regard, graduates appear to be sharing their life-skills knowledge and business acumen with their families and are teaching them strategies for problem solving. Because of their financial contributions and advice-giving, some participants experience status change within households and communities, now being valued in the decision making process:

I feel like an older person in the family even thou I am the youngest. They consider my opinion a lot because of the [belief] they have [in] me. (year missing, female, 27 yrs).

It made quite a lot [of difference], as I can now advise my family (older or younger than me) (2005, female, 24 yrs).

In addition, several graduates believe they present alternative life options to younger relatives:

“Having set an example for them, they now know what is expected of them ‘to be more than what I am’. I have given a positive influence and given hope to the entire family” (2005, male, 26 yrs).

Many comments focus on the particular way in which graduates motivate either siblings or other young people in their communities to focus on achievement: “I motivate young matriculants[s] to study further and once qualified they get [a] job and [are] able to support their families” (2004, male, 27 yrs). Another writes: “People look up to me at home, they turn to me for help now [more] than before. I motivated my brothers and sisters and even community members to want to achieve more in life even if [they] start with nothing” (2005, female, 24 yrs). This particular educational role is supported in the next section on ‘community ploughback’ below which establishes that all survey participants have motivated either family members or friends to pursue their education.

Similarly, there is the feeling amongst graduates that they are now role models within their families: “A huge Difference (especially that i'm the only family member who got a chance to go to varsity and graduated) now everybody is benchmarking him/herself by me because they want to be like me or even better and I'm encouraging [them] to be even more” (2006, female, 24 yrs). One participant sees herself as a role model for the wider community: “I am an example not only to [my] family but to [the] community as well, young people come to me for advice, I'm respected [within]

my own community” (2006, female, 27 yrs). Another writes: “... I get people outside my family coming and asking for advise of [whether] they can still study - I have therefore motivated even some of my [neighbours] to study [further] and make a living for themselves” (2005, female, 26 yrs).

Graduates are reciprocating their education by giving back to local youth some of what they have learned at CIDA. By acting as mentors and leaders, they offer their wisdom and, indeed, themselves as an example of the possibilities which exist for youth beyond the often narrow youth-identity constructs in the township or village.

A fifth group of participants (n=15) express the difference that their contribution makes since they are the sole ‘breadwinner’ or income earner within their family. One writes, for example, “a huge [difference], i have now become the bread winner of the home even though [i’m] the last born in the family” (2006, female, 26 yrs). Some graduates show that they alone are supporting a large number of people through their earnings: “[Being] a bread winner and supporting the entire family of 7 real[l]y makes a great difference” (2004, male, 29 yrs). This positioning is seen as making a “Huge difference, because i am [the] first born at home so everything must be done by me if not no one will” (2006, female, 22yrs). Similarly, “It makes a big difference because I’m everything to them (breadwinner). They appreciate what I am doing” (2005, female, 24 yrs). In addition, some graduates are taking care of their siblings or paying their school tuition fees. For example, one writes: “It helps a lot because there were no one to take over my brother and sister’s care without me being graduated and CIDA and get employed” (2004, male, 23 yrs). Similarly, another graduate pays his sibling’s tuition fees: “my family is now depending on me for financial needs, and i was able to build a house for my mom at home. [I’m] also paying [tuition] fees for my brother at CJC college” (2004, male, 26 yrs). Evidently, graduates are taking on vital roles in their families as wage earners and are paying for essential needs.

A final portion of participants (n=13) make reference to the effect that they have on the social dynamics within their families and community. Graduates perceive that they have increased their family’s pride and self-respect. For example: “They finally have someone they are proud of. My

humbleness and the way I now live my life shows them that Cida was not only about getting Degrees but also about life in general. Before I went to Cida lot of young peoples were afraid of challenges but these days through me things have changed. I feel like I'm a celebrity because most people have learned a lot" (2006, male, 26 yrs).

Other statements point to the feeling that their support is not only of a financial or advisory nature, but one of building up relationships and social cohesion: "I am building a strong relationship with my family members. So now that they trust me and believe in me, I hope it makes a huge difference" (2006, female, 24 yrs). Another 2006 graduate writes: "[I am] building my family at all levels" (male, 29 yrs). Similarly, "Now there is firm [relationship] in my family" (2006, male, 24 yrs). Another graduate writes of her role in building trust and social bonds: "I am very accountable and I have managed [to] get everyone to trust and respect me and the other people whom they are not related to. I believe that I have contributed a lot in helping people to believe in themselves and to encourage them not to give up and to always look forward to the future" (2006, female, 30 yrs). A 2004 graduate writes of the removal of problems: "We are now solid and helping each other, Problems are eliminated" (male, 26 yrs).

Overall, 71% of participants responding to this question (n=131) are quite or very happy with the support they are providing to their families. Seventeen percent are only somewhat happy, while 10% are 'a little' happy and three participants (2%) are 'not at all' happy. Of these three participants, one is employed (though did not select their income per month) and the other two are unemployed. In a variation on this question however, only 63 participants (48%) feel that they provide as much as support as they would like. Twenty-four participants (18.3%) feel they are only 'somewhat' able to provide as much support as they would like, 24 participants (18.3%) selected 'a little', and 20 participants (15.3%) indicated 'not at all'.

These seemingly contradictory answers suggest that although participants are content with the support they are currently providing given their current resources, they are also aware that more

can be done. One imagines that as graduate resources improve, so will their support to family and community.

#### 4.5.2 Summary on Connection to Family

As mentioned in Chapter two, education offers the potential of bringing about substantial changes in the pattern of wealth ownership in South Africa (UNDP, 2003) and “remains the most important asset to extract households out of poverty ... and the resource shift in this sense is extremely positive” (Kanbur, 2006, p. 8). The economically poor households which CIDA graduates come from appear to be benefiting greatly from the gain in income and resources which arise through CIDA graduate employment.

Evidently, the benefits and changes that CIDA graduates perceive they are effecting within their families go far beyond the transfer of income and purchase of material goods, to inspiring young people to pursue knowledge and education, increasing happiness and peace for family members, and supporting social cohesion and trust within the local community. Some CIDA graduates are the sole wage earners in their families and a large number of people may depend on them for their living needs. In addition to houses and household goods, some graduates are providing opportunities for their siblings and relatives to attend school by paying tuition and are also inspiring young people to aspire to great things in their lives, giving advice, acting as role models and so forth. Supporting an increased standard of living for their families means moving the focus away from basic survival, increasing a family’s confidence within the community and enabling a range of possibilities for their families. Many participants describe the transformation that occurs at the emotional level as their family moves away from anxiety over making ends meet, and starts to experience increased happiness, peace, and hope for the future. Some graduates also perceive themselves as garnering increased respect within the family and are being consulted when it comes to household decision-making. Many express feelings of their being somewhat of a ‘celebrity’ or a role model for their younger siblings and to youth in the wider community and are taking this role

seriously by motivating them in a positive way. Some graduates also feel that they are helping to create social cohesion through building stronger relationships within their families and establishing trust and connections with people in the community. It appears as though analysing the effect of graduates' support towards their families is straightforward in the financial sense, yet it is more complex in the sense that their support and presence in the household enacts transformation at multiple levels; whether inspiring youth to continue their education, providing peace of mind, or creating better family and social bonds within the community.

However, over half of participants feel they are not able to provide as much support as they would like to their families, suggesting that CIDA's graduates feel a large sense of responsibility for the people/places they come from. It is possible then that not all graduates are able to support all of their family's needs and some continue to experience struggle. Yet, family ploughback is at least a first step in moving families out of poverty.

Moreover, CIDA's estimates of the monetary contributions its graduates' are making to their families/communities are perhaps ambitious. At CIDA's calculation, R36,765,000 per annum (based on a BBA graduate employment rate of 76%; n= 387; at R95,000 each) is going directly into the hands of graduates' families (CIDA Database 9, 2007). Based instead upon the income levels of the employed participants in this survey, we might revise this number considerably, since two thirds of participants are earning income at levels below this estimate. Importantly though, the data suggests that the effect of CIDA graduates is perhaps better measured in terms of what economists refer to as externalities or 'spin-off' effects. Such benefits would be better measured in terms of the leadership, inspiration and motivation graduates offer to young people to further their education, as well as through the sustained leadership and care/assistance offered to families and home communities. This may also have more impact in the long term than any monetary transfer.

#### 4.6 Community Ploughback: Can a Child raise a Village?

“We know that you will take with you into the world beyond CIDA all that we have tried to inculcate in you. Yes, you have gained knowledge in business, finance, marketing, human resources, information technology and other disciplines. But you have become, we hope, much more than the total of the information you store in your mind... What you have gained – put to good use to serve your own life, your family, your community and our beloved country.... We look forward to your helping CIDA fulfill its mission, in whatever way you can, in serving the people of this country and in eradicating needless poverty... We give you these words: Be great! Be wonderful! May you make this world brighter through your light”. (CIDA 2006 Graduation programme, p. 13)

As mentioned in Chapter One, one of the identified outcomes of the CIDA degree programme is that graduates have a commitment to ‘giving back’ to their home communities. CIDA assesses students performance in the Extranet ‘community ploughback’ programme, one of the ‘seven pillars’ of CIDA’s curriculum, by evaluating competencies related to the broader community (see Chapter One section 2.4 on the ‘Extranet’) . This includes, for example, a demonstrated ‘commitment to sharing knowledge within the community’, the ability to ‘develop and implement solutions to community needs’ and to be viewed by the community as ‘worthy of confidence and attention’ (CIDA Position Statement, 2006, p. 34-35). As Taddy Blecher explains:

In South Africa we have this concept of Ubuntu. That is, ‘I am who I am because we are who we are’. That we all belong to each other: None of us exist in isolation. [There are] Many, many Students... [who are] proving this concept of Ubuntu. Giving so much more than we could have ever dreamed back into [their] community. (Skoll Video, 2007)

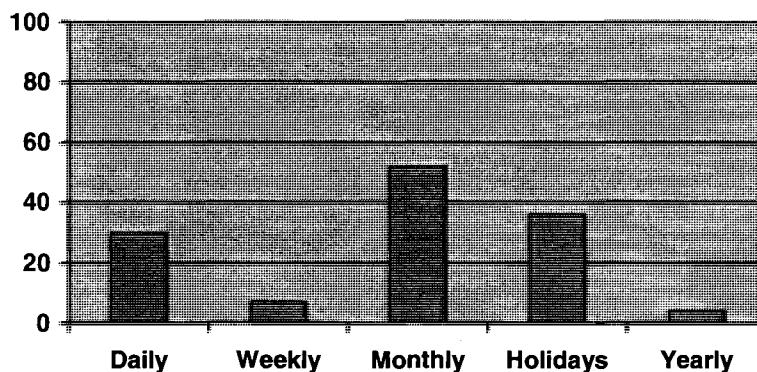
This section will focus on the particular graduate ‘outcomes’ at the community level so as to explore what, if any, commitment graduates have towards uplifting South African communities. To this end, an assessment of graduates’ perceptions of community needs and current relationship with home

communities is included in order to explore some of the more complex aspects of engaging with community. Finally, the question of whether CIDA's graduates are living up to the CIDA-cited phrase, 'It takes a child to raise a village' is raised in the context of work demands and current levels of civic engagement amongst the participant group.

#### 4.6.1 Connection with Home Community

One hundred and eighteen participants (88.7%) feel that they are still part of their home community, while 15 (11.3%) indicate that they do not feel part of their home community (n=133). A set of questions were posed to participants in order to gauge their contact and involvement in their home communities. Thirty participants (22.2%) have daily contact with their home community, while seven participants (5.2%) see their home communities on a weekly basis (CQ3; see Graph 2). On the lower end of the scale, 38.5% (n=52) have monthly contact with their home community. Four people (3%) have only yearly contact with their home community, and over a quarter of participants, (27.6%, n=36) only visit their home communities at holiday times. Several indicated other time periods for their contact with home. For example, one participant writes: 'at every opportunity I get'. Several write that their contact includes daily phone calls home and visits every few months.

**Graph 2: Graduates' rate of contact with home community**



n=135

To assess the impact of a graduate degree on participants' relationship with their communities, they were also asked 'How do you feel people in your community have responded to you since you've studied at CIDA?' (CQ4). For the most part participants feel that their community is proud of them (71.1%; n=96), has 'high expectations' of them (70.4%; n=95) and sees them as a leader (40.7%; n=55). However, 43% (n=58) of participants also indicate that 'some are jealous', 18.5% (n=25) believe 'people don't talk to me because they think I'm different', while 31.9% (n=43) feel that 'people look to me for money'. So, whilst the achievement has had a positive impact on connection with community for many, their new status as a 'university graduate' has also negatively impacted relationships for some. In the case of strained relationships in the community, some point to the expectations that can go along with their being a university graduate, presenting a complexity in relationships. However, it may be that approval and admiration from community members simultaneously results in more strain for the graduate than strain for the relationship itself. As one participant writes: "it makes life difficult because people sees you as an [extraordinary] somebody..." Several participants write that they feel estranged from their old friends. For example, "My old friend they've changed in different way". Another writes, "I have only 2 friends left out of 11".

These differences and change in status are seen in a more positive light by other participants. Some, for example, highlight their influential role within the community: "They come to me for [advice and] other parents bring their kids to me to talk to them if they misbehave". Similarly, another writes, "[I'm] seen as a good example for others to strive for a better life". Overall the general message from this group of graduates is that their role has changed within the community to become one of influence and advice-giving. As a university graduate, they represent someone to be respected and at times admired by members of their home communities.

