Against the odds:

An evaluation of the IkamvaYouth programme

An evaluation for IkamvaYouth and the DG Murray Trust by a team of economists led by

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5 June 2012

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INTRODUCTION

In 2011, the DG Murray Trust and IkamvaYouth requested a team of researchers at the Department of Economics at the University of Stellenbosch to undertake an evaluation of IkamvaYouth, with a view to examining the short term and longer term impact of the programme, investigating the key success factors of the model, and assessing its scalability. This report offers such an evaluation.

What is IkamvaYouth and how does it operate?

As stated on their website (http://ikamvayouth.org), IkamvaYouth is a non-profit organisation that aims to "*equip children from disadvantaged communities with the knowledge, skills, networks and resources to access tertiary education and/or employment opportunities once they matriculate.*" IkamvaYouth was established in 2003 and now has five branches in three provinces: Makhaza (Khayelitsha), Nyanga and Masiphumelele ("Masi") in the Western Cape, Ivory Park in Gauteng, and Cato Manor in KwaZulu-Natal. Students enrol at IkamvaYouth mainly from Grade 9, but the programme measures its success "*by the number of Grade 12 learners who access tertiary institutions and/or employment-based learning opportunities when they matriculate*".

IkamvaYouth uses volunteers (mainly students from nearby universities) as tutors to assist learners in the final years of secondary school with their school work. Former learners who benefited from the Ikamva programme while at school form a large proportion of the volunteers. This is seen as another positive feature of the programme, "*allowing ex-IkamvaYouth learners to be agents of change – from beneficiary to benefactor*".

Learners can participate in various activities in the afternoons after school, on Saturday mornings and during school holidays. Ikamva offers the following:

- Supplementary tutoring and homework sessions to help learners to improve their grades
- Career guidance to broaden their awareness of post-school opportunities
- Mentoring to ensure that learners access these opportunities
- Computer literacy and access to equip learners with essential skills and information
- A Media, Image and Expression programme to create opportunities for learners to express themselves creatively and assertively and build their self-esteem
- Health and leadership programmes to ensure HIV/AIDS, nutrition and broader health awareness

According to the Ikamva website, in 2011 IkamvaYouth accommodated 474 learners from grades 8 to 12 at an effective cost of around R5000 per leaner. Data obtained from IkamvaYouth and shown in Appendix A indicate that Ikamva has had 1 374 participants between 2005 and 2011, 351 of whom have successfully matriculated. Makhaza branch is by far the oldest and thus most influential: 56% of the matriculated Ikamvanites, and 50% of those who ever participated in Ikamva, were from Makhaza branch. The Kwazulu-Natal branch is next in size with 25% of all participants thus far, followed by Ivory Park in Gauteng. The two newer Cape branches have thus far had relatively limited numbers of participants, as Figure 1 shows.

Figure 1: Participants in IkamvaYouth Programmes 2005-2011 by branch (total=1374)
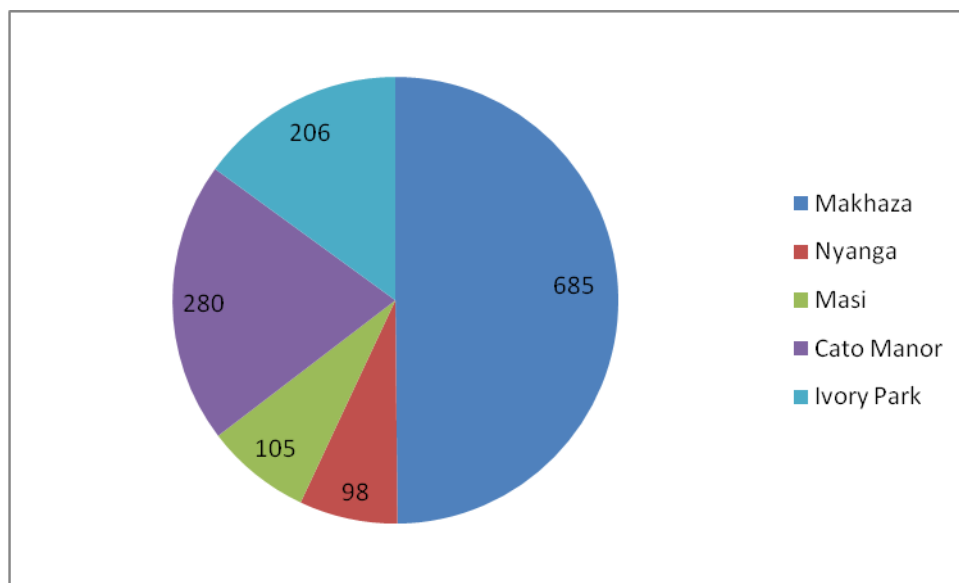
Source: Data from Appendix A (provided by IkamvaYouth)

The educational and social context that IkamvaYouth operates in

Research has established that most young people living in townships have poor educational prospects. Teaching quality at these schools is frequently not at the appropriate standard and curriculum coverage is low. In addition, the household often does not provide a second site of learning. At home there may be pressures to help with household errands and tasks after school, leaving little time for homework. Where there is time for homework, the learners are less likely to receive support from their parents and guardians. Consequently, it is not surprising that most township schools produce learners whose academic performance is below grade level.

Poor matric results and low awareness of post-school opportunities lead to high numbers of unemployed youth (estimated at over 60% in Khayelitsha). Most learners in township schools do not receive the skills development opportunities afforded their more privileged counterparts in the suburbs, including computer literacy and extra-mural activities.

In many cases the social and household context is a distraction for young people of school going age. There are often financial worries and other problems troubling the household. Furthermore, peers effects may lure youths to experiment with risky sexual behaviour, alcohol, drugs and criminal activities.

Many of the students entering IkamvaYouth come with many of these disadvantages, which few seem able to overcome without support. The myriad of constraints and multi-faceted nature of their problems makes it almost impossible to succeed against the odds. If a student has lived her whole life in an area where there was constant violence, abuse, and social insecurity, as well as living in home with no role models, or education champions, mustering up the courage even to consider applying to university would be daunting. Also, for those attending schools where educational standards are so low that a high proportion of students cannot even pass matric at the most basic level, succeeding against the odds through self-learning would be truly difficult. Yet such conditions

do not occur in isolation: most students who attend dysfunctional schools also live in insecure environments where unemployment is high and crime is rife, and usually lack financial security or savings for university. It is within this context of multiple constraints that IkamvaYouth tries to make a difference against the odds.

Terms of reference and description of survey

The terms of reference for this study required examining the short term and longer term impact of the programme, investigating key success factors of the model, and assessing its scalability. This required a number of activities. Perhaps the most important, and quite difficult, was to track learners that have left the programme in order to obtain information on how they have experienced Ikamva, and what they have gone on to do after leaving Ikamva. The success of this effort will be discussed below. In addition, addressing the terms of reference needed the compilation of performance metrics that could be captured accurately and reflect the aims of the organisation. In this regard, success in the matriculation examinations provides a standardised measure of achievement of learners and is closely related to the aims of the programme. Matric success is also closely related to important post-school choices, performance at tertiary institutions and labour market outcomes, particularly earnings, all of which are explicit objectives of the IkamvaYouth programme. The first two of these turned out to be to some extent measurable by tracking past learners. While matric results, post-school choice and tertiary education performance have an important influence on earnings, attempts to track the earnings of past learners were abandoned because the post-matric time period was too short for such a comparison and the numbers who responded regarding this were quite small. Only eleven working respondents provided their income bracket; they reported respectably average incomes of R7 230 per month, with only three of them earning less than R5 000 per month. But these estimates, based on such a small and selected sub-sample, are likely to overstate earning opportunities. Our survey showed that few had yet completed tertiary studies and many of those in the labour market still had plans to study further, thus their wages may not have been reflective of their long term potential earnings and are likely to understate Ikamva's impact. But many in such positions did not indicate their earnings at all. Insofar as one could get such information from respondents, a lot of emphasis was also placed in the interview on access of former learners to tertiary institutions and their performance at such institutions, as a vital link in understanding the impact of the programme on the lives of their learners and their households.

It was understood that a thorough evaluation would require realistic comparator groups that can serve as counterfactuals, and that a major challenge would be to find an appropriate benchmark against which to measure the achievement of the learners involved in this programme. The concern, and one difficult to overcome in an ex-post evaluation, was that more motivated and more able individuals with better home circumstances were more likely apply for or to continue such support programmes over long periods of time. Comparing the achievements of such a group of individuals with the average for their peers could overstate the contribution of the programme to performance. It was understood from the beginning that this would confound analysis of the performance of the Ikamva programme, though the relatively low level of selectivity of the programme means that participants may be less different from their peers than in cases where applications are evaluated based on academic merit. We return to this issue later in the report.

The evaluation project and time line

The study was initiated in August 2011 and the fieldwork completed in February 2012. Despite timing concerns, we were able to interview more than half of the targeted sample and achieved a good balance of past and present learners as well as a geographical spread. The achieved vs. targeted sample is shown in Table 1. As can be seen, there was fair coverage in all cases except for former learners in Masi, for whom no data could be obtained. The achieved sample (proportion of those with known contact details who were surveyed) ranged between 27% and 78% for current learners, and 32% to 50% for past learners. This fairly good coverage was achieved through concerted efforts to focus on those areas which were originally underrepresented. This applied particularly to past learners, who were less likely to fill in the online survey and had to be followed up extensively to achieve these achieved samples. To avoid interfering with those who were currently studying we scheduled our in-depth interviews with past programme participants in Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban.to occur in December 2011 and January 2012. The timing of the project also made it possible to obtain individual matric results of the most recent class of learners in January 2012; these are analysed elsewhere in this report.

Table 1: Potential sample (past and current learners whose contact details could be provided by Ikamva) and achieved sample

	Present learners			Past learners		
Branch	**Surveyed**	**Total**	**Achieved sample**	**Surveyed**	**Total**	**Achieved sample**
Nyanga	27	100	27%	5	10	50%
Makhaza	97	125	78%	88	207	43%
Masi	28	74	38%	0	0	..
KZN	32	56	57%	24	74	32%
Ivory Park	51	134	38%	21	48	44%
Total	**235**	**489**	**48%**	**138**	**339**	**41%**

Source: Own calculations based on Ikamva data and evaluation team's work

Ikamva assisted the evaluation by making available contact details of their past and current programme participants. The research team reviewed documentation regarding recruitment of programme participants and interviewed those responsible for recruitment in each office. An online questionnaire was then drawn up and piloted, and feedback obtained from Ikamva, before the online surveys was implemented. In collaboration with Ikamva we decided to offer a R30 air time voucher as a gesture of gratitude for the respondent's time and to encourage participation. The questionnaire shown in Appendix B gives an indication of how learners saw it online.

The online survey experienced some unanticipated glitches: It turned out that some participants did not have easy internet access and many struggled to fill in online questionnaires, thus making this process quite time consuming for both respondents and those assisting from the research team's side. To respond to these problems, a team member, Robert Dzivakwi, was engaged to manage a type of call centre on a dedicated basis and to assist individuals who wanted to complete the survey at Ikamva's Makhaza computer centre on two designated afternoons a week as well as Saturday mornings. Similar resources were recruited in Ivory Park and Cato Manor. At the Cato Manor site we

were only able to offer this assistance over the weekend. To ensure that respondents realised that those offering assistance were neutral and not from Ikamva, we asked them to wear Stellenbosch University apparel (T-shirts and caps). Robert Dzivakwi also followed up with respondents to verify answers and check that all those who had satisfactorily completed their online surveys had received their air time vouchers.

In the final few weeks of the survey we introduced a hard copy version of the survey, which respondents could return to the Makhaza library or the Ivory Park computer centre or hand to our Cato Manor team members. These hard copy versions were collected (and in the case of Ivory Park and Cato Manor couriered back to us) and captured at our Stellenbosch office. After capturing the information and ensuring that the questionnaire was completed satisfactorily (often requiring follow-up phone calls), these respondents also received their R30 air time vouchers.

Site visits

In addition to the online survey and the qualitative interviews, members of the evaluation team visited the Makhaza, Nyanga, Ivory Park and Cato Manor branches of IkamvaYouth. These site visits proved useful in that they allowed the team to see that each branch is unique in many ways and adapts to local conditions. While this is undoubtedly a good thing, it does also introduce some variation between branches, where different branches apply the same rules in different ways or simply have different rules. In addition to responding to local constraints and circumstance, branch managers may also have different approaches. This flexibility is regarded as both a strength and a weakness of the Ikamva model. On the one hand it is vital that branch managers should be able to adapt to local conditions, but on the other hand it also (unavoidably) exposes the organisation to a large amount of risk because the success of a branch is highly dependent on finding a motivated person with the right attitude and skills set to manage and guide the branch.

Transparency and openness of the IkamvaYouth team

In our interviews, we experienced the Ikamva team as cooperative and transparent. All branch managers were told to assist the evaluation team as much as they could and to answer all of our questions. We did not at any time get the impression that branch managers or Ikamva employees or volunteers were trying to withhold information. We were provided with full access to documents and branch managers and other staff members appeared to answer self-reflective and critical questions in an open and honest way, which is indicative both of the organisation's high level of performance (which means that they can afford to be open and honest without the risk of embarrassment) and its commitment to learning and improving via feedback. Our impression was that the evaluation was seen as an opportunity to learn and improve and was embraced and welcomed by all levels of staff. This adds further value to the evaluation and diminishes the need to be sceptical about the accuracy of the information obtained.

The rest of this report

The next sections of this report deal with the theory of change which underlay our evaluation, the methodology employed, qualitative and then quantitative feedback from participants in Ikamva programmes, an evaluation of Ikamva learners' performance in matric, and finally an assessment of

Ikamva's impact, taking into consideration factors that limited the ability to draw definitive conclusions on impact.

THEORY OF CHANGE

One of the desired outcomes of the evaluation was to determine how IkamvaYouth impacts on students, in essence to make explicit the *theory of change*. After reviewing the structure and activities of Ikamva, as well as the results from the surveys and interviews, the picture that emerges is of an organisation that attempts to intervene in the lives of disadvantaged students with an aim to changing their future prospects. The official method by which this is accomplished is a combination of initiatives, including homework sessions, mentoring, career guidance, computer training, textbook/study-aid provisioning, help with post-secondary applications, as well as the informal support and structure provided by Ikamva and the Ikamvanites (see Figure 1). It is the organisation's explicit belief that enabling these students to acquire some kind of post-secondary education or experience (e.g. learnerships) will help them enter the labour market, increase their expected lifetime earnings, and consequently expand the set of future possibilities available to them.

This is not an easy task, since almost all students enrolling in the programme bring with them a variety of deficits, some more severe than others. The four most common constraints are listed below with a brief explanation of each issue:

- **Financial constraints** – Almost all Ikamvanites experience financial lack in some form or another. This is often the cause of other problems, such as household instability, insufficient learning materials, student absenteeism (due to part-time employment or household chores) and the psychological and emotional stresses that go along with financial need.
- **Social constraints** – Most Ikamvanites come from township areas beset with a variety of social problems, including gang-related violence, peer-pressure, broken homes, teenage pregnancy, crime, and unemployment. All of these factors contribute to an unstable, uncertain, and unsafe environment. This instability and uncertainty mean that students have many concerns other than simply succeeding in their academic careers. They are often forced to deal with issues which are normally in middle class environments only experienced in adulthood, including loss, death, and financial insecurity. Students seldom have the emotional and psychological capacity and support to effectively process and deal with all these events, and therefore often carry the consequences into their school and university careers.
- **Psychological and emotional constraints** – largely as a result of the social constraints mentioned above, many students coming from these areas have little hope that real change is possible. Often there is little support from the family unit, which is in many cases all but disintegrated, and the cumulative effect of persistent crime and violence (particularly sexual violence) on the emotional well-being of children and young adults cannot be overstated. On top of these pervasive problems are placed the hopes and dreams of frustrated parents leading to additional pressures to succeed and find a good job, particularly for those student deemed 'bright' or 'promising', as many Ikamvanites are.
- **Linguistic and academic constraints** – Given that most students living in township areas speak English only as a second language, it is understandable that there would be some kind of linguistic disadvantage, particularly because secondary school and university are both entirely in English. While at school this is sometimes accommodated by bilingual teachers who can code-switch or explain in the students' mother tongue, this 'benefit' can lead to students later

experiencing difficulties at university, where the medium of instruction is usually entirely English. On top of the linguistic constraints of these students, many Grade 9 students enter Ikamva with academic abilities far below the Grade 9 curriculum. Due to years of low quality teaching and assessment, some of these students struggle with straight-forward arithmetic and English comprehension.

