

KLEIN MAAR GETRAIN: EDUCATION IN QWAQWA

BY
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FOREWORD

In 1994 educationist Heather Jacklin and sociologist Johann Graaff, both from the University of Cape Town, completed reports on rural education in each of the ten the homelands, and then a summary report – eleven reports in all. The overarching title of the set of reports was to have been *Rural education in South Africa: a report on schooling in the Bantustans*. Unfortunately the reports were never published, although photocopies did find their way to some researchers.

The titles and authors of the eleven reports are:

- Final report on homeland education (Jacklin and Graaff)
- Is Bop better? A case-study in educational innovation (Graaff)
- Schooling in KaNgwane (Jacklin)
- Inherit the wind: a report on education in Lebowa (Jacklin)
- Education as an instrument of war: the case of KwaZulu/Natal (Graaff)
- Schooling in KwaNdebele (Jacklin)
- Schooling in the Ciskei (Jacklin)
- Teachers without classrooms: education in Venda (Graaff)
- Klein maar getrain: education in QwaQwa (Graaff)
- Schooling in Gazankulu (Jacklin)
- Rural Education Project report: Transkei (Jacklin)

Linda Chisholm of the University of Johannesburg was one of the researchers who obtained a ring-bound photocopy of the eleven reports, and she has used them in her own research. She deemed them valuable enough to warrant digitizing, and in 2017 made the suggestion to me by way of her sister Alison (my deputy). Indeed, nothing as comprehensive as these reports had been published on education in the homelands. Further, though unpublished, a number of these reports have been cited.

In 2018 I was given the go-ahead to place them on the Wits institutional repository. Both Heather Jacklin and Johann Graaff readily gave Wits permission to do so. Heather also kindly provided MS Word copies of KwaNdebele and Ciskei, which we could turn into PDFs.

Mark Sandham
Education Librarian
University of the Witwatersrand
August 2018.

NOTE ON THE DIGITIZATION OF THESE REPORTS

The eleven unnumbered reports had not been amalgamated, and each is paginated individually. We have accordingly treated them as individual works. We supplied title pages, a foreword and this note. The photocopies were reductions to A5 – we have kept them at this size.

The work was all done by the staff of the Wits Education Library.

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'KLEIN MAAR GETRAIN': EDUCATION IN QWAQWA

by Johann Graaff; Sociology, UCT.

November 1993

[This is a preliminary version of the paper and should not be quoted without the express permission of the author.]

1 Introduction

Qwaqwa is small. It sees itself as small. This is the key to understanding a great deal about Qwaqwa and its education system. It is small geographically, economically and politically. As a result it has put a great deal of effort into its education. Despite phenomenal population growth during the 1970's and 1980's, it has provided very adequate facilities for its pupils. In addition, it has emphasized technical and vocational education. Nevertheless, in the last three years it has fallen foul of political disruption, and pass rates have plummeted.

Qwaqwa has often been the object of parody and moral anger. The Surplus People Project called Qwaqwa "little more than one large closer settlement - a periurban slum in the middle of nowhere". (quoted in Pickles & Wood, 1992) Joseph Lelyveld wrote with some contempt of "the problems of 'nation building' in a miniscule country that had no existence at all before 1974, except as a remote reserve for two obscure tribal clans" (quoted Pickles & Wood, 1992:631). I would share both of these sentiments. Much of the Third World writing on Qwaqwa by the University of the Orange Free State's economists and educationists, for example, has exactly this surreal feel about it.

And yet, and yet, out of this absurdity has arisen an extremely interesting experiment in regional management in a number of spheres. In this paper I restrict myself only to the educational. But similar stories might be told about economic development, or the work of the Ombudsman. One of the unintended consequences of the apartheid system is the number of remarkable people it has thrown up to oppose it.

2 Population

Qwaqwa is small in the fairly obvious sense that a lot of people are crammed into a restricted space. By a conservative estimate, there are approximately 350,000 people living in Qwaqwa on about 40,000 ha.¹ Most of Qwaqwa is effectively a massive sprawling

¹ There is some dispute about how many people there are in Qwaqwa. The 1991 Census estimates 342,886. The BMR inflates this by 2.7% for a 1992 figure of 352,000. It is not yet clear to what extent the Census was accurate. The HSRC, by contrast, estimates the 1986 population at 383,593. At a 2.7% growth rate, which itself seems low, that would put the 1992 figure at about 450,000. The QDC Director estimates the 1993 figure at about 500,000. The often-quoted figure by Sharp of 400,000 for 1984, giving a population density of about 900 per km seems to be way off the mark. (Quinlan, 1986;

village, with only two quite small parts of it being recognizably urban. These are the capital, Phuthaditjhaba (with a population of about 30,000), and Tsiame (near Harrismith).