While graduates feel they are a source of advice or knowledge for their community, it appears that this relationship is not necessarily reciprocal. The majority (64.7%, n=86) indicate that their community does not have the 'resources and wisdom' to support them along their 'journey of self-growth', leaving just over a third of participants, 35.3% (n=133), who feel their community does

sustain them on this journey. While survey answers provide some initial insight into understanding graduate perceptions of their home communities, it is likely that graduate relationships and experiences are far more complex than can be understood here. It appears as though there are two sets of participant experiences: one group of graduates is connected to their community and sees their degree having good outcomes, and the other for whom their degree has somewhat strained their relationship with their community. Future studies incorporating qualitative methods of inquiry would be well positioned to better explore this further.

#### 4.6.2 Graduate Involvement in their Home Communities

Building on participant connection to community, the survey asked what participants felt the needs of their home communities are (*CQ5*), and established graduate responses to these needs (questions *CQ6*, *CQ6.1-6.3*, *CQ7*). Overwhelmingly, participants feel that more resources and opportunities need to be directed towards youth in their home communities through such things as improved recreational facilities and nurturing spaces, where youth can discover their own self-worth and dignity. This can also be sought through leaders who inspire them to make positive life choices for themselves as well as teach them the importance of continuing with their education. For example, one participant writes, “Especially for the youth, they need to be inspired and motivated. [Because] most [of them] feel they have 'no out'. They can't go to tertiary. They need role models to show them to be someone and be a leader. Not only what is on tv” (2006, female, 23 yrs). Another writes, “They need training in life skills. They need to be motivated on how to behave well because lot of people more especially at my age drinking alcohol, they are getting pregnant they need someone who can tell them about how to value life so that life can value you” (2006, female, 22 yrs). Other avenues for youth to experience holistic development, suggest many participants, should be created through computer training centers, libraries, recreational activities and sports programmes.

A secondary theme that emerges is the need for increased access to tertiary education, skills training initiatives and employment opportunities. It is not only an issue of access to skills

development, but skills development or education that functions in tandem with market needs so as to guide young people into careers which match employment opportunities. One participant writes, “Education as well as jobs, because we live in the poorest town. So education in the form of skills will play a major role” (2005, male, 30 yrs). Many participants also refer to the need for community development through improved infrastructure including better housing, tar roads, and medical centres, among other things. As one participant iterates, “The list is endless, roads still needs to be built, clinics, running water, schools, shopping centers etc” (2005, female, 25 yrs). In all, participants show obvious awareness of the pressing development needs of their home communities. Highest on the list for many participants is the need for additional support for youth to grow and lead healthy lives, an assessment which links with the finding that the majority of participants have motivated youth to start or continue their education.

#### 4.6.3 Motivating others to start or continue their education

Education is acknowledged to produce “interpersonal effects where people are able to use the benefits of education to help others and hence contribute to the social good and democratic freedoms” (Walker, 2006, p. 168). For example, “it has redistributive effects between social groups, households and within families where better education is shown to reduce gender inequality” (Ibid). While research such as that of Walker has looked at the interpersonal effects of basic education, this study chose to look at whether CIDA *graduates*, from disadvantaged socioeconomic backgrounds, influence their environment by motivating others, especially family members, to pursue their education.

In answer to whether or not they motivated any family members or friends to start or continue their education, all 135 participants answered ‘Yes’. Broken down by level of education, 14.8% (n=20) of participants motivated achievement of primary school education, 58.5% (n=79) motivated secondary school education, and over two thirds, 67.4% (n=91) of participants, motivated a family member or friend to start or continue with tertiary-level education. This is a significant

finding, and connects with the strong commitment by participants to motivating and mentoring youth, a theme which recurs as the primary type of community involvement for participants.

#### 4.6.4 Graduate involvement in community-based activities

As recent graduates then, how many show commitment to addressing some of the development concerns in their home communities? Forty-five percent (n=61) of all graduate participants confirm that they are involved in community-based activities (CBA's) in their home communities (CQ6). Neither age nor gender appear to be a factor in graduate involvement. A Pearson chi-square test, corrected for continuity, shows there is no significant correlation between employment status and community involvement ( $\chi^2=1.299$ ,  $p>.05$ ,  $n=134$ ), suggesting that neither employment nor gender socialization is a prerequisite for responding to community needs. Fifty-seven of these 61 participants are employed, 3 are unemployed, and the employment status of one is unknown. Out of this group of 61 participants (25 female, 36 male), 30 participants are involved in local schools or training programmes (49.2%), 25 with charitable or non-profit organizations (41%), and interestingly, thirteen with local business activities (21.3%), 10 of whom are male participants. Less than 4 participants (6.6%) are involved in government/civic structures (4 men), health care (6.6%; 2 men, 2 women) or unions (3.3%; 2 men).

**Table 12: Participant Involvement in community-based activities**

Type of involvement	n	%
Local schools or training programmes	30	49.2%
Charitable or non-profit organizations	25	41%
Other	17	27.9%
Local business	13	21.3%
Government/civic structures	4	6.6%
Health care	4	6.6%
Unions	2	3.3%
n=61		

Seventeen participants indicate they are involved in ‘other’ types of activities (CQ6g), including their local church, sports-related activities such as soccer development, or the CIDA-originated organization ‘Street Family’<sup>75</sup>. Four are currently pursuing or intend to pursue a business initiative in their community. In addition, two participants are involved in a social initiative within the companies that they work for. One indicates that he works ‘With Edcon to schools’<sup>76</sup> (2006 male grad, 27 yrs), and the other that “I’m currently working [with a] mining company for the VCT program”<sup>77</sup> (2004 male grad, 24 yrs).

Several participants (36.1%, n=22) further indicate that they have a motivational role in their CBA’s (CQ6.2), while twenty percent (n=12) have a coordinator role and 14.8% (n=9) say they are a leader in their CBA. Six participants indicate they are a lecturer or teacher, five a social entrepreneur, and four a financial advisor (see Table 13). It is important to consider CIDA’s positioning in relation to these findings. Overall, we should consider these findings as representing an ‘indirect’ impact of CIDA’s influence, while at the same time appreciate and value these reports of community engagement. Graduate narratives (see Section 5.4 below) on the obstacles to community commitments, illustrates, once again, that participants have given well thought-out responses which demonstrate their reflection and consideration of the issue of community ploughback.

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<sup>75</sup> ‘Street Family’ is a CIDA student founded organization which supports youth living on the streets in Johannesburg.

<sup>76</sup> Edcon is a clothing, footwear and textiles (CFT) retailing group in southern Africa.

<sup>77</sup> ‘VCT’ indicates the voluntary counseling and testing programmes which exist within mining companies to help assist with HIV/AIDS.

**Table 13: Perceived role in Community-based activities**

Role	n	%
Motivator	22	36.1%
Coordinator	12	19.7%
Leader	9	14.8%
Lecturer/Teacher	6	9.8%
Social entrepreneur	5	8.2%
Financial advisor	4	6.6%
Other	3	4.9%

n=61.

This data illustrates much higher levels of community involvement than previously anticipated. An initial hypothesis of this study was that graduates would be at a stage in which they were establishing themselves in their careers and feel unable to commit to community activities.

These 61 participants were also asked ‘What support or other improvements do you feel would make your community work or involvement even more successful?’ (CQ6.3). This question was intended to explore the experiences of graduates through the course of their involvement with CBAs. It was also formulated to see if there were any ways in which CIDA Extranet training could be improved or altered to better relate with this post-graduation community work, as well as if CIDA might support the projects or initiatives its graduates were involved in.

Forty-five people agreed that additional skills training was needed for people in their community to be better able to participate in their community-based work, the biggest factor identified by participants, although it may be that they interpreted this literally as the need for ‘skills development’ in their community. It may also mean that before anything can be done, participants feel they need to train a core group of individuals to get programmes going. Indeed, in another section of the survey for participants not engaged in any CBA’s, one participant writes: “[Resources] and being far away from my home community I cannot arrange for any development, since there is no one based in the community sharing [the] same idea or mindset as me it is not easy to make my dreams about community possible” (2005, male, 26 yrs; in answer to CQ6.4). Lacking a skilled group

of people to work with may prolong their ability to start initiatives in the community or restrict the scope or effectiveness of the project.

Thirty-four participants also indicated that they needed funding/financial assistance for the project, while 33 agreed that improved communications infrastructure would make their work more successful (see Table 14 below). ‘Other’ answers provided by participants relate to issues of available personal time: “There is [not] enough time since I am [also] working”. Another writes: “getting more time to be at home”. In addition, one writes that bureaucracy is problematic: “Fighting to find out about problems of infrastructure in the community”; two participants also point to the intersection of poverty, employment and crime, mentioning the issue of people resorting to crime in their community and the challenge of creating more job opportunities.

**Table 14: Support/Improvements needed to increased success of CBA**

Element needed to Improve CBA	n	%
Additional skills for people in my community	45	75%
Funding for the project	34	56.7%
Improved communications infrastructure	33	55%
Owning my own transport	27	45%
Local governmental support	27	45%
More support from community members	25	41.7%
Additional skills for myself	21	35%
Finding a model to initiate economic activities	5	8.3%
Other	6	9.8%

n=61

Beyond previous expectations, the data shows that 61 participants are currently involved in CBAs, most of which are in a motivational, coordinating or leadership capacity, with an average commitment of five hours a week or four days a month. Meanwhile, these participants feel that the most important support which would increase the success of their activities is more skills for people in the community, followed by project funding and improved communications infrastructure. The descriptions of these current community initiatives will be explored in the final section alongside

participant's future plans in order to view them within the context of graduate civic engagement as a whole (see section 5.6).

#### 4.6.5 Obstacles for civic engagement

Just over half of participants are not involved in any CBA's (n=74; 55%). In order to better understand the factors which constrain graduates from engaging with community development issues, these participants were asked 'what do you feel are your personal obstacles or the environmental factors which stop you from going forward with any of your plans or ideas?' (open-ended question; *QQ6.4*). Of those who answered this question (n=69) main obstacles include a lack of time or being located too far from home (n=47, 68%), inadequate finances (n=7, 10%) and a lack of support from community or local political factors (n=5, 7%; see Table 15).

**Table 15: Constraints and challenges in engaging in CBA's**

Constraint or challenge	n	%
Time Issues (e.g. Job demands, or home community far away)	47	68%
Financial Issues e.g. Insufficient income or insufficient resources available	7	10%
Non-support from community or local political factors	5	7%
Personal-development focus	3	4%
Having ideas, lacking 'know how'	2	2.8%
Needing ideas	1	1%
'Nothing'	1	1%
Identifies local problems/ not answering the question	3	1%
n=69		

Sixty-eight percent of participants in the group of participants not engaged in CBA's concur that the largest obstacle to engaging in any CBA is that of time, supporting the original hypothesis. With job demands, pressures in their work places and living a distance from home communities, the time is simply not available to engage with their ideas.

Of the 47 participants who mention time as the greatest factor, a large portion mentions that they do not work near their home community: “I do want to be involved in many ways but the problem is I am always in Johannesburg and go to North West once in a quarter. My whole life is in JHB, some of my family [and] my job. I work eight hours a day and I only have time on Weekends for some personal upliftment and self studies” (missing year, female, 27 yrs). Another writes again of work commitments: “currently [I’ve] just been newly employed [I’m] far from home and can’t be involved at the moment” (2006, female, 23 yrs). Another participant points to the ‘awkward’ schedule of their work: “It’s the demand of my current job I’m working awkward hours in order to earn more” (2006, male, 28 yrs). However, one participant mentions that she is attempting to find work nearer to their home community in order that she can initiate community ploughback: “I go home only on holidays I don’t have enough time to do all these things, I [am] currently focusing on getting a job next to my [place] so I can start giving back to them” (2006, female, 27 yrs). This participant clearly demonstrates a huge commitment to social responsibility since she is making employment decisions based on the desire to give back to her home community.

Several participants also mention that they are focused on achievement within their current jobs. One 2006 participants writes “[Definitely] the demands of my current job, because [I] also have not yet reached the sky” (male, 22 yrs). This comment points to the idea that, at least in the short term, they may be a need to focus on personal career goals, or learn more of a given field before going on to ‘ploughback’. Similarly, another writes of the primacy of their own growth: “Too much work currently and I still need to focus on my future growth” (2005, male, 26 yrs). While the need for career-focus may be true in the short term, especially given the recent graduation years of the participant group, this does not necessarily hold true for the long term.

In addition, seven participants mentioned that their challenge lay in financial or resource constraints, both personal and within the community. One participant writes: “IF we can get the finances we can get off the ground...”. Another writes: “insufficient resources e.g. money, transport, technology”. Finally, one participant similarly mentions issues of location and insufficient income to

implement the ideas they have: “I am working far away from my community and the money that I am earning cannot help me to implement my ideas” (2005, male, 27 yrs).

Five participants mentioned either local political factors or lack of support from the community which barred them from engaging in any CBA's. For example, one participant writes: “I tried before but some of the community members are not supportive and think that I am trying to be better, so they end up hating me and stealing from me”. Another writes: “[Bureaucracy] from political leaders”. In a similar vein, one person cites favoritism within local organisations: “Main obstacles is that of [nepotism] in the organisations and lack of experience and [maybe] some skills”. These comments relate back to the group of participants who experience strained relationships within their home communities, as seen in jealousy towards their new status, being stolen from or being looked to for money. When it comes to graduates being able to take on a leadership role, these comments imply, there are significant challenges perhaps due to favouritism within local organizations or a lack of support from some community members.

Overwhelmingly, and quite understandably, time related constraints due to work demands and work location are the most prohibitive factor for graduates to engage in CBAs. In addition, participants' desire to achieve one's own personal and professional goals, first and foremost, expresses a realistic path from graduation to professional development and achievement. Financial issues are a main constraint for a smaller number of participants, while community politics and a lack of community support may prohibit community engagement for some participants.