IkamvaYouth then takes these students, with their myriad problems and disadvantages, and aims to help them to get a matric qualification with a bachelor pass so that they are eligible for tertiary education or learnerships. We believe that three key factors to understanding IkamvaYouth's theory of change are as follows (in decreasing order of importance):

- **Academic: IkamvaYouth as a second site of knowledge acquisition**: In the academic literature on schooling in South Africa, one of the key problems facing children from poorer backgrounds is that they lack a second site of knowledge acquisition or learning. Children from middle-class backgrounds will regularly do homework (or reading) at home, which is supervised by parents or siblings. By contrast, children from poorer households are faced with the double disadvantage of not having a second site of learning, but also not having an adequate first site of knowledge acquisition (school) since the quality of tuition at these institutions is so low. Using this framework, Ikamva can be seen as a second site of knowledge acquisition where students can regularly meet in a friendly environment to practice what they have learned, and to ask tutors (surrogate parents/siblings) to explain concepts that they did not understand in class. Hoadley (2010: 13) outlines the importance of additional learning time for students from poorer backgrounds:

  "*The issue of time is especially pressing when one considers the implications for students coming from poor homes. Because there is in general less learning and less support for learning in these homes, the school as a site of learning becomes more crucial, and more time is required for these children to master the curriculum.*"[1]

  However, it is not simply additional time or providing a conducive learning area to work (such as a library). The Ikamva model seems to succeed also because of the tutor-student interaction, which allows students to receive individualised feedback, and to ask questions in a non-threatening environment. Interestingly, the benefits of the IkamvaYouth model are also those that are associated with learning gains in large-scale studies. Hoadley's (2010: 12) analysis of classroom factors associated with learning gains found that the five most prominent factors were: (1) teachers adjusting pace to pupil ability, (2) greater curriculum coverage, (3) greater opportunity to learn, (4) more appropriate assessment and providing feedback to learners, and (5) a focus on reading and writing text – all of which are outcomes of the tutor model that IkamvaYouth uses.

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[1] Hoadley, U. (2010). *What do we know about teaching and learning in primary schools in South Africa?* Stellenbosch: Appendix B to Van der Berg, S; Meyer, H; Reeves, C; van Wyk, C; Hoadley, U; Bot, M; & Armstrong, P 2010. 'Grade 3 Improvement Project: Main report and Recommendations", Report for Western Cape Education Department, p.13

- **Social**: **fostering hope and aspirations**: Given the dire circumstances that most of these students come from, it takes time and much effort to mentor students about what they can expect from the future. In order for students to sacrifice time and effort for the Ikamva program, they need to believe that a better life is achievable. Fostering hope and aspirations is a precarious undertaking because one does not want to give students false hope, and differentiating encouragement (since some are more able than others and thus should be pushed further) is difficult to do.

  These aims are pursued in a variety of ways, including career guidance, mentoring by university students, providing information on post-school opportunities and outings to universities.

- **Administrative: structure, monitoring and applications**: While the administrative role of IkamvaYouth may seem like a peripheral one, we are of the opinion that it is in fact one of the core strengths of the organisation and a necessary condition for its continued success. Structure is provided in a number of ways, most notably in the form of weekly homework sessions where attendance is recorded and used in determining if students are in the green, silver or gold categories. IkamvaYouth also performs a monitoring and supervisory role; requesting student reports and tracking progress over time, something which students' parents are not able to do, or simply do not do. Lastly, but perhaps most importantly of the administrative functions, IkamvaYouth plays an active role in helping its students apply for post-secondary opportunities. Students are frequently unaware of the post-school opportunities available to them and thus Ikamva plays an important role in providing information and 'access' to these opportunities. Often students from poor backgrounds have little family support, and little experience in handling complex applications (such as university applications) and thus preclude themselves from consideration due to minor administrative glitches such as forgetting to attach a copy of one's ID, or missing deadlines. By double-checking these applications, and ensuring that they are submitted on time (often paying for the registration/application fees), Ikamva provides its students with the best possible chance to be accepted to university, or other institutions of higher learning. This role of IkamvaYouth can also be seen as a surrogate 'education champion', someone who shows an interest in progress and pushes students to achieve all that they are capable of achieving.

Thus, the three main ways that Ikamva is able to help students are, in order:

- By providing a second site of knowledge acquisition, mitigating part of the deficit which is inevitable for those coming from a low socioeconomic background.
- Changing students' expectations about what is possible, providing hope to students who otherwise see no reason for hope.
- By providing structure to students' lives, monitoring academic progress, and helping them with post-secondary applications.

Figure 2: IkamvaYouth structure
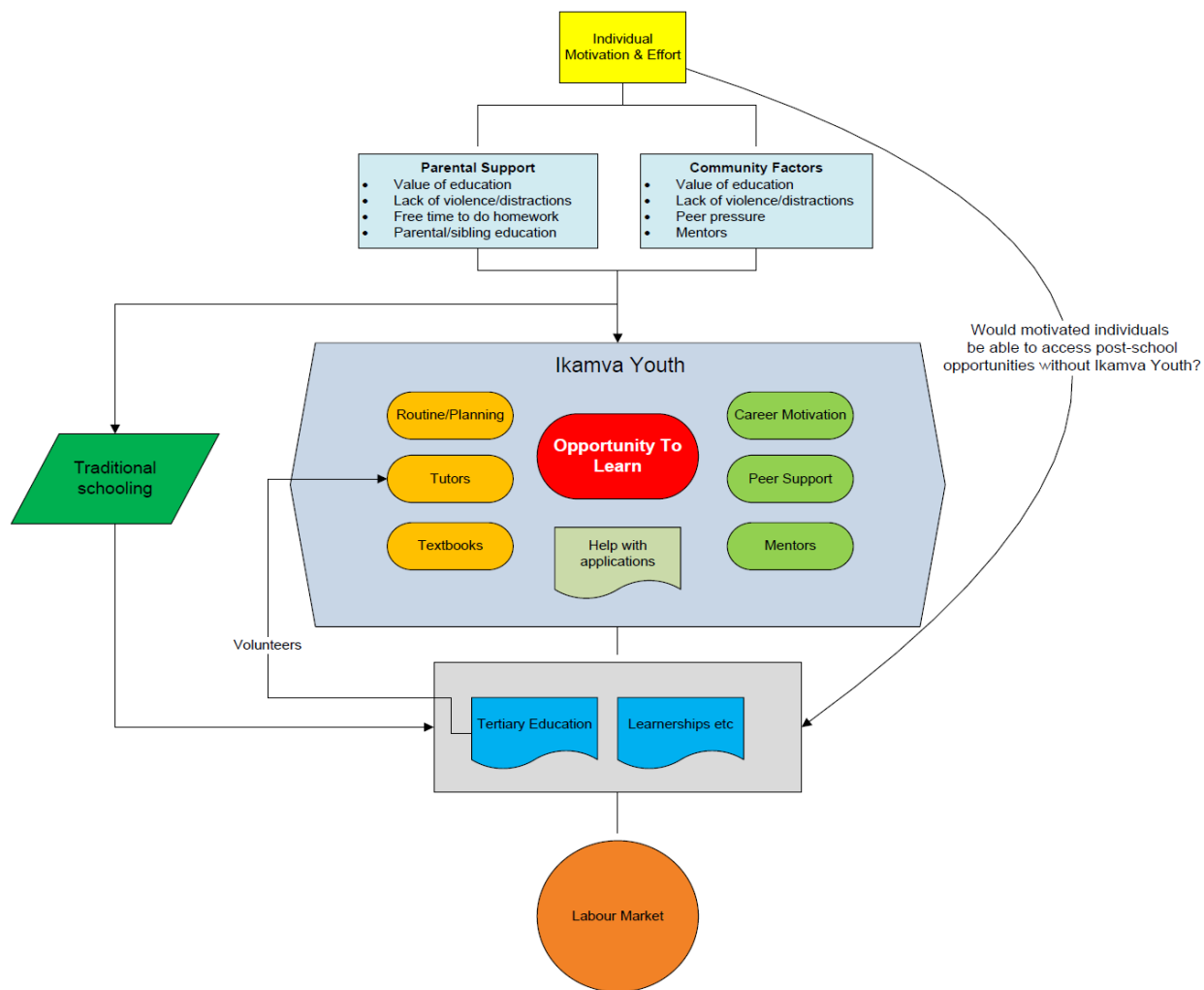
METHODOLOGY

Following a preliminary meeting with representatives from DG Murray and IkamvaYouth, it was decided that the right strategy for the evaluation would be a mixed-methods approach involving both quantitative surveys and qualitative interviews. The quantitative survey was aimed at both past Ikamvanites and present Ikamvanites (with a different survey instrument for each group), while the qualitative interviews were mainly with ex-Ikamvanites, although a few current Ikamvanites were also interviewed. A brief description of the surveys and interviews is provided below:

Online survey:

The purpose of the quantitative surveys was to collect information on five specific areas of students' life: (1) Personal information, (2) Home-background information, (3) School information, (4) information on the IkamvaYouth Program, and (5) information on the current situation of former Ikamvanites. Since almost all of these were multiple choice questions, it made it possible to compare students across branches, age-groups etc., – something that is more difficult in qualitative surveys due to the uniqueness of the open-format responses.

Tracking Ikamvanites

In order to administer the survey online, it was necessary to collect the contact details of all Ikamvanites (past and present). To do so, the team employed Phillip Mcelu who is an ex-Ikamvanite and had contact with many ex-Ikamvanites. By using the existing Ikamva database, in conjunction with Facebook and informal social networks, he was able to track 95% of Ikamvanites in the 2 month period. The most important information needed was the student's name, surname and a valid cell phone number to SMS the survey website address.

Sample Selection

After it was decided that the survey should be administered online, one major problem that needed to be overcome was the potential sample selection process inherent in voluntary surveys. Theory and common sense dictate that respondents are more likely to participate in a survey if they feel very strongly (positively or negatively) about the survey content, whereas those who have no strong feelings about the content are less likely to participate. Similarly, we were worried that individuals with a lower opportunity cost of their time might be more likely to respond, e.g. that an unemployed ex-learner may be more likely to respond than someone working very long hours. This clearly introduces bias since the sample may therefore be unrepresentative in a number of ways. In response to this, the team decided that providing a financial incentive to respondents would decrease the sample selection problem, since all respondents would be more likely to participate, not only those who felt strongly about their IkamvaYouth experience.

Since there are many complications when transferring cash online, the team decided to use cell phone airtime codes instead. Given that almost all Ikamvanites (past and present) either had their own cell-phone or knew someone with a cell phone (and could thus sell the airtime), it was decided that sending an airtime code for R30 was easier than trying to send R30 cash. Most Ikamvanites come from socioeconomically disadvantaged backgrounds and, therefore R30 was considered to be a sufficient incentive to spend 30 minutes completing a questionnaire.

Once the majority of Ikamvanites (95%) had been tracked, we estimated the breakdown of cell phone networks (MTN, Vodacom, Cell-C, etc.) of the Ikamvanites by using the first three or four digits of their cell phone numbers. This was important since we had to buy cell phone airtime in these proportions. After buying these codes and capturing them in the system, these were included in a database that was linked to the online survey. Essentially respondents would receive an SMS and be asked to go to the survey website and log in using their cell-phone number, which acted as a password. After successfully completing the survey, they would be SMS'd R30 worth of airtime for the service provider of their choice.

After internal discussions and consultations with Ikamva staff, the finalised online survey was submitted to Stellenbosch University's ethics committee for ethical clearance. The survey was subsequently approved for implementation with the addition of an informed consent gateway on the first page of the survey instrument. This can be found in Appendix C. After piloting the survey with 4 past and 4 present Ikamvanites in order to test the instrument and the SMS-integration, students were SMS'd in batches of 100 and asked to complete the online survey and were informed of the R30 airtime incentive.

The three main complications that arose from the online survey were as follows: (1) Some students tried to complete the online survey on their cell phones, which was problematic, because the survey was designed to be completed on a computer; (2) Some students did not understand parts of the survey and thus left that out; (3) Some students misunderstood the incentive and thought that students who completed the survey would be entered into a draw for R30 airtime rather than a guaranteed R30 airtime.

These complications were overcome by having one of the team personnel 'on-call' who would respond to "Please-call-me's" or emails as the students were completing the survey. In addition there were designated days and times at all IkamvaYouth branches where one of the evaluation team members (i.e. not a member of Ikamva) would be available to assist students in completing the online survey. Lastly, physical surveys were also made available to students who did not want to (or could not) fill out the online survey. These were subsequently captured at Stellenbosch.

Qualitative interviews

In addition to the online survey, the team interviewed 73 ex-Ikamvanites from 3 branches, namely the Cato Manor branch, the Ivory Park branch (Gauteng), and the Makhaza branch (Western Cape). Starting from a full list of eligible students, they were stratified by branch and then randomised within these strata to select Ikamvanites to be interviewed. These individuals were then phoned to arrange an interview time and informed that they would be paid R80 cash for their time and transport costs. If an individual could not come, or did not arrive on the specified date, this person was replaced with another from the randomised list.

The first draft of the interview questionnaire was piloted on 7 current Ikamvanites during the Durban branch visit in October. After some revision the finalised questionnaire was used in the remaining interviews in each of the Ikamva branches.

The qualitative interviews proved particularly insightful, especially regarding the complex interconnected problems faced by these young people. It soon became clear that these students

faced multiple constraints, including financial, social, psychological, emotional, linguistic and academic constraints.

In order to retain anonymity, interview responses have been aggregated and then divided into seven different themes, namely (1) the IkamvaYouth program, (2) living situation, (3) social issues, (4) financial constraints, (5) university, (6) students who did not go to university, and (7) future expectations of students.

QUALITATIVE ASSESSMENT OF THE IKAMVAYOUTH PROGRAM BASED ON INTERVIEWS

Introduction: General impressions

All Ikamvanites had a positive experience of the organisation and its role in their lives, as mentioned before. IkamvaYouth is highly regarded and many attribute whatever success they have achieved in their studies to IkamvaYouth.

Not all branches receive the same treatment and there were differences in when different programmes were rolled out in different branches. For example, food and refreshments, travel support, and mentoring, were introduced at different places at different times. This raises the question whether Ikamva is one organisation or many. While there are nuances in how the different branches operate, this is reflective of adaptation to local conditions, e.g. transport may be an issue at one branch but not at another, or the need to provide food may be more severe in one location than another.

It should also be recognised that there are great differences between students. They face different initial conditions, and where one may succeed in certain respects, the other would fail; some are better motivated, have a better background, or are simply financially in a better position than others. This heterogeneity leads to differences in how they perform in matric as well as differences in their ability to go on to further studies.

There is also a social element to IkamvaYouth, both for tutors and for students. Students often come from broken homes and have a limited sense of community, and IkamvaYouth offers a place to belong. Tutors talk to the students like students themselves and unlike the teachers, they talk at the same level.

A problem that was experienced in the Nyanga branch, and that was mentioned in a number of interviews, was that of getting university students to tutor and then having mass absenteeism over the exam time, with the consequence that many of the students did not get the support they required when writing their exams. On the other hand, getting local post-matric people who may be unemployed and are perhaps less appropriate people to assist as volunteers has its own problems.

