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Educational Needs of Adults in Mdantsane

**Patrick McAllister, Michael Young,
Cecil Manona and Jo Hart**

Working Paper No. 58

Rhodes University

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Names and other details of informants have been changed in order to preserve confidentiality.

1. INTRODUCTION

Temba Thobile is a clerk in Mdantsane. Short and slight in build, he dresses both casually and smartly.¹

Now 27, and one of six children, he was born and bred in the Transkei village of Ntabanje where his father and mother still live. His father used to work in Cape Town as an unskilled labourer, living in a hostel and sending home regularly small sums which were never enough to raise his family out of poverty.

He and his brothers and sisters went to school regularly and got right through to matriculation. Much as he enjoyed school, it was not his school but a visit to a nearby government rehabilitation centre which fired his ambition. There he would watch the mechanics at work. His school offered no lessons in car mechanics, but this (he decided) should be his calling: from then on he wanted one day to be trained. His matric was good enough for entry to a teacher training college but he wanted a course in mechanics. Since there was no money for either, he took the first job he could get.

This brought him to Mdantsane. He compares the township, crowded, dusty, almost bereft of vegetation, especially in the present drought, with the beloved mountains, trees and flowers which he remembers in his native Transkei. He continually harps back to mechanics and laments the lack of opportunity to make a new start at the trade he hopes one day he will be able to enter. He hopes a new government in South Africa will put things right.

Nolindile Tshemese is an engaging 24-year-old woman with an expressive face which she repeatedly screwed up into a look of amused puzzlement when interviewed. Her father had a job in a factory and this meant she and her brother could both attend secondary school. But the school boycotts of 1983 stopped her from getting to the examination centre for her matric and the next year, when she did sit for it, she failed.

So with Standard 9 the best she could do was take a commercial course at the East London Technikon, that is until the money ran out and she had to leave. To get a certificate she needs to go back for another six months. This requires money that so far she has been unable to put together. Her brother had been sacked from a local textile factory and with his redundancy pay he bought an industrial sewing machine in the hope of making some money as an out-worker. He allowed her to use the machine and she was learning to make trousers. Trousers might one day get her back to the technikon. But she wanted guidance about the best training to go for if once again there was an opportunity to get any. Her ambition was a job and enough money to enable her to have children but without the encumbrance of a husband.

¹ Names and other details of informants have been changed in order to preserve confidentiality.

These were but two of the people living in the township who were interviewed in the course of the enquiry or in the preliminary stages of it. They were no more typical than any of the other people who were seen. The variety and individuality of the informants were, as usual, what stood out from the survey. But one thing they shared. They all lived either in Mdantsane (100 of them) or in Feni (50 of them), a rural village not far away in the district of Peddie.

Purpose of the study

The purpose of the study was to collect some preliminary information in advance of the inauguration of a new educational project at Fort Hare University which, under the guidance of a new Vice-Chancellor, Dr. S.M.E. Bengu, is forging for itself a new course of development as a people's University. The new project arises out of a report prepared by the International Extension College for the University of Fort Hare. The hope is that a number of innovations can be introduced into adult education in the Eastern Cape which will prove of value in meeting the needs of people living in different kinds of localities. The planning will begin in the early winter, as soon as staff have assembled, and as soon as Dr. David Warr, the international consultant to the project, is in post. It seemed sensible to conduct, in advance, one of the surveys which will be needed to underpin plans. To do this at short notice and complete it in a short time (the work did not commence until February, 1992) the best course was to rely on an experienced team from a neighbouring University, Rhodes, which had already conducted surveys in different districts within the Eastern Cape, and to bring in further support from the University of Natal.

It has to be stressed at the outset that the whole survey was in the nature of a pilot, not intended so much to produce definitive results - Mdantsane itself is unusual in this region - as to point the direction and prepare the way for the other surveys which will, it is hoped, be conducted as the Fort Hare-IEC project proceeds. The article of faith which underlies the survey is that no educational scheme for adults should be set up without finding out what their needs are as they see them. People's education has to be based on consultation with the people, and in that process surveys can play a useful, indeed for certain purposes an indispensable, part.

The township

Mdantsane is a large urban residential area, a legacy of apartheid and, before that, of the history which led up to apartheid in its most extreme form. The first large group of

white settlers (largely Germans, hence such local names as Potsdam and Berlin) arrived in East London in 1857, and proceeded 'to exclude from the town all but those who were necessary for the labour force'.¹ In 1895 the East London Municipality was empowered by the Cape Parliament to establish locations and to force blacks and Indians to live in them. One step led to another. On 20 February 1962 the Minister of Bantu Administration and Development announced that the proposed new location for East London would not be under municipal administration but that the government itself would assume all responsibilities "for the creation of a black city in the Ciskei".²

The outcome is the present township, with a population estimated to be over 250,000 people - or a quarter of the total population of Ciskei - though some put this figure much higher. It is typically bleak - row upon row of small and more or less identical concrete boxes - 'matchbox houses', as they are sometimes called - which a previous observer described as 'airy and light' and 'altogether pleasant to live in'.³ The plan reflects a past battle between the Department of Bantu Administration and the topography of the site. The bureaucracy is only too visible in the uniformity of the houses and in the appearance here and there of the familiar grid, but the bureaucracy has been overwhelmed by nature. The site is a series of rolling hillsides which compel the houses to curve and loop around the slopes, leaving tracts of arid, desolate, scrubland both unbuilt on and unusable. In some zones the houses are larger, built with bank or building society finance. Locally, they are called 'bond houses'.

Feni is rather different. It is a rural Ciskei village, with a wide variety of ramshackle houses and shacks, many based on the old style, round, mud-brick or wattle and daub hut. Better quality houses are usually built in rectangular shape, of concrete blocks and with tin roofing. The pathways and vehicle tracks between the irregular rows of houses are deeply furrowed in places, and there is no electricity or sanitation (apart from pit latrines). The surrounding landscape is also dusty and dry.

But Feni is also atypical. It is close to a large hospital (called Nompumelelo), the largest employer in the area. A number of the answers that Feni respondents gave to our questions were clearly influenced by this fact. The district of Peddie was also inhabited in the late 1830s by the so-called 'Mfengu' (Fingo) people. Conventional history (now being challenged by a number of scholars) has it that these were people who had fled from the

¹ Reader, DH., 1961, The Black Man's Portion, Cape Town, Oxford University Press. Quoted by Cook, G. and Opland, J. 1980, Mdantsane - Transitional City, Institute of Social and Economic Research, Grahamstown.

² Cook and Opland, op.cit., p.9.

³ Mayer, P., 1961 Townsmen or Tribesmen, Cape Town, Oxford University Press. Quoted by Cook and Opland, p.16.

wars and turmoil further to the north east, associated with the rise of the Zulu kingdom. They were granted refuge first by the Gcaleka branch of the Xhosa, in the south western Transkei, and then by the British colonial authorities, for whom many of them fought in the 'frontier wars' against the Xhosa proper. Some of the results of this survey, arising from the comparison between Mdantsane and Feni, may possibly be explained in this light. Feni may, in other words, turn out when later, similar surveys are done elsewhere in the Eastern Cape, to be not in this respect typical of other rural areas in the region.

Getting permission to interview

It was necessary to obtain the permission of the Mdantsane Residents' Association (MDARA) before work could commence. Although still administered by Ciskei, the Ciskei authorities do not enjoy much legitimacy in the area, and residents view the ANC-aligned MDARA as their representative. A week after approaching MDARA we were told by the secretary of the organisation that we could go ahead.

While waiting for the necessary permission from the Mdantsane organisation, the rural study was proceeded with. In Feni permission to start was obtained from the local chief and headman, since the Feni residents' association is not strongly developed. Had there been such an association, however, we would have had to work through it, as well as through the chief, despite the fact that the Ciskei authorities have imposed a blanket ban on residents associations which is followed more in the breach than in the observance.