#### 4.6.6 Plans and Skills for civic engagement

While only 45% of graduates are currently participating in community-based activities, 95.4% (n=124) of 130 participants in this study have future plans or ideas on how they can use their abilities in South African communities. This is supported by the 105 (81.4% of the 129 who answered) participants who strongly believe they have the skills or talents to respond to the needs of their home community (CQ7). Business skills may also be helpful in this regard, with 82% (n=106) of 131

participants indicating it was either 'quite' or 'very' possible' to apply their business skills in projects intent on improving living conditions for communities in South Africa.

**Table 16: "Do you feel you have the skills or talents to respond to the needs of your community?"**

	n	%
Not at all	1	.8%
A little	6	4.7%
Somewhat	17	13.2%
Quite a lot	42	32.6%
A lot	63	48.8%
n=129		

Of the six participants who answered 'No' to having any future plans for civic engagement<sup>78</sup>, all were women and five were employed<sup>79</sup>. One participant explains "... no one is paying attention since youth is mostly out [of] control. They are being controlled by [drugs] e.g. alcohol, daggas" (2005, female, 30 yrs). Of the participants with future plans (n=124), 24.2% (n=30) identify that they are currently pursuing their ideas or plans, while 14.5% (n=18) intend to initiate their plans within a year (CQ8.1), 22.6% (n=28) plan to initiate their plan in 1-2 years time, and exactly half (n=62) plan to initiate their plans or ideas 'in a few years time, when I feel more established'.

With 95.4% of participants with future plans or ideas for civic engagement in South African communities, and four-fifths of participants who strongly believe they have the skills or talents to respond to their communities needs; CIDA's graduates overwhelmingly show themselves to be committed to 'community ploughback'. That is, even with half of participants citing they are currently too busy, far away or focused on their professional development to engage with CBAs,

<sup>78</sup> Two of these 6 participants previously responded that they were currently involved in CBAs in their home communities; one in local schools or training and the other in local business. Both responded they have a motivational role in these activities and contribute 5 days a year.

<sup>79</sup> Three participants were each in the three lowest income brackets, and the other three chose not to state their income.

these business studies graduates are all still formulating ideas or plans for how they can give back to their community. Paraphrasing one participant, it may be just a matter of ‘reaching the sky’ first.

#### 4.6.7 Description of graduates’ current or future plans for CBA’s

Seventy six participants (49 men, 27 women) chose to share their current or future plans regarding CBA’s (CQ8.2), revealing the broad range of current projects, ideas and plans for future initiatives (see Table 17).

**Table 17: Participant Descriptions of Community Based Activities**

<i>Type of CBA (current or future)</i>	<i>n</i>	<i>%</i>
1. Mentoring youth and supporting local schools	29	38.1%
2. HIV/AIDS care or education	10	13.1%
3. Work with local government or community societies	9	11.8%
4. Entrepreneurial development (e.g. Employment creation/Starting own business/Teaching business start-up/Financial and technological literacy)	11	14.5%
5. Sports and cultural activities	7	9.2%
6. CIDA ploughback – e.g. Extranet/Street Family/Mentor CIDA students	5	6.5%
7. Other/general comments	5	6.5%
n=76		

##### *a. Mentoring Youth and Supporting Local Schools*

Many participants state that their community lacks safe activities, motivation and essential educational and other supports for youth that will help them through life. Several also mention drug and alcohol abuse problems amongst youth and how these are related to the lack of resources. For example: “My community [doesn’t] have activities that may help motivate people. [Employment] rate is higher than unemployment rate, but youth spend their monies [recklessly] on alcohol” (2006, male, 24 yrs). Overall, 29 participants identify youth-related issues as central to their current or future CBA. For example, one graduate describes their current CBA as, “Organising time with youth to discuss things that affect them [or] how to solve them [with] education, drugs & alcohol, dramas,

pregnancy, etc.” (2005, female, 25 yrs). Several participants posit that motivating young people is an extremely valuable contribution to make in their communities. For example, one writes that their future plans are to “motivate [learners] to never give up on life and to continue [with their] studies” (2006, female, 23 yrs). One female graduate explains that her efforts will engage with ‘social transformation’, “particularly [with] girls (they think men are gods)” (2006, male, 24 yrs), while another plans to teach youth life-skills, such as “How to sustain when you are away from home studying” (2005, male, 26 yrs).

There also appears to be a movement towards helping matriculants with career guidance. A 2004 graduate writes that he plans to “[Develop] a support group for scholars... who are currently in Matric to have self [belief] in themselves to enable them to [face] life after the have passed or failed Grade 12 and have no [financial] support from their families”. Another writes: “I want to help commerce matriculants to realise the myriad of opportunities that exist in the Financial Services Sector” (2006, male, 22 yrs). Some graduates are currently involved in youth-related projects around South Africa, though not necessarily in their home communities. For example, “I’m in a project where we go out to secondary schools and motivate learners and also to help them with information like bursaries and [scholarships], and career [guidance]. We also organise things like sport tournament[s] where we give some monetary awards and some equipment that will [help] the participating clubs [with] their activities” (2004, male, 26 yrs). Another participant writes: “I am an Administrator and Tutor in Biology at one of the project in Wits University for students in townships to provide extra lessons” (2006, male, 22 yrs). At the primary school level, one participant says that “What we [are] doing now is that we go to primary schools and encourage learners about Good education, give them an HIV education, motivate them to participate in community [activities] such as dancing, singing...” (2006, female, 23 yrs). Future plans by other graduates include for example opening a computer lab with 20 computers, and helping matriculants become familiar with internet and computer technology so as to better access information and give them confidence in their career:

by introducing them to internet, email and also [making them] familiar with the current trend of [technology]. This will [enable] matriculants to have a [competitive] edge when they go do varsity because they will already know how to do a research and also know an additional source of information (internet) and also to give them more [confidence] for them to do well at their different career. (2006, male, 24 yrs)

Another simply writes: “helping the youth to grow [their] skills in terms of learning and providing computer and information technology, also management and leadership skills” (2006, male, 26 yrs).

Another again focuses on computer training and career guidance for youth in their home community:

Apparently there is no development that is happening as far as developing youth is concern.

My future plan is to start a Career Centre with a big [Library] and computer centre combined. I will organize classes, career guidance, and computer training to all the youth and community.

In addition I will [organize] tours for them to see what is happening on the outside world [because] I never got any [opportunity] to see the corporate environment before [coming] to CIDA. (2005, male, 26 yrs)

Five additional graduates plan to offer future support to local schools by providing educational resources and equipment. Two plan to establish a library for their communities. One writes she will embark on her project in 1-2 years’ time: “Education is very important and I’m thinking of a mobile library for my own village and other villages around my place”.

Churches are also used as a conduit to reach youth and children. Two participants identify current youth projects that are housed within church activities. One writes “I believe that charity begins at home so I am currently busy in our church with the children, organising fun days and teaching them about abuse i.e. sexual, physical, verbal and [alcohol]. This then branches out to other churches in the communities”. The other writes: “I lead 45 members of my church within youth programmes, my future plans is business establishment within rural areas like INkandla within a year from now”.

The recurring theme from this group of participants is that they are, or have plans to become, involved in motivating youth, teaching life skills, giving training in computers and technology, or reminding youth of the importance of education and their potential. This overwhelming interest and engagement with youth-related issues by CIDA graduates, suggests, that through CIDA they themselves have been exposed to an alternative version of life and have experienced similar activities which have proved meaningful to them. For example, graduates may want to expose youth to their potential because they themselves have integrated the knowledge of their own potential. Similarly, they as CIDA graduates have learned life skills, that an 'outside world' exists for them to discover, they have been motivated and nurtured to believe in themselves; and as a result, they wish to give this same experience to youth their own communities. As graduates are aware of what it is like to be a youth from their home communities, they know intimately the importance of positive encouragement, support and training opportunities which will help them become successful in life.

b. *HIV/AIDS Care or Education*

Ten participants are either involved in, or plan to be involved in, some initiative with a focus on HIV/AIDS. Graduates are involved in a range of activities around HIV/AIDS care, counselling, education or awareness campaigns which indicate a commitment to helping lessen the devastating effects of the pandemic in South Africa.

Future plans by graduates include for example "Building a shelter for Aids orphans and disabled", "HIV training and counseling", "teaching youth members about AIDS Awareness", and "educating people about living a good life, staying away from unprotected sex as we lost number of [people] in my [community] due to less knowledge about sex behaviour". Another writes that he plans to engage youth in future outreach activities: "To gather a group of teenagers, to go and see people who are already affected by HIV/AIDS" (2006, male, 22 yrs).

Current commitments by five participants include, as previously mentioned, the VCT programme with a gold mining company in "...Free state, Northwest, mpumalanga and Gauteng... this program is target to 45000 workforce we have reached 10 000 already of which 85% of [these] people now know their status and they can make more informed decision with their lives" (2004, male, 24 yrs). Others write:

There is a very small group that tries to teach about AIDS/HIV and help them with up to date information and we [are planning] to open a community radio station which will [help us] be able to address issues directly involved in the community. (2006, male, 26 yrs)

At the moment I'm having a project called Children of hope focusing on children who are HIV positive and negative in the Philadelphia hospital. (2006, male, 27 yrs)

A 2005 graduate writes of informal counseling and support for the bereaved in their home community: "If I visited home. I [used] to visit people who have lost their loved ones just to give them courage and motivation not to [lose hope]. Give them some food or [anything] I have to just show support." Finally, one participant demonstrates a very large commitment to supporting people in their community: "I am [responsible] for the [counseling] and support of all the affected and infected HIV/AIDS families and individuals" (2006, female, 30 yrs). Whether this is a full-time occupation or if this is done on a part-time basis is not clear.

*c. Work with local government or societies*

Nine participants identify a variety of ways in which they plan to support their local community's development. In a general manner, one participant desires "To make my community visible to other nations. Bringing more development and good life" (2004, male, 23 yrs). One writes that he plans to take on a leadership role, "Arrange[ing] meetings for my [community] society, attend every community gathering which is [attended] by all" (2006, male, 24 yrs).

Another writes that she plans to ensure skills training initiatives in their community are brought by

government: “My future plan for my community is to get government and do a project that will upskill people and make them to be marketable in workplace” (2006, female, 22 yrs).

Three participants mention the importance of working to build local infrastructure. For example, one writes: “future plans will be to talk to the local municipality for water and tar roads and we'll continue from there” (2005, female, 25 yrs). Another writes that in 1-2 years’ time he wants to participate in local government: “I want to join the Municipality in my Town so that i must see that all the basic needs are [addressed]...” (2005, male, 29 yrs).

Three participants are actively engaged in local community initiatives. One writes, “I am a reserve police officer to help reduce crime in my area. I also assist in a clinic during Saturdays and Sunday afternoon” (2006, female, 24 yrs). One final participant is also advocating on behalf of their community with local mining companies operating in the area: “I am trying to help my community [around] the issue of mines mining in their own area without [developing] peoples [around]. My strategic [plan] is to force the mines to develop peoples because they are taking their wealth without [doing] anything” (2004, male, 26 yrs).

In support of community development, participants describe a variety of plans and current activities ranging from a commitment to advocating on behalf of their community to bringing the community together around common goals, to taking on local government or a company to ensure basic training and infrastructural needs are met. These activities certainly support CIDA’s intended goal to prepare students to become leaders in their home communities.

#### d. *Entrepreneurial development*

Seven participants express an interest in starting up their own business and/or teaching small business start-up to youth. As one participant explains, “my community still [lacks] more knowledge [because] there are more of people who open the same kind of the business” (2005, male, 30 yrs), identifying the lack of creative initiative in businesses in her community. Several simply state their future plans as ‘starting businesses and helping the youth’, ‘opening job opportunities for my people’,

‘which will in turn contribute [to] economic growth’. Three participants demonstrate more well-developed plans and ideas for the start up of their business. One graduate, for example, is currently involved in her home community and shortly plans to: “open my own dance studio and the proceeds that i get from that I’ll be using for street family and other institutions. Proceeds will also be going to the AIDS orphanage in my area” (2006, female, 24 yrs). A 2004 graduate writes that his “future [plan] is to own a transport business, while continuing to do my job at the company i am working for” (26 yrs). Another 2004 graduate will partner with a company to teach small-business start-up to people in the community: “I’m planning to help them in teaching them how to start their businesses. I’ve already got the company that will help me in achieving this goal” (2004, male, 24 yrs).

Participant initiatives around community-based business development suggest graduate’s adoption of CIDA’s goal to teach ‘social and economic transformation’ through not only preparation for work but, in this case, building businesses for the greater economic prosperity of their home communities.

#### *e. Sports and Cultural Activities*

Four participants identify their motivation to become involved in sports-related projects and underscore the importance of sports activities for local youth. One participant writes that his future CBA will be “Sport-orientated but because of little or not at all support they tend to other stuff (pregnancy rates have [risen] lately): shortage of career advise, tertiary educational (slow)” (2005, male, 24 yrs). Another writes, “Where I’m from there is no community centres where young people can meet and do different activities as well as being exposed to different sport activities rather than soccer” (2006, male, 28 yrs). One participant appears to already support local sports, by “Giving financial support to various sporting codes and sponsoring tournaments that are run every year end and during Easter holidays” (2006, male, 26 yrs). A further participant plans on “Building a gymnasium for youth” (2005, female, 25 yrs).