Qwaqwa's population has grown explosively. While all population figures should be taken with a pinch of salt, by one estimate the population has multiplied sixteen times in 22 years, that is, from 24,000 in 1970 to about 400,000 in 1992. (Van Zyl, 1986/7) People have come from three places, mainly. First, they have come from Free State farms where mechanisation and drought have reduced the number of workers needed. Second, they have come from Free State towns which have deproclaimed their Black townships. Thirdly, they have come from the Thaba 'Nchu region of Bophuthatswana as a result of harrassment by police and government officials. Many of the moves to Qwaqwa have been with the "help" of GG trucks, i.e. transport supplied by the Dept. of Development Aid.

Apart from being pushed by the abovementioned factors, people have, it seems, also been pulled by the prospect of employment, education, housing and land. In the early 1980's radio programmes and visits by Qwaqwa government officials explicitly advertised Qwaqwa's advantages. During the mid-1980's employment opportunities did increase quite sharply, as we shall see. In addition, the Qwaqwa education system admitted pupils who had been excluded from, or could find no place in, DET schools. It also seemed a much more peaceful education system than was the case elsewhere in South Africa. Many teachers have also come to Qwaqwa to make use of the nearby university training. (Robinson, 1983)

The HSRC Report believes that "92% of the total population were residing in rural areas". (Niewenhuis, 1991:16) That is spectacularly wrong in the sense that agriculture is virtually non-existent in Qwaqwa. In 1992 income from farming comprised a tiny 0.8% of average household income. (BMR, 1993)

There are two ways in which some Qwaqwa residents might conceivably be seen to be 'rural'. One is that they live under the authority of tribal chiefs. The other is that they have come off commercial farms in the Orange Free State. For educational purposes the first of these is insignificant since chiefs have no say over schooling in their areas. There are no community schools in Qwaqwa. The second, however, is important because retrenched farmworkers would have very low education levels. We

'consolidation'. This latter 80,000 ha. has been kept aside for agricultural purposes. Of the remaining 65,300 ha. about 30,000 is too mountainous for residential purposes. That leaves 35,300 ha. (*Ref.)

shall return to this aspect in more detail further on (See Section 7). There are, to my knowledge, no estimates of how many farmworkers have come into Qwaqwa or how low their education levels are.

Qwaqwa's education system is small, too. It is the smallest of all the ten homelands. In 1990 there were about 107,000 pupils. This is less than one-tenth of the size of the largest homeland education system, Kwazulu at 1.7 million pupils in 1993, and ... of the second smallest

3 Economics

Apart from being geographically and demographically small, Qwaqwa is also economically small. It has hardly any natural resources - 80,000 ha of good farm land recently added, and mountains that attract tourists. Its people are extremely poor. In 1992 57% of households earned less than R300 per month. (BMR, 1992) There are very few employment opportunities either in or near Qwaqwa. The Qwaqwa Development Corporation (QDC) estimates that there are at present 19,000 jobs in Qwaqwa. The largest part of the workforce are migrants to the OFS goldfields or the PWV. Just over one-tenth of average household income comes from migrant remittances. (BMR, 1993) There are some 4,000 people who commute into Harrismith and Bethlehem.

It used to be a lot worse. Over the last decade things have improved dramatically. Average household income has increased in real terms by 3.9% p.a. since 1981. Employment opportunities in industry in Qwaqwa multiplied considerably during the 1980's rising from 4,500 in 1984 to about 29,000 in 1990 (Muthien, 1991:55) (but has dropped back to 19,000 in 1993 as a result of economic recession and drought)(du Toit, 1993) Estimates of Industriqwa.

In consequence of its economic size, educationists acknowledge that Qwaqwa "is not a viable country". Its education system must be oriented outwards towards the national economy. Its educational qualifications must be accepted outside its borders.

From this they have deduced (curiously) that the Qwaqwa education system should remain part of the DET system. There has been no attempt to break out, although, as we shall see, there have been some significant variations from the norm.

There are also at present moves to integrate Qwaqwa education into the OFS system. An important step in this direction has been the establishment of the OFS Education Forum. There are further interesting moves to affiliate UNIQWA campus to OFS University and to sever the link with Turfloop.