The people we interviewed in both Feni and Mdantsane responded well to our questions, and showed considerable interest in the project. Our preamble to the questions that we asked (see Appendix 1) tried to make it clear what the study was about. The interviewers found that, in general, people were keen to obtain further education or training, and were excited to hear about the project to be conducted from Fort Hare. They frequently expressed their hope that the project would be successful. We are grateful to our informants for their co-operation and for the people in MDARA, in Feni and in the Independent Teacher Enrichment Centre in East London who gave their backing to the survey.

Sampling method

We cannot claim that the sampling method used was more than rough and ready. We needed to ensure that people of different sex and age were represented, and set a quota accordingly - aiming for 75 males and 75 females, with each group roughly evenly divided between the younger (16 - 35 years) and older (36 - 55 years) groups. We also wanted a relatively even spread of age and sex categories over the two sample areas. The following tables illustrate the extent to which this was achieved.

TABLE 1

SEX

	MALE	FEMALE	TOTAL
RURAL	24	26	50
URBAN	47	53	100
	71	79	150

TABLE 2

AGE GROUPS

	15-35 YRS	36-55 YRS	TOTAL
RURAL	28	22	50
URBAN	52	48	100
TOTAL	80	70	150

In Feni, a count of the total number of houses in the village came to 272, which meant that we interviewed in every fifth or sixth house. In Mdantsane, a detailed map showed there were around 1600 houses in each zone, which would have meant interviewing in roughly every thirtieth house. Time and travel constraints made this too laborious, so it was decided to interview in only one part of each zone, stopping at every tenth house until the required quota had been reached. In many of the houses there were a number of potential informants, and the selection among them was made according to the sex and age quotas mentioned above.

We hoped that this procedure would give us a fairly even split into married and unmarried informants. This is how it turned out.

TABLE 3

MARITAL STATUS

	MARRIED	UNMARRIED	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	20	27	3	50
URBAN	29	66	5	100
TOTAL	49	93	8	150

The questionnaire

As part of the training of the three interviewers, Dr. Manona engaged them in translating the questionnaire into Xhosa. A small pilot study was then conducted in Grahamstown. Discussing the results with them led to refinements and modifications. Further discussions were held with the interviewers after the Feni survey, aimed at ironing out any areas of uncertainty and at encouraging them to collect additional information of relevance, and to record this at the end of the interview schedule. Some intensive interviews were done by Jo Hart and Michael Young.

Some of the results are presented in tables in the text. A total of 328 cross tabulations between variables were made, but these will be mentioned only where they produced statistically significant results or threw up interesting trends. Statistically significant correlations are indicated simply with an asterisk. Using the Pearson chisquare, results were considered to be statistically significant at the level of 0,0005 or less. Because of the smallness of the sample and the wide range of responses to many questions the chisquare was often redundant. If there are the resources for larger samples in further surveys it will be possible to give greater weight to statistical significance.

Now for the results. Section 2 is about the general characteristics of the respondents, including the level of education they had reached. Section 3 is about the need for additional education as judged by what people had sought for in the past. Section 4 is about the demand for skills.

TABLE 3

bottom findings

MARITAL STATUS

We cannot claim that the sampling method used was more than rough and ready.

Age	Urban	Rural	Total
15-24	100	100	200
25-34	100	100	200
35-44	100	100	200
45-54	100	100	200
55-64	100	100	200
65-74	100	100	200
75+	100	100	200
Total	700	700	1400

2. GENERAL CHARACTERISTICS

Housing and household size

Houses in Feni were classified either as 'typical rural' or as being of a better type (the term 'elite rural' is used, but it is a bit misleading). 'Typical rural' houses are of mud brick or wattle and daub construction, either round or oblong, with thatch or corrugated iron roofing, often acquired second-hand. The better houses are made from cement blocks or bricks, and are invariably rectangular, with good quality iron roofing.

In Mdantsane the division was between 'a standard municipal house', which was four rooms, or 'an improved municipal house'. The latter referred to houses which had in some way been improved, perhaps by the addition of one or more rooms. Three of the Mdantsane respondents lived in part-houses (a room or two) and one in a backyard shack.

TABLE 4

TYPE OF HOUSE

	MUNI-CIPAL	IMPROVED MUNICIPAL	BACK-YARD SHACK	TYPICAL RURAL	ELITE RURAL	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	0	0	0	25	25	0	50
URBAN	87	8	1	1	0	3	100
TOTAL	87	8	1	26	25	3	150

Relatively few people were newcomers, the majority having lived locally for more than ten years.

TABLE 5

YEARS OF RESIDENCE

	UP TO 5	6-10	11-15	16-20	21-30	31-40	41-50	51-55	TOTAL
RURAL	3	1	5	4	13	15	6	3	50
URBAN	15	8	12	14	50	0	0	1	100
TOTAL	18	9	17	18	63	15	6	4	150

The rural people had been resident for longer, on average, than their urban counterparts. This is no doubt because Mdantsane in its modern form is relatively new, and possibly also because

people in the rural sample were, taken together, slightly older than in the urban one.

We asked the respondents about the other people in their households, both children and adults. Altogether there were 483 adults (including respondents) and 473 children in the 150 households, an average of 6,3 people each. Members of a household were not necessarily kin to each other. Households varied considerably in size, from a single resident up to those with twelve or thirteen people in them (see Table 6). The large households with eleven or more people were only in Mdantsane where the housing shortage was more acute. Some large households had little or no source of cash income, while others were relatively well off, with two, three or more wage earners.

TABLE 6

NO. OF RESIDENTS PER HOUSEHOLD

	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	11-13	TOTAL
RURAL	3	7	18	.14	8	0	50
URBAN	3	17	34	28	13	5	100
TOTAL	6	24	52	42	21	5	150

The number of children of schoolgoing age and younger did not differ much between rural and urban areas, as illustrated in Table 7.

TABLE 7

NO. OF CHILDREN PER HOUSEHOLD

	0	1 - 2	3 - 4	5 - 6	7 - 8	9 - 10	TOTAL
RURAL	3	14	25	7	1	0	50
URBAN	6	29	46	15	3	1	100
TOTAL	9	43	71	22	4	1	150

We also tried to find out the number of schoolgoing "children" over the age of 20 years. There were relatively few of these - 23 out of a total of 473 children enumerated, or one in about every sixth homestead (19 of the 23 were aged 20 to 24 years; the other four were between 25 and 30 years). In the Keiskammahoe district of the Ciskei, where Mr. Sean Coghlan of the Education Department at Rhodes University is doing research on schools, nearly half of all Standard 10 pupils are over 20 years of age (see Appendix 2).

Education and literacy

The level of formal education attained by the respondents ranged from nothing at all to matriculation (or Standard 10). The differences between Mdantsane and Feni in this respect are not large, as shown in Table 8. It is worth noting, however, that in Feni there were relatively almost twice as many with Standard 10. As one would expect, younger (and unmarried) people had received relatively more formal schooling than older (usually married) people (Table 9). In Feni, better educated people tended to live in the better quality houses, poorly educated people in the ordinary ('typical rural') houses. There was no similar correlation in Mdantsane.

Most of the respondents with no or less than three years of formal education were men - only two of the 11 people in this group were women. This trend was not, however, evident among the 333 other adult household residents on whom information was collected. Of these 333 other adults, 56 had no formal schooling. Thirty-one of these were from Feni (103 other adults), a proportionately larger number than was found in Mdantsane, where only 25 of the 230 other adults had no formal schooling.

TABLE 8

EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT

	NIL	SUB A - STD 3	STD 4	STD 5	STD 6	STD 7	STD 8	STD 9	STD 10	TOTAL
URBAN	4	3	4	12	4	3	1	0	19	50
RURAL	4	8	7	14	10	13	15	9	20	100
TOTAL	8	11	11	26	14	16	16	9	39	150

TABLE 9

EDUCATION OF RESPONDENT (by age)

AGE	NIL	SUB A - STD 3	STD 4	STD 5	STD 6	STD 7	STD 8	STD 9	STD 10	TOTAL
16-35	4	3	5	9	7	10	9	6	27	80
36-55	4	8	6	17	7	6	7	3	12	70
TOTAL	8	11	11	26	14	16	16	9	39	150

We wanted to get some guidance about the level of literacy since this will be one of the most important factors to be taken into consideration in planning the Fort Hare project. We did not think we could in the circumstances ask people to submit to a test there and then, though an attempt should no doubt be made to do this in any follow-up surveys that are done. What we did

was pose some questions which have been shown to give fairly reliable results in other enquiries into literacy and asked people whether they could write a letter to a relative in Xhosa, and likewise in English, Afrikaans, and any other language.