Three participants highlight cultural activities such as drama or traditional dance as central to their CBA. One participant indicates she is currently involved with “stage drama”, while another writes “we are involved in drama, sports and choirs. Planning to form a group of HIV/AIDS awareness”. A third participant writes that he will teach “Indlamu (traditional dancing)” in a few years’ time, when he feels more established. As one of CIDA’s 7 pillars, CIDA supports student participation in ‘Love of Life’ activities including sports, music, drama etc. as these are believed to be opportunities for students to learn how to be responsible, work effectively with others as a member of a team, become motivated and resilient, etc. (CIDA Position Statement, 2006, p. 35).

f. *CIDA Ploughback*

Five participants identify CIDA-based projects or mentoring of CIDA students as their way of giving back to their community. For example, one participant writes, “my future plan is to mentor another student or two at CIDA when [I’m] financially comfortable” (2006, female, 26 yrs). An additional participant would like to perhaps become a part-time lecturer at CIDA in the future. Two participants continue to work on CIDA-based projects that they began as students. A 2005 participant is still involved in the “Street family community upliftment project, we teach young stars to take care of themselves and to reach for their dreams” (female, 24 yrs). Another writes that he continues with his extranet work and has plans for improvements, such as “adding some other courses like computer and Business skills for the entrepreneurs” (2006, male, 24 yrs).

Reportedly, outreach activities begun at CIDA continue to inspire a few to be committed to particular projects which they participated in as students while several wish to give back to CIDA’s students by becoming mentors.

Participant descriptions of their CBAs show a range of growth from defining a problem within their community, having a desire to take action, planning an activity, to actually being engaged in an initiative and finally, looking towards further developing or growing their initiative. While we cannot generalize to the overall participant group, the data suggests that almost half of participants

(n=61) are involved in current initiatives, and at least another 43 participants have plans for a particular activity within the next few years. The general picture which emerges is one which clearly demonstrates graduates who feel a great deal of social responsibility and long-term commitment towards finding solutions for the transformation of communities in South Africa.

#### 4.6.8 Summary on Community Ploughback

The majority of participants feel they are still part of their home community, and many participants see themselves as role models and source of advice for people within the community. While some participants report positive experiences, close ties and connection to community, others feel some tension in their relationship with community since becoming a graduate. Returning to their home community as a 'celebrity graduate', some experience strained relationships with community members and feel people look to them for money or are jealous. Also, in spite of a strong connection to community, two thirds of participants do not feel their community has the resources to support their personal growth in the same way.

An overriding theme in the responses of participants is the urgent need for increased support and resources available to youth in communities to help them lead healthy, successful lives. This is seen, for example, in the way all participants have motivated family members and friends to start or continue their education, many motivating secondary school students. This is also confirmed by the large number of participants with current or future plans to engage in motivating and inspiring youth to pursue their education, or plans to teach life skills or give training in computers. It may be that as recent graduates, participants are sympathetic to the experiences of young people without many opportunities available to them and they understand the empowering aspects of positive motivation, education, training and work opportunities, and so forth. This suggests that a tertiary education may result in interpersonal effects by way of graduate's inspiring youth to also see education as a meaningful pursuit with socially advantageous outcomes.

Almost all participants in this study have future plans or ideas for civic engagement in South African communities, and four-fifths of participants strongly believe they have the skills or talents to respond to their communities' needs. Thus, CIDA's graduates are most certainly committed to 'community ploughback'. Despite the fact that half of participants cite they are too busy, far away or focused on their professional development to engage with CBAs, these graduates are all still formulating plans for how they can give back to their community in the future. In addition to working with youth, several hope to commit themselves to the community in areas such as HIV/AIDS, local government and civil society, business start-up courses and employment creation for the community, and sports or cultural activities. The general picture which emerges is one which clearly suggests these are business graduates who feel a great deal of social responsibility and long-term commitment towards finding solutions for the transformation of communities in South Africa.

#### 4.7 Alumni Support of CIDA expansion

For a while now, CIDA has anticipated moving beyond its city-based model in Johannesburg to offer vocational and life-skills programmes in rural and peri-urban communities in South Africa and even in countries such as Lesotho, Angola, Mozambique and Zambia. CIDA has involved itself in research around a social enterprise or self-sustaining model of education encompassing such concepts as 'University in a box' ("the packaging of learning content into easily useable and accessible formats" (CIDA position statement, 2006, p. 147)) and 'University out of the box' (a guide for "an African-style, self-sustaining, environmentally friendly campus to enable low running costs of any new campus on even the most remote sites on the African continent" (Ibid)). With such ambitious goals of creating new 'franchise schools' in some of the home communities of its graduates, it is believed that a supportive alumni base would be helpful.

To this end, section D of the questionnaire asked participants: 'Would you be willing to become involved in CIDA's expansions plans?' (*DQ1*). Of the 128 participants who answered this question, the majority of graduates (n=113, 88.8%) indicated 'yes' they would be willing to become involved in CIDA's expansion plans in some capacity. Of this group, 77 (68.1%) wish to be involved in training, 62 (54%) in providing local knowledge, 38 (33.6%) in teaching, 34 (30.1%) in fundraising, and 17 (15%) identify other expansion activities that interest them such as strategic planning and implementation, mentoring students or working as a lecturer.

While a few participants give the caveat that 'as long as the earlier issues I mentioned are dealt with', most participants wrote comments which support the prospect of CIDA's expansion and underscore its significance to graduates:

"Cida's expansion is a very good move because i feel that there are so many people out there who could do with Cida's help. According to me Cida changes people for the better, from Cida you do not get education only but you come out as a freshly renewed person". (2006, male, 31 yrs)

"I still say thanks to CIDA, thanks for giving me all the [opportunity] to become what i am today, ... Cida is the King of the jungle to my eyes, they are really doing a very good job, i dont even see any negativity towards their work and if i were to rate it i will say 10/10. Thank you". (2006, female, 24 yrs)

These statements support the notion that CIDA's positioning in terms of the student cohort it targets is accurate. It is of a holistic nature which appears to support both the personal growth of the student and the flourishing of a business career so as to emerge as 'a freshly renewed person'. The impact of the institution is of such a nature that graduates are committed to it being made available to more of their peers. This speaks to the success of CIDA in ways other than measures of employment and income and makes its project of expansion of great potential value to South African society.

## 5 Conclusions and Directions for Future Research

### 5.1 Introduction

“There is no way to transformation, transformation is the way”

(Berthoff's interpretation of Paolo Freire, 1987, p. xxvii).

This thesis set out to understand the positioning of CIDA City Campus, with regards to graduates from its BBA degree programme. While originating in the ‘private sector’, CIDA has an articulated social development mission and provides an accredited business degree programme to financially disadvantaged students from across South Africa. As a unique education model, CIDA presents an opportunity to explore the potential increased access to higher education amongst historically disadvantaged youth and potential consequent community development. Stated differently, consideration of CIDA offers the opportunity to better understand the effects of an African tertiary institution which includes a structured component of community service along with its academic curriculum directed specifically at those students who would ordinarily not have access to tertiary education. This study has therefore set out to explore through a survey of CIDA graduates, the extent to which CIDA is fulfilling its mandate towards its students by way of indicators on educational opportunity and outcomes, as well as graduate perceptions of their support and contribution to their families and level of participation in community-based activities in their home communities. Such an understanding would not be complete though without positioning this institution within existing literature regarding the global surge in Private higher education, the increased role of the private sector in development and the emergence of hybrid organizations.

Presented in three sections, the literature review outlined the current moment of organizational hybridity by tracing the blurring of boundaries between public and private sectors, the

increased role of the private sector in development, and the alliances and partnering taking place between combinations of business, government, and NGO's. This lead to a discussion of the emerging literature on another expression of organizational hybridity, 'social entrepreneurship', in which private organizations, led by social entrepreneurs, are believed to be making considerable inroads in addressing issues of poverty through breakthrough innovations and social enterprise. The second section of the literature review gave background on tertiary education and its positioning within the development debate. It addressed the crisis affecting African public tertiary institutions, higher education's contribution to social stratification, and the huge growth in private provision of higher education worldwide. The final section of Chapter Three summarized some of the indicators of human development in South Africa with respect to poverty, inequality and education and outlined the landscape of the tertiary education sector in this country as well as the challenges in achieving educational equity.

Chapter Three outlined the design of the mixed-mode survey of CIDA's 2004, 2005 and 2006 graduates as well as details regarding participant selection and procedures. While some research reviews the role and function of private higher education in South Africa (Kruss, 2004; Mabizela, 2005), issues of educational quality in private higher education has yet to be addressed. This study has thus built on the work of Kruss (2004) which assessed CIDA's admissions policies, and attempted to explore the issue of CIDA's quality and educational outcomes via graduate perceptions and reporting. A survey design was thought to be useful due to the exploratory nature of the research, and for the purpose of generating baseline data which will also generate themes to be explore in future studies with graduates. Specifically 375 graduates were contacted, of which 135 (36%) completed the survey. While most surveys were completed on a web-based version (n=99), 17 participants returned a postal mail survey, 14 completed an e-mail survey, and five participated in a telephone survey. A variety of response options were pursued so as to ensure that as many graduates as possible had the opportunity to participate in the study. The survey was analyzed using descriptive

statistics and conceptual content analysis following the principles of grounded theory so as to let the data 'speak for itself'

Chapter Four organized the data findings in terms of the following: throughput/educational opportunity, exploring the economic, practical, social and emotional aspects which assist educational opportunity; graduate employment outcomes/educational adequacy, focusing on aspects of work-preparedness and skills development; graduate connection to family; and, finally, involvement in community ploughback, assessing the type and level of commitment to current initiatives, as well as plans for future involvement.

This final chapter draws upon the findings of Chapter Four and reflects on the theoretical arguments and development issues presented in Chapter Two. Overall, the main conclusions are that CIDA does, to a large extent, present the opportunity to address issues of equal access, opportunity and adequacy through its degree programme. CIDA's is also a degree in which the benefits – financial and otherwise – of higher education do not go just to those who receive it, but also to help raise families out of poverty. Survey findings underscore the interpersonal and community-level benefits of tertiary education, melding with the institution's aims of encouraging students to give back to their communities. The CIDA model suggests that higher education can indeed be 'pro-poor', and that the private sector can work for public benefit. CIDA appears to have a mixed or hybrid organizational form which corresponds to the objectives or mandate of each the public and private sectors. However, some limitations of the CIDA model are exhibited in graduates' assessment of the internship programme, the employment of business professionals as lecturing staff, and the lack of recognition of the CIDA degree amongst South African tertiary institutions: all important considerations if CIDA is to succeed in gaining recognition as a valid tertiary education institution. The following sections expand on these conclusions.

## 5.2 The CIDA Model: Does it work?

### 5.2.1 Equity in Access

CIDA City Campus represents a step towards achieving greater educational equity at the tertiary level in South Africa. With only a 12% participation rate by African students in tertiary education (Cloete & Moja, 2005), CIDA's model proposes a more radical solution for higher educational policy. Employing Fiske and Ladd's (2004) trifurcated definition of educational equity i.e. 'equal treatment, educational opportunity and educational adequacy', it appears as though CIDA is addressing all three. While equal treatment in access to tertiary institutions has successfully been achieved since the end of apartheid, more interventionist policies have neglected to support equal opportunity for financially disadvantaged students in order to avoid an increasingly elite higher education sector (see Chapter Two, Section 3.2). Within this context, CIDA accepts 'bright and deserving students' from economically disadvantaged backgrounds for its admissions in order to increase the African participation rate in tertiary education. Findings of this study are consistent with Kruss' (2004) assessment that CIDA illustrates 'demand absorption' by responding to a demand for access to HE for those experiencing barriers related to historical disadvantage. Participants grew up in seven of nine provinces, 40.3% from rural enumeration areas, and 96.3% (n=129) identify their ethnicity as Pedi, Zulu, Sotho, Swati, Tswana, Tsonga, Xhosa, Venda, Ndebele, Southern Sotho, Swazi, Shangaan, 1.5% (n=2) Coloured, and .7% (n=1) as Indian. This is similar to Kruss' (2004) data in which students were 97.8% African and 2.2% coloured. Identifying 'disadvantaged learners' for alternative admission to university, as CIDA does, importantly helps to "shape future patterns of social growth and development in the geography of the nation" (Waetjen, 2006, p. 202). Thus, "admissions decisions are a tangible linkage of democracy and development, and fit within emerging understandings of poverty reduction" (Ibid, p. 202-203).

### 5.2.2 Equity in Educational Opportunity

Currently, there lacks equity in the ‘educational opportunity’ to complete a degree or diploma in South Africa. Essentially, while students may have gained access to institutions, they were not successful in completing their studies (Badat, et al, 2005). Half of South Africa’s undergraduate students drop out before completing their degrees or diplomas and only 30% graduate with a qualification within five years of initial enrollment (M&G, 2006, p.6). The root causes of these issues, as outlined in Chapter Two, can be complex and often relate to the impact of HIV/AIDS, English as the medium of instruction, inability to cope with the academic environment, the inferior quality of secondary school education, and a perceived lack of commitment to teach black students on the part of academics. However, the primary cause is the inability to afford the tuition and associated costs with attending college or university, which essentially keeps students from poor families excluded from higher education.

CIDA City Campus is, in effect, implementing what Ntshoe (2003) and students currently protesting at universities in South Africa (M&G, 2007, 2008) are calling for: the abolition of higher education tuition fees as a way to promote equity and achieve social justice. The ‘virtually-free’ CIDA degree, means that all CIDA students are on tuition scholarships subsidized by individuals and companies with a true cost of ZAR30 000 per annum, while students pay ZAR150 per month<sup>80</sup>. The reduced fee makes it affordable for students without the resources of middle-class families to proceed through the degree programme. As previously stated (see Chapter 4) CIDA students are the first in their families to achieve a degree-level qualification. Furthermore, while 68.4% had been accepted at a public institution, only 10.1% could afford to begin their studies and 3.5% left after failing courses (Kruss, 2004). CIDA students also felt ‘we did not choose, we were chosen’ and “expressed appreciation for the final opportunity afforded them to study further, to obtain a formal qualification” (Ibid, p. 92). In this survey, graduates felt that resolving the financial constraints which

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<sup>80</sup> ZAR150 is the equivalent of \$19.83 CAD (1 ZAR = 0.132208 CAD) per month.

barred them from higher education was a 'blessing'; CIDA offered them an opportunity to pursue their studies at a critical time after matriculating.