4 Power

Geographically small, economically small, and also politically small. Qwaqwa is a so-called self-governing territory which has from the beginning refused 'independence' and harboured quite modest political ambitions. It has maintained a very low profile. Kenneth Mopeli, the Chief Minister, would not be recognizable by the average South African newspaper reader. For Mopeli, the future of Qwaqwa lies in integration into the OFS region. (Muthien, 1991)

By the same token, education has remained within the sway of the DET. It is, says educationists in Qwaqwa, an extension of the DET. "Qwaqwa does not have its own education system." (Khotseng) It follows DET policy with regard to curriculum and medium of instruction. A seconded DET official, MC Davel, is Deputy Secretary of Education.

Politically, Qwaqwa was, until March 1990, quite a peaceful place.¹ Since then it has been drawn into national politics. During 1990 there was a wave of strikes, stayaways and protest marches by workers, civil servants and pupils. The ANC, PAC and trade unions called for a voter boycott of the elections held in September of that year. As a result, only about 13% of the electorate voted, compared to 40% in previous elections. Nevertheless, despite Mopeli's opposition to them, the ANC and PAC are openly tolerated. "If (the people) want to join the ANC and the PAC, they must feel free to do so. We believe in the principle of free political activity." (Muthien, 1991; Quinlan, 1992) During my visit in November 1993 the national teachers' strike called by SADTU was in full swing. There is, after all, a continual flow of migrants, pupils and teachers between Qwaqwa and other parts of the country.

5 A Particular History

And yet, despite its smallness and its vulnerability to external influence, there is something distinctive about Qwaqwa and its education system. It has its own story to tell, its own personalities, its own politics. From the same broad structure it has fashioned something different. Possibly because it is so small, personalities can make their influence felt more strongly.

For a start, Qwaqwa takes its education very seriously. Its Chief Minister and many senior politicians are ex-teachers. They have defined Qwaqwa's main export as its people and their productivity.

¹ This does not take into account the Witzieshoek Rebellion of 1950 in protest against the shortage of land, government efforts at fencing agricultural land, and at culling cattle. (Quinlan, 1992)

Much like other homelands, Qwaqwa's political scene is dominated by its Chief Minister. Very few of his colleagues can match his personality or intellect. It is in many ways a one-man show. This has been particularly accentuated in the Department of Education in recent years where conflict between senior personnel has undermined departmental initiatives. (Has Mopeli been providing the leadership in this area ? What has he done?)

Unlike many other homelands Qwaqwa is mercifully free of corruption. When extra farming land was added to Qwaqwa during the 1980's, government personnel were not permitted to buy land there. (Cf. also Qwaqwa Ombudsman, 1991)

Qwaqwa's educational and economic planning has been closely linked with the University of the OFS (UOFS). In the early 1980's a series of studies appeared from UOFS's Institute for Social and Economic Research (ISEN) analysing its economic prospects. In education the Research Institute for Educational Planning (RIEP) was active in research and planning. A number of these researchers have subsequently transferred to the Development Bank of Southern Africa (DBSA). One of these is Tobie Verwey. He has continued to research Qwaqwa's education and has been influential in its policy formulation. He chaired an Education Work Committee in the Department of Education for three years whose task was to do research and advise the Qwaqwa government. His interest and style are clearly reflected in the DoE Annual Reports. They pay specific attention to the problem of repeaters. (Verwey et al., 1990)

Most of this work has been cast within an economicist and technicist Modernization theory paradigm with a certain awareness of Third World debates on education in the early 1980's. (***)

Contact with UOFS has continued and even intensified into the 1990's. This finds expression in strong pro-Afrikaner sentiments among some UNIQWA staff. There is at UNIQWA also much praise for UOFS's changed stance on racial integration and for the work of sympathetic, progressive and even radical 'new' Afrikaners. Professor Benito Khotseng, Dean of UNIQWA's Education Faculty, has also recently taken up an appointment as equal opportunities officer at UOFS.

UOFS's technical backup to Qwaqwa's educational planning was very influential in securing increased funding from the DET in the early 1980's. Through RIEP's informal links with the DET and their technical expertise, Qwaqwa was able to 'motivate' their education budgets very convincingly.

In consequence, despite the appalling population influx, they were able both to eliminate the classroom backlog and to keep pace with population growth. In addition, school fees were abolished (in primary schools?), and textbooks and stationery

were provided free. We shall see that class-pupil ratios and teacher-pupils ratios dropped sharply during the 1980's. As a result the then Secretary of Education could argue the case for automatic promotion in primary schools. If the basic problems of facilities, school fees, teachers and textbooks had been solved, what reason was there for children to fail? In the event, automatic promotion was introduced at primary levels, and the responsibility was placed on teachers to show why children should be kept back. (Khotseng)

Is this the answer to Black education in South Africa? Get the physical infrastructure right and the rest will follow? There seem to be at least two factors missing from this equation: teachers and standards of living. If teachers do not have the proper qualifications, adequate motivation or sufficient experience they will not be able to produce the results. Likewise if children come from impoverished backgrounds they will start with a disadvantage which is extremely difficult to eliminate through formal schooling. We shall see that both of these factors have been important in Qwaqwa's educational performance.