As it turned out, all but two of the respondents claimed to be able to write a letter to a relative, at least in Xhosa. Thirty-six people were unable to do so in any other language, but the remainder (in both age groups, though more among younger people) claimed to have the required knowledge of English and/or Afrikaans to write a letter in either or both of these languages. A few also claimed literacy in Zulu or Sotho (or both).

TABLE 10

XHOSA LITERACY

	N/A	YES	NO	TOTAL
RURAL	0	49	1	50
URBAN	3	96	1	100
TOTAL	3	145	2	150

TABLE 11

OTHER LITERACY

	NONE	ENGLISH	ENG/AFR	ENG/AF/Z	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	15	20	15	0	0	50
URBAN	21	4	24	3	6	100
TOTAL	36	66	39	3	6	150

Higher standards of formal schooling were linked to greater literacy skills. Only five of the 30 people with Standard 4 or less were literate in a language other than Xhosa, while only three of the 94 with Standard 6 or higher were similarly limited*.

Qualifications and skills

Thirty-nine of the respondents (11 in Feni and 28 in Mdantsane) had acquired qualifications other than a school standard. These are detailed in the table below; they also merit some further comment.

TABLE 12

RESPONDENT'S QUALIFICATIONS

	NONE	TEACHING	NURSING	DRIVING	TYPING	MACHINIST	MORE THAN ONE	HAIRDRESSING	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	39	2	5	1	1	0	0	0	2	50
URBAN	72	1	0	7	3	4	3	2	8	100
TOTAL	111	3	5	8	4	4	3	2	10	150

The hospital, no doubt, accounts for the nursing qualifications in Feni, while the textile industry in East London probably accounts for those qualified as machinists. All the machinists, hairdressers and teachers were women. The drivers - all men and primarily in Mdantsane - included five with ordinary drivers' licences, and three with more specialised driving skills. Within the category 'other' and 'more than one', in the table, were people with some kind of qualification in welding, cooking, music (piano), retailing, first aid, switchboard operating and leadership (a miner).

Similar qualifications or formal training certificates had been gained by 45 other members of the respondents' households, and there were some additional ones - in panel beating, electronics, sales, quality control and personnel. Fewer rural than urban people had some sort of qualification.

Much of the post-school training had been received whilst in employment, which might account for older people having more working experience.

TABLE 13

QUALIFICATIONS AND TRAINING

AGE GROUP	YES	NO	TOTAL
16 - 35	14	66	80
36 - 55	25	45	70
TOTAL	39	111	150

Employment

Having a qualification of some sort did not seem to help all that much when it came to employment. Two-thirds of the whole sample were unemployed. The vast majority (78%) of the unemployed had not received any training and were not qualified in any formal way, but then this also applied to the majority (66%) of those who did have a job. More significantly, perhaps, of the 39 people with a qualification, 22 (56%) were unemployed, and of the

111 without a qualification, 78 (70%).

What has to be borne in mind is the decline of the economy of the East London region over the last 5 to 10 years. Of the unemployed, 17 had last been employed in factories, and nine of these had received training of some kind whilst in employment. Many had presumably lost their jobs when factories had closed down in the period since 1980.

The level of formal schooling, like other kinds of training, was not related to employment. In fact, only in the group with four years or less of formal schooling did the employed outnumber the unemployed (by seven to six). In all other educational categories the unemployed were in the majority. Amongst those who had passed Standard 10, 28 were unemployed and only 11 employed (see Table 14).

TABLE 14
EMPLOYMENT

EDUCATION	UNEMPLOYMENT	UNSKILLED WORKERS	DOMESTIC WORK	SEMI SKILLED & FACTORY	MINING	TEACHERS & NURSES	CLERICAL	OTHER GOVT. DEPTS	OTHER	TOTAL
0-STD 3	8	5	1	0	2	0	0	0	3	19
STD 4	9	0	1	1	0	0	0	0	0	11
STD 5	17	3	1	3	0	1	0	1	0	26
STD 6	9	0	0	2	0	2	0	0	1	14
STD 7	10	0	2	1	0	1	0	1	1	16
STD 8	12	1	0	3	0	0	0	0	0	16
STD 9	6	0	0	0	0	0	1	2	0	9
STD 10	29	0	0	1	0	3	2	2	2	39
TOTAL	100	9	5	11	2	7	3	6	7	150

The unemployed tended to be younger (and unmarried), as the next table indicates*.

TABLE 15
EMPLOYMENT BY AGE

AGE	UNEMPLOYED	UNSKILLED WORKERS	TEACHERS & NURSES	CLERICAL	DOMESTIC WORK	SEMI SKILLED AND FACTORY	MINING	OTHER GOVT.	OTHER PRIV.	TOTAL
16 - 35	63	4	2	1	3	5	1	0	0	80
36 - +	37	5	5	2	2	6	1	6	6	70
TOTAL	100	9	7	3	5	11	2	6	6	150

Of the 29 unemployed matriculants, 18 said that they had not looked for a job recently, and many of them had in fact never worked. Some were 'resting' after having obtained matric fairly recently, and hoping for a place at university or a technical college. Some of the unemployed matriculants had never had a job since leaving school. Half of the younger, unemployed people said that they had in fact sought work in the two months prior to the survey and failed to find it.

The kind of work done by those in employment is given in the two tables above. Unskilled workers included labourers and cleaners, and the occasional gardener. Domestic workers, all in Mdantsane, worked for whites in the East London suburbs. Semi-skilled included factory workers such as machinists in the textile factories, but also people such as a pharmacist's assistant, a chef in a Mdantsane eating house, an office messenger, a petrol attendant, a postman, and certain hospital employees such as a porter and a housekeeper. Skilled workers in the 'other' category included a motor mechanic and a man who worked in quality control. Nurses and teachers were employed by the Ciskei government, and there were also a number of others of this kind - a livestock inspector, a clerk and a stores assistant in the Dept. of Works and a housemaster in a school.

There were more unskilled workers in the rural area, as shown in Table 16, both among the respondents and the 'other adults'. Nurses, domestic workers and factory workers tended to be women.

TABLE 16

RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION

	UNEMPLOYED	UNSKILLED WORK	DOMESTIC WORK	SEMI SKILLED & FACTORY	MINING	TEACHERS & NURSES	CLERICAL	OTHER GOVT DEPART	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	30	6	0	2	2	6	0	2	2	50
URBAN	70	3	5	9	0	1	3	4	5	100
TOTAL	100	9	5	11	2	7	3	6	7	150

At least 15 of the respondents who were formally unemployed did have some form of cash income. Many could be described as self-employed though the line between self employment and occasional, casual work, is hard to draw. Most of these were women. Two worked as hairdressers, operating from home; one made some money sewing garments for others; five were hawkers of one kind or another, selling fruit and vegetables on the street, or liquor from home. Two men did part-time driving for the owners of mini-buses. Others had some casual or part-time job (e.g. carpentry or helping a relative with building operations), and one man, a pianist, was able to make something of a living from that. Many of the people were in dire straits.

A 30-year-old female respondent from Mdantsane lived in a household of 13 people. Six of these were schoolchildren, one of the adults had a disability grant, and all of the seven adults were unemployed. Even the respondent's husband, who had a diploma in electronics (N3), did not have a job, though he did casual work repairing TV sets and radios. The respondent herself had passed Standard 8 and had twice attempted to get matric through night school. She failed to do so because of the poor performance of teachers who often did not pitch up for classes. To earn some money she ran a small-scale shebeen, selling liquor and also cooldrink which, together with the husband's earnings and the grant, meant that they could just get by. She said that she intends going back to school next year to complete matric and hopes then to start training as a teacher.