As Chapter Two outlines, tuition is only one part of the cost of a degree, and it is here that CIDA attempts to curb costs for students. Tuition scholarships, while crucial for the affordability of the BBA degree, are not sufficient for 'economically disadvantaged'<sup>81</sup> students given the accommodation, food and others costs associated with living in Johannesburg. In this study, findings demonstrate the variability in sources of financial support for students, including almost a third of participants working in part-time jobs as well as a remaining reliance on family in spite of financial restraints. Additional CIDA resources to students, including transportation and campus lunch, have been helpful, yet off-campus accommodation needs much improvement. CIDA demonstrates an awareness of the need for more suitable accommodation for its students, such that in the 2008 academic year: "All CIDA students will be staying at CIDA Park<sup>82</sup> and CIDA Park extension this year... The intention is to purchase land at CIDA Park and build dormitories for students in a safer and more conducive environment for studying" (Personal correspondence from Mampho Mohau, January 25, 2008). At the approximate cost of ZAR400 per month (Correspondence from Taddy Blecher, February 24, 2008), the hope is that this accommodation will be both more affordable for students and alleviate other costs such as food and transportation.

The unique 'self-development pillar' of the CIDA degree shows mixed results. Findings demonstrate that CIDA was for some a 'home away from home', and many experienced a convivial campus environment and good quality of campus life. For students from strained family backgrounds with a high-risk of non-completion, a supportive environment away from home may substantially increase their chances of successful graduation (Ungar, et al., 2007). CIDA also appears to be supporting students' self-efficacy as some participants point to their own initiative, hard work

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<sup>81</sup> See note in section 4 of Chapter One which refers to the different ways in which the terminology of 'disadvantage' is employed in the South African context.

<sup>82</sup> CIDA Park is the foundation college located in Lyndhurst, Johannesburg. Acquired in 2004, it was previously a nursing home/seniors residence and has been converted into a residential campus for the foundation year programme. A women's residence has been completed through funding from Oprah Winfrey and a men's residence is in the process of being built through a matching donation by Michael Dell.

and self-motivation as essential to achieving success in their courses and staying focused on completing their degree. The issue of increased student self-efficacy has been identified as a particular challenge confronting South Africa's tertiary institutions (Olivier & Wood, 2004), underscoring the appropriateness of the CIDA model in this regard. CIDA identifies its students as young people who have experienced many life challenges, often resulting in low self-esteem, and so forth. Survey data indicates that almost all participants experienced some form of recovery from past problems or issues negatively affecting their lives while attending CIDA. Several graduates also feel they have developed capabilities with relation to decision-making, problem-solving, the ability to see their own potential and new opportunities. In addition, extra-curricular opportunities for skills development at CIDA, especially those related to community service and part-time work, appear to be valuable experiences for students to develop skills around team-work and develop confidence through delivering training. Extranet activities which were most useful for skills development included working on a team with peers, and delivering training in home communities. Perhaps further related to self-development of CIDA's graduates, is student reliance on faith or religious practice. Interestingly, while almost half of participants found TM to be unhelpful in supporting their emotional resilience, meditation and contemplation do appear to be helpful self-development practices when it comes to discovering one's skills or talents.

While comparisons cannot be made with other South African tertiary institutions, we can conclude that CIDA students are being provided with essential supports and opportunities which enable them proceed through their degree programme successfully. However, future studies with CIDA graduates and students might attempt to use a capability-based approach to evaluating student learning (see Walker, 2008, forthcoming) in order to build on these findings.

### 5.2.3 Equity in Educational Adequacy: Outcomes of a CIDA degree

Turning to the third aspect of educational equity – educational adequacy – this study attempted to explore graduate perceptions of the quality of the BBA degree, as well as adequate job preparation and the attainment of employment following graduation. While South Africa is concerned with the new phenomenon of ‘graduate unemployment’ in which tertiary qualifications do not necessarily mean improved job prospects, the overwhelming majority of participants in this study are employed. This may be due to such factors as the BBA programme encompassing professional fields which match with labour market needs, as well as CIDA’s close partnerships with sponsoring businesses which accept CIDA student interns. Pursuing further studies following graduation is a route often taken by graduates to increase their job market potential, skills, and earnings (Moleke, 2005), and here almost one in three employed participants are continuing their studies.

The majority of unemployed graduates are from the most recent graduating class of 2006 and they feel their main obstacle for gaining employment is a lack of experience. The 9% unemployment result is perhaps comparable to Moleke’s (2005) finding that 9.9% of South African graduates in the field of economic and management sciences (EMS) can take between 7 months and 2 years to find employment. A potential cause for concern is that two thirds of employed participants are not earning what CIDA estimates is a comparable starting salary for a BBA/B.Com graduate: ZAR95k per annum. While these findings cannot be considered conclusive, there are several potential explanations. It appears as though several of those in positions unrelated to their area of specialization tend to earn less than the expected average income for a BBA/B.Com graduate. This is an area where CIDA might also follow up more closely with graduates, by going beyond tracking simple data on whether graduates are employed/unemployed. For example, it might be helpful to discover whether graduates are in employment relevant to their career goals or are if they require/desire additional training/internship experiences to increase their employability (especially in the case of unemployed graduates). Lower income could also possibly be due to ‘invisible underemployment’. As predominantly African graduates of a non-profit tertiary institution, income

outcomes may denote some consistency with how the ‘earnings effect’ of tertiary graduates is “subject to both racial differentiation and differentiation based on the quantity and quality of tertiary education” (Bhorat & McCord, 2003, p. 137). As suggested by participant comments in Chapter 4, CIDA is possibly viewed in the same light as historically-black universities (Moleke 2005).

Alternatively, the R95k estimate requires revision if it is found that students are working in full-time employment related to their skill-set/specialization at CIDA. Importantly, many employed participants feel their knowledge and skills are being put to use in their job and work demands were what they expected. While the majority of employed graduates perceive CIDA as preparing them for the demands of the work world, almost a third felt that work demands were not what they had expected. There is evidently much room here for follow-up studies which would explore the complexities of these and other employment issues.

### 5.3 Improving the CIDA model

Responses of graduate participants in this study provide some insight into the ways in which CIDA might improve its BBA programme and student learning overall. As a relatively new institution of higher education in South Africa, graduate concerns and suggestions deserve attention. These suggestions are also important given that CIDA future goals of expanding into other parts of South Africa and sub-Saharan Africa. Two areas for improvement will be considered here: CIDA’s internship programme and key elements of the CIDA model.

#### 5.3.1 Internships as a pathway to work

In responding to a demand for ‘better’ education, CIDA claims to offer more practical experiential learning opportunities for its students. As Kruss (2004) points out, universities traditionally prepare graduates to be ‘indirectly employable’ by providing a general grounding in a broad discipline which then requires employers to invest in developing the skills and knowledge and

dispositions of their employees. However, there is currently an expectation by South African employers in the private and public sectors that higher education graduates should be directly employable and will “not need further extended periods of occupational specialization or workplace training and initiation” (Ibid, p.90).

CIDA’s internship programme aims to address the need for ‘work-place ready’ graduates and survey participants uniformly agree that internships, especially, are essential opportunities to develop capacities for work and to apply course-learned knowledge. Internships have been valuable experiences for many participants, however, almost a third of participants feel internship placements need to be improved. Many participants would like more of these practical learning experiences, whether through part-time jobs or training sessions, as well as a minimum length of six months for internships. Graduates feel that if they were to be exposed to professional work environments throughout their four years of study, they would be armed with an even greater range of skills, knowledge and qualities – all desirable for South African employers. Thus, CIDA might consider exploring better quality internships by taking a more active role in monitoring student internships, and by better matching placements with the career goals/subject of specialization of the student. Several participants comment that CIDA needs to ensure partner companies are committed to providing ‘real work’ experiences, raising question about the current participation of industry partners. These graduates suggest that companies need to take the placements more seriously and provide interns with more relevant learning tasks. Managers and/or internship co-ordinators might also ensure that they invest their time and knowledge to support the successful work and integration of CIDA interns. Speculating, it may be that some companies feel they have already ‘invested’ in the knowledge and skills of their new CIDA graduate interns or employees by participating as a partner in funding tuition scholarships or contributing in other ways to the institution. They may have higher expectations for their CIDA interns than other new employees and may feel less disposed towards investing in ‘additional’ skills training or other requisite knowledge or soft skills. Perhaps CIDA needs to make clear to companies that take on CIDA interns, that this is likely to be a first workplace

experience for their students. CIDA's role is to best prepare its students for this work, however, students may require additional time, support, and guidance, in skills or knowledge. Overall, internships are important for students as they mark out a pathway from their studies to professional work life.

### 5.3.2 Core Skills

A number of participants express that CIDA is providing every opportunity for students to achieve success in their studies and work lives and CIDA can only improve educational quality by encouraging students to work hard and take responsibility for their learning. To create more self-assured graduates in the workplace, some suggest that CIDA provide English-language communication classes. It is perhaps important to remember however, that graduates of the years 2004-2006 did not have the opportunity to participate in a foundation year at CIDA Park, as this programme, including English courses, was not established until the academic year of 2005. It is now mandatory for all students admitted to CIDA, regardless of their high scores in English and other matriculation subjects, to participate in a one-year foundation programme<sup>83</sup> at CIDA Park before commencing their BBA studies. As mentioned in Chapter Four, the purpose of CIDA's foundation year is to help improve recent matriculants' competency with English writing, reading and presentation skills, mathematics, life skills, and so forth, given the dysfunctional or lacking elements of secondary level schooling in south Africa (see for example Wood, 2004). CIDA might benefit from conducting an evaluation of their foundation year programme to ascertain how effective it is in helping students to develop, for example, self-management skills, critical thinking, time management, English communication skills, and the perceived self-efficacy of the student (see for an example, Wood & Olivier, 2004).

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<sup>83</sup> A Foundation programme refers to "a programme designed to increase student access to higher education, specifically for those students who come from schools in historically disadvantaged environments. Students who do not meet standard admission requirements may enroll in a foundation programme, successful completion of which will guarantee admission to mainstream degree courses" (Olivier & Wood, 2004, p.289).

### 5.3.3 Tensions with key aspects of the CIDA model

Turning to CIDA's educational model, there are several aspects which make CIDA unique in contrast with most other tertiary institutions. However, two key elements of its model are criticized by graduates: namely CIDA's lecturers and recognition of its degree programme.

#### 5.3.3.1 Degree Recognition

Firstly, CIDA offers only one accredited degree-level programme, the BBA, whereas standard universities offer a number of degree programmes in the arts and sciences. Indeed, participants suggest that CIDA should diversify into other subjects and fields of specialization as well as higher levels of degrees including honors, masters, MBA programmes and lower levels including vocational training in tourism, for example. Importantly, graduate feedback points to the potential that improving recognition of the CIDA qualification amongst South African universities and developing relationships with these institutions, CIDA might instead support its graduates to pursue post-graduate, MBA or new degree programmes in more traditional settings.

#### 5.3.3.2 CIDA Lecturers

Secondly, lecturers at CIDA are practitioners or consultants in the business profession, instead of academic professors primarily engaged in teaching or research pursuits. CIDA believes that 'skills and knowledge are best transferred by those who use it daily', and infers that business practitioners make more effective and savvy teachers. Many participants would prefer full-time academic lecturers at CIDA instead of industry or business professionals. While one cannot directly conclude from participant comments that their lectures were of a poor quality, one can at least surmise that CIDA graduates do not agree that business professionals make the best lecturers.

Hiring a full academic staff puts into question the CIDA model, and here graduates wish that lecturing positions were made competitive with other institutions. This raises the question of

whether CIDA can truly rely on altruism<sup>84</sup> as its basis; that is by relying on lecturers who accept below-market salaries because they are primarily employed elsewhere. The desire for better quality lecturers is made more significant by the finding that CIDA's lecturers play little role in a student's discovery of their own skills. There are two sub-issues here: teaching quality and the cost of hiring academic lecturers.

Graduates appear to be mainly critical of 'spoon feeding' teaching methods which do not allow for the independent discovery of knowledge. Returning to the discussion of self-efficacy, it would seem that CIDA would undoubtedly support teaching methods which encourage students' independent learning and critical thinking. As other studies have shown, students desire to "own the knowledge they had acquired, rather than being seen as pale imitators [sic] of the professor" (Walker, forthcoming, p. 8). CIDA ostensibly aims to do this through 'Syndicates' and tutorial groups. However participants express the need to have personal contact with instructors, perhaps through office hours or after class. It may be that graduates feel they were denied the enjoyment of the social relations of learning, due to the limited availability of lecturers following classes and the inability to schedule meetings with them. While this may not be different from any other tertiary institution, this finding does suggest that CIDA, in its mission to be more effective in supporting the educational outcomes of its students, be more attentive to providing greater supervision and opportunities for student communication with lecturers.