Apart from providing the basic facilities, Qwaqwa also pushed education into a vocational and technical direction during the early 1980's. This meant the establishment of technical orientation centres in cooperation with the Qwaqwa Development Corporation. These centres, at present, offer brief courses for children from Standards 5 and 6, apart from some technical training for adults. In addition, a technical high school was established, and mathematics was ~~made~~ phased in as a compulsory subject in schools right up to matric. Finally, the QDC has been instrumental in promoting education for entrepreneurship.

6 The Numbers Game¹

6.1 Enrolments

Much like other homeland systems and the DET, Qwaqwa's enrolment numbers have plateaued in primary school, but have grown extremely rapidly at secondary level. Between 1982-1993 primary level enrolments increased by 2.2% p.a. while secondary enrolments grew by 9.8% p.a. (RIEP, 1993) (See Table 1 & Figure 1) Compared to other homelands and the DET, this is below average on both counts, but especially so for the primary level. Primary enrolments stay steady at about 66,000 from 1987-1990. Secondary growth rates have slowed considerably since 1988, coming down steadily each year from a growth rate of 11.0% per annum in 1988 to 4.8% in 1993. (RIEP, 1993)

¹ With apologies to Ken Hartshorne.

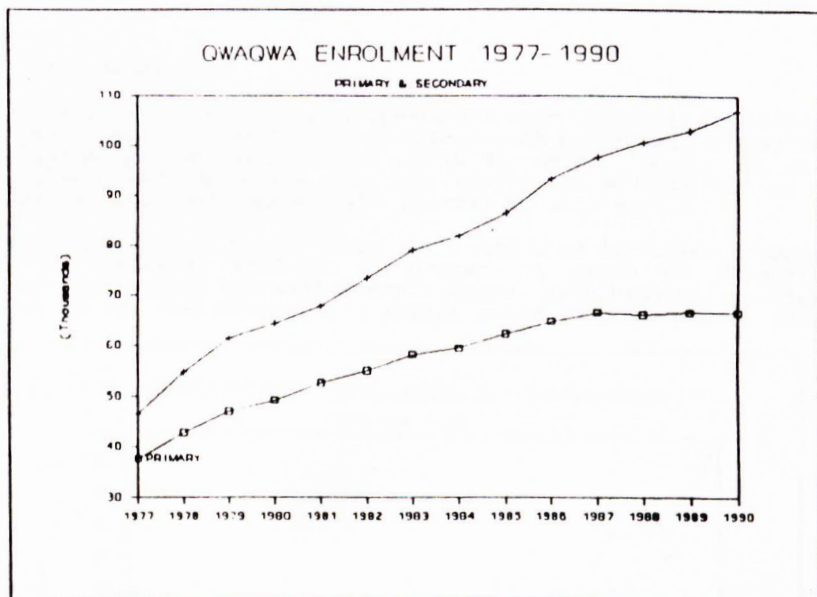


Figure 1: School Enrolments

6.2 Classrooms

Schoolbuilding activity is reflected in sharply declining classroom-pupil ratio's (CPR's). At the primary level, the CPR declined from 77.8 in 1980 to 28.1 in 1993: the lowest primary CPR among all the homelands. At 49.0 for the secondary level, Qwaqwa is still battling to get on top of secondary growth. Comparatively speaking this figure is one of the highest. (RIEP, 1993)

This should, however, be seen against the background of a very high population growth rate in Qwaqwa. As we have seen, the total population grew from 24,000 in 1970 to almost 500,000 in 1993. This is a compound growth rate of ****. (1970-1984/5) (Graaff, 1986:4-6)

6.3 Teachers

Teacher-training has also received considerable attention. This is reflected in two ways, teacher-pupil ratio's (TPR's) and teacher qualifications. At 29.1 for the primary level in 1992,

Qwaqwa has the lowest TPR for all the homelands. At 32.6 for the secondary level in 1992, Qwaqwa has an average TPR among the homelands.