A 36-year-old male respondent was part of a household of six adults aged between 23 and 57, and five schoolgoing children. All the adults were unemployed. The respondent had a welding certificate and another of the adults had training as a machinist. None of them had gone beyond Standard 6 at school. When the interviewer arrived at the house the respondent was sitting on the lawn with friends, smoking dagga. He said he had just come out of prison 'because we cannot find work'.

TABLE 10
RESPONDENT'S OCCUPATION

Occupation	Male	Female	Total
Unemployed	11	11	22
Domestic work	2	2	4
Unskilled work	3	3	6
Semi-skilled	1	1	2
Mining	1	1	2
Teachers	1	1	2
Clerical	1	1	2
Other	1	1	2
Other	1	1	2
Total	22	22	44

At least 15 of the respondents who were formally unemployed did have some form of cash income - many could be described as self-employed though the line between self-employment and occasional casual work is hard to draw. Most of these were women. Two worked as hairdressers operating from home; one made some money

Age	Male	Female	Total
15-20	1	1	2
21-25	1	1	2
26-30	1	1	2
31-35	1	1	2
36-40	1	1	2
41-45	1	1	2
46-50	1	1	2
51-55	1	1	2
56-60	1	1	2
Total	10	10	20

3. NEED FOR ADDITIONAL EDUCATION

We have now set the scene describing - although we know only in outline - the characteristics of the people in our sample. We could not assess what their educational needs were without knowing a little about the kind of people they were. We have now to move towards the heart of the survey, which was to obtain whatever indication we could about people's interest in getting additional education. As far as formal education was concerned we did not tackle this issue so much by asking people, in an interview that economy dictated should be short, a series of questions about the many different kinds of formal courses which might in theory be open to them, as by enquiring about efforts they had made in practice to augment their education since they left school. We also gathered information about education and training which was more of a practical than of an academic kind.

The first point to bear in mind was that the education of many black people has been interrupted in the last 20 years or more. The schools have been in the front line of the struggle against apartheid. What has this done to the education of the younger generations? We cannot give any full answer to this question, for we cannot know what the effect of the struggle has been on the quality of education for those who stayed at school. This is a topic which would require an enquiry all to itself. We therefore know that we have only touched on the topic by asking about education which had been so much interrupted as to cause people to leave school for a period.

Of the 150 respondents 34 had in this sense had their schooling interrupted for one reason or another, though 23 of the 34 had eventually managed to pass at least Standard 8. It was in the younger age group that such interruptions had been experienced most*, in both rural and urban areas (see Tables 17 and 18).

TABLE 17

INTERRUPTED SCHOOLING

	YES	NO	N/A	TOTAL
RURAL	13	36	1	50
URBAN	21	76	3	100
TOTAL	34	112	4	150

TABLE 18

INTERRUPTED SCHOOLING

AGE	N/A	YES	NO	TOTAL
16 - 35	28	28	51	80
36 PLUS	6	6	61	70
TOTAL	4	34	112	150

But as it turned out unrest and boycotts (see Table 19) had only been responsible for some of the interruption. There were several other reasons as well.

TABLE 19

REASON FOR SCHOOL INTERRUPTION

	N/A	FINANCE	UNREST	PREGNANCY	HEALTH	OTHER	FAMILY PRESSURE	MULTIPLE REASONS	TOTAL
RURAL	37	2	1	1	6	1	2	0	50
URBAN	79	3	8	5	1	2	0	2	100
TOTAL	116	5	9	6	7	3	2	2	150

Early leaving

Similar sorts of reasons were given for the decision to leave school finally, the most common factor being financial (see Table 20).

TABLE 20

REASON FOR FINALLY LEAVING SCHOOL

	FAILURE	FINANCE	UNREST	LACK OF INTEREST	PREGNANCY	HEALTH	MARRIAGE	MATRIC-ULATED	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	2	13	0	2	1	7	4	14	7	50
URBAN	4	37	3	6	9	9	1	18	13	100
TOTAL	6	50	3	8	10	16	5	32	20	150

This financial pressure affected people in both rural and urban areas, men as well as women. It was often linked to pressure

from parents or siblings and to a decision to marry. Here is a 36-year-old married women from Feni who left school after Standard 6.

'Due to my parents' lack of the value of education, they stopped me (from going to school) and I had to work for them; my father was unable to support the whole family.' Having left school and found a job, the next step was marriage, and this effectively put paid to further education. As she said: 'I got married and I could not devote any more time to studies or training.' She has had five children and a husband who was and is employed as a cleaner. She was keen to improve her knowledge and skills but without any obvious opportunities for doing so. She was kept more than busy with the maintenance of her household.

Another respondent, a 27-year-old Feni man who worked as a labourer on the roads, put it this way: 'There was no money and I felt that I should help my father to educate my brothers and sisters, as we were a big family.' He left school and found a job. He said that he was keen to study and to obtain information about careers, adding that he would like to be a nursing assistant at Nompumelelo Hospital.

A 32-year-old women in Feni had managed to complete her matric despite having her schooling interrupted for three years because of ill health. When her marriage failed she had returned to her birthplace and worked at the Fish River Sun as a barlady. She would have preferred to do clerical work, typing or nursing, and to that end would like to continue with her education. But she was now the breadwinner in her homestead of 10 people and therefore had to keep working.

Finance and family circumstances were often inextricably linked. A 31-year-old man who left school in Standard 7 said: 'My father was a building contractor but because he had a second wife who was a stepmother to me he didn't encourage me or support me with money so that I could go to school. I then decided to go out and look for a job in Secunda, where I was working at Power Line as a climber, climbing the towers to connect (electrical) cables. Thereafter I came back and worked for my father as an assistant builder and carpenter.' Currently he was unemployed but did casual jobs - bricklaying and carpentry. He was keen to undergo formal training in carpentry and bricklaying so that he could then work in the Fort Hare project and help to train others in these skills.

Lack of money also stopped many people from obtaining further education after leaving school. Seventeen of those who left school for financial reasons also gave lack of finance as the reason for never taking a correspondence course afterwards. Nevertheless, of the 50 who left school for financial reasons,

five were studying at the time of the interview, and another 23 had made some attempt in the past to continue their education or to obtain some kind of training or qualification.

Pregnancy could also bring schooling to a close. Girls who became pregnant at school were more or less forced to leave, at least until the baby had been born. This also put pressure on some fathers who felt that they had an obligation to earn and to support the mother and baby.

All of those who gave 'marriage' as a reason for leaving were women:

'I married after I left school and in those days if you were married your duty was to look after your family; it was only the father who was supposed to work for the whole family. I would be pleased if a project would come and provide opportunities for training.'

'I failed Standard Seven and left school, and after that I got married. There were no chances of learning anything, even if I wanted to.'

Sometimes illness interrupted schooling and also affected later decisions about continuing education. A number of people seemed to suffer from psycho-somatic illness. Scholars would become ill whenever exam time arrived, or got unexplained headaches or nosebleeds which cleared up after leaving school. Two or three claimed that trouble with their eyes meant that they were unable to see the blackboard. Illness was sometimes related to witchcraft. A woman who regularly had to take time off from school because of ill health explained that eventually, after a particularly serious bout, her family arranged for her to be seen by a diviner. The diviner said that 'I must not go to school any more, because our neighbours were jealous'. The implication was that the neighbours were 'bewitching' the child because of their jealousy.

One of the interviewers commented:

'I learnt that there are a lot of people who left school because of common illness such as headaches, bleeding and sight problems. After they left school they became very well. One cannot understand how this happens. I wonder if it is witchcraft as these people claim.'

Attempts to obtain qualifications or training

Whether or not people suffered interruptions in their education or left school early, we wanted to know what they and others had done (or not done) to augment their formal education after leaving school. How many had, as it were, gone back to school?

Fifteen respondents (half employed and half not) were engaged in further study at the time of the interview, many trying to improve their school standard through the Ciskei Department of

Education or a correspondence college; others were enrolled for some other type of qualification at a technical or correspondence college; and some were undergoing training at their place of work. Thirteen out of the 15 had already passed Standard 8, 9 or 10. All were literate in English as well as Xhosa (and 12 in another language as well) and six had already obtained some training or qualification in another field. Fourteen had made previous attempts to study or obtain a qualification and, in addition, six had once taken a correspondence course.