A major issue for Ikamva is whether their support system becomes of such great value that it may in the end detract from the independence of individuals participating in IkamvaYouth. When that scaffolding gets removed, as when they get to university, some students struggle to make the adjustment. There is perhaps also a need to prepare students mentally for university.

Another issue to consider is whether to deepen interventions rather than expand them, or whether it is possible to expand the numbers in particular branches, rather than starting new branches, in order to achieve economies of scale. From our own observation it appears that there is limited scope for this, unless activities were to be scaled up significantly, as most of the tutoring sessions are already quite heavily subscribed.

Views on the IkamvaYouth program

The interviews and responses to questionnaires made it very clear that IkamvaYouth is highly regarded by both present and past participants in the program. There were no exceptions to this, at least not among the large number of participants or former participants who could be interviewed. This positive view of IkamvaYouth was even present amongst those who were not particularly successful in their studies or were less successful in accessing tertiary study opportunities. All students expressed gratitude to IkamvaYouth and would recommend it to their friends. In addition they supported the bulk of activities IkamvaYouth is engaged in and mentioned that many of these initiatives, particularly the homework sessions, made a big difference to them. The box shows one such response.

> **Why did you join IkamvaYouth?**
> - *I wanted to improve my marks, that is why I joined IkamvaYouth.*
> - *If you see outside, you will see people staying in the corners doing nothing and committing*

In addition to the academic help IkamvaYouth offers, numerous students mentioned the social support that the Ikamva family provides. This can be seen most clearly in the post-interview comments from one of our interviewers where she notes that she "*got the impression that IkamvaYouth meant a lot to him. He actually said that the days he came to IkamvaYouth were days he got up in the morning and had something to look forward to. I also think he really misses the support and encouragement IkamvaYouth offered him during high school*", while another interviewer noted that "*at IkamvaYouth she felt like there was a sense of sharing and family that seemed to be lacking in her home*". Clearly IkamvaYouth acts as a type of 'functional family' for many of these students who lack any semblance of a normal family.

Former participants' views on what Ikamva should improve

When asked what they would change about IkamvaYouth, some students wanted IkamvaYouth to play an even *bigger* role in their life beyond school, e.g. teaching them about life in general and helping them after matric, while others more appropriately realised that that was beyond IkamvaYouth's brief. For example, one student suggested that Ikamva should help them figure out how one should go about looking for a job and surviving hard times at work or at university, assist students with registration, provide tutoring at university, etc. Clearly, many students felt that the period beyond matric was actually a more difficult adjustment than dealing with the challenges of matric itself. They were very grateful for what IkamvaYouth had managed to do for them, but some may have become overly dependent on IkamvaYouth or similar support structures, and were consequently facing greater difficulties when such support structures were no longer available to them, as was the case at university or when entering the labour market after school. On the other hand, respondents were particularly concerned with the issues they were facing at the time, and may thus have placed much emphasis on these and less on those that were relevant while they were still at school.

What would you change about IkamvaYouth?

- *I wish they can teach us about life in general like how to look for a job and surviving hard times at work or varsity.*
- *I would want them to help us after matric.*
- *I wish Ikamva can help us with registration fees, with books also, be there for us during the adjustment process at varsity.*
- *I wish they would follow people up after matric and university so they can contact us with training companies for qualified graduates.*
- *Tutoring should start from grade 6.*
- *The current mentoring programme needs to be improved. IkamvaYouth should try to expose people to what they can expect when they get to university. Just being told what to expect is not enough, when you get to university the real thing is more demanding and different to what you hear before getting to university. IkamvaYouth should also introduce a culture of reading. Lastly, there should be study sessions introduced in addition to homework sessions – this should be devoted to studying.*
- *Introduce a culture of reading – not just reading textbook but also other types of readings like for example fiction. Expand the winter school programme to run over a longer period – this would increase interaction between IkamvaYouth participants, which is currently needed. The mentors should be people that come from within IkamvaYouth, i.e. they should be aware of the aims and goals of IkamvaYouth, because current mentors seem to be divorced from the aims of IkamvaYouth. But overall it has been successful.*
- *There needs to be a stronger focus on helping matriculants.*
- *I wish Ikamva can track everyone and help them after matric...I also hope that we can know why only a few of us finish varsity while most of our friends from Ikamva don't.*
- *They should follow up their ex learners to see how they are doing.*
- *They need more space at Nyanga.*
- *There is a big difference between IkamvaYouth Makhaza and IkamvaYouth Nyanga at Nyanga there seems to be much less experience since everything was still quite new. Nyanga also don't understand what IkamvaYouth is about.*

Living situation

The living situation of many Ikamvanites is far removed from a stable home environment. Many students live in homes which are populated with extended family members who are usually unemployed, as are most household members. Students who live in households with both of their parents are the exception, with most Ikamvanites living with one parent or a grandparent, as well as a few cousins. Some Ikamvanites also indicated that they had their own children which they had to care for, and that other household members would sometimes care for the child(ren) when they were at school or at work. Clearly the home background of many Ikamvanites is often more of an obstacle than a source of support.

> **Living Situations**
> - *I live at home with my old brother, his wife, two sisters, and a brother. No one is working.*
> - *I live at home with my parents, my brother, a sister, 3 nephews, my girlfriend and my 3 kids. My father is the one who is working.*
> - *I live in Makaza with my sister and brother. My mother passed away and my father moved out.*
> - *I am the breadwinner of my family. My mom and stepdad don't work and I have to provide for my two younger siblings.*
> - *I live at home with my child, grandmother, a sister, and 4 cousins. My grandmother is a pensioner, my father is a security guard.* (She helps to support her siblings but is "*desperate for work*")

Social issues

Respondents to the qualitative interviews also raised a large number of social issues. The quotations below give some indication of these types of issues, such as in-fighting within families in the home, gangs and drugs, situations where children are abandoned by their own parents, etc. Such circumstances make it very difficult for children to make progress with their studies, even more so at tertiary level, as it is often expected of them to make a bigger contribution to the finances of the family and the community once they have completed school. Largely as a result of this, the Ikamva staff often act as counsellors to these students, who have nowhere else to turn for emotional support and guidance. In addition, the strong links between Ikamvanites operates not only as a form of positive peer-pressure, but also as a social support system.

> **Social issues**
> - *I can't study when my parents are fighting because I sleep opposite their room and when they are fighting it is so loud. A social worker is helping me acquire a place to stay on college next year.*
> - *There are gangs in Khayelitsha. It's horrible not to be mobile – you can't move from one area of Khayelitsha to another – just for walking to another gang's area you get beaten up. Last week my friend walked to Makhaya and he got beaten up just for walking there to see someone.* [Why do people join gangs?] *I have no idea why people join gangs and take drugs – perhaps out of frustration – like committing suicide to relieve the stress. But maybe it is just stupidity. If you join a gang you are counting your days of living.*
> - [Where do you want to live?] *Anywhere but not here in Khayalitsha.*
> - *I want to go to university for myself and for my family.*
> - *My mother died when I was in Grade 10 and it really dropped my self-esteem. My whole world collapsed and my dreams failed. She was a nurse and she wanted me to follow in her footsteps. I let her down in a way because I didn't go to university. I want to do something to make her proud.*
> - *My wife (then my girlfriend) fell pregnant with our first child, and I was still studying and not even working part time so at one point I thought of quitting my studies to look for a job.* (He didn't, and he graduated with a diploma).

Financial constraints

One of the points that were repeatedly expressed in the interview debriefings was the prevalence of financial constraints. Almost all students who were interviewed mentioned that limited finances affected their lives in many ways, sometimes acting as binding constraints on further studies beyond

school, while other students mentioned that they had to work part time to supplement household income. Many students expressed that they had very limited options. Often finding a job was a necessity to support the household.

During one of the site visits, an Ikamva branch manager related the story of a student who would only attend homework sessions every second week. Upon enquiry, the branch manager discovered that this student's family had only R15 left at the end of every week and that they had given the choice to the student about whether to use the money for taxi-fare to get to IkamvaYouth or to buy more bread for the family. The student decided to alternate each week between attending Ikamva and buying more bread for the family. Subsequently, Ikamva decided to reimburse the transportation costs of such students.

Financial constraints

- *I want to work part time - give my mom some money.*
- *The problem with my studies is that I do not have a textbook so I basically rely on borrowing notes.*
- *Sometimes transport money to college is not always available so sometimes I miss my lectures which tend to affect my results.*
- *My parents are not working and someone needed to earn money to keep my younger sisters in school. After finishing school I knew I had to get a job to earn some money.*
- *Part of the reason I think I failed is that I didn't have the textbooks - they are too expensive.*
- *I have to look after my family, I can't just do what I want.*
- *Everything involves money and the books are very expensive.*
- *You know at UCT most of the kids there are from the rich families, so I do feel out of place without money. Also money for textbooks is not always there.*
- *My parents are old now so I am hoping to find a job soon enough so I can be the one looking after them now, instead of them looking after me.*
- *When I got the job at Shoprite, I had to take it. It was the only thing I could find and I had to earn money.*

The above anecdotes point to one of the causes of persistent poverty. Students who come from households that are living close to subsistence levels lack any resources to break out of this 'poverty trap'. The immediate financial needs of the household become the foremost concern of the student, to the detriment of any long term benefits from higher education or learnerships. Whether or not students and their families understand (or believe) that the earnings forgone during studying are only a small fraction of increased future earnings is unclear. In one particular interview, there was a clear indication that the high levels of unemployment have discouraged some job-seekers, as the interviewer noted: "*The environment where she is staying has a negative influence on her attitude as she is now starting to believe that it was probably a waste of money, as some community members have said, to go to varsity because she will not find a job anyway.*"

Problems faced at university

Respondents mentioned a number of problems they encountered at university. Perhaps most striking of these was how often students mentioned a lack of English proficiency as the most severe problem. Many said that they battled to understand academic English and that this required them to work harder in order to understand lectures and tutorials. Other problems mentioned include that of having too much freedom and having friends who were not dedicated enough to their studies,

with consequences that spilled over to the students involved. These remarks may pertain not only in to the school, but also specifically to the Ikamva environment, where the learners had considerable structure and where they were used to having a supportive group of peers who were equally dedicated to achieving good marks.

Some students regarded the social side of university as a problem to be overcome, while others felt that they did not have the required background to deal with the difficulty of the work covered at university. In addition, there are many practical problems, including finding accommodation suitable in terms of both the length of travel required and cost. Many students were surprised to find that at university lecturers did not really deal with their individual problems, but left them to sort these out on their own. There was also a feeling that 'no-one is supervising progress' at university, as one of the respondents put it, and the feeling that nobody cares about whether you do well or not and that 'you are completely on your own'. The problem of managing time between lectures and spending such time appropriately was also mentioned by a few. As one student put it, "at university one has to push, manage time and plan. You are just on your own." These references appear to be implicit comparisons to the support offered by Ikamva staff.

Is university very different to school?

- *Yes, big time. At university (the lecturers) don't care, you are on your own.*
- *Yes, university is very different to school, at university no one is supervising progress.*
- *My first year was really tough, I knew no one - you are on your own at university and no one cares but I met some people after some time.*
- *At high school we were never really encouraged to challenge the information we were getting, so university was very different to what I was used to.*
- *Ya. At school you could relax because teachers were giving out everything and you could get 100% without studying. But at university one has to research and be independent.*
- *University makes school look so easy now. In high school teachers were more caring and made sure that work was done and done on time. In university we are given freedom.*
- *It is different, more work but less supervision and the lecturers don't care.*
- *University life makes people forget where they are coming from, and they mix with rich kids and do wrong things.*
- *Yes, at university one has to push, manage time and plan. You are just on your own. You meet new people you are not to used to talking to.*

> **What do you think is the main problem people like you encounter at university?**
> - *It was hard to adjust, particularly for the first 6 months.*
> - *There is too much work and it is hard to adjust, especially to the independence.*
> - *Students are not equipped. For black students university is a whole different environment. They get overwhelmed.*
> - *University has been challenging - there is the social side of it that one has to deal with as well as the added pressure from learning (and competing) with students who were from good schools.*
> - *Those students who drop out probably weren't very successful at managing their time properly, because university is overwhelming and needs one to manage one's time properly. The type and conditions of the school that we come from in the townships are also the problem because they often lack resources like computers.*
> - *If you can't speak English well enough, you struggle to understand the classes.*
> - *It's the language, and then we distance ourselves from the other people who can help us with some things because they don't speak like us.*
> - *I understand English but academic English at university is confusing. It's also difficult to keep track of all the different types of communication on notice boards and email notices.*
> - *English was a problem and I always had to work harder to know what was going on.*
> - *You can't fall behind otherwise you will fail.*
> - *The main problem is that people enrol for the wrong qualifications. Despite career guidance, a lot of my friends applied for the wrong field of study.*
> - *Choosing the wrong friends and too much freedom…the trick is to choose the right friends. Working and studying is not easy.*
> - *Peer pressure - you see a girl learning to drink just because she has friends who drink.*
> - *Commuting from Khayelitsha to the university. We don't have much time to stay in the library until late.*
> - *You can't really study on the train because it is too cramped [this is a student who spends 4 hours a day commuting to and from UWC].*
> - *I have to commute by taxi for 2 hours (one way). I don´t have enough time to study at the university library, and at home I have problems; sometimes my brother is high.*

While there were a significant number of respondents who were attending university, some students never enrolled or dropped out of university. More often than not the reasons for not going to university were financial or due to family responsibility, as can be seen in the comments below.

> **Why didn't you go to University?**
> - *My mother got sick then I had to go and work so I can support the family.*
> - *I am the main bread winner so I cannot afford to quit my job and go to university.*
> - *Financial problems are the main thing that stops me from going to university – my mother has just been the single person who has been supporting me financially and emotionally.*
> - *I couldn't apply to university because I had no ID"*
> - *After some time when my mother passed away. We (my sister, brother and I) had a fallout with our father and he had to move out of the house. This is how I ended up looking for a job.*

Many of these students who do not go to university or other post-school opportunities end up in low level equilibriums which are difficult to escape. One student mentioned that she had been doing nothing for two years, and another that she cleans the house and watches television. While some students do find employment, it is usually unskilled non-permanent work such as working at a grocery store or a retail outlet. One interviewer related the story of a student who was desperately

trying to find work and submitting her C.V. to restaurants and clothing shops but had not found a job yet.

Current situation
- *I am sitting at home and very frustrated by my situation.*
- *I have been doing nothing for 2009 and 2010.*
- *I'm working part time and studying a diploma in Youth Development and also working for Checkers.*
- If she hears of a job vacancy, she applies for the job. She helps the old lady who lives in the front of their house – she takes her to the old age home. She cleans the house and watches TV. *[interviewer's comments]*

Students' expectations about the future

When asked where they saw themselves in five years' time, it became clear that many of the former Ikamvanites were highly motivated and ambitious. Many of the young people reported that IkamvaYouth had broadened their horizons and raised their expectations of what they could achieve and become. This is regarded as a major achievement because such inspired visions of the future can be an important catalyst for social change, but is often difficult to achieve amongst young people in poor communities, where tragedy and crisis tend to be widespread and there are often few success stories.

However, it was concerning that some individuals appear to have very lofty aspirations that did not appear to be anchored in a concrete set of plans or a sober assessment of their own abilities. One ex-learner mentioned that he wanted to be a civil engineer since he had heard that there were few of them in South Africa. This desire was not because he was suited to studying engineering, simply that he thought that it would be lucrative. In another case an ex-student hoped to own a house and a car in five years' time, though she was only partially employed at the time of the interview, had passed fewer than four matric subjects and could not gain entry into any tertiary institution. It is likely that much of this is simply the type of wishful thinking sometimes found amongst some people of this age group. Even those with more practical dreams tended sometimes to overreach in terms of what they thought were possible.