When it comes to the funds needed to secure high quality lecturers, a few participants remind us that CIDA receives large donations from its corporate partners and that they should be called upon to fund lecturer salaries. This suggestion is perhaps not feasible, in light of Pretorius' (2005) discovery that CSI funding of higher education in South Africa mainly involves the funding of very

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<sup>84</sup> CIDA states: "...we look for employees for whom this is a calling and their life's work, and remuneration is not and will never be the reason to retain them. CIDA is an NGO and cannot benchmark salaries against government or private fee-paying universities, or the business sector" (CIDA Campus position statement, 2006, p. 155).

specific kinds of projects, including bursaries, community outreach projects, and occasionally infrastructure, research and special chairs with corporate labels. Pretorius (2005) argues,

there has been a shift in [higher education's] relationship with the world of CSI. This shift, according to fundraisers, has created a mismatch between what corporates want to fund in the higher education sector and what universities need ... corporates rarely fund research ....

Furthermore, corporate grantmakers do not like to invest in the running costs of projects, in particular salaries, which are often crucial" (p. 223).

It is perhaps then not likely to expect CIDA donors to fund lecturer salaries. However, as Pretorius notes, one exception to the trend towards short-term CSI funding is found in the example of Investec Bank, a founding partner of CIDA, who engages in longer-term investing in tertiary education. Perhaps if CIDA were to engage with a new partner – for example, the Department of Education or another tertiary institution – they might be able to provide a short course/lecturer orientation for the business professionals who lecture at CIDA. This may help CIDA to ensure a certain quality of lecturing whilst also meeting CIDA's standard for its students. Clearly, CIDA is challenged by the need to be more like other universities with academic lecturers and office hours, particularly given that it is an institution that caters to what are effectively high risk students, and the need to retain low running costs. Evidently, a solution needs to be found which will be both different from the path taken by public institutions and will also respect the particular needs of the students it educates.

#### 5.3.4 Balancing tensions

Hiring a full academic staff and adding additional degree programmes essentially move CIDA away from two of the key elements of its innovative model. Both are expensive undertakings, and, in effect, would shift CIDA away from the low-cost aspects of its model admired and endorsed by corporate donors and others. Thus, there is a tension between acknowledging those aspects of CIDA which are unique to the landscape of higher education, and the desire by graduates for CIDA

to become in appearance and perhaps structure ‘more like other universities’. In educational terms, it appears as though participants would recommend CIDA practice institutional isomorphism (Levy, 2005) and become more similar in structure and process to public sector universities. Simultaneously, however, this would mean preventing exactly these students from attending an institution which is catered to meeting their specific educational needs through additional financial, practical, social and emotional components (highlighted in section 1 above), most of which are perhaps not typical to public universities.

In order to reconcile tensions between the unique aspects of CIDA’s approach and graduates’ appeal to CIDA that it function and/or appear more like a standard public institution, a balanced solution will have to be found which incorporates graduates recommendations and perspectives as well as CIDA’s vision to be a breakthrough solution to the crisis in tertiary education. As one graduate pointed out, CIDA is a young institution, and obviously very entrepreneurial, which bodes well for the exploration of successful solutions to these issues. In this regard, graduates argue that CIDA, as an NGO, is responsible for supporting the participation and input of its stakeholders: students being important stakeholders. Several voice the need for more transparency and inclusion of student government in decision-making processes. Additional participants view improvements at CIDA as a collaborative project to be worked on together and they recognize the efforts by management to improve the quality of CIDA’s education each and every year. Perhaps as evidence of CIDA’s ongoing improvement, 88% of CIDA students in Kruss’ (2004) survey were willing to recommend CIDA as a tertiary institution to others. Similarly, in this survey, 95% said ‘yes’ they would recommend CIDA to others. Therefore, despite the need for these improvements, CIDA City Campus is without doubt seen by its graduates as a worthwhile endeavour that should continue to inspire and draw a great deal of support for its contribution to tertiary educational equity in South Africa.

#### 5.4 Connection to family

“‘Your mother has a heart of gold, my son,’ continued the prophetess. ‘You are very fortunate, indeed, to have such a parent. Remember, when she says, ‘My boy, take this message to that house,’ go. When she says, ‘My boy, pick up a book and read,’ pick up a book and read. In all this she is actually saying to you, learn and serve. Those two things, little man, are the greatest inheritance.’”

(“The Prophetess”, Ndebele, 1983, p. 40)

While it is difficult to determine to what extent CIDA, as an institution, is responsible for encouraging its students to maintain a connection to their families, it is significant that family-level benefits through employment are likely to be improved through attainment of tertiary qualifications. CIDA facilitates access to a degree for a particular cohort of students who would, in all likelihood, never have had the means to achieve a qualification in a public institution in South Africa.

Overall, findings support CIDA’s claim that the families of graduates’, many of whom are from rural locations, directly benefit from a degree in business administration. Indeed, 96% of participants indicate they support their family of origin; 86.2% give advice, 83.8% send money home and 76.9% provide emotional support. In economic terms, it might well be argued that the ‘returns’ of a CIDA degree – that is knowledge, increased capabilities, income streams, and so forth – do not accrue solely to the individual graduate but also to their siblings, family and, often, community. As explained in Chapter two, education offers the potential of bringing about substantial changes in the pattern of wealth ownership in South Africa (UNDP, 2003). It also “remains the most important asset to extract households out of poverty... and the resource shift in this sense is extremely positive” (Kanbur, 2006, p. 8). The economically poor households which CIDA graduates come from appear to be benefiting greatly from the gain in resources which arise through the employment that follows graduation.

Many graduates are sole wage earners in their families, some with a large number of people depending on them, while several are sending their siblings to school. Many graduates feel they are increasing happiness and peace for family members and building hope for the future. Some graduates also believe that they are helping to create social cohesion through building stronger relationships within their families and establishing trust and connections with people in the community. Participants point to the way in which they are motivating young people to pursue knowledge and education within their community.

Furthermore, over half of participants would like to provide even more support to their families, highlighting the extent of the sense of responsibility felt by CIDA graduates towards their families. These findings demonstrate that CIDA graduates did not simply get their business degree and go on to pursue their own upward mobility. They perhaps have not bought into the individualistic mode of capitalism often criticized in South African graduates, and have retained a connection to their families and sense of responsibility to their home communities. Moreover, graduate support to families creates not only material or economic well-being but enables a range of future possibilities for younger family members to also pursue, for example, educational goals or other life aspirations. While the nature of the research design cannot prove that CIDA instilled this sense of responsibility towards family, we can at least surmise that CIDA did not instill a purely neo-liberal, capitalist discourse into students.

Findings on graduate family support and educational equity demonstrate that CIDA City campus is, to a large extent, effective in counteracting the trend towards reproducing advantage through higher education. Indeed, as outlined in the literature review, higher education institutions often serve to reinforce social and economic stratification, especially in Africa where it is seen to benefit children who are predominantly from upper economic classes, living in select urban areas, and whose parents are well educated (Schultz, 2004; Sawyerr, 2004). Thus, several argue that unless appropriate provisions, including tuition reform and remedial support, are provided to students from poorer backgrounds, higher education will continue to reproduce and reinforce social and economic

inequality (Al-Sammarrai & Bennell, 2003; World Bank/UNESCO, 2000). As such, CIDA presents an example of a higher education institution in which the benefits – financial and otherwise – of higher education do not go just to those who receive it, but extend to graduate families.

The discussion of educational equity has shown evidence that CIDA is providing the appropriate support – including financial, practical, social and emotional – to students who are at a financial disadvantage and many of whom are from rural areas, and the first to attain a tertiary-level education. CIDA is thus making a great effort to reverse the generational effects of privilege and educational advantage and economic inequality in a deeply divided country which continues to be one of the most unequal nations in the world. However, this is a small step given the small number of graduates from CIDA and the fact that family benefits would still be considered ‘private returns’ in economic terms (as one’s family is considered within the realm of the ‘private’). It is perhaps at the community level that there is the most potential for CIDA graduates to effect change for the upliftment of their home communities.

### 5.5 CIDA Ploughback

“...If economic productivity were the sole or even the most important measure of success in graduate outcomes – did or would this lead to jobs - then we would miss significant impacts and valuable doings and beings” (Walker, forthcoming, p. 12).

“Uncle comes to sit next to me and we look at the map of South Africa. ‘Show me Bloemfontein... yes .... That is where your grandmother and grandfather are. Your uncles. Your younger mothers. They are all there. That is the centre of your life too. Your mother had to come home before you were born because you were her first born. And that is where I buried your umbilical cord. Right there in the yard. *Wherever you are in the world, you must return to that yard...* This whole land, mshana, I have seen it all... You too must know this land. The whole of it, and find out what you can give it. So

you must make a big map of the country, your own map. Put it on the wall. Each time you hear of a new place, put it on the map. Soon you will have a map full of places. And they will be your places.

And it will be your own country. And then you must ask yourself: *what can I give to all those places?*”

(“Uncle”, Ndebele, 1983, p 66, emphasis added)

CIDA holds great aspirations for its graduates and encourages them upon graduation to not only support themselves and their family, but find ways to give back to their home communities as well. As the 2006 graduation programme stated in a letter directed to its new graduates: “What you have gained – put to good use to serve your own life, your family, your community and our beloved country....” (p. 13). Findings do indeed show that graduates have a commitment to ‘giving back’, not only, as the previous section discussed, to their families, but also to their communities. Forty-five percent of participants report current involvement in CBA’s and over 95% of participants in this study have current commitments or future plans for civic engagement in South African communities. While we should consider these findings as representing an ‘indirect’ impact of CIDA’s influence, we can appreciate graduate reports of community engagement for their reflection on issues of community ploughback.

With four-fifths of participants strongly believing they have the skills or talents to respond to their communities’ needs, CIDA’s graduates are most certainly committed to ‘community ploughback’. This is true despite the fact that half of participants cite they are too busy, far away or focused on their professional development to engage with CBAs. Many of these graduates are formulating plans for how they can give back to their community in the future. So while some show large current commitments of time and presence in their communities, a few point out they are at a stage in which they need to stay focused on establishing themselves more effectively before extending themselves to their communities. The general picture which emerges is one which clearly suggests these are business graduates who feel a great deal of social responsibility and long-term commitment towards finding solutions for the transformation of communities in South Africa. Thus, we might conclude that it is perhaps only a matter of time before the ‘child’ can ‘raise a village’.

Findings regarding graduate support to communities show a strong focus on youth-related motivation and community based activities (CBA's) involving youth and secondary school students. Indeed, every participant has motivated family members and friends to start or continue their education, many motivating secondary school students. A large number have current or future plans to engage in uplifting youth in some way, for example; inspiring them to pursue their education, providing tutoring, teaching life skills or giving training in computers, and so forth. In addition to the focus on working with youth, several hope to commit themselves to community-based activities in areas such as HIV/AIDS, local government and civil society, business start-up, financial or technological literacy, employment creation for the community, and sports or cultural activities. The prevailing theme of participant comments is the urgent need to support youth in disadvantaged communities and to increase the resources available for them to lead healthy, productive lives. Graduates convey the importance of positive encouragement, support and training opportunities for youth which will help them increase their resilience. This perhaps reflects well on their experience at CIDA as it is one major source which has supported them in attainment of their own goals, e.g. personal motivation, 'love life' activities, training opportunities, link to work, etc.

Importantly, there are also complexities within the data, highlighting conflicting attitudes and feelings towards community and continued support. While most participants feel a strong connection with their home community, some simultaneously feel additional tension or a shift in their relationships with community members following graduation. Graduates perhaps experience a double bind with a strong sense of social responsibility alongside the burden of expectation as a tertiary graduate; representative of achievement and success and affluence amongst peers and home community members.

These findings underscore the need to think in broader terms about the social or community-level benefits of tertiary education. While some argue that higher education tends to support individual competitiveness (Sawyerr, 2004), the findings of this study instead support those who argue that higher education can help nurture graduates to become community or public leaders

(UNESCO/WBG, 2000) and lead to more civic society (Bloom et al, 2005). Perhaps Walker (2006) describes these effects best: “Overall, education contributes to interpersonal effects where people are able to use the benefits of education to help others and hence contribute to the social good and democratic freedoms” (p. 168). In their personal interactions with young people, in particular, CIDA’s graduates are motivating community members towards completing their education; teaching life skills, encouraging them to engage in positive activities in the community, giving training in computers and technology. They seem to want to pass on the gift of opportunities for skills training, knowledge and the empowering experience of self-confidence to the youth in their home communities and in other parts of South Africa. While we must acknowledge that these can be informal interactions (as well as formal interactions), many describe current and future activities involving formal work in organizations, the creation of local libraries, sports facilities, tutoring, and skills initiatives.

Overall, I would argue that the potential effect of a CIDA degree – what economists like to refer to as externalities or ‘spin-off’ effects – is better measured in terms of the leadership, inspiration and motivation graduates offer to the young people within their families and home communities. A recent study by Ross (2007) shows evidence of a successful attempt, on a smaller scale than CIDA, to link a tertiary degree support scheme for disadvantaged secondary school leavers from rural areas with community development. Findings demonstrate that 18 graduates from the scheme returned to the rural districts they are from to work in local hospitals. Ross concludes that “despite educational challenges, students from rural areas are able to succeed at tertiary institutions and will return to work in rural districts” (p. 1087). CIDA holds potential with the recent addition of a Master’s in Social and Economic Transformation (MSET) to more formally prepare graduates in community development work who may similarly return to work in their home communities. Apparently in partnership with Buckingham University, this programme is meant to produce ‘community change-agents’ (CIDA Position Statement, 2006, p. 148).

## 5.6 The Public face of Private higher education

In the landscape of South African private higher education, CIDA appears to play a unique role. While the dominant feature of private institutions internationally tends to be their for-profit orientation and reliance on student tuition, CIDA functions as a non-profit organization relying rather on major industry and corporations for financial support. CIDA is thus the exception to the judgement by Altbach (1999) that private universities “contribute little to social mobility or to providing educational opportunities for bright but underprivileged students” (p. 11).