TABLE 21

NO. STUDYING AT PRESENT

	YES	NO	TOTAL
RURAL	4	46	50
URBAN	11	89	100
TOTAL	15	135	150

So here was a small group of determined (mainly young and unmarried) people. They were keen to improve their standard of education and prepared to try a variety of means to this end. Most of them had managed by themselves to find the money required, while some were being assisted by close kin, and in other cases the training was free. Nine in this group had experienced interrupted schooling, while seven had not.

A 22-year-old woman from Mdantsane was an example. Although unemployed and not currently studying, she had passed Standard 10, and also had N1 and N2 certificates from a technical college. While at school she used to be employed during the holidays by a hairdresser in East London and when the school boycotts prevented her from attending classes in 1985 and 1986 she decided to go to Johannesburg to train as a hairdresser, obtaining two certificates from the Hair Professional Academy. She said that she would like to go back to a technical college to study art and design. But she is the only potential breadwinner, apart from one pensioner, in her household of six people - three children and three adults; and if she could find a job in her old profession or a job of any other kind she would probably take it.

Almost half the sample had made some attempt in the past to improve their skills or education, relatively more from Mdantsane than from Feni (Table 22). The majority (47 out of 74) of those who had made such attempts had relatively high standards of education (Standard 8 to 10), while the majority of those who had not (52 out of 76) had not gone beyond Standard 6 at school.* Younger people had tried more than older people. People in higher grade jobs had also done so more.

TABLE 22

PAST ATTEMPTS TO TRAIN/STUDY

	YES	NO	TOTAL
RURAL	19	31	50
URBAN	55	45	100
TOTAL	74	76	150

Thirteen people had not got further than an unsuccessful application, and eight people, though accepted, had not started the course for some reason or other, or dropped out of it soon after the start. Sometimes this was because the money for the fees had dried up. A young man who had gone to Johannesburg to study at a computer academy failed to complete the course:

'I was in Johannesburg and my uncle passed away at home; I came back for his funeral. I did not have enough money to pay for the fees as well as the transport. All I got was the basic certificate.'

For the 16 people who had been offered the training by an employer it was usually completed successfully.

Twelve respondents had enrolled with the Ciskei Department of Education (for a fee), usually to study school subjects. A number of other Ciskei government departments (e.g. Departments of Agriculture, Health, Manpower) apparently offer training courses of one kind or another for which a fee is sometimes charged. Some had been trained (e.g. in welding) through the Ithemba training centre in Mdantsane; others had opted for a commercial or computing course through private colleges or some 'academy'.

Thirty-nine people had successfully completed a course, and been awarded a certificate, as respondents never failed to point out. Obtaining a certificate was regarded as vital. One person complained bitterly to the interviewer that although she had received training from her employer (a plastics company), no certificate had been issued. Not that a certificate always led to practical benefits, as illustrated by Temba Thobile, who has already been quoted. A 37-year-old woman with Standard 8 education had received training as a metal worker from Barlows as well as some training in television assembly from another company. She also had experience working for a plastics company. But she complained that 'I have these two certificates and I cannot use them, because there are no jobs.' The best she had been able to do was find a job as a part-time machinist in a textile factory. Some of those currently undergoing training knew that this would not necessarily lead to employment. A respondent who was doing a three-month auto-electrical course at the Ithemba training centre felt that this would not be of much help to him in his search for employment.

The lack of a certificate had sometimes been a serious handicap.

A 44-year-old man from Mdantsane who left school after Standard 3 for financial reasons was taught motor mechanics by a relative who was qualified himself. He had worked for a tyre company where he was able to put some of his skills to use, fitting tyres and aligning wheels. When he lost his job, however, he could not find another, even though he carried a letter of recommendation. Other employers said that they could not take him on because he did not have a motor mechanic's certificate.

Financial and family factors were cited most frequently as reasons for not making attempts to study or obtain training in the past, though some said they had simply never considered the matter, and some cited illness (Table 23).

TABLE 23

REASONS FOR NOT ATTEMPTING TO TRAIN/STUDY

	FINANCE	NEVER CONSI- DERED	FAMILY	ILL- NESS	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	9	1	13	3	5	31
URBAN	13	7	12	1	12	45
TOTAL	22	8	25	4	17	76

Correspondence colleges and night school

Only 19 of the people we spoke to had taken or considered correspondence courses - all of them with Standard 5 or more (including five with matric). Most of them had also tried other methods of furthering their education. A fifth of the people in the sample had 'never heard of correspondence education' or 'had no information'. Most of these were poorly educated (less than Standard 5)*.

Thirteen of the 19 had applied to or enrolled for school subjects at private correspondence college such as Damelin, Success and Lyceum and at considerable expense. The fees for Standard 10 at Damelin seem to be around R500 per year. Only five had successfully completed the course. Four were not accepted or never got beyond the application, three were still busy with their studies and seven had dropped out, largely because they ran out of money.

'After my parents' separation my father did not support us and my mother was unemployed.' 'I paid the registration fee but could not afford to pay for the stationery and the examination.'

Twenty-seven respondents (17 women and 10 men) had tried night school, primarily in Mdantsane. The 27 included eight people who had no formal schooling at all. However, when looking at the school standard that these people had enrolled for at night school it seems that the majority had attempted Standard 9 or 10, which does not on the face of it make much sense.

TABLE 24

NIGHT SCHOOL ATTENDANCE

	YES	NO	TOTAL
RURAL	6	44	50
URBAN	21	79	100
TOTAL	27	123	150

TABLE 25

NIGHT SCHOOL STUDIES

	N/A	SUB A-2	STD 3-5	STD 6-7	STD 8	STD 9-10	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	44	0	1	0	0	3	2	50
URBAN	79	1	2	1	4	10	3	100
TOTAL	123	1	3	1	4	13	5	150

Their experience of night school was not very positive. One respondent, who tried to do matric through night school but did not complete, complained that the teachers did not show much interest. He therefore lost interest himself, though he said he was still 'willing to push himself' to gain further education and training. One problem may be that those who teach at night school also teach during the day. Yet another complained 'the teachers did not attend very well' and that this accounted for his failure to succeed. The Rhodes University researcher mentioned earlier, Mr Sean Coghlan, reports that many school teachers in the Keiskammahoek region are demoralised due in part to poor facilities.

TABLE 26

COMPLETED NIGHT SCHOOL STUDIES

	N/A	YES	NO	STILL BUSY	TOTAL
RURAL	44	2	4	0	50
URBAN	80	3	13	4	100
TOTAL	124	5	17	4	150

This section has been about formal education. People knew that, if it was not true of themselves, it was true of many others that they were unemployed despite having already gone quite far with their formal education. Most black matriculants have been unable to find employment. But what stands out is that, despite this, and despite the ever-present shortage of money for fees, so many people had made as much of an effort as they had in the past to complete formal education which had been cut short or to add to their education in some way, both academic and non-academic. Whichever it was, to be of real value a course had to lead to a certificate. A particular conclusion has to be about the night schools. They figured prominently for some people even though the people voiced criticisms of the support they had from such schools, and commercial correspondence colleges had not been all that satisfactory either. This leaves open the question whether, at the level of secondary and technical education, something a good deal more satisfactory might be provided by improving the night schools, emphasising skills training featured in the next section as well as formal education, and backing them up by correspondence courses - not to speak of radio programmes. But whatever is put on offer, how many will be able to take advantage of it will depend, as it has in the past, on the vital issue of fees.

100	4	96	
12	12	138	

TABLE 28

KINDS OF SKILLS DESIRED

	GENERAL - EDUCATION	SPECIFIC TRAINING	N/A	
TOTAL	26	119	12	
URBAN	4	84	4	
RURAL	2	35	8	



4. DEMAND FOR SKILLS

We now come to the last main subject of this report, which is skills. The key question was the one which we asked on whether there were any other skills or qualifications people would like to have. The question was almost like opening a flood gate. There was no sign of educational apathy here. Most people were emphatic that they wanted more skills. All but 12 answered the question in the affirmative.

The vast majority (119 of the 138) mentioned specific skills that they would like to have. Of the 12 who answered 'no', most were married and older, and had not made attempts to acquire skills in the past.