Teacher qualifications have improved markedly. Taking M+3 as the standard, only 83 out of a total of 2,564 (or about 3.2%) were qualified in 1985. Of these only 5 were at primary schools. By 1990 there were 868 out of a total of 3253 (or about 25%) of which 219 were in primary schools. (By comparison, Bophuthatswana's qualification rate is 68% in 1992)

Under these circumstances the HSRC Report thinks that there is a danger of 'over-production' of qualified teachers. An over-production of teachers there may be, but not of qualified teachers. The task is clearly one of upgrading the existing teachers, and of qualifying them in the required directions. Very few of them are qualified to teach Maths, Physical Science or Biology. (AR:134)

Teacher education in Qwaqwa is handled by three colleges of education and the university. Only one of these, Tshiya, offers secondary training. A great many teachers are said to take posts in Qwaqwa in order to study part-time at the university. INSET is handled by one centre, Boitjhorisong.

Part-time study by teachers has its problematic aspects. A number of teachers come to Qwaqwa in order to be near the university, but then leave again once they are qualified. Part-time study can interfere with teaching activities, since teachers are at times working on their assignments while they are supposed to be teaching. Since promotion, salary increments and pensions are linked to added qualifications, an enormous amount of teachers' energy is expended in part-time study. This is a "diploma-disease" with a vengeance. It makes things extremely difficult for NGO's to make headway in the INSET field, since most NGO's do not grant formally recognized certificates. (Khotseng; Weeto; Robinson, 1983)

6.4 Repeaters

Following the work by Verwey, Qwaqwa has been specially conscious of the costs of a system with a significant percentage of pupils occupying places that others could be using. Verwey et al. calculate that repeaters cost the system R14 million out of a budget of R107 million in 1987 (Verwey et al,1990:93).⁴

From Verwey et al.'s work there are a number of important aspects of the repeater pattern in Qwaqwa. A graph of repeater percentages shows the well-known V-shape, with highest repeater rates in SSA and Matric, and lowest rates in St.5 and 6. [See

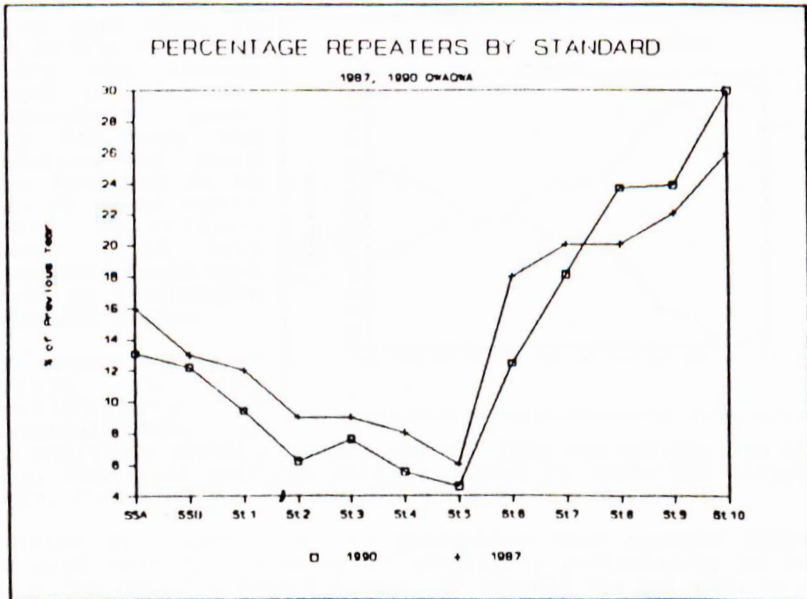


Figure 2: Repeater Rates

⁴ This appears to be a mistake since the wasted finance is calculated on the total number of repeaters in all standards. But if all repeaters had continued to the following year instead of repeating, the only new places available would be those in SSA, i.e. only 1828 new places will be vacated (in SSA in 1987), not 7,017, as Verwey wishes. (p.78)

Figure *]

The reason for the high SSA rate is due to the absence of educare institutions. Parents then smuggle under-age children into SSA (sometimes by altering birth certificates) in order to use them as educare institutions. It is, in consequence, very difficult to be strict about age restrictions when educare institutions are not generally available.

The reason for the high matric repeater rate is related to the status of the matric qualification and the number of pupils who fail the previous year. This means that when the matric pass rate falls, the number of repeaters rises the following year. This is most likely the reason that 30.0% of matriculants are repeating in 1990, as against 26% in 1987 and 20.4% in 1988 (AR,1990:39; AR,1987:41). (Verwey notes insignificant variations in repeater rates prior to 1988.)