It appears that CIDA, in contrast, plays an important development role by enlarging access to disadvantaged students, as the previous section underscored. Indeed, this study would agree with Levy’s (2006) argument that there can be a powerful development role for serious private ‘non-elite institutions’, “to bring comparatively unprivileged groups into the development process—a major ‘access’ role within often highly stratified societies—and in so doing to serve the evolving and globalizing job market” (p. 9). While the literature on higher education battles with the question of whether private HE can be ‘pro poor’, CIDA’s model suggests that yes, this is possible.

Specifically, CIDA’s case may perhaps be categorized as a ‘private philanthropic university’ (WBG/UNESCO, 2000) since it is a not-for-profit institution with a public mission and motives. However, CIDA’s partnerships with the South African business community perhaps indicate another categorization. As Kruss (2004) argues, CIDA’s partnerships “add value both to the company involved and to the educational processes of the private provider” (p. 108), which leads her to conclude that there is some convergence with the ‘corporate credential’ type of higher education provision.

### 5.6.1 CIDA's Public function

We might set out the case that CIDA is, to a certain degree, a public actor. CIDA arguably works to benefit the public as it is in line with the development priorities of the ANC government and Department of Education in South Africa:

1. CIDA supports the national mandate that the students of tertiary institutions reflect the social composition of South African society.
2. It responds to the continued demand that increased resources be made available to historically disadvantaged social groups for the purpose of pursuing tertiary education.
3. It addresses the RDP (1994) mandate for human resource development that will help rectify racial and gender stratification in the work place (ANC, 1994)
4. It supports the government's focus on the 'high-level skills' needed for economic growth by addressing the area of business education and other areas in which there is a lack, such as IT professionals, investment professionals, etc.
5. It is in line with the recent Accelerated and Shared Growth Initiative South Africa (AsgiSA) platform with its renewed focus on skills and education as central to development, including initiatives which focus on bridging course for matriculants, life skills programmes and internship placement programmes for tertiary graduates who lack work experience.

While equity considerations have been the foundation of policy reform in higher education, there has only been success in addressing equal *access* in education. With respect to item one, while all South African tertiary institutions are legally required to address equity in their admissions policies, participation in tertiary education does not reflect the social composition of South African society with a 12% participation rate by African students. CIDA thus represents an attempt at some measure of 'redress' in the increasingly elite tertiary education sector in South Africa.

With respect to item two, as was illustrated in the literature, there is a demand for an end to tuition hikes by South African public institutions. Rising costs of education push tertiary degrees ever out of reach of marginalised youth. Many argue that the government needs to make more concerted

efforts to ensure that undergraduate degree programmes are affordable for students or, in some cases, even abolish tuition fees. This has led some researchers to conclude that South Africa's government, through their lack of attention to such concerns in higher education policy, is dispensing with equity objectives altogether (Cloete & Moja, 2005). By way of its corporate partnerships, CIDA is making resources available to students to pursue a degree programme and gain a tertiary qualification.

Referring to item three, South African and multinational corporations operating in South Africa ostensibly provide support to CIDA *in order* that they may better meet their employment equity targets and thus reduce racial and gender stratification in the workplace.

In addition, CIDA addresses the issue of human resource development, in item four, by focusing on areas of the economy in which there is a need for skilled labour in order to connect graduates with employment opportunities. This is clear in the statements made by corporates in chapter one which articulate the need for employees with knowledge and training in, for example, investment banking or ICT. This is furthermore underscored by CIDA's recent move into a specialization in construction management, an area where there is a great shortage of skills in the country. Construction appears to be less linked to the core BBA programme, however it meets CIDA's objective of focusing on areas of skills where there is a lack in the economy.

The South African government's recent AsgiSA platform has several objectives, some of which CIDA appears to participate in. It identifies the rise of graduate unemployment in the country as an issue requiring attention through for example the provision of learnerships and internships. Here again CIDA has identified this issue and demonstrates success, (though with the need for some improvements; see section 2.1 above), in organizing internships for students so as to provide a direct linkage with employment. In addition, its 2005 creation of a foundation programme for 400 students at CIDA Park, also fits with AsgiSA's identification of the need for bridging programmes for students following matriculation. As previously stated, however, future studies are needed to assess the quality

of the foundation program. For these reasons, I would argue that CIDA's is a public mission which fits with national objectives and it fulfills an important public purpose.

#### 5.6.2 CIDA's private structure and partnerships

Conversely, as a close partner with South African and multinational businesses, CIDA is also helping to fulfill the objectives of the private sector, including, for example, aiding corporations in meeting black economic empowerment (BEE) employment targets. In addition, the creation of the CIDA empowerment fund<sup>85</sup> (CEF) allows businesses to secure BEE points by investing in the CEF or transferring company shares, the dividend of which will go to the CIDA empowerment trust (CET) which the CEF is a subsidiary of (CEF, n.d.). In this way, CIDA plans for the continued funding of tuition scholarships for CIDA students for years to come. CIDA is also in some ways a 'creation' of the private sector. As Taddy Blecher writes in the 8<sup>th</sup> edition of the CSI handbook,

CIDA City Campus is proud to endorse the eighth edition of the CSI Handbook... Trialogue and CIDA are creations – indeed are celebrations – of South African business. Neither would exist without the vision and support of our business partners. The way [corporate leaders] allocate resources for business growth and make social investments determines South Africa's ability to fulfill its ample promise. (CSI Handbook, 2005, back cover, para. 1-2)

#### 5.6.3 CIDA as a hybrid organization

Thus, while a 'creation' of private sector business, CIDA works to fulfill a public mandate. This analysis supports Akoojee's (2007) thesis that in addition to the 'purely' public or private institutions in South Africa, there are 'new' structures which "have an expressed profit (in the case of government) or social development (in the case of a private company) purpose but have originated in

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<sup>85</sup> The CIDA Empowerment Fund (CEF) website states that they are the 'broad-based BEE partner of choice', "offering South African business authentic broad-based Black Economic Empowerment whilst creating an endowment to educate financially disadvantaged black South African youth" (CEF, n.d., para. 1).

the alternate sector” (p. 76). Similar to Akoojee’s example of the Grameen Bank, CIDA is a “form of private organisation dedicated to what the public sector was traditionally responsible for” (Ibid). This mixed-purpose organisation, “far from replacing the public sector, ... represents an adjunct to the various ways private initiatives can be used to enable public development purposes” (Akoojee, 2007, pp. 82-83). It goes without saying that as a non-traditional private provider, CIDA serves a specific purpose and does not in any way detract from the functions of traditional public universities.

As previously discussed, Dees and Anderson (2003) argue there are four broad types of behaviour which constitute ‘sector-bending’ by social development organizations, including ‘imitation, interaction, intermingling and industry creation’. The aspect that perhaps best defines CIDA’s cross-sector approach is that it ‘interacts’ with for-profit business, while simultaneously working from a registered non-profit organizational structure. However, this explains only the hybrid organisational structure of CIDA, and perhaps ignores the strategic elements of CIDA’s approach and its entrepreneurial leadership.

Social entrepreneurship involves the creation of innovative solutions to social needs that remain unsatisfied by current institutions, and which mobilize the ideas, resources, and social arrangements required for sustainable social transformations. Theories of social entrepreneurship aid in a more comprehensive understanding of both the organizational and strategic aspects of CIDA. Given the research design of this study, it is not possible to respond adequately to the literature on social entrepreneurship. However, in the discussion of sector and social entrepreneurship (see section 1.3.3 of Chapter Two); this study may indeed offer some insight. It is this element of hybridisation within social-sector organisations which is perhaps the most worthy of analytical pursuit in social entrepreneurship research.

The theorization of social entrepreneurship battles with the issue of sector, as do many other disciplines and areas of study (see section 1.1, Chapter Two). Perhaps the most interesting examples of social entrepreneurship are innovations that use elements or resources from both private and public sectors to create social value (Dees & Anderson, 2006). As I have already suggested, CIDA

defies simple categorization into the public or private sector and appears to have a hybrid organizational form which corresponds to the objectives or mandate of each the public and private sectors. Specifically, CIDA follows a public purpose and fulfills a public function, while partnering with profit-making businesses in the private sector, resulting in a unique mix of purpose. It also supports Mosher-Williams' (2006) argument that social entrepreneurship requires a theory that goes beyond sector boundaries, given the increasing hybridization of organizations in the social development sphere. CIDA's case in some ways suggests that the boundaries of sector are less important than the mission to provide access to high quality education for historically disadvantaged groups. This supports the argument that social entrepreneurship changes the way we think about sector and focuses our attention on 'communities of practice' – which include a range of organizational forms (Dees & Anderson, 2003). CIDA's partnering arrangements for example, suggest to us the possibility that a true 'win-win' between non-profit organisations and private companies can exist. If this is true, it is more likely that a partnership may be mutually beneficial, as businesses and tertiary institutions have long had a relationship of some kind. Future studies would serve to understand how CIDA "effectively combine[s] elements from the business world and the social sector, and how to recognize the limits and risks" (Dees & Anderson, 2006, p. 61).

As many working in the area of social entrepreneurship argue, "the test of social entrepreneurship ... is change in social systems that create and maintain the problem" (Alvord et al., 2004, p. 261). On the one hand, it is not possible to conclude that CIDA has created a fundamental transformation in social or political systems from this study. On the other hand, CIDA has inspired other higher education 'entrepreneurs' – namely Tertiary School in Business Administration (TSiBA), Cape Town and Eden Campus, Knysna – to begin schools along the same model. As explained on their website, "TSiBA is inspired by CIDA City Campus, a miracle model in holistic education ... At TSiBA Education we are continuing with this focus on holistic education at our own Cape Town campus – and developed our own holistic education philosophy of developing Human Gold" (TSiBA, 2004, para. 4). So, while CIDA has not changed how the national tertiary system operates

(i.e. an essentially elitist system in which attendance depends on socioeconomic advantage) and it has not addressed the inadequacies in the secondary system, it has inspired other higher education entrepreneurs such as TSiBA and Eden Campus to address the pernicious issue of educational inequity. Both these institutions apparently attempt to provide holistic, virtually-free educational opportunities which link with employment outcomes and community service. While CIDA may not inspire precise replications, the central aspects of its mission – holistic education catered to the needs of disadvantaged post-secondary learners linked with practical work experience and entrepreneurship as well as community ploughback – may act to influence other higher education actors, both public and private, in the future.

## 5.7 Future Research

As an initial enquiry into the impact of CIDA as an innovative educational model, a quantitative survey necessarily provided a foundation of baseline data. While data provided in this study may not always provide detailed understanding of many of the aspects explored here, it does provide an overview of the positioning of CIDA in the lives of its graduates. The data also generated themes and issues relevant for future studies. These studies might build on the current findings and explore, for example, graduate work experiences or learn more about their community based activities.

Future surveys with CIDA graduates might replicate several aspects of the questionnaire employed in this study, providing increased focus in both content (such as asking for a participant's subject of specialization, asking what position/title they hold in their current work and type of company they work for, separating financial resources students were able to draw upon into the categories of tuition payment and living costs, and including questions which evaluate different aspects of the lecturing and teaching staff at CIDA) and focus (for example, exploring perceptions of health and well-being as a student, and internship experiences with corporates).

Future studies exploring the strategic aspects of CIDA as a non-profit organization could be directed at the leadership and entrepreneurial strategies of CIDA's management. For example, CIDA's partnering arrangements suggest to us the possibility that a 'win-win' between non-profit organisations and private companies can exist. However, this study is unable to provide concrete answers in relation to whether a mutually beneficial relationship is achieved by CIDA in its interactions with corporate partners. An organizational study might look at aspects of CIDA's governance, as well as the relationships with corporates and the type of influence businesses have in areas of CIDA's governance.

#### 5.8 Recommendations for CIDA

Keeping in mind that the purpose of this study was not to conduct a programme evaluation of CIDA's BBA degree, the following two sections address future areas for investigation that may be of interest to CIDA City Campus and its partners.

##### *Quality issues*

It is highly recommended that CIDA take on the task of a comprehensive evaluation of CIDA lecturer quality, and include the perspectives of lecturers and CIDA staff in such a study, as well as an evaluation of its corporate internship programme. As previously stated, this study's findings cannot provide concrete conclusions regarding the overall quality of CIDA's BBA programme, or with respect to the quality of its lecturers. What is clear from this study's findings however, is that from the perspective of its graduates, there is cause for concern with regards to how lecturers from the business community engage with CIDA students and whether their style of teaching is appropriate for CIDA's particular student cohort. This assertion is underscored by the fact that, unsolicited and with no coaxing towards responding to lecturer quality, survey participants took the time to outline clearly their concerns with CIDA lecturers. Participants, in response to the question of CIDA's overall quality, chose to mention this as a vital issue to them, as they reflected

back upon their experience as a CIDA student. Similarly, with respect to quality issues of specifically the BBA programme, respondents overwhelmingly raised concerns regarding both internship and lecturer quality. Both these aspects point to the role of business professionals and partnering corporations engaged with CIDA, and their level of commitment to student learning (in the case of internships) and relevance in drawing students into interactive learning (in the case of lectures). Looking forward, it is therefore also strongly recommended that future studies include the perspectives of CIDA business partners.