TABLE 27

OTHER SKILLS DESIRED

	YES	NO	TOTAL
RURAL	42	8	50
URBAN	96	4	100
TOTAL	138	12	150

TABLE 28

KINDS OF SKILLS DESIRED

	N/A	GENERAL EDUCATION	SPECIFIC TRAINING	B. DEGREE	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	8	2	35	4	1	50
URBAN	4	4	84	6	2	100
TOTAL	12	6	119	10	3	150

It is one thing to say that one wants a particular skill, quite another to expect to attain it. Were the respondents being realistic? This is a particularly pointed matter for the 10 people who wanted to get a Bachelor's degree. Was this an idle dream? The answer is that it was not, or not entirely. All 10 had a high level of school education - Standard 10 or, in one case, Standard 9. And nine of the 10 had made attempts to further their education, for instance by attempting to gain admission to Fort Hare. It was relevant that 29 of the 106 who mentioned a specific skill had already managed to obtain some

sort of qualification or training after leaving school. Most of the skills listed (see below) were also well within the capability of the sample, given their overall level of education.

The skills desired by Feni people were as follows, some mentioning more than one.

Sewing skills/training	-	12
Carpentry	-	3
Nursing diploma	-	3
Matric certificate	-	3
Housekeeping skills	-	3
Motor mechanic	-	2
Teaching diploma	-	2
Home economics	-	2
Cooking	-	2
Knitting	-	2
Law degree	-	2
Agriculture degree	-	2
Forestry diploma	-	1
Other	-	14

Mdantsane people had a longer list:

Carpentry skills or diploma	-	11
Sewing skills or diploma	-	12
Teaching diploma	-	8
Matric certificate	-	6
Nursing	-	4
Motor mechanic	-	4
Bachelors degree (B.A., B.Soc.Work, B. Comm., etc)	-	7
Public Admin., marketing, management, auditing	-	5
Clerical and secretarial	-	5
Dress making	-	3
Clothing design	-	2
Knitting diploma	-	3
Bricklaying & building	-	6
Welding certificate	-	3
Electrician's certificate	-	3
Computer skills	-	2
Art and design	-	3
Musical diploma	-	2
Other	-	18

In Feni the category 'other' included the following: dressmaking, bricklaying, security work, typing, panel beating, sewing machine repair, signwriting, clerical, computers, welding, building, personnel management, care of the blind, signwriting.

In Mdantsane the 'others' were weaving, sewing instructor, diploma in communication, engineering, motor car design, radiographer, work study, plumbing, cook, confectionery certificate, drivers licence, beautician, auto-electrical diploma, shoe repair, security work, home economics, poultry



farming diploma, T3.

What is striking when comparing the rural and urban responses is that there was an even greater emphasis in the urban area on certification. No rural person wanting sewing skills mentioned the word diploma or certificate; whereas half the urban respondents did. This was a type of skill which was mentioned by 24% of rural and 12% of urban respondents.

It is also worth noting the much greater range of skills and types of training mentioned by the urban respondents. They displayed a fairly sophisticated awareness of training opportunities and of possible careers.

Some of the responses arose from the local employment structure. In Feni the hospital employs housekeepers as well as nurses and nurse aids, and has a section where disabled people (including some who are blind) live. Other responses were linked to possibilities for self-employment, for instance in sewing, carpentry, motor mechanics and panel beating.

Learning groups

It was part of the proposal made to Fort Hare that, as a feature of a new programme in adult education, the learning groups which have been used to good effect in other countries could have in it a prominent place. We therefore asked questions about them and explained the notion of people learning together with a group leader who was already competent or trained to become competent in that capacity. Whether or not the notion was fully understood, people were generally enthusiastic about it.

Only 11 people said that they knew of the existence of learning groups in their areas. Five of these, all women, belonged to such a group, four could give no details and two had interpreted as a 'learning group' a karate club and an association for disabled people, this in spite of the interviewers taking a great deal of care to explain.

Of the five groups about which we obtained details, three were in Peddie and only two in Mdantsane, despite the scope there for adult education. Both Mdantsane groups consisted of schoolgoing youths in Standard 9 or Standard 10 who met over weekends, in one case together with teachers, to try and improve their grasp of school subjects. There was also a group of this kind in Peddie, led by a teacher, which met at a local school from 4 to 9pm during the week. The other groups in Peddie were aimed at adults and at introducing basic skills. One was organised by a school principal and led by teachers. The object was literacy training for adults who met at the school on weekday evenings. The other group was similar. It is called the 'Peddie Continuation', is organised by teachers, and meets on Saturdays at the school.



TABLE 29

EXISTENCE OF LEARNING GROUPS

	YES	NO	D K	TOTAL
RURAL	3	21	26	50
URBAN	8	54	38	100
TOTAL	11	75	64	150

Most respondents expressed interest in becoming a member of such a learning group, with only 35 (23%) not doing so. Of those expressing interest, 69% were unemployed, and 39% were employed. Forty per cent of those who did not want to join were also people who had felt that the acquisition of skills would not help them to find a job and who had left school because of lack of interest, failure, poor health, pregnancy and marriage. Twenty-three of the 35 who did not want to join a learning group were from Feni, and only 12 from Mdantsane.

More of the rural people may be somewhat demoralised. Several Feni respondents said they were not in a position to study, did not want to join any learning group, and referred to their age or their poverty. 'At the moment I am struggling; when you are poor you cannot mix with people.' Another was 'not interested because I am illiterate'.

TABLE 30

DESIRE TO JOIN A LEARNING GROUP

	YES	NO	D K	N/A	TOTAL
RURAL	24	23	1	2	50
URBAN	85	12	0	3	100
TOTAL	109	35	1	5	150

TABLE 31

REASONS FOR NOT JOINING A LEARNING GROUP

	N/A	NO TIME	NO INTEREST	ALREADY QUALIFIED	FAMILY	NO NEED	KNOW NOTHING ABOUT THEM	HEALTH	OTHER	TOTAL
RURAL	27	5	0	6	2	1	3	2	4	50
URBAN	88	1	2	2	0	0	0	4	3	100
TOTAL	115	6	2	8	2	1	3	6	7	150

The topics of study or kinds of skills that people hoped might be acquired through joining a learning group are detailed in Table 32. They are, naturally enough, similar to the skills that people wanted to acquire but with general education figuring more largely.

TABLE 32

TOPICS OF STUDY IN LEARNING GROUPS

	RURAL	URBAN
N/A AND 'DON'T KNOW'	25	15
GENERAL EDUCATION	16	32
SEWING	2	11
KNITTING	1	4
HOME ECONOMICS	1	3
CARPENTRY	1	7
BUILDING	3	2
OTHER	3	27

Some of the responses in the 'other' category are listed below. The number of times they were mentioned is shown in brackets.

- Cooking (2)
- Literacy (2)
- Motor mechanic skills (3)
- Plumbing (2)
- Business skills (2)
- Welding (1)
- Electrical skills (1)
- Shoe repair (1)
- Music (1)
- Poultry farming (1)
- Marketing management (1)
- Bulk buying (1)
- Drawing (1)
- Art and design (1)
- Brick manufacture (1)

Others mentioned more general advantages of belonging to such a group, such as information sharing, mutual assistance, and the possibility that they would develop into co-operatives. It was clear that there were different understandings of what a 'learning group' was, or could be. Some saw it as a way of getting or helping to get a school qualification such as Standard 8 or matric. Others saw it as a way of upgrading existing qualifications such as nursing diplomas. Yet others with

qualifications saw learning groups as being for the poorly educated and associated with basic literacy. And there were also some who saw learning groups as a forum for discussion of mutual problems.

This may account for the absence of any mention of skills such as constructing an improved water supply, growing fruit and vegetables, running a creche, or providing improved health care. The fact that they were not mentioned does not mean that they are regarded as unimportant. It is probably more to do with the respondents' perceptions of what we were talking about.

Those who felt that they would join a learning group to improve their general education, to become more informed, or to gain some unspecified intellectual or social benefit, were younger, and already better educated. Sixteen of the 48 responses of this kind came from people with Standard 10.