6.5 Exam Pass Rates

The flagship of any education system is its matric pass rate (MPR). Black MPR's throughout the country have been seriously affected by both school disruptions, and by over-rapid expansion. In Qwaqwa the MPR has varied a great deal, rising to a peak in 1988 and subsequently dropping even below the DET in 1990. School disruptions flowing from schools in other parts of the country have clearly affected MPR's in Qwaqwa badly since 1989.

Year	MPR	Year	MPR
1986	42.3	1989	36.1
1987	57	1990	32.2
1988	55	1991	

The bleakest part of these results is the pass rate for Mathematics where only one-third of matric students sat the exam, and ~~of those~~ only 1.3% passed (compared to 99.9% for Sesotho). (Annual Report,1990:37) Seen against a broader background, however, these results are quite good. Of all the homelands and the DET, Qwaqwa has the highest percentage of matric pupils writing maths in matric, and the second highest pass rate. (The highest pass rate is Bophuthatswana.)(Edusource, 1993 (3):10)

Standard 8 pass rates have likewise been detrimentally affected by school disruptions, dropping from 68.7% in 1985 to 49.6% in 1990.

Standard 5 pass rates have, however, managed to maintain a quite constant level, oscillating between 95% and 90% between 1987-1990. It appears that primary schools have not been plagued by

disruptions to the same extent.

6.6 Dropouts

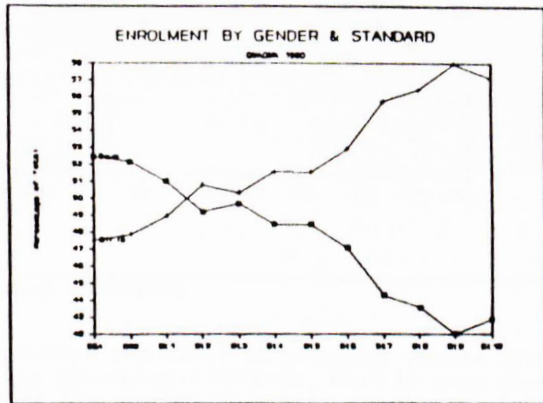
There are a number of reasons why children in homeland areas leave school rather than repeat. The most important reasons are financial. Either parents cannot afford to carry the costs of schooling, or they cannot afford to forego the earnings and/or the labour of their children. This factor would impact more strongly on boys from the age when they can be earning a wage, i.e. about 14 years old. And this is reflected in the preponderance of boys over girls in most homeland secondary enrolments. Figure 3 shows the 1990 enrolment by gender in Qwaqwa.

As we have seen, in the 1970's and early 1980's the average Qwaqwa resident was desperately poor. They had very few resources and there were few jobs to be had. We would expect that education, though rated very important, would have meant an intolerable financial burden.

A second dropout factor is the availability of schoolbuildings. If the available classroom space shrinks from one standard to the next, then some children will be forced to leave the school. Again, this will be most visible at secondary levels.

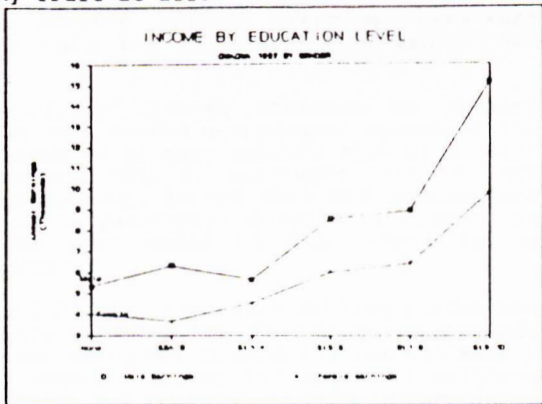
A third main factor is the perception that parents and/or children have of the value of education, particularly of its value for boosting future income. If schools are not seen to be contributing in this regard, either because they are of low quality, or because education levels are not seen to affect wages significantly, children will leave schools of their own accord, or parents will take them out.

The BMR study has interesting things to say about the objective (as opposed to the perceived) relationship between educational levels and income in Qwaqwa. Their study shows that up to six years of formal education has no effect on income levels at all. People with this level of education might just as well be illiterate. It is only from St.5 that education starts to 'bite',



and more significantly for men. (See Figure 5) In short, if people wish to invest in education for their children, they must commit themselves to seven years of education before their investment will bear any fruit at all.

Verwey et al. mention a number of further internal and external factors which impact on dropout rates in schools. Factors internal to the school concern the medium of instruction, and the quality of the teachers. As we have seen, Qwaqwa follows the DET practice with regard to medium of instruction. We have also examined some aspects of teacher training above.