Aiming too high may not be lamentable as long as the energy is invested in a productive channel. Lofty aspirations that propel an individual forward are unlikely to be regrettable as long as the effort is not entirely misdirected. Perhaps the concern relating to the ambition of these individuals should therefore not be with the ambition itself, but rather with what appeared to be a preoccupation with tertiary studies as a way to reach these ideals. These dreams of studying further were probably nurtured through a combination of channels, including some structured mentoring and more informal shaping of expectations through contact with the tutors attending university or peers applying for university or college. Whichever way it was acquired, the interviews suggested that many ex-learners were left with the impression that this was the only way forward and felt that they have failed because they have not gone to university. While there is no implication that Ikamva is responsible for these narrow perspectives on post-matric possibilities for advancement, we flag this

because we think it is an important area where Ikamva could add value. This links to Appadarui's (2004)[2] argument that the poor has a lower natural capacity to navigate themselves towards their aspirations because they tend to have fewer opportunities for trial and error and therefore less exposure to gain experience or learn from others about the various strategies available and their associated likelihood of success.

Where do you see yourself in 5 years?
- *I want to be a civil engineer since I was told there is a few of them in South Africa*
- *My dream is to be a qualified electrical engineer in 5 years. I am planning to re-write my physics next year in March so that I will be accepted at CPUT so that I can qualify. I now study for my physics in the library, but I don't have the text book or a tutor anymore so I have to make use of library books to help me. I would like to live in my own house and I would like for it to be a formal house, not like where I'm living now.*
- *I would like to firstly complete my diploma. Next three years I want to do event management. Plus I am also pushing for my music talent. In 5 years I want to be owning my own studio.*
- *Millionaire, with a husband and a house in the suburbs*
- *I see myself with a BTech Degree, employed, getting my own salary, building a house for my Grammy, owning car and a house, but not having a baby so soon. I am an ambitious person; I will be successful one day; I come from a very poor background; I live with my Grammy, who is sick because she is old; I am proud of my background (It keeps me moving each and every day I want to break the cycle of poverty).*
- *In 5 years I would like to have a comfortable life and live in a place that is safe.*
- *I want to go to university [This student indicated she was not computer literate and she battles to speak English properly]*
- *Beach house in Mossel Bay*
- *I want to help build a future for my daughter.*
- *Working for one of the biggest companies earning a huge salary.*
- *I want to have a good career, I want to be someone.*

Conclusion regarding interviews

The qualitative interviews were particularly useful in that they provided nuance and detail around some of the challenges that these students face. All students expressed gratitude to IkamvaYouth, and made it clear that they attribute much of their success to the programme. This being said, many students who continued on into higher education found the transition from school to university a challenge which they could not always overcome. Whether it was due to financial constraints, logistical problems (housing and transport), language difficulties or the new social pressures inherent in a university environment, some students simply could not transition well enough to consistently pass their university courses. Students who do not make it into higher education or learnerships had to deal with family disappointment, the stresses of unemployment, and a host of unmet expectations and doubts about the future, which has left many of them bitterly disappointed.

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[2]Appadurai, A. 2004. Capacity to aspire: Culture and the terms of recognition. In Rao, V. & Walton, M. (eds.) *Culture and Public Action.* Washington D.C.: The World Bank

QUANTITATIVE DIMENSIONS OF THE FINDINGS: ANALYSIS OF THE ONLINE SURVEY

Limitations on interpreting the quantitative findings

As indicated earlier, the nature of this evaluation makes it impossible to draw robust statistical conclusions. The main obstacle is identifying a valid counterfactual due to the selection of learners into the Ikamva programme. The selection amongst applicants focuses on retaining especially those candidates who were better motivated. Consequently those learners starting the programme were likely to be more motivated, and perhaps also had greater ability, than their counterparts. Also, students with low attendance were kicked out at various points in the year, reinforcing selection on motivation because this means that continuing the programme until the end of the matric year is more likely to occur amongst better motivated students.

Previous studies have found that more motivated and more able individuals with better home circumstances are more likely to sign up for such support programmes because they are likely to benefit more from participation. Comparing the achievements of such a group of individuals with aggregate or average metrics for their peers can overestimate the contribution of the programme to performance if the individuals that participated in the programme were not representative in terms of motivation, ability, household support or other individual attributes that are expected to boost programme impact. Thus the results of these students could not validly be compared to those of others from the same community, as the greater motivation of the Ikamva students alone is already likely to have led to better results, even if they had not participated in the programme. It is thus impossible to tell with any degree of statistical certainty whether the programme *by itself* improved outcomes for these learners.

What may reduce this issue of sample selection bias, whereby students selected into the programme are not comparable to others, is the fact that Ikamva does not apply selection criteria very strictly; in fact, there even seems to be some arbitrariness in the way Ikamva selects students into the programme. The selection largely takes place based on a motivation that applicants need to write about why they want to join Ikamva; the effort put into the essay rather than anything else appears to be regarded as evidence of motivation. This may thus mean that the sample selection bias is somewhat less than could have been the case, but this problem continues to limit the statistical inferences one can draw about the value of the programme.

Apart from the potential sample selection bias, statistical inference is also complicated by the relatively small numbers of students. With small groups of individuals, statistical differences may more often be the result of fluctuations in the innate ability of learners over years, between branches and between those selected into Ikamva and their school peers. With smaller samples there is a greater risk that this may distort results.

The heterogeneity of subject choices may also make comparison difficult. In this regard it is likely that the support given by Ikamva to students to take courses that offer more opportunities at tertiary level may have encouraged Ikamva students to take more difficult subjects, with a strong

emphasis on Mathematics and Physical Science. Alternatively, it could be that students who have enrolled for these subjects are more motivated to seek support from organisations such as Ikamva.

The results indicate that Ikamva students are considerably more likely than students nationally to have selected such subjects: While only 45% of matriculants nationally wrote Mathematics in 2011, this proportion was 81% amongst the 85 Ikamvanites for whom individual level results are available for Mathematics or Mathematical Literacy from the 2011 exams. There is thus far greater selection into Mathematics than for the population as a whole, and this bias towards the more ambitious subjects on the part of Ikamva students is even greater if one were to compare them to only learners from similar (mainly township) schools as can be seen in Figure 12. A similar picture holds with regard to Physical Science: Whereas only 37% of matriculants wrote this subject, it was 61% amongst those Ikamvanites for whom individual results are available.

So measuring the contribution of Ikamva to matric results is complicated both by their higher motivation, which in part explains their selection into and perseverance with the Ikamva programme, and on the other hand that they (with Ikamva's support) set themselves more difficult hurdles in terms of subject choice, and by overwhelmingly electing to do Mathematics rather than Mathematical Literacy and by their more than proportional choice of Physical Science, a subject that even amongst its more select matriculant population has a far lower pass rate than most other subjects.

Results from the survey undertaken amongst IkamvaYouth participants

Socio-economic analysis

An analysis of the results of Ikamva students compared to comparator groups is nevertheless instructive, despite the provisos mentioned above. The main analysis is based on responses to the online survey, in terms of matric results, as well as information obtained from Ikamva about the results of the students who wrote matric examinations at the end of 2011.

The interviews and responses to questionnaires made it very clear that IkamvaYouth is extremely highly regarded by both present and past participants in the program. There were no exceptions to this, at least among the large number of participants or former participants who took part in the online survey or in the qualitative interviews. As Table 2 shows, 97% of respondents indicated that Ikamva inspired them to work harder, and even the proportions who responded positively when asked whether Ikamva changed their expectations of what they could become or helped them to access post school opportunities were also extremely high. This exceptionally positive view of IkamvaYouth was even present amongst those who were not particularly successful in their studies or were less successful in accessing tertiary study opportunities. Thus the institution is highly regarded and the bulk of its activities is seen as appropriate by the students participating in its programmes.

Table 2: Views of respondents on Ikamva's role

	Yes
Did IkamvaYouth inspire you to work harder?	97%
Did IkamvaYouth change your expectations of what you can become?	83%
Did IkamvaYouth help you to access post schooling opportunities?	85%

Source: Own calculations from survey

One may well ask, however, whether such aspirations could also have negative consequences. Where aspirations are not in line with what is realistically achievable by particular individuals, this may well lead to frustration and in some sense, make matters worse.

In order to be able to place Ikamva students on a socio-economic scale within South African society, questions were included in the questionnaire about the possession or presence of certain items, mainly assets, that were similar to questions also asked in the General Household Survey. The questions included for this purpose related to owning a micro-wave, car, cell phone, stereo set, satellite TV, personal computer, what their energy source was for cooking, and whether they have sometimes gone hungry in the past year. Thus it was possible, using Multiple Correspondence Analysis, to derive a measure of socio-economic status or wealth. Figure 3 shows the wealth distribution, using the wealth index constructed in this way. The central line in each bar indicates the mean value of the score, the highest value of the bar is one standard deviation above the mean, and the lowest value one standard deviation below the mean. Thus, typically, just more than two-thirds (68%) of those observed would lie in the range between the top and the bottom of the columns. All responses were normalised to give a mean of 500 across all households and a standard deviation of 100 for the country as a whole. [3]

Comparing the figures with those from the General Household Survey allows one to see that the three Western Cape branches of IkamvaYouth are very similar to the overall household sample in South Africa, and somewhat better off than black African households in the country as a whole. This can be expected, as these branches are located in urban areas. As the same does not apply to all black South African households, a similar metropolitan black sample of children in the last three school grades was also identified within the GHS data and is shown as the third bar from the top in Figure 1. As can be seen, the Ikamva respondents were only very slightly better off than this group, indicating that Ikamva serves a roughly representative sample (judged by socio-economic status) of metropolitan black youth.

However, it is notable that the Kwazulu-Natal and to a lesser extent the Ivory Park branch are considerably wealthier than the Western Cape branches and by implication therefore also wealthier than all South African black urban youths. One possible explanation for this is that the longer transport times required to get to the Ivory Park and Kwazulu-Natal branches compared to the

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[3] The slight deviation from this in the graph and in Table 3 is explained by discontinuities in the MCA scores generated. Thus the mean for the sample of South African youths in the last three school years of matric age is 507 and the standard deviation 103.

Western Cape branches may preclude some poorer individuals either due to transport costs or time constraints, especially where they may have considerable household duties). Note that there is also less variation in wealth in the three Western Cape branches than is the case for the other two branches. To some extent it may be a reflection of less inequality in socio-economic circumstances of the black population in the Western Cape: There are both fewer more affluent households and fewer very poor ones than in many other parts of the country.

Table 3 shows the means and standard deviations for the same wealth index.

Figure 3: Wealth (asset) index for households containing youths in Grades 9 to 12: Ikamva and samples from the General Household Survey of 2009
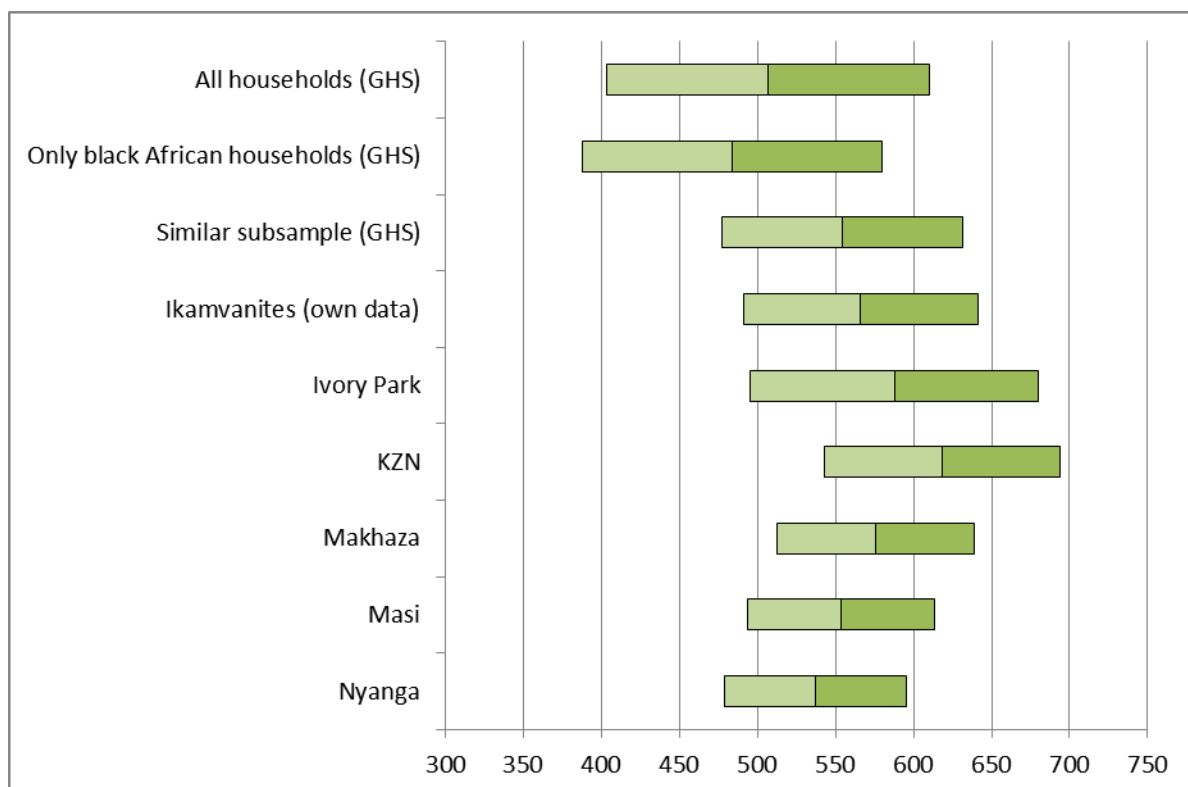
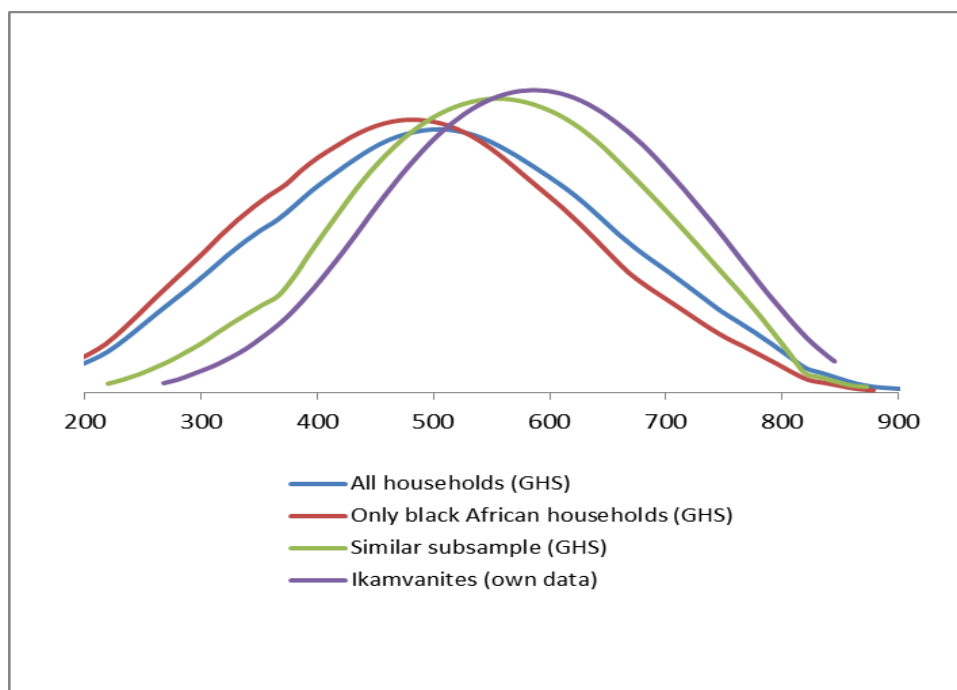*Source: Own calculations from survey and General Household Survey 2009*

Table 3: Mean and standard deviation of asset wealth index for Ikamva and its branches compared to some national figures based on the GHS2009 survey

	Mean	Standard deviation
All households (GHS)	506.8	103.2
Only black African households (GHS)	483.9	95.8
Similar subsample (GHS)	554.3	77.2
Ikamvanites (own data)	**566.2**	**75.3**
Nyanga	537.1	58.4
Masi	553.8	59.8
Makhaza	575.9	63.3
KZN (Cato Manor)	618.4	75.6

Ivory Park	587.7	92.6

Figure 4 shows similar results, but this time comparing the different samples and sub-samples from the General Household Survey with the figures for all Ikamva respondents

Figure 4: Wealth (asset) distribution for different samples: Ikamva respondents and samples from the GHS

Source: Own calculations from survey and General Household Survey 2009

From the above it is clear that participants in the IkamvaYouth programme are better off than South African households generally, and black South Africans in particular. Yet they are still a relatively deprived population, as some non-asset measures indicate. It is notable that the frequency of going to bed hungry was quite high amongst all current and past participants, with 45% claiming that this happened to them sometimes at school, while it was even more common in Nyanga and in Masi. Of the total sample of IkamvaYouth surveyed, both former and current Ikamvanites, only 38% stayed with their parents while at school, but these numbers were much lower in Nyanga and Masi as well as in Kwazulu-Natal. Household sizes were not all that different across the various branches. Having an own room occurs most frequently in Masi and Makhaza, and less in the other three branches, whereas having an own table is more common in the Kwazulu-Natal branch and in Ivory Park, and having an own bed in these two areas as well as in Masi, while it is quite uncommon in Nyanga. All this can be seen from Table 4.