Those who were keen to learn skills such as knitting, sewing and carpentry were older on the whole and had lower educational levels. All but one of the respondents who said that they wanted cooking, sewing, knitting and home economics skills were women. Virtually all of those who wanted carpentry, building, mechanical, plumbing and welding skills were men.

Opinions on the best times for learning groups to meet and on who should be responsible for organising them are summarised below.

TABLE 33

TIMES FOR LEARNING GROUPS TO MEET

	D K	AFTER-NOONS	EVENINGS	WEEKENDS	DAYTIME	TOTAL
RURAL	22	6	12	10	0	50
URBAN	16	14	59	8	3	100
TOTAL	38	20	71	18	3	150

TABLE 34

ORGANISATION OF LEARNING GROUPS

	DK	SCHOOLS	CHURCHES	GOVERNMENT	RESIDENTS	EMPLOYERS	OTHER	MEMBERS	MULTIPLE RESPONSES	TOTAL
RURAL	16	4	3	7	17	2	1	0	0	50
URBAN	15	1	2	0	43	3	21	10	0	100
TOTAL	31	5	5	7	60	5	22	10	10	150

Some comments from respondents indicate why they opted for particular organisations rather than others.

'The government should organise this because that is where our money goes; therefore it is their responsibility to make sure that funds and training centres are available.'

'The residents, because they are the people who are involved in attending the groups.'

'The residents, because they know and understand their daily difficulties; therefore they should organise these groups so that they can share their knowledge, particularly if they have a common goal.'

'Mrs.- who is in our street. She is the secretary of the residents association in this zone. She is diligent. She also organises imigalelo (credit associations). Also Mrs.- who is training cripples to sew.'

'The churches, because they advise people on their problems.'

Some of these responses suggest it would not be too difficult to find people to lead learning groups. There were people in our sample who were keen to assist other members of the community to upgrade their standard of training, who were keen to take the lead in organising learning groups, and keen to share their knowledge with other members of the community.

TIMES FOR LEARNING GROUPS TO MEET

	DAYTIME	WEEKENDS	EVENINGS	AFTER-NOONS	R K	
RURAL	10 (2)	12	6	22		
URBAN	9 (1)	29	14	16		
TOTAL	19	71	20	38		

TABLE 34

ORGANISATION OF LEARNING GROUPS

TOTAL	RURAL	URBAN	TOTAL	OK	SCHOOLS	CHURCHES	GOVERNMENT	RESIDENTS	EMPLOYERS	OTHER	MEMBERS	ARTISTS	TOTAL
100	50	50	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100	100

5. CONCLUSIONS

The conclusion to be drawn from the answers about skills and about learning groups is that there would be a good deal of interest in the kind of programme which might be organised from Fort Hare. The University would not be knocking at a closed door.

This is partly because behind this interest lies another which has been referred to several times, that is earning money. People who are as near to the poverty line, or below it, as many of our informants, are bound to have this as a dominant concern. The connection can be illustrated from a kind of learning which was mentioned so often - the humdrum subject of sewing. It is worth a word about it, to show that there is more point to it than there might at first sight seem to be.

The women who wanted to improve their sewing skills were often women who did some sewing at home, either for themselves or to earn a bit of extra money ('I would like to learn sewing. I do sewing at home but I am not trained'.) Many of them were relatively poorly educated, though some had passed Standard 8 or 9. They had no tertiary qualifications and they had never received any training that might provide them with useful skills. Both in Feni and Mdantsane these women saw sewing as an opportunity both to do something creative and to rise above their poverty by selling the goods they might be able to make.

A 51-year-old female respondent in Feni, who had never been to school and was currently unemployed and whose previous job had been a labourer on an agricultural irrigation scheme, managed to earn a little cash through making and selling traditional Xhosa garments in her neighbourhood. She had three schoolgoing children, and no other breadwinner in the house. Her son had recently been expelled from school because he did not have a pair of the regulation grey trousers. She had a sewing machine but it was out of order. With the machine in working order and the required training, she might have been able to make the trousers for her son, as well as for others who could afford to buy them.

Notunga, another Feni woman, thirty years old, had left school in Standard 8 because she fell pregnant. She bore twins, and asked her mother to look after them while she found a job in Dimbaza, about 60km away. One of the twins was disabled and had to have frequent medical attention. As the mother became older she was unable to make the necessary journeys with the disabled child and so Notunga had to give up her job and return to Feni. Notunga felt she might be able to make a bit of a living if she could learn to make clothing.

Some of these women have taken steps to improve their skills.

One of our respondents in Mdantsane, a young woman of 27

years, belonged to what she called a 'Nonzame' group. This was a group of six women who met at each other's houses every day except Sunday; they did knitting and sewing by hand for sale. They would very much like to have machines and to be properly trained in their use. Some men, too, like Nolindile's brother, who hoped to make a living out of the industrial sewing machine that he bought from his redundancy pay, saw it as a possible means of livelihood.

We are only using sewing as an example. Bricklaying, carpentry, hairdressing, knitting, panel beating, and so on, are also skills that can enable someone to enter the informal (and maybe the formal) economy and to make a living. And for people employed in other types of jobs, the addition of skills such as these can enable them to make extra money in their spare time, as well as do things for themselves that they might otherwise have to pay for. There are numerous unqualified, partly trained or self-taught motor car mechanics, painters, plumbers, etc. in both the rural and the urban areas. Even something as simple as repairing punctured motor car tyres can provide a service and bring in extra income.

From the results of this survey it should be evident that many people would relish the opportunity to obtain skills training, as well as to improve the level of their formal education, and that learning groups could perhaps be a feasible way of assisting this process. Women, in particular, would readily join learning groups, particularly if they are formally unemployed. But whatever is done should be based on the best information that can be obtained both about the informal and formal economies.

The survey points to the following four needs in particular:

- (i) for a large expansion in skills training which will help people to earn money in the informal sector as well as prepare them for jobs in the formal sector;
- (ii) for the development of learning groups;
- (iii) for a distance education programme which would incorporate night schools supported by course materials and radio programmes;
- (iv) for a service of counselling, information and support which is related to the potential for economic development in the Eastern Cape.

Wider interests

But we do not want to close without making it clear that some people had in mind rather different sorts of jobs. Here are two of them. The first, Themba Foki, was 21 years old. He left school at Standard 8 to help support his girlfriend's baby. His mother is a self-employed fruit and vegetable hawker, his father a machine operator at a motor vehicle plant. He has four brothers and sisters. At school his special interest was drama.

He did casual work for a Mr. Lee who taught him the piano. This was the turning point of his life. He took piano lessons in East London for three years. Themba wanted to continue his study of the piano by correspondence, and also to learn to play the guitar. He would like to see an art centre build in Mdantsane where music could be taught, and where one day he would himself teach.

Manene Siyeza has a scrawled notice in English pinned half-sideways-on to a post outside his house saying SHOE REPAIRS. At 26, Manene is a shoe-repairer who learnt his trade by watching another man. He has bright, intelligent eyes and skin that seems to be glowing from within. He is wearing decrepit shorts and a bright red shirt with a large hole in it. The only job of a kind he has had in his life was carrying groceries to customer's cars - this when he first left school.

His great interest is also the arts - in music and in acting. He would like to see a school of the arts in Mdantsane staffed by people who have special talents in music and drama, and maybe in other arts as well. These two cannot be the only such people in Mdantsane. An educational programme should surely stretch wide enough to include them and their interests.

The way forward

This was only a small survey with a small sample in one small part of the Eastern Cape. People were talking more about what they would like than about what they thought they would get. We could at this stage give no indication of the quite vital matter of cost. For all we know it is an unusual place and people elsewhere would give different answers. A policy cannot be built on such a small base, except to some extent for the people who live there. But for what it is worth, the survey suggests not just that there is a hunger for education but that the needs can be made quite precise. There is a need for formal education for adults and a crying need for skills training with a very wide variety to it. The time is evidently ripe for an expansion of adult education suitable in spirit and in content to the new South Africa.

Appendix 1 - Questionnaire

Education and training needs in Ciskei.