Among the external factors, Verwey et al. mention the influence of peer group behaviour. This refers to the activities of youth gangs which compete with schooling. (Verwey et al.1990:115-7)

Within this context Qwaqwa's education policy in the early 1980's must have had a significant impact, for in this period, with Khotseng as Secretary of Education, school fees were abolished, while textbooks and stationery were supplied free. The Qwaqwa government assumed full responsibility for schoolbuilding. In other words, rural or community schools were no longer state-aided. In addition, significant finances were received from the DET for schoolbuildings. CPR's and TPR's were dropping substantially, as we have seen, although they did not reach down into the 30's until the late 1980's. Finally, automatic promotion was introduced in primary schools. (Khotseng)

Not all of these measures, specifically automatic promotion, were retained after Benito Khotseng left the Dept. of Education. (What does this mean?)

How did all of this affect dropout ? Figure 3 shows the proportion which each standard made up of the total school population in the years 1977 and 1990. This is an extremely crude measure of dropout since it does not follow cohorts through from SSA, nor does it take into account the number of pupils entering the system from outside Qwaqwa at the secondary level. (Can we assume that the number of pupils coming into the system from

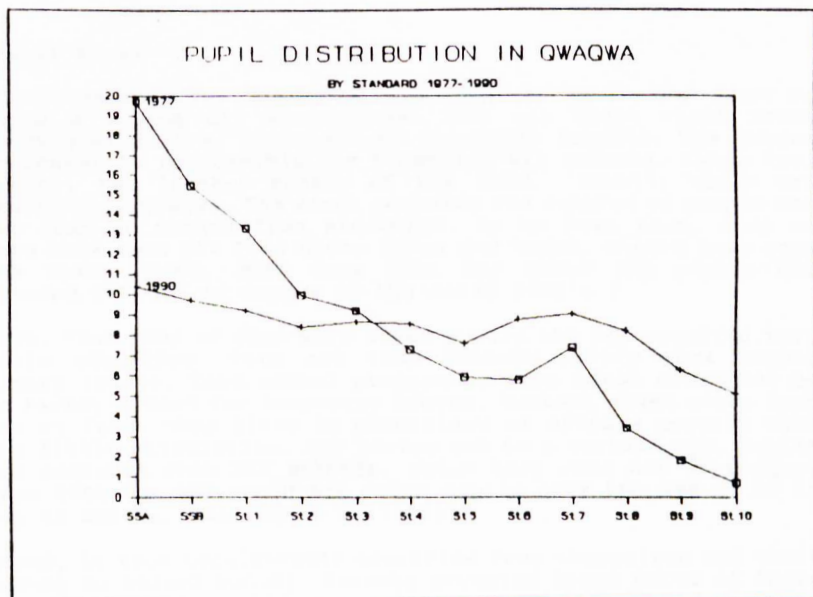


Figure 5: Dropout Rates 1977-1990

outside stays fairly constant over time? It probably varies with the level of unrest in the townships.) However, what it does show is a significant shift in the number of pupils staying on into secondary schools. In this situation, the percentage which SSA represents of the total halves from 20% to about 10%, while that of matric pupils rises from about 1% to about 5%.

[How does this compare with other systems?]

7 Preprimary Education

Preprimary education (PPE) has not received a great deal of attention in Qwaqwa despite the awareness of the importance of PPE for SSA repeaters in departmental Annual Reports*. PPE activities fall under the control of only a Senior Subject Advisor in the Department. She is assisted by PPE committees in

* The HSRC Report thinks that the trend (in DET?) is away from PPE 'due to cost considerations', and the fact that the real problem appears to be further up the system with dropouts and repeaters. (Niewenhuis et al., 1991)

each of the four circuits. (Mohalele)

There are three kinds of PPE institutions in Qwaqwa.

(i) government-run educare centres offering three-year courses. There are only two of these with approx 300 children in each.

(ii) one-year preprimary classes attached to primary schools. This is the most common arrangement accommodating 5,385 children in about 55 primary schools (out of a total of 94 primary schools). This is something like the DET Bridging courses in content, except that DET courses are integrated into the SSA programme. Preprimary classes in Qwaqwa comprise one year prior to SSA. There is no schoolfeeding available.

(iii) spontaneously initiated community centres (which the Department erroneously calls NGO's). This is quite a recent phenomenon. At present there are 29 such centres run mostly by untrained local women catering for about 30 children each. The Dept. arranges for training by ELRU in Cape Town. These centres receive no subsidy from the Qwaqwa government, but they qualify for food subsidies from the Department of Health in Pretoria. The Qwaqwa Department of Health builds classrooms for them. (Mohalele)

Taken together this amounts to approx 6,000 children compared to the 12,000 presently in SSA. Has this had an impact on SSA repeaters? This is very difficult to say, especially since the 1993 repeater figures are not yet available. For the record, the percentage of repeaters in SSA dropped between 1987-1990 from 16% to 13%.