Table 4: Non-asset measures of wealth and living standards for Ikamva respondents by branch

|	Stays with parents	Household size	Sometimes goes to bed hungry	Has own room	Has own table	Has own bed
Nyanga	25%	4.4	59%	38%	22%	59%
Masi	29%	4.7	54%	50%	29%	71%
Makhaza	41%	5.1	43%	46%	26%	60%
KZN	24%	4.9	45%	38%	40%	71%
Ivory Park	49%	4.7	43%	39%	44%	72%
Total Ikamva	38%	4.9	45%	43%	31%	65%

Source: Own calculations from survey and General Household Survey 2009

Figure 5 shows the mother's education of respondents, including both those currently at school and former participants in IkamvaYouth. As against that, parental education taken from household surveys for Grade 9 tot Grade 12 students are shown, calculated from the National Income Dynamics Study (NIDS). Over all branches, only a small proportion has studied beyond matric. Yet because there are a substantial number of matriculated mothers, a third has a matric or a tertiary qualification, according to respondents. This is not only high relative to the average of nationally, but is higher than in metropolitan areas and specifically in the three cities That Ikamva is active in, viz. Cape Town, Johannesburg and Durban. It is not known whether this indicates some selection effect, or whether there is over-reporting of mother's education, which may be likely (children are more likely to over-report mother's education than the mothers would themselves). The proportion with matric or higher is particularly high in Ivory Park and in Cato Manor, approaching half; within the three Western Cape branches, it is strangely the highest in Nyanga. Despite this, there were also about one in five respondents who indicated that they did not know their mother's education level, or that the mother did not complete primary school. For many, thus, matric is a new challenge that their mothers have not attempted.

This is even more often the case for fathers, as Figure 6 shows. About a third of the respondents did not know the education level of their fathers, which is likely to reflect largely the absence of fathers but also in some cases less communication about educational issues with fathers than with mothers. Only about one in four fathers are reported to have completed matric or higher, but this too is considerably higher than the average for both South Africa and metropolitan areas.

Figure 5: Mother's education
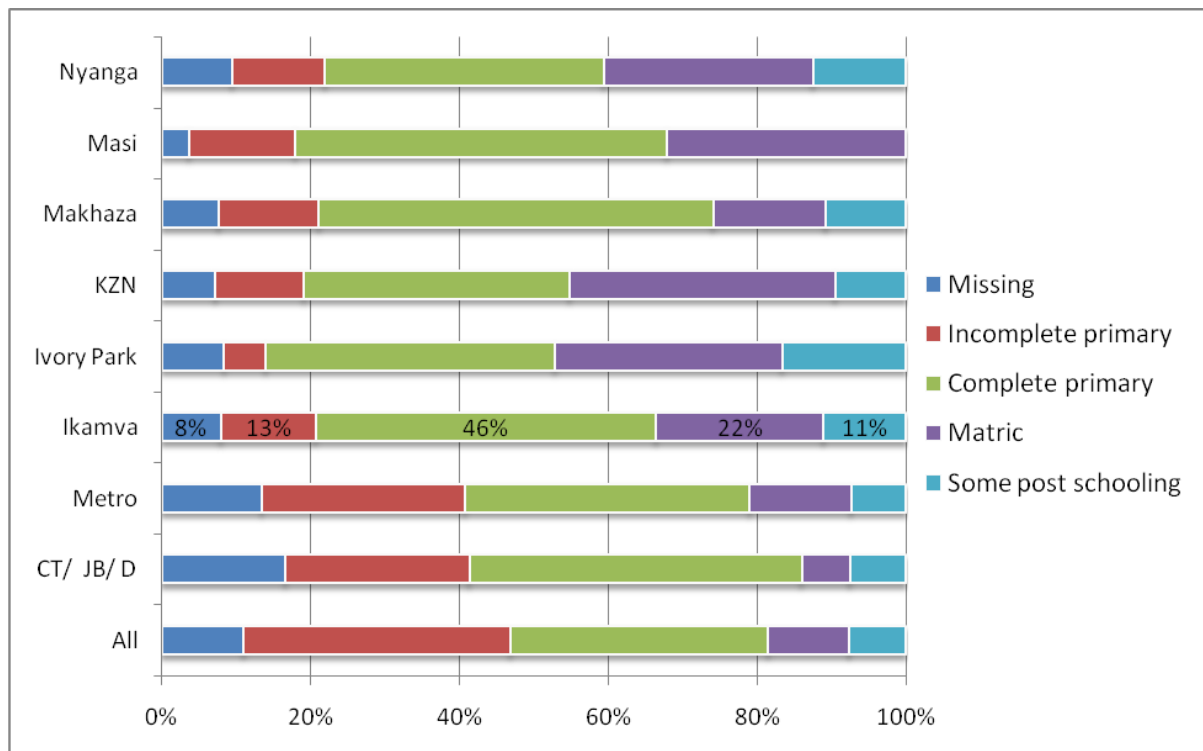
Source: Own calculations from survey and General Household Survey 2009

Figure 6: Father's education
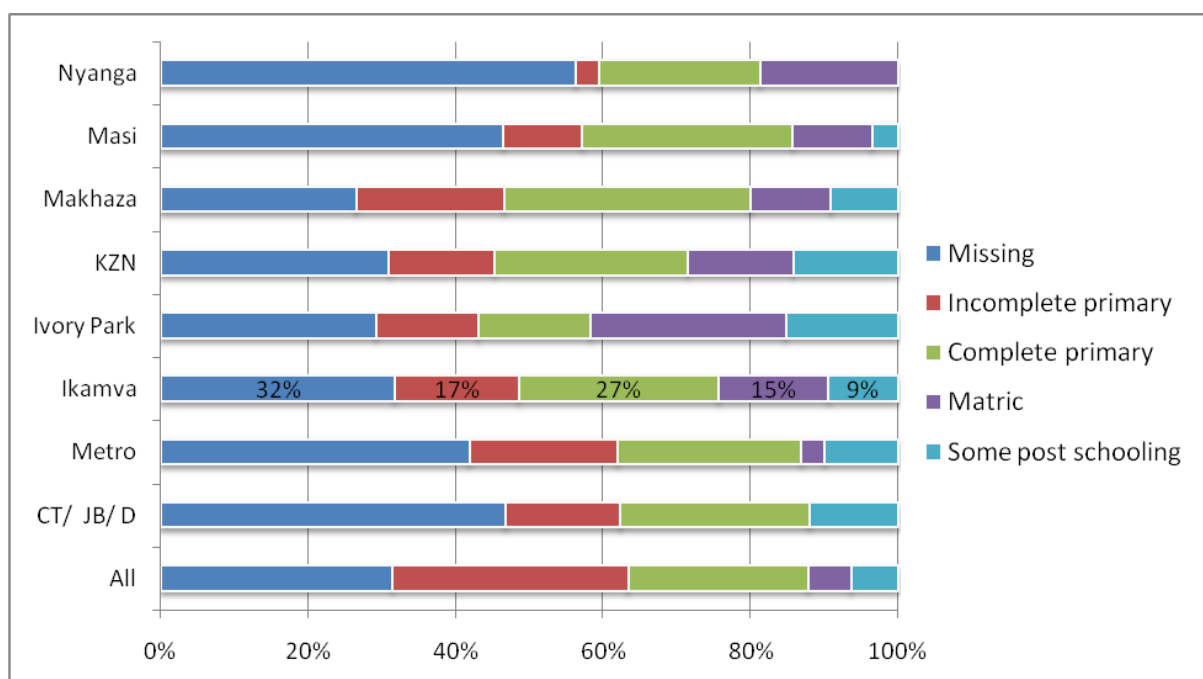
Source: Own calculations from survey and General Household Survey 2009

Table 5 shows regressions results for whether learners had help with homework when they were at school. It appears that respondents were more likely to get such assistance in cases where the mother had at least matric. The first regression shows a probit with just mother's education as the

explanatory variable, the second a regression for father's education, which is not significant; the third for both mother's and father's education, with again only mother's education being significant; and the fourth shows that the same also held even after controlling for the socio-economic status (as measured by the wealth index) of the respondents. This is broadly in line with other studies in the South African context, which tend to show the important role of educated mothers in supporting their children's studies.

Table 5: Regressions results about assistance with homework

	(1) Help with HW	(2) Help with HW	(3) Help with HW	(4) Help with HW
Mother: primary	0.0547		-0.00798	-0.00989
	(0.87)		(-0.05)	(-0.07)
Mother: matric	0.232***		0.213*	0.202*
	(3.46)		(2.23)	(2.11)
Mother: tertiary	0.243*		0.326*	0.296*
	(2.38)		(2.51)	(2.25)
Father: primary		-0.103	0.0129	0.0185
		(-1.60)	(0.09)	(0.13)
Father: matric		0.125	0.0604	0.0457
		(1.74)	(0.65)	(0.49)
Father: tertiary		-0.00862	-0.121	-0.146
		(-0.07)	(-0.91)	(-1.08)
SES				0.0506
				(1.29)
Constant	0.632***	0.759***	0.651***	0.626***
	(12.16)	(16.56)	(10.74)	(9.85)
N	342	253	244	244
$Pseudo\text{-}R^2$	0.049	0.040	0.083	0.089

t statistics in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Source: Own calculations from survey

Just more than a quarter (27%) of Ikamvanites past and present indicated that they had to travel more than 30 minutes to reach IkamvaYouth sessions. This proportion was particularly high in Ivory Park (54%) and even more so in Cato Manor (62%), but zero in Masi, and moderate in Nyanga (25%) and Makhaza (13%). These differences are understandable; the Cato Manor branch operates in a way that is designed to make it possible for children who have to travel to attend these sessions.

Do branches differ?

Figure 7 shows the average matric marks over four of the five branches. Since there were no observations of past matriculants for Masi, no average could be calculated for this branch. As one can see here, average marks differ little between branches, with Ivory Park and Cato Manor slightly better off than the two Western Cape branches. However, it needs to be emphasised here that an average mark is not particularly informative in cases such as these: Given that the subject difficulty varies so much for the learners concerned, with Mathematics and Physical Science marks nationally much lower than marks for many other subjects, subject choice plays an inordinate role and makes these averages largely incomparable. A better indication is performance in individual subjects, something that will be compared again when Ikamva's general performance is evaluated.

**Figure 7: Average matric marks reported by former Ikamvanites by branch**
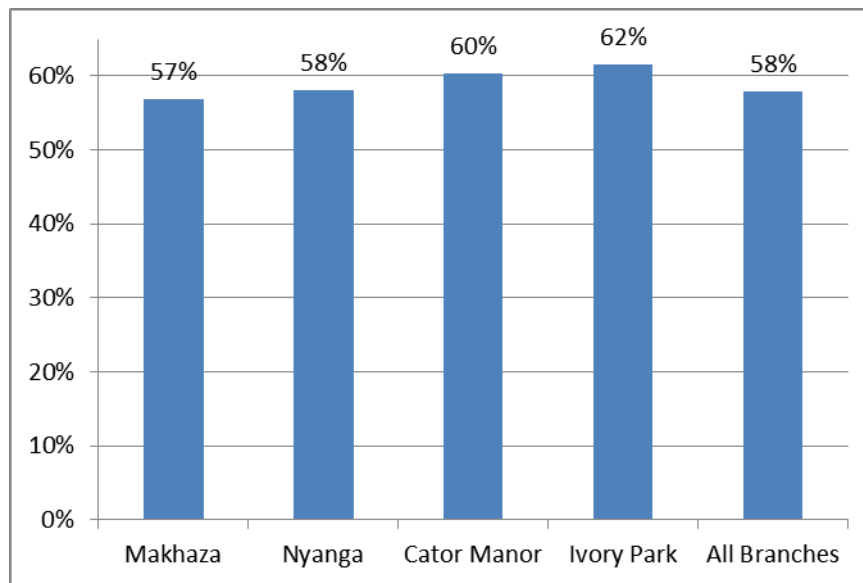
Source: Own calculations from survey

Another measure of the success of the different branches is the proportion of matriculants who pass some threshold associated with a performance better than simply passing matric. For this purpose, we have set the threshold here at a matric average of above 50%, and we will refer to the proportion attaining this threshold as the success rate. This is shown in Figure 8 across the branches. As can be seen, the greatest success rate is obtained in Ivory Park (85%), followed by Kwazulu-Natal branch (Cato Manor) and Nyanga, both with success rates of 80%, based on respondent feedback in the questionnaires. Note that the way the sample was obtained, and with differential non-response rates, these should be considered a crude unweighted or at best partly weighted sample of the full Ikamva results over a longer term.

These success rates, even though representing a higher threshold than simply passing matric, are even higher than the pass rates obtained in the historically black part of the school system. This should be placed in further perspective: More onerous subjects chosen by most Ikamva participants raise the bar for them to pass and depress their matric average, a factor that will be discussed in more detail later when the Ikamva results from 2011 are discussed. This means that any comparison of matric results in terms of means, success rates or pass rates neglects this dimension of the performance of Ikamva learners.