#### *Replication issues*

CIDA's plans to replicate their model in other areas of South Africa and potentially sub-Saharan Africa was an important consideration in the design of this survey. While this was not the focal point however, and while no definitive conclusion can again be reached from the data, there is insight to be offered in this regard. Aspects of CIDA's holistic approach to education and its particular attention to the social/emotional, economic and practical needs of its particular cohort of students from a diverse range of backgrounds and geographies, resonates well with graduates and seems to be an approach that plays an important part in the success of students in terms of both tertiary education throughput and later employment. These findings indicate that CIDA could create new rural or peri-urban schools based on an appropriate understanding of student needs and effective responses to these needs. However, this research cannot respond to whether or not CIDA's plan to create a financially 'self-sustaining' school has potential given that their current model is primarily based on donor and corporate support. It is important to point out though that CIDA's expansion plans are based on a very different financial model than the current city-based BBA degree. CIDA plans to become less reliant on corporate donor support and to be more self-sustaining, in line with the Fundación Paraguaya model (see section 2.5.3). Such an approach then generates new questions around financing and sustaining programs, questions that can not be addressed here.

Finally, for higher education policy makers, the unique aspects of CIDA's model deserve consideration, such as lowering costs through 'Practicum', that is student work in areas of the institution so as to reduce running costs. These aspects also raise questions of cultural relevance outside of South Africa and the application of this model to educational policy in other geographic contexts, especially perhaps in sub-Saharan African countries which have a very low participation rate in higher education, accompanied by high rates of employment in sectors that do not require tertiary education.

## 5.9 Conclusion

This study finds that CIDA City Campus is, to a large extent, contributing to South Africa's goal of tertiary educational equity. CIDA is not only fulfilling an 'access role' as a 'virtually-free' institution, but also supporting disadvantaged learners in the financial, social/emotional, practical and other supports necessary for them to proceed through their degree and achieve success in life and work following graduation. In addition, the majority of participants are employed and feel that CIDA prepared them well for the world of work. However, graduates signal important areas for improving the CIDA model, namely in the organization of its internship programme with corporate businesses and in the quality of its business lecturers. Also, CIDA needs to improve recognition of the BBA qualification amongst South African tertiary institutions, so as to support its graduates as they pursue post-graduate, MBA or new degree programmes in more traditional settings.

While the long term solution is for continued transformation within the South African tertiary system, CIDA suggests to us that the transformation of a system which excludes learners on the basis of financial means and other factors cannot wait. On a small scale, CIDA's BBA programme is supporting the growth of a skilled workforce of investment bankers, IT specialists, human resources managers, et cetera, working in key areas of skill needs in the economy whilst securing graduate employment through corporate partnerships. In addition, CIDA is contributing to a more

meaningful democracy by nurturing its graduates to feel a strong sense of social responsibility towards not only their families, but also towards their home communities. Graduate support to families appears to lessen conditions of poverty, improve material well-being, foster happiness and social cohesion within the family and community, and enable a range of future possibilities for family members to also pursue life aspirations. Additional externalities of a CIDA degree can also be found in the leadership, inspiration and motivation graduates offer to the youth within their home communities. Almost all participants are either committed to current community based initiatives or have plans to do so within the next few years; in areas focused on uplifting youth, providing tutoring, life skills, and so forth or in areas of HIV/AIDS care and education, local government, business, sports or cultural activities.

Despite experiencing a matrix of disadvantage – ‘historical’, educational, financial, et cetera – CIDA’s model proves that students can succeed at the tertiary level. However, this requires a higher level of commitment and additional supports not traditionally provided in tertiary institutions, many of which CIDA is providing. Moreover, CIDA’s graduates will ‘ploughback’ what they have learned and take on leadership roles in their communities. Here we see the link between ‘education and development’ more clearly than in any calculation of ‘rate of return on investment’. CIDA’s model of development appears to be creating an advantageous cycle of economic and social possibility through higher education that will not only benefit a few individuals but will be spread, in all likelihood, from the ‘child’ to the ‘village’.

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## APPENDIX 1: Graduate Survey

### CIDA Graduate Survey

**Please complete the following survey.**

- Please select the best response where options are provided.
- Please use check (✓) for your answers.
- If the options provided to answer a question are not relevant, please write your response next to 'Other'.
- Some questions have blank spaces so that you can write an answer using your own words.
- Write on the back of the page, if you need additional space.

### **Section A: Background Information**

1) Which year did you graduate from CIDA City Campus?

2004 ☐      2005 ☐      2006 ☐

2) Where were you born? (please list town/village/province/country)

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3) Where did you grow up? (please list town/village/province/country)

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Or Same as above ☐

4) Are you? Male ☐      Female ☐

5) What is your age? \_\_\_\_\_

6) What is your ethnic background? (E.g. Pedi, Sotho, Xhosa, Zulu, etc.)

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7) What is your current income per month?

R0 – 1,499 ☐

R2,500 – 3,499 ☐

R5,000 – 6,999 ☐

R8,500 – 10,000 ☐

I'd rather not say ☐

R1500 – 2,499 ☐

R3,500 – 4, 999 ☐

R7,000 – 8,499 ☐

More than R10,000 ☐

8) Are you currently employed?

Yes ☐

No ☐

Self-employed: ☐      (please specify) \_\_\_\_\_

8.1) Are you currently continuing your studies? (E.g. graduate school)

Yes ☐ No ☐

If **unemployed**,

8.2) What financial resources or supports are you able to draw on? (E.g. student loans, scholarships, living at home, etc.)

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8.3) What do you see are the main obstacles to your gaining full employment?

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If **employed**,

8.7) Are you employed in a job related to the subject you specialized in at CIDA? (E.g. Human Resources, ICT, Investment etc.)  
(1 being 'not at all', 5 being 'very much').

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Mostly	Very much
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

8.8) Do you feel your knowledge and skills are being put to good use in your current job?  
(1 being 'not at all', 5 being 'a lot').

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a bit	A lot
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

8.9) Are the demands of your work what you expected?

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Mostly	Very much
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

### **Section B: Your CIDA Experience**

1) How many years did it take you to complete both the BBA Degree and CIDA internship?

3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐ 6 ☐

2) How did you pay for CIDA tuition and all your living expenses? (you may select more than one)

a. Scholarship	<input type="checkbox"/>	b. Family	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Sponsor	<input type="checkbox"/>	d. National loan	<input type="checkbox"/>

- e. Part-time job ☐ f. CIDA Loan ☐  
 g. Other ☐ (please specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

h. Combination of (letter) \_\_\_\_ and \_\_\_\_.

3) To what extent did the following help you get through your degree?  
 (1 being 'Not at all', 5 being 'A lot', NA being 'not applicable' if you did not learn TM).

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a lot	A lot	N/A
a. My friends at CIDA	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
b. My teachers at CIDA	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
c. My tutors at CIDA	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
d. My family	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
e. TM	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
f. TM Sidhis	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	N/A <input type="checkbox"/>
g. Prayer	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
h. Other:	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>	
(please specify: _____)						

4) How would you rate the following while you were at CIDA?

	Poor	Needs improvement	Ok	Good	Excellent
a. Quality of campus life	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
b. Campus Lunch	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
c. Celebrations	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
d. Helpfulness of Management	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
e. Opportunity to make friends	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
f. Internship Placement Office	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
g. Career counseling	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
h. CIDA transportation	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>
i. Accommodation off-campus	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>	<input type="checkbox"/>

Comment, if you like:

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5) What would you recommend that CIDA do to improve the quality of education that it provides?

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6) Do you feel that CIDA helped you to recover from any past problems or issues?

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a bit	A lot
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

6.1) Comment, if you like:

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7) To what extent did CIDA prepare you for the demands of your current job or situation?

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a bit	A lot
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

7.1) What would you recommend that CIDA do to make students better prepared for these demands?

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8) Would you recommend anyone to study at CIDA?

Yes ☐ No ☐

### **Section C: Perspectives on Community**

1) Do you think you have motivated any family members or friends to start or continue their education?

Yes ☐ No ☐

1.1) If yes, please specify which level of education you have provided motivation for (check all that apply):

Primary ☐ Secondary ☐ Tertiary ☐

2) Are you currently able to support your family of origin?

Yes ☐ No ☐

2.1) If yes, how do you support them? (check any that apply)

Emotional support ☐

Sending money ☐

My financial skills ☐

Advice ☐

Doing work to help in the home ☐

Building ☐

Phone calls ☐

Other ☐ (please specify: \_\_\_\_\_ )

2.2) What kind of a difference do you think this makes at home?

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2.3) To what extent are you happy with the support you are providing?

(1 being 'not at all', 5 being 'very')

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a bit	Very
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

2.4) Are you able to provide as much support as you would like?

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a bit	A lot
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

3) How much contact do you have with people in your home community?

- a. Daily ☐
- b. Monthly ☐
- c. Yearly ☐
- d. Holidays ☐
- e. Other: ☐

(please specify: \_\_\_\_\_ )

4) How do you feel people in your community have responded to you since you've studied at CIDA? (Check any that apply).

- a. They are proud ☐
- b. Some are jealous ☐
- c. I'm seen as a leader ☐
- d. People look to me for money ☐
- e. People don't talk to me because they think I'm different ☐
- f. They have high expectations of me ☐
- g. Other: ☐

(please specify: \_\_\_\_\_ )

4.1) Do you feel your home community has the resources and wisdom that can continue to support you along your journey of self-growth?

Yes ☐ No ☐

4.2) Do you still feel a part of your home community?

Yes ☐ No ☐

5) What do you think are the needs of your home community?

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6) Are you currently involved in any of the following in your home community or any other community in South Africa? (If no, please move to **question 6.4**)

(Select all that apply)

- a. Local schools or training programmes ☐
- b. Health care ☐
- c. Local business ☐
- d. Government / civic structures ☐
- e. Charitable or non-profit organizations ☐
- f. Unions ☐
- g. Other: ☐

(please specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

6.1) If so, how much time do you devote to these activities on average?

(Please write a number in the space below)

\_\_\_\_\_ hours a week

\_\_\_\_\_ days a month

\_\_\_\_\_ days a year

6.2) If so, how would you define your role in these activities?

(Select most appropriate answer)

- |   |  |
|---|--|
| a. Lecturer/Teacher <input type="checkbox"/>              | b. Co-ordinator <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Financial advisor <input type="checkbox"/>             | d. Motivator <input type="checkbox"/>    |
| e. Social entrepreneur <input type="checkbox"/>           | f. Leader <input type="checkbox"/>       |
| g. Other <input type="checkbox"/> (please specify: _____) |  |

6.3) What support or improvements do you feel would make your community work or involvement even more successful? (Check any that apply).

- |   |                          |
|---|--------------------------|
| a. Owning my own transport                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| b. Funding for the project                          | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| c. Local governmental support                       | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| d. Additional skills for myself                     | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| e. More skills training for people in the community | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| f. Improved communications infrastructure           | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| g. More support from community members              | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| h. Finding a model to initiate economic activities  | <input type="checkbox"/> |
| i. Other:   | <input type="checkbox"/> |

(please specify: \_\_\_\_\_)

6.4) If no (to question 6), what do you feel are your personal obstacles or the environmental factors which stop you from going forward with any of your plans or ideas? (E.g. the demands of my current job, etc.)

\_\_\_\_\_

\_\_\_\_\_

7) Do you feel you have the skills or talents that could help or respond to the needs of your home community?

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite a lot	A lot
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

7.1) To what extent did the following resources at CIDA either provide you with skills or help you to realize your talents?

	Not at all 1 <input type="checkbox"/>	A little 2 <input type="checkbox"/>	Somewhat 3 <input type="checkbox"/>	Quite a bit 4 <input type="checkbox"/>	A lot 5 <input type="checkbox"/>
a. Contemplation					
b. Meeting or hearing inspiring leaders	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
c. Meditation	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
d. CIDA's teachers	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
e. Seeing the success of other students	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
f. Extranet programme	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
g. Other: (please specify: _____)	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

7.2) If the Extranet was helpful, to what extent were the following activities most useful for the development of your skills?

	Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite	Very
a. Attending extranet workshops at CIDA	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
b. Doing research	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
c. Delivering training in my community	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
d. Interactions with youth and community members	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
e. Working on a team with my peers	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>
f. Getting feedback from facilitators & community members	1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

g. Seeing the changes in my students 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐  
 h. Other: 1 ☐ 2 ☐ 3 ☐ 4 ☐ 5 ☐  
 (please specify: \_\_\_\_\_ )

8) Do you have any future plans or ideas on how you can use your abilities within any communities in South Africa?

Yes ☐ No ☐

8.1) When do you imagine you will be able to initiate these plans or ideas?

- a. I am using them now ☐
- b. Within a year ☐
- c. In 1- 2 years time ☐
- d. In a few years time, when I feel more established ☐
- e. Other: ☐

(please specify time: \_\_\_\_\_ )

8.2) Would you mind describing your current community-based activities and/or future plans?

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9) Is it possible to apply the business skills that you've learned at CIDA to improve the living conditions in your home community or other communities in South Africa?

Not at all	A little	Somewhat	Quite	Very
1 <input type="checkbox"/>	2 <input type="checkbox"/>	3 <input type="checkbox"/>	4 <input type="checkbox"/>	5 <input type="checkbox"/>

### **Section D: CIDA Replication**

In the next few years CIDA hopes to expand into rural and semi-rural areas in South Africa with 'CIDA country campuses' which will teach local leaders using an educational model which combines classroom learning with real work experience on school-owned businesses and farms. CIDA plans to focus on a programme which teaches sustainable living, organic agriculture, eco-tourism, eco-construction and other areas of income generation relevant to the local context where it is situated. Expansion is a major step for CIDA and it will create great demands for strong leadership, local knowledge and people experienced in teaching, starting or running businesses, as well as people experienced in running community development initiatives.

1) Would you be willing to become involved in CIDA's expansion plans?

Yes ☐ No ☐

2) If yes, in what capacity?

- Training ☐
- Teaching ☐
- Fundraising ☐
- Providing local knowledge ☐
- Other ☐ (please specify: \_\_\_\_\_ )

Comment on CIDA's expansion plans, if you like:

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