* Verwey et al. have a different story. They report that registered PPE schools receive a subsidy of R3,000 p.a., plus R100 for every three pupils over a total of 30. (Verwey et al., 1990:35)

8 Rural Areas

As indicated above, Qwaqwa has no rural areas in the sense of making a living off agriculture. Nor are there rural areas educationally, i.e. there are no community schools. The Qwaqwa government is responsible for financing all schools. There are, however, two further senses of the word, 'rural', which are important in Qwaqwa. The first concerns the origins of people who have come to Qwaqwa from elsewhere. As we have seen, many of these have come off Free State farms and towns. Others have come from Thaba 'Nchu. What does this say about the pupils who attended schools in Qwaqwa in the early 1980's ?

First, that many of them were older pupils who had received very little education. Farm and town schools rarely went beyond primary levels. Farm school programmes were often disrupted by the farmer's need for temporary labour. Workers moved often from farm to farm. They lived in conditions of extreme poverty with very little stimulation. And having got to a certain age, pupils were excluded from DET schools, which they were not in Qwaqwa. (From 1981 the DET would not allow pupils over the age of 20 to stay in matric. (Robinson, 1983:14))

Second, it took considerable sacrifice from themselves and their parents to attend school. Parents invested large parts of their savings on their children's education. Children had to work during holidays to pay fees. As a result, children attended school with a sharp awareness of how much was at stake, and the responsibilities they bore as future wage-earners. (Robinson, 1983:29)

Third, apart from the financial investment, there was also a huge emotional investment in what education could deliver. "I knew I would never be anything if I did not have some more education." (Robinson, 1983:20) This linked to an equally sharp awareness of how bad conditions on farms were, and, furthermore, how bad they were in Qwaqwa. Robinson quotes another pupil: "I will never work on the farms under the conditions my parents endure. I will never come back to Qwaqwa when I am qualified. People are only at the schools here to get an education. There is no future for anybody here." (Robinson, 1983:76)

Fourth, because education was so important, children often changed schools in pursuit of good teachers, or those with the required qualifications, or just schools with good reputations. (Robinson, 1983:27)

Fifth, having already been out to work, older pupils were highly motivated and could act as advisors to younger pupils. At the same time, this made older pupils more demanding, and more critical of the poor standards of teaching and the conditions in

the schools. Older pupils found it difficult to re-adjust to the tight control exercised in schools. (Robinson, 1983:14)

This is a somewhat different picture of older pupils from that presented in official documents. For the Department of Education (as for the DET) older pupils are problematic for discipline because they are at times older than the teachers themselves. This is particularly acute when pupils are male and teachers are female. There is for teachers too great a variety of pupils to deal with.

Sixth, although farmworkers, like urban dwellers, also sent their children for education to Qwaqwa to stay with relatives, more often farmworkers had themselves also relocated to Qwaqwa. This meant that ex-farm pupils stayed with their parents, rather than in lodgings, or in hostels. In addition, farmworkers were encouraged to stay outside of Phuthaditjhaba, under tribal authority. This probably means that their children, despite their age, would have been more amenable to discipline than less.

Robinson mentions two kinds of older students in Qwaqwa schools in the early 1980's. The first are those we have been discussing from farms. The second concerns those pupils who have left school to work, and discovered that their education had not taken them far enough. Some of these had themselves even been teachers. Although she does not discuss these categories separately, it seems likely that their attitudes and responses to schooling would have been very different. Presumably, the second category would have been concentrated in secondary schools, whereas the first would have been found more often in primary schools.

Table II: Average Annual HH Income 1992 in Qwaqwa

Area	Avg HH Income
1 <i>Phutha</i>	31,502
2	9,523
3	8,136
4	10,115
5	9,232
6	11,035
7	8,547

The second meaning of the word, rural, concerns a noticeable differential in standards of living between the various parts of Qwaqwa. The BMR study notes that whereas the Phuthaditjhaba area, as is to be expected, has a far higher average annual household income than any other in Qwaqwa, Area 3 (in Table II) drops below the others. This happens to be the area where the Batlokwa tribe live.

Does this make any difference to educational outcomes? Education officials, when asked, felt that this area benefitted since there

were fewer school disturbances there. As a result, it is possible that MPR's would be higher in this area than elsewhere in Qwaqwa.

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[END OF REPORT]