Figure 8: Success rate by branch (% of former Ikamvanites who reported average marks of at least 50%)
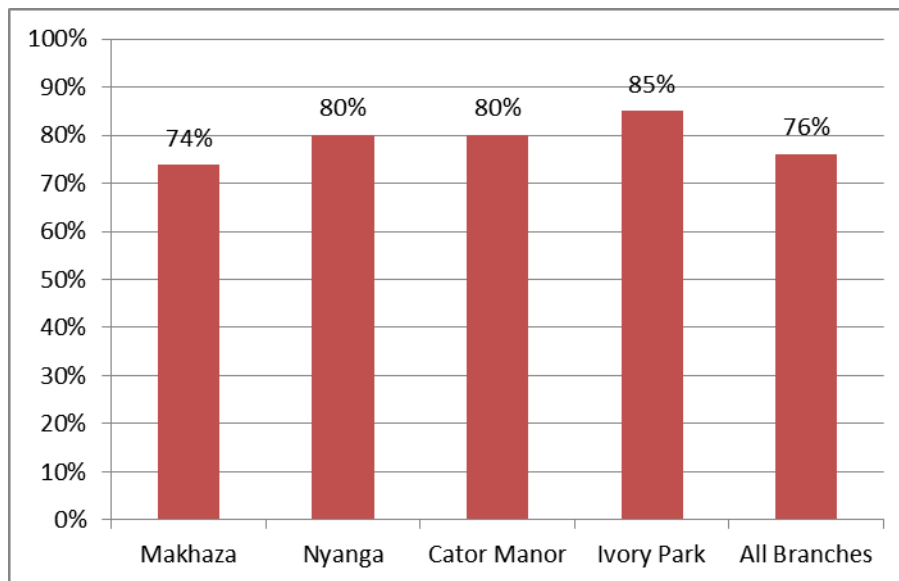
Source: Own calculations from survey

Thus neither matric marks nor success rates can really well reflect the performance of Ikamva learners. Yet for the purposes of analysing differences between branches and also the effect of attending sessions, a measure of output is required to apply to all Ikamva learners, however imperfect. We opt for matric marks as offering more information and retaining differentials at the individual level, and thus use these in the two regressions shown below. The regression in Table 6 analyses matric marks. The reference branch is Makhaza; interestingly, although other branches have better results, particularly Ivory Park, these are not significant in the first regression. When one considers the socio-economic status of children as derived from their possessions, this still holds, namely that there are not statistically significant differences in performance between the branches. When one also enters the education level of the mother, the ability to predict matric marks increases slightly (the R-squared rises from 0.05 to 0.13, indicating that the model can explain 13% of the variance in matric marks between respondents), but again branches seem to play no significant separate role. Again, though, it must be considered that the outcome variable, the average matric mark, is a crude proxy for educational performance.

Table 6: Effects of branch, socio-economic status and parental education on matric mark amongst former participants

	(1) Matric Mark	(2) Matric Mark	(3) Matric Mark
Ivory Park	4.626	2.851	2.353
	(1.78)	(1.01)	(0.85)
KZN	3.428	4.469	5.266
	(0.98)	(1.27)	(1.52)
Nyanga	1.185	0.665	1.251
	(0.25)	(0.14)	(0.26)
SES		2.332	1.326
		(1.61)	(0.86)
Mother: Primary			6.170[*]
			(2.62)
Mother: Matric			8.805[**]
			(2.99)
Mother: Tertiary			7.110
			(1.56)
Constant	56.88[***]	55.86[***]	50.99[***]
	(50.94)	(44.88)	(24.69)
N	123	122	121
R^2	0.030	0.053	0.133

*t statistics in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$*
Source: Own calculations from survey

Do those who attend more sessions do any better? Regression analysis (not shown) provides no evidence that it does. To some extent, one would expect there to be little variation in attendance of Saturday session, as these are compulsory and determine continuation in the programme, but even the mid-week sessions do not show a measurable direct impact on matric results. This applies within branches as well.

Who goes to university?

The next regression shows what factors affect whether children who completed matric get into university. The matric mark in itself contributes quite well, and this remains true even if one also controls for socio-economic status and add dummy variables for the individual branches. This does not add much to the predictive power and therefore indicates that getting into post-school does not appear to be associated with attending one of the branches rather than another.

Table 7: Post-school outcomes amongst former participants according to branch, SES and matric mark

	(1) Get into Univ	(2) Get into Univ	(3) Get into Univ	(4) Get into Univ
Matric Mark	0.0148***	0.0152***	0.0152***	0.0158***
	(4.02)	(4.09)	(4.09)	(4.19)
SES		-0.0141	-0.0141	0.000851
		(-0.27)	(-0.27)	(0.01)
Ivory Park				-0.116
				(-0.99)
KZN				-0.0818
				(-0.52)
Nyanga				0.247
				(1.28)
Constant	-0.129	-0.138	-0.138	-0.167
	(-0.59)	(-0.64)	(-0.64)	(-0.77)
n	118	117	117	117
$Pseudo\text{-}R^2$	0.122	0.129	0.129	0.154

t statistics in parentheses; * $p < 0.05$, ** $p < 0.01$, *** $p < 0.001$
Source: Own calculations from survey

How respondents rated Ikamva activities

Respondents to the survey were asked to rate Ikamva activities in different ways. Table 8 shows what proportion of respondents at each branch, and current or past learners, regarded a specific activity as Ikamva's most valuable role. Particularly notable are some of the differences between branches. Respondents from Masi emphasised the weekly homework sessions rather than the Saturday tutoring sessions that were the most appreciated activity at other branches. Winter school also had much support at the three Western Cape branches. Past students too found weekly homework sessions very useful, whereas afternoon sessions had a little more support among current students than amongst past ones.

Table 8: Respondents' views on the most valuable role of Ikamva by branch and whether current or past learners

	Makhaza	Masi	Nyanga	KZN	Ivory Park	Current learners	Past learners	Total
Afternoon Sessions	8%	0%	0%	5%	1%	13%	5%	5%
Computer Literacy	4%	0%	0%	0%	0%	6%	2%	2%
Mentoring / Career guidance	5%	7%	3%	2%	13%	9%	6%	6%
PC Training	2%	4%	3%	10%	1%	0%	3%	3%
Saturday tutoring sessions	36%	4%	47%	52%	58%	47%	41%	40%
Textbooks provided by Ikamva	2%	11%	3%	2%	6%	0%	3%	3%
University applications	5%	0%	3%	0%	4%	4%	3%	4%
Weekly homework sessions	20%	57%	25%	21%	7%	1%	21%	21%
Winter school	20%	18%	16%	7%	9%	20%	15%	15%
Total	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**	**100%**

Source: Own calculations from survey

This only referred to the most popular activity, though, so it reveals little about other preferences. Table 9 shows the average rating out of five, converted to percentages, for the various activities. Interesting here are some of the differences between past and current learners. Amongst past learners, there is considerably less appreciation of the textbooks provided by Ikamva; Table 10 shows that most past learners indicated that this opportunity was not available to them. But Table 9 also shows that amongst former learners there is much greater appreciation of the help with University applications, of computer literacy and in particular of the winter school. Importantly, though, past learners do not have a particularly high regard for the mentoring and career guidance they received, something which had been less emphasised in the past.

Table 9: Rating of (mark out of 5 divided by 5) by branch and activity

	Makhaza	Masi	Nyanga	KZN	Ivory Park	Current learners	Past learners	Total
Afternoon homework sessions during the week	77%	89%	79%	67%	71%	76%	76%	76%
Saturday tutoring sessions	85%	72%	88%	89%	96%	84%	91%	87%
Winter school	83%	84%	78%	80%	90%	79%	92%	83%
Mentoring/career-guidance	71%	93%	79%	68%	86%	79%	70%	76%
University applications	61%	91%	66%	54%	84%	63%	76%	68%
Textbooks provided by Ikamva	53%	84%	65%	76%	85%	72%	55%	66%
Computer literacy	59%	58%	51%	56%	68%	56%	66%	60%
Average	**70%**	**81%**	**72%**	**70%**	**83%**	**73%**	**75%**	**74%**

Source: Own calculations from survey

Table 10: What activities were offered by Ikamva?

	Makhaza	Masi	Nyanga	KZN	Ivory Park	Current learners	Past learners	Total
Afternoon homework sessions during the week	92%	96%	91%	74%	88%	90%	87%	89%
Saturday tutoring sessions	95%	96%	100%	100%	94%	96%	94%	96%
Winter school	86%	89%	94%	95%	93%	92%	83%	89%
Mentoring/career-guidance	65%	100%	91%	88%	88%	81%	68%	77%
University applications	66%	93%	91%	69%	86%	75%	75%	75%
Textbooks provided by Ikamva	48%	89%	66%	90%	81%	76%	43%	64%
Computer literacy	58%	43%	59%	60%	75%	59%	63%	61%
Average	**73%**	**87%**	**84%**	**82%**	**86%**	**81%**	**73%**	**79%**

Source: Own calculations from survey

ANALYSIS OF 2011 SCHOOL RESULTS: HOW WELL DID IKAMVA LEARNERS PERFORM?

It has been mentioned earlier that the way that Ikamva operates and the fact that only more motivated learners are likely to remain part of the group until the matric examination makes it difficult to ascribe any superior performance by Ikamva learners to the effect of Ikamva's interventions on their behalf. Given selection bias, whereby Ikamva students are likely to be selected from amongst those that are more motivated than the average matric learner, it is difficult to know what part of the better performance results from the selection of more motivated students, and what part from the success of Ikamva's interventions. At the same time, the analysis of the wealth index has shown that there is no evidence that Ikamva learners are drawn from a group that is wealthier than the average township youth.

How much better did Ikamva learners perform than other matriculants? This section deals with that question, in order to bring us closer to an assessment of whether it is likely that such better performance amongst Ikamvanites is the result of the selection of better motivated students alone.

Figure 9 shows the performance in the matriculation examination by all South African full time candidates, and amongst the full time candidates from Ikamva (i.e. those who wrote less than the full matriculation examination are not included). In addition to national estimates and those for Ikamvanites, it was also possible to calculate the matric performance of selected IkamvaYouth feeder schools – i.e. the schools that Ikamvanites commonly attend. Given that the 2011 matric data was not available at the time of writing, the 2010 matric dataset was used for these selected feeder schools. Furthermore, by looking at the online survey it was possible to identify the main feeder schools for the IkamvaYouth branches. We took the average of nine main feeder schools. These were: Chris Hani, Harry Gwala, Tsosoloso Ya Afrika, Equinisweni, Ivory Park, Masiphulele High, Chesterville Extension Secondary, and Bulumko Secondary.[4] The aim of averaging across these nine schools is to provide a broad indication of the type of schools Ikamvanites attend. As Figure 9 shows, IkamvaYouth feeder schools perform worse than the national average, and considerably worse than the IkamvaYouth average. This is to be expected, since the districts where these schools are found are usually poorer than the average South African district, with a more socio-economically disadvantaged constituency. Again, one must bear in mind the sample selection bias whereby Ikamvanites are more motivated than their school class-mates, and may have more home support or encouragement than their class mates.

Figure 9 shows that 85% of Ikamva candidates passed, against the 70% nationally, or put differently, that Ikamva's failure rate of 15% was half of the national average. Ikamvanites perform significantly better than their school classmates; Ikamva feeder schools' pass rate was only 63%. But the full extent of Ikamva's performance success is not yet captured in simple pass or fail rates: What is quite impressive is Ikamva's performance in terms of getting learners access to universities: 36% of Ikamva

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[4] The dataset provided by the Department of Education did not include Sinako, which would otherwise have been included in the main Ikamva Youth feeder schools.

candidates, versus 24% nationally, obtained a so-called "Bachelor's degree endorsement", i.e. a pass that is considered by the Department of Basic Education as good enough for degree studies. The proportion of Ikamvanites passing with a Bachelor's endorsement is more than twice as high (36%) as that of Ikamva feeder schools (16%). This is what used to be referred to in the past as "university exemption". Data on a race basis is not yet available for 2011, but to put the Ikamva performance in terms of potential university entry in perspective, it is worth considering that the proportion of black students who obtained such exemptions in 2007, the last year for which race data could be obtained, was only around 11%. Altogether 72% of Ikamva candidates passed with either Bachelor's or a Diploma endorsement, i.e. could potentially attend a university for degree or diploma studies (some universities have stricter entry criteria, though), whilst this proportion is only 53% amongst matric candidates nationally, and 36% in Ikamva feeder schools.

Figure 9: Performance in matric: National figures, Ikamva learners and Ikamva feeder schools
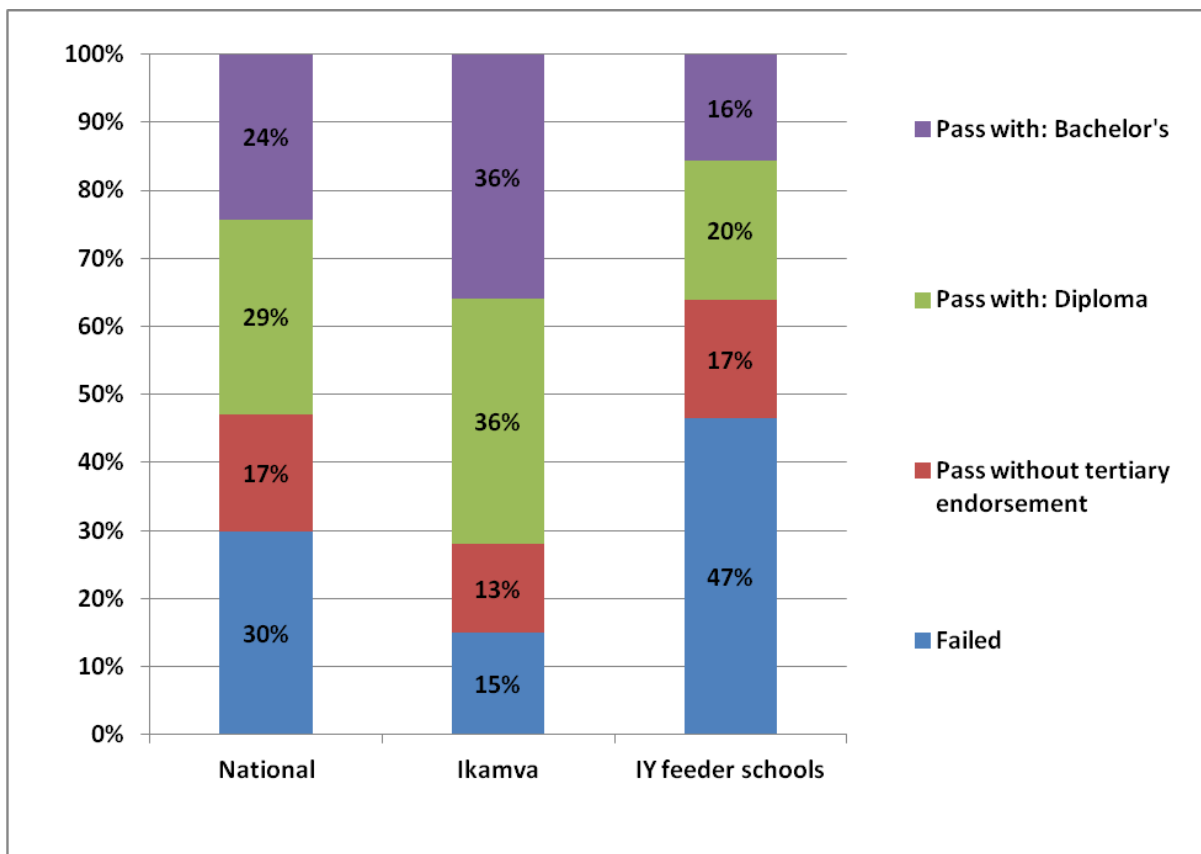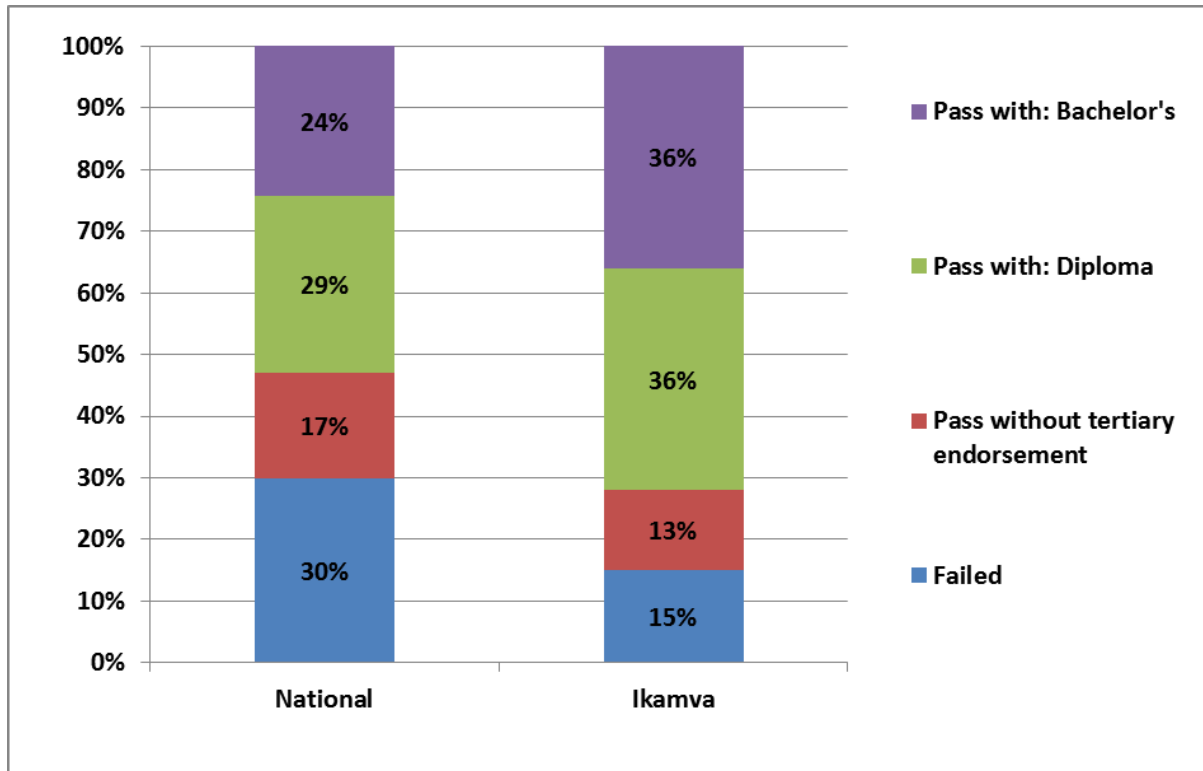
Source: Own calculations based on data from Ikamva and DBE

One of the reasons why more Ikamva students attain entry into tertiary studies is because of subject choice. Table 11 shows that Ikamva learners are far more likely than other students to elect to do Mathematics (as opposed to Mathematical Literacy) and Physical Science, an elective subject. These two difficult subjects are important for entry into specific technical fields of study at university and can also assist in obtaining endorsements for Bachelor's degree. An overwhelming majority (81%) of Ikamva students in 2011 elected to do Mathematics, versus less than half of all candidates nationally. For Physical Science too, far more Ikamvanites chose this difficult option. Reponses to the survey indicate that similarly high proportion of former Ikamva students had elected these two subjects: 78% wrote Mathematics and 54% Physical Science.

The difficulty of these subjects can be gauged from the fact that nationally, the pass rate (at 30%) is 46% and 53% for these two subjects respectively, much lower than for other electives such as Geography (70%) or History (76%), despite the fact that the candidates in these first two subjects are a far more select group in terms of academic ability. This ambitious subject choice is even more exceptional when compared to learners from similar (mainly township) schools. Ikamva's encouragement of learners to take these more difficult subjects necessarily affects the relative pass rates and the subject performance of Ikamva learners negatively, thus the need to carefully consider this when evaluating the results of Ikamva learners.

Table 9: Subject choice: % of matric candidates nationally and amongst Ikamva learners electing to do two "difficult subjects"

Subject choice (% of all matriculants)	National	Ikamva (85 learners in 2011)	Ikamva (125 matriculants 2005-2010)

Mathematics	45%	81%	78%
Physical Science	37%	61%	54%

Source: Ikamva 2011 data from Ikamva, National data from DBE, Ikamva 2010 data from survey

Figure 10 below shows the performance of matriculants nationally and those from Ikamva in terms of the proportion writing each of a selection of subjects who achieved at least 30%, the individual subject pass mark. Subjects are arranged according to the proportions passing nationally, ranging from Mathematics and Physical Science, the most difficult subjects, to English First Additional Language, the easiest of this list of subjects to achieve a pass mark for. In most cases, the pass mark of Ikamva candidates is much higher than the national average. There are a few exceptions, and indeed Ikamva's pass rates are also somewhat lower for Mathematics and Physical Science. Once again, this should be seen in perspective: The fact that the majority of Ikamva learners take these two subjects means that one would expect some of them to perform worse than the more select group who take these subjects nationally.

Figure 10: % of those writing each subject achieving 30%+, Ikamva and all matriculants
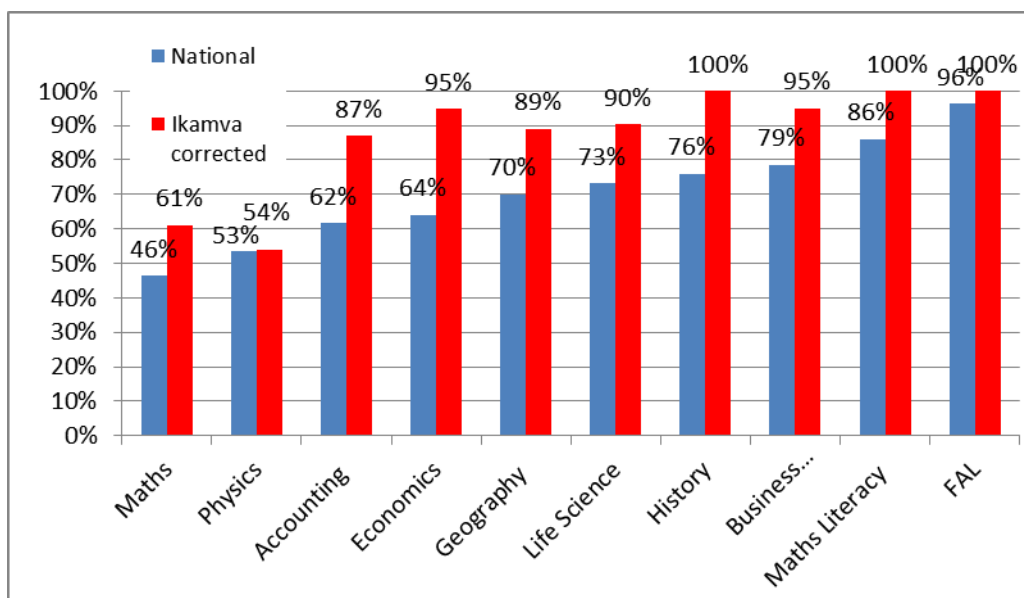
Source: IkamvaYouth and Department of Basic Education, Report on the 2011 NSC Examination: Technical Report. There were some inconsistencies in the results given by Ikamva, thus those which were more consistent and complete were used.

Figures 11a and 11b should be considered together. The former shows that Ikamva learners who wrote Mathematics did somewhat better than the national average, with 35% achieving 40% or more against the 30% nationally and altogether 61% from Ikamva passing against 46% of all South Africans who wrote Mathematics. But this again ignores the subject choice, which sets a higher hurdle for Ikamva students. Their achievement is better gauged from the fact that 61% of all Ikamva matric candidates wrote and passed Mathematics, as against only 21% for all South African matric

candidates.[5] The proportion of all Ikamva matric candidates who achieved 40% or more was 28% versus 14% for all South African candidates. Compared to similar communities the Ikamva performance in this regard would even be more impressive than this.

What Ikamva thus successfully manages to do is to encourage learners from across the ability spectrum to raise the bar, by entering for subjects which the typical student from weak schools would usually avoid, and then to achieve success which is at least comparable to that achieved by candidates that often are more selected in terms of ability and from higher socio-economic groups. This is a truly impressive achievement. (To some extent there may be also be a further selection issue operating here, though, which one should at least allow for, namely that students who want to do Maths and Science are more likely to seek opportunities such as those offered by Ikamva, because of the weak quality of teaching of these subjects in many schools.)

Figure 11a: Performance in Mathematics amongst those who wrote it
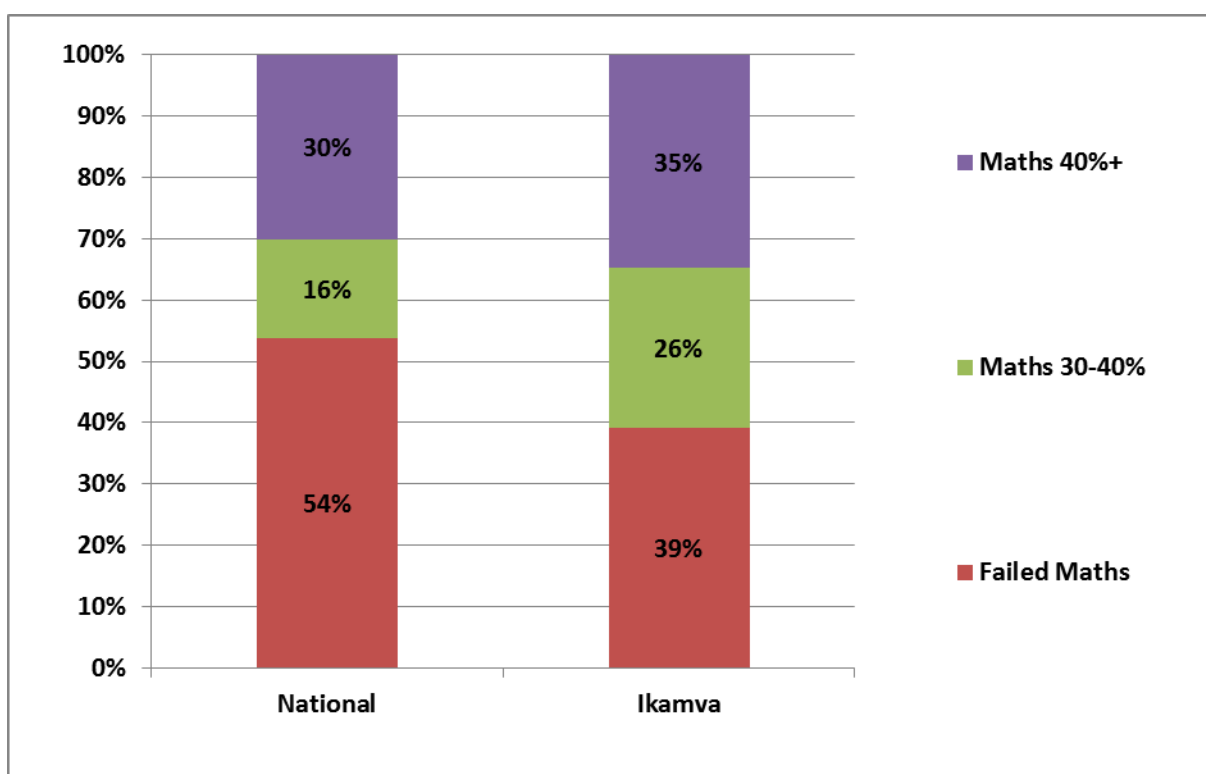
Source: Own calculations based on data from Ikamva and DBE

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[5] There were some inconsistencies in the results given by Ikamva, thus those which were more consistent and complete were used.
Figures for former Ikamvanites from survey responses are not comparable to these, due to the existence at the time of Higher Grade and Standard Grade for each subject.

Figure 11b: Performance in Mathematics amongst all matriculants (whether they wrote Mathematics or not)
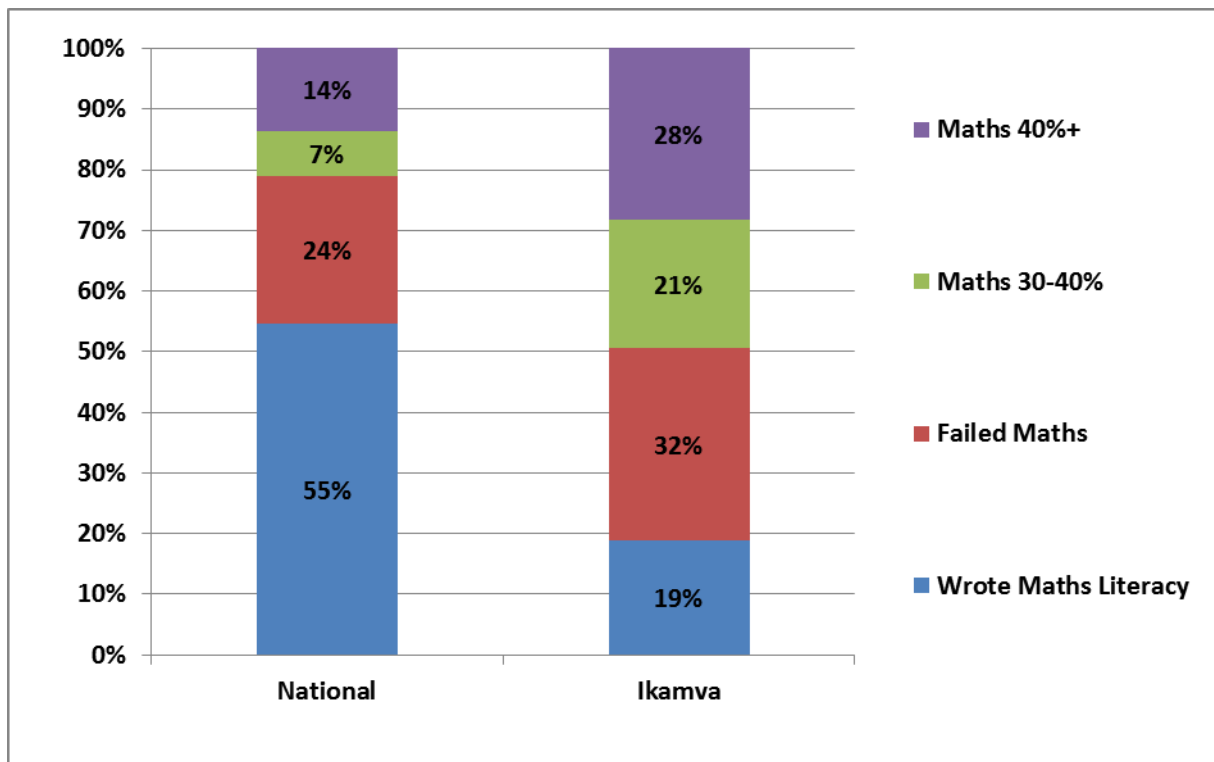
Source: Own calculations based on data from Ikamva and DBE

Figure 12: Difference in average matric marks between Ikamvanites and IkamvaYouth feeder schools
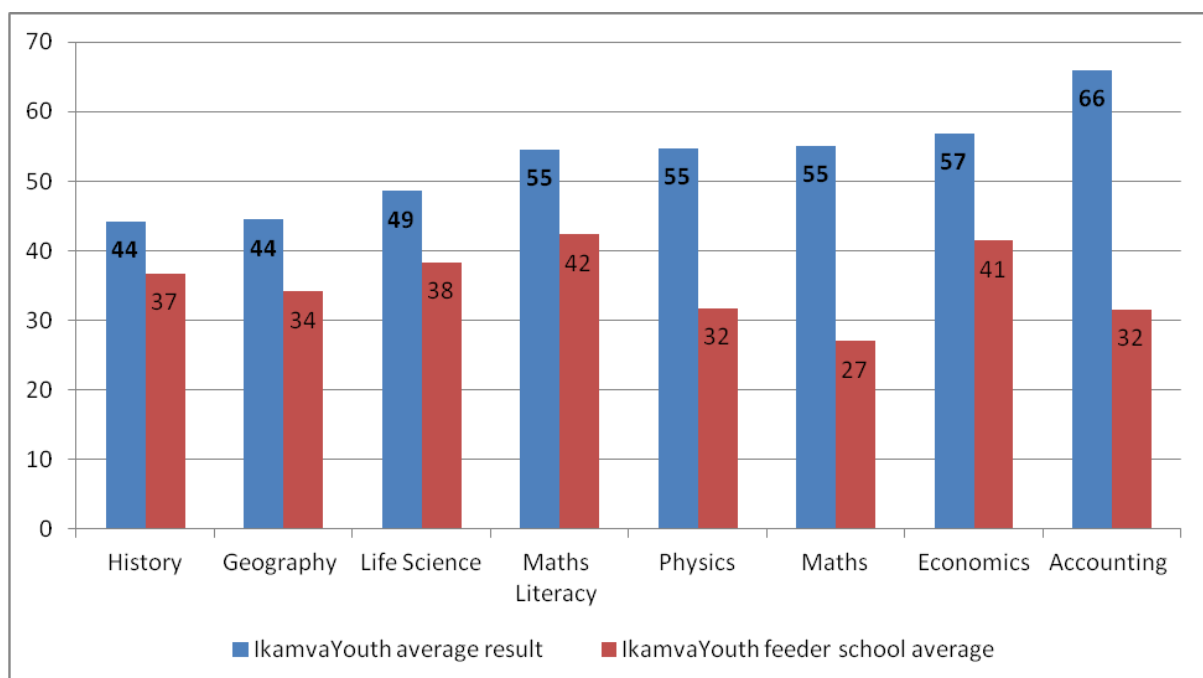
Figure 12 above clearly shows that Ikamvanites perform better than their class-mates. The differential between the two groups is smallest in History, where Ikamvanites score seven percentage points higher than their classmates on average, and larger in Accounting, where the difference is 34 percentage points. While it is true that Ikamvanites are likely to be better performing students to begin with (i.e. even before attending IkamvaYouth), the size of these differences (especially in Accounting, Mathematics and Physics) are particularly large. It is also worth noting here the potential "reference group" impact of attending IkamvaYouth. In the event that students do not attend IkamvaYouth, their reference group (both socially and academically) is likely to be their peers at school. Figure 12 shows the low average level of performance of most of these students. By attending IkamvaYouth, it is likely that Ikamvanites would compare their performance in a test, or at the end of a grade, to other Ikamvanites rather than their class mates. Given the distributions in Figure 12, this is clearly desirable.

Given the remarkable matric performance, one would expect fairly strong progression into tertiary studies. Figure 13 shows that there were little differences in progression rates between those in Makhaza branch, the oldest branch, and the other four branches: More than half of respondents who had matriculated whilst participating in Ikamva after matriculating (58% of the 119 such respondents in the survey) indicated that they had gone onto university studies, and another 14% that they had continued onto "college" (here interpreted fairly broadly as other post-school studies). This thus left only 28% who had not gone on to further studies. There might be some exaggeration in these figures, as respondents know that the expectation was that they would go onto further studies beyond school, and some respondents soon gave up on their ambitions for tertiary studies, some for academic reasons. The figures shown in Appendix Table A, from Ikamva's own records, indicate far lower progression into tertiary studies. This may either indicate that respondents were a somewhat academically stronger group than all former Ikamvanites, or that they were exaggerating their progression to tertiary studies, or a combination.

Figure 13: Did learners study further after completing matric?
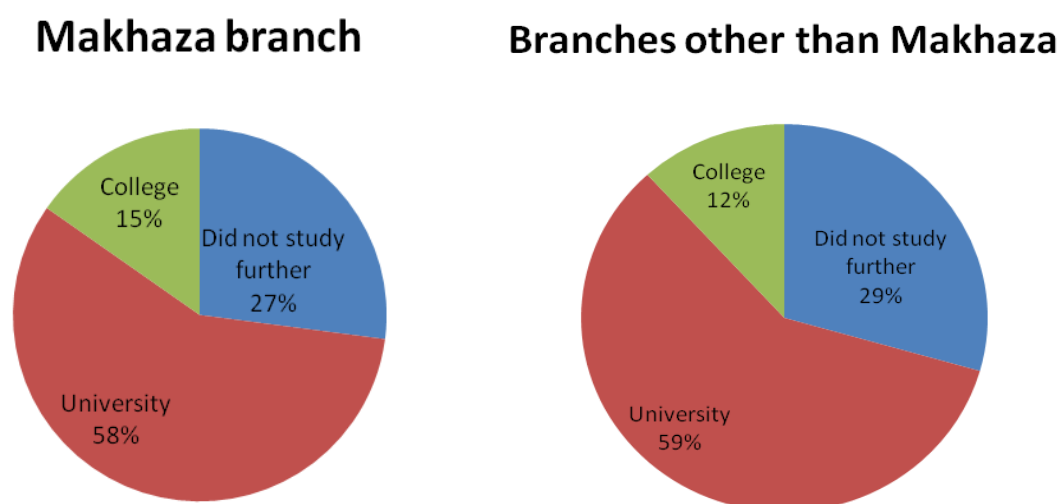
Source: Own calculations from survey

There might be some exaggeration in these figures, in the sense that some respondents may only have studied very briefly. Respondents knew that the expectation was that they would go onto further studies beyond school, and those who had soon given up on their ambitions for tertiary studies may still have indicated that they had gone onto tertiary studies, albeit briefly. Yet the figures shown in Appendix Table A, from Ikamva's own records, confirm the high levels of progression onto tertiary studies. About two-thirds who had successfully written matric, and almost 60% of all those who had written matric, went on to tertiary studies, a very high proportion indeed.

CONCLUSIONS

This study has attempted to evaluate the impact of Ikamva's interventions by means of evidence gained from an online survey, interviews with a substantial number of respondents who had formerly participated in Ikamva, and further visits to Ikamva's branches and interviews with Ikamva managers and other office-bearers. This evidence has been extremely useful to evaluate the organisation.

The outstanding impression gained from the interviews and the survey was that Ikamva is an organisation held in exceedingly high regard by all past and present participants in its programmes. Admittedly, it was not practical to obtain information on their experiences of Ikamva from considerable numbers who have dropped out of the programme, but even amongst those who were unsuccessful in matric or who were not successful in pursuing the tertiary studies that they had set their sights on, feedback on Ikamva was always positive.

In the course of the evaluation of the Ikamva programme, the evaluation team came across much information and impressions that may be of some use to Ikamva in its further planning and development. Much of this may not be new, but simply reflect issues that Ikamva has been aware of for some time. The team has shared some of this informally with the Ikamva leadership, but wishes also to take this opportunity to express some of that in writing. We understand that we may in some cases not have the full information available to judge all the options available, or that there may be practical considerations which limit the applicability of some of these suggestions. Nevertheless, we offer them in the hope that they may contribute a little towards assisting Ikamva in its further planning.

The impact of Ikamva's activities in the short and in the long run

For reasons discussed extensively elsewhere in this report, it was not possible to conduct a formal impact evaluation. That would have required more baseline information (from before the intervention started) as well as more information to construct a counterfactual: What would students' results have been in the absence of any interventions, i.e. if Ikamva did not offer its programme. Despite fairly good data that show that Ikamva students have considerably outperformed other students, including those from similar metropolitan township backgrounds, it is not possible to establish beyond any doubt that this enhanced performance was the result of Ikamva's interventions. The reason for this is simply that the application process, Ikamva's selection procedures and retention of participants in the longer term introduce a bias whereby those Ikamvanites who complete matric are likely to be learners who started out more motivated, and consequently they may have performed above average even without Ikamva's support.

These limitations of the evaluation were known beforehand. What the evidence has shown, however, is that Ikamva participants not only outperform their counterparts in matric (both class mates and nationally), but do so by a considerable margin. It is unlikely that the selection process based on motivation, muted as it is through Ikamva's weak selection process, would have had a similarly large impact. The research team thus is confident that Ikamva's impact is quite positive and substantial, and that this impact largely lies in motivating students to take more challenging courses and to set their sights higher in terms of aspiring to tertiary (particularly university) studies. To this

end, Ikamva provides a number of services to help students reach these goals, including academic support, a supportive and encouraging social network of Ikamvanites and Ikamva staff, and a space outside of their home and school environments where these students can spend additional time learning and receiving the support that they need (both academic and social) in order to succeed at school and beyond.

Thus the evaluation team is confident that Ikamva's short term impact is considerable. This lies not only in the improved matric performance, but even before that in helping to create an environment where children from often very disadvantaged circumstances feel a sense of belonging and that someone cares about their needs and ambitions. That alone is a very valuable contribution. The extent of this contribution cannot be measured, but is visible in the fact that Ikamva was so highly praised by all who participates in it, or have done so in the past. As evaluation team we have not seen such universally high praise of an organisation before. So the short term impact of Ikamva must be judged to be highly positive.

What about the long term impact? This can perhaps best be measured by Ikamva's major objective, to ensure that former Ikamvanites do well in the labour market, through getting into tertiary studies or learnerships. The evidence on that is not extensive yet, because Ikamva has not been active for so many years. Only a small number of former Ikamvanites have yet completed tertiary studies. What evidence there is does not point to remarkable results at tertiary level thus far. Neither are labour market outcomes particularly strong thus far, but again this is based on limited evidence. But research has shown that the matric marks are a very important labour market signal so this will also be an important indicator of the long term employment prospects and tertiary success of former Ikamvanites.

It may be necessary to keep in consideration though that learners may have to be assisted to become less dependent on Ikamva after leaving school. This may mean that there is some role for Ikamva to assist in the transition from school to work and to university; in fact, the high level of frustration of respondents who have gone to university may point to some obvious areas for interventions. Ikamva could, and should, find ways of assisting students to make the transition to university, both by assistance with the initial exposure to academic English that many respondents to the qualitative interviews found daunting, and by helping them to find support structures to reduce the anomy that they experience when starting at university. Ikamva would have to decide how much of this it wants to engage in itself (which is not its core activity), and how much can be done by assisting Ikamvanites to link to other institutions (e.g. NGOs and university structures) that could assist,

What explains Ikamva's success?

The remarkably successful personal relationships that Ikamva has developed with participants must be an important part of its success story. This is based on extremely sensitive interaction with learners, yet without undermining basic discipline: "Kickouts" still occur and learners know that they can only remain part of the "family" if they play their part.

An important factor is the tutors. They are largely volunteers and mostly young. The fact that many of them are former Ikamvanites say something about the glue that holds Ikamva together: A positive social context in an environment where many face harsh circumstances at home, in the labour

market, schools, universities, and wider society. This certainly creates some difficulties, as many of the tutors cannot be available around the time of the matric examination, as they are also then engaged in writing exams. Yet the link with Ikamva means much to them, and also provides some continuity in their lives. Also, they act as role models to learners, thus further strengthening the desire of learners to undertake tertiary studies. Their relatively youth also means that communication with learners is easier, in contrast to what learners experience at school.

We found no evidence that the tutors were particularly well trained or that they were always much better teachers than those in schools; the commitment, positive interaction and additional time were apparently most important in the success of students, not the better teaching.

The fact that Ikamva operates in metropolitan environments where there are universities close by is an important factor in its success. Without a strong volunteer base, the tutors would not have been available, and it would have been more difficult to build the passion for tertiary studies that drives many Ikamvanites.

The most important factors in Ikamva's success, however, appear to be its commendable organisation, good planning and the enthusiasm of those at the head of the organisation. This enthusiasm is contagious.

How scalable is the Ikamva formula?

Given how important Ikamva's leadership is in its success, one may well argue that it would be extremely difficult to scale up the activities, particularly across many more centres. The evaluation team has indeed expressed its reservations about that in previous interaction with Ikamva: It is easy for leadership to under-estimate the importance of its own role. A dilution of this leadership across a much bigger organisation may lead to the programme losing some its attractiveness to students.

On the other hand, analysis shows little difference in performance between branches. This could be interpreted as that the success lies in the model, and not in the particular leadership at branch level. This would be consistent with a view that expansion could be attempted as long as good branch leadership can be found.

A cautious approach may be to consider expansion only when there are good support structures and where good branch managers are available, but not to be over-ambitious. The strong central leadership capacity that Ikamva possesses for planning and organisation is an asset that could be built on and that may offer a solid foundation for expansion, but it should not be endangered by too rapid expansion. Also, expansion should retain the essentials of the existing model, which importantly includes proximity to a university environment, preferably in a metropolitan area. This limits scalability, but such a conservative stance may be appropriate.

A final word

The evaluation team has learnt much by undertaking this study and has benefited much from learning at first hand how an enthusiastic organisation with some good ideas, an excellent organisation and exceptional planning can make a major difference in the lives of young people. We wish to thank all those whose efforts assisted in making this study possible, most of whom are mentioned in the Acknowledgments. However, it would be remiss if no separate mention was made

of the excellent cooperation the research team has had from Ikamva. This cooperation has made a relatively complicated evaluation an enjoyable experience, during which the evaluation team interacted closely with Ikamva to set up new systems for undertaking online surveys. The transcriptions of the summaries of the qualitative interviews will be provided to Ikamva once they have been anonymised, while the online survey and the linked "payments" system is available to Ikamva if they wish to use it further for other purposes.

APPENDIX A: DATA ON IKAMVANITES TO DATE OBTAINED FROM IKAMVAYOUTH, INCLUDING 2011

	Western Cape			KZN	Gauteng	SA
	Makhaza	Nyanga	Masi	Cato Manor	Ivory Park	All Branches
No. of Ikamvanites to date, grades 8 – 12	685	98	105	280	206	1 374
No. of learners writing matric	222	15	25	100	41	403
Matric passes (numbers)	197	14	24	79	40	354
Matric passes (%)	88.7%	93.3%	96.0%	79.0%	97.6%	87.9%
Access to tertiary (numbers)	140	10	10	42	33	235
Access to tertiary (% of matrics)	71.1%	71.4%	41.7%	53.2%	82.5%	66.4%
Access to learnerships or employment (numbers)	62	2	6	2	3	75
Access to learnerships or employment (% of matrics)	27.9%	13.3%	24.0%	2.0%	7.5%	18.6%
Total access to post-school opportunities (numbers)	202	12	16	44	36	310
Total access to post-school opportunities (% of matrics)	91.0%	85.7%	64.0%	44.0%	87.8%	76.9%

Source: Data obtained from IkamvaYouth

Note that these data point to much lower progression to tertiary education than those obtained from responses to the survey.

APPENDIX B: EXAMPLE OF APPEARANCE OF ONLINE QUESTIONNAIRE

APPENDIX C: CONSENT FOR THE ONLINE SURVEY

Dear survey participant

The aim of this is to find out some information about you and your experience of the IkamvaYouth program:

This survey cannot be completed on a cellphone.

The questions will relate to your recent experiences at school and if applicable at college, university and the job market.

The interview will help us to better understand how one can improve the Ikamva education programme, which may benefit younger siblings, cousins or other members of your community.

You can choose whether to be in this study or not. If you volunteer to be in this study, you may withdraw any time without consequences of any kind. You may also refuse to answer any questions you don't want to answer and still remain in the study. The investigator may withdraw you from this research if circumstances arise which warrant doing so.

The questions have been designed to avoid sensitive topics. If any of these questions make you uncomfortable, it is your right to either not answer this question or to end the interview.

This survey is being done by a research team that is independent to IkamvaYouth.

If you volunteer to participate in this study, we would ask you to answer a few short questions in your own words. The survey takes about 30 minutes to complete - you may save your answers at any stage and come back at another time. But you must complete the survey within 1 week of starting it.

Once you have completed the survey satisfactorily and we have checked that you have answered all the required fields, we will SMS you the top-up airtime code for R30 airtime for your cell-phone network (R25 for Cell C) to the cell-phone number that you provide.

We greatly appreciate you taking the time to complete this survey accurately and as truthfully as possible.

Any information that is obtained through this study and that can be identified with you will remain confidential and will be disclosed only with your permission or as required by law. Confidentiality will be maintained by means of limiting access to the original/raw data (with the full names of individuals).

You have a right to review/edit your responses. Only the research team will have access to your answers and they will be used for research purposes. We will protect your confidentiality and will not name participants when describing results.

If you have any questions or concerns about the research, please feel free to contact Ronelle Burger at 083-886-3016 or email her at rburger@sun.ac.za.

You may withdraw your consent at any time and discontinue participation without penalty. You are not waiving any legal claims, rights or remedies because of your participation in this research study. If you have any questions regarding your rights as a research subject, contact Ms Malene Fouche [mfouche@sun.ac.za; 021 808 4622] at the Division for Research Development.

I hereby consent voluntarily to participate in this study/ I hereby consent that the subject/participant may participate in this study.