For people aged between 16 and 50 who are not attending school.

Questionnaire No.....

Name of interviewer.....

Date of interview.....

Introduction.

Good morning/afternoon. My name is, and I am from Rhodes University, Grahamstown.

Fort Hare University and the International Extension College (London) are interested in finding out about the educational needs of adults in Ciskei, and are hoping to start a project that will help adults to improve their levels of education and literacy. They have asked Rhodes University to assist with this. This is especially for adults who have had very little education or whose education was interrupted for one reason or another.

The project will be small to begin with, but it is possible that it will become quite large. Your participation will help to make the project a success.

We have chosen this house because we are interviewing in this zone and in one other zone (Peddie - because this village is well established and like many other Ciskei villages.)

Assure respondent that participation is voluntary, that all information is confidential and that the necessary permission has been obtained to do the work.

Discuss the meaning of 'education' vs 'schooling', 'skills' and 'training'.

Firstly, we need some background information.

1. Zone/Area.....

2. Respondent's sex - 1 - Male
 2 - Female

3. Respondent's age

4. Type of house 1 - Standard municipal
 2 - Improved municipal
 3 - Backyard shack
 4 - Typical rural house
 5 - Elite rural house
 6 - Other (specify).....

5. How long have you lived in Peddie/Mdantsane?.....

6. Marital status
- 1 - Married
 - 2 - Unmarried
 - 3 - Widow/er
 - 4 - Divorced

Household composition and details

7. Children and those at school

Number	Age	Number	Age
1.....		6.....	
2.....		7.....	
3.....		8.....	
4.....		9.....	
5.....		10.....	

8. Adults and those not at school (including respondent)

Number	Age	Educ. std. passed	other qualif. or training	occupation
1.....				
2.....				
3.....				
4.....				
5.....				
6.....				
7.....				
8.....				
9.....				
10.....				

9. Was your schooling ever interrupted (i.e. you left school for a period and then returned?)

- 1. Yes
- 2. No

10. If yes, how many times?.....

11. How long was each interruption?.....

12. What was the reason for each interruption?.....
.....
.....

13. What was the reason for you finally leaving school
when you did?.....
.....

14. Are you able to write a letter to a relative
in Xhosa? 1 - yes
..... 2 - no

15. Are you able to do so in any other language?
..... 1 - yes
..... 2 - no

16. If yes, which language(s)?
.....

17. Are you studying at present, or receiving
any training? 1 - yes
..... 2 - no

If yes, give details
- institution involved.....
- nature of the course.....
- who pays for it.....
- how long is the course.....
- what qualification will result.....

18. Have you ever attempted to obtain further education
or training since leaving school? 1. Yes
..... 2. No

19. If no, why not?.....
.....

If yes, give details
- how many times?.....
- when was this?.....
- offered by which institution?.....
- what kind of training?.....

29. (If unemployed) What kind of work did you do when you last had a job?

.....

30. Have you actively looked for a job in the last two months? 1 - yes 2 - no

31. Are there any qualifications or skills that you could acquire and which would help you find a job? 1 - yes 2 - no 3 - d.k.

32. If yes, what are these?

For all respondents

33. Are there any other skills or qualifications you would like to have? 1. Yes 2. No

34. If yes, what are these?.....

35. Have you ever enrolled in a night school here in Mdantsane/Peddie? 1. Yes 2. No

36. If yes, what did you study there?.....

37. Did you complete the course successfully? 1. Yes 2. No

38. Are there any groups here which meet to help each other to learn or study? 1 - no 2 - don't know 3 - yes

39. If 'yes' - what groups are these?.....

- who organises them?.....

- when do they meet?.....

- where do they meet.....

40. Do you belong to such a group?

- 1 - no
- 2 - yes

41. If yes, what type of group is it?.....

42. Would you be interested in joining such a group?
(Explain the concept of a 'learning group')

- 1 Yes
- 2 No

43. If yes, why?.....

44. If no, why not?.....

45. At what time of the day or night should such groups meet?.....

46. Who should organise such groups?

- 1 Schools
- 2 Churches
- 3 Government
- 4 Employer
- 5 Res. Ass.
- 6 Other (specify).....

47. If you wanted information on careers, where would you go to get it?

Would you mind if someone came to talk to you again about these matters?

(If agreeable please give your name so that we know who to ask for)

Remember to thank the respondent.

Record any additional information here.

Appendix 2 - Keiskammahoek: Education Survey - 1990

Sean Coughlan
Rhodes University

INTRODUCTION AND GENERAL POINTS

There are 58 schools in the Mathole Circuit - 1 Pre-primary; 9 Lower Primary; 3 Higher Primary; 31 Lower and Higher Primary; 6 Junior Secondary; and 8 Senior Secondary.

The following points are of interest:

- * there were 22653 children at school at the beginning of 1990
- * 3 schools have electricity
- * 5 schools have libraries
- * 4 schools have laboratories
- * 13 schools have telephones
- * the 14 Secondary Schools have clerical assistance - 12 have 1 clerk; 2 have 2 clerks.
- * the primary schools have no clerical assistance
- * sporting facilities are minimal and what there is, is poor - e.g. the few available fields are in very poor shape
- * the general condition of most of the buildings is poor with some very poor indeed
- * fencing is poor
- * toilet facilities are inadequate and unhygienic
- * very few schools have the luxury of a security person and, as a result, many buildings have suffered at the hands of thieves and/or vandals
- * a number of schools have the odd-burnt out classroom/office - the result of intermittent violence over the years although it is clear that this rural area has not been as seriously affected as the urban areas.

SPECIFIC POINTS OF INTEREST (1990)

1. **CLASS SIZE:** Sub A - 53: Std 10 - 48: Average 44 (all Stds)
2. **REPEATERS:** Sub A - 25,7%; Std 10 - 40,1%: Total 20,8%
3. **AGE IN MATRIC:** 48.9% are over 20 years of age
4. **MATRIC PASS RATES:** 42,8% - 10% Matric Exemption
5. **SUBJECTS NOT WELL REPRESENTED IN MATRIC:**

Geography	16,5%
Maths	14,3%
Phys. Sci.	9,6%
Ecos.	8,1%
Gen. Sci.	5,3%
Accounts	5,3%
Bus. Ecos.	5,3%
Home Ecos.	3,8%
6. **TEACHERS:**
NUMBER - 591 - MALE 32,8%; FEMALE 67,2%
QUALIFICATIONS 58 (9,8%) have Degrees and

some form of professional qualification. Apart from one or two cases the remainder have Std 10 plus a two or three year Certificate/Diploma (331 - 56%); Std 8 plus a two or three year Certificate/Diploma (190 - 32,2%); or a Std 6 plus a Certificate (12 - 2%)

NATIONALITY - All are Xhosa people except for 14 (from India and various central African countries)

AVERAGE AGE - Primary School: 38 years. Secondary Schools: 32 years

TEACHING STYLES - Mostly teacher-tell

MORALE - Difficult to say but many do appear to be somewhat demoralised. Nevertheless, there are a number of keen and determined individuals

RESOURCES - Very little in the way of teaching aids etc. especially when compared to the kind of provision made for those involved in white education

CONCERNS - Centre around the lack of resources; large numbers in the schools and classrooms; what they perceive as a lack of interest in learning (absenteeism, lack of discipline); poverty; politics in the classroom; the influence of Apartheid in education; the fact that there is not a single, united Ministry of education; having to teach in a foreign language; and poor remuneration.

7. PARENTS:

Parents see education as offering their children the chance of a better life - especially in terms of a better job and, therefore, a better income. Some expressed the belief that their children would be in a better position to look after them (the parents) in their old age.

OTHER POINTS

- * The vast majority of teachers and parents believe in the use of corporal punishment
- * The situation in the homes makes it very difficult for the families to support the efforts of the school. Most of the problems centre around the issue of poverty
- * Very few households are without a radio. It would seem that the radio could be used more and more as a means to reach into homes
- * Many parents are not happy with the lack of creches in the community
- * Those living in villages which do not have a senior school are not happy with the distances their children have to travel to and from school. It is often an option to send such children to relatives or friends to obviate some of the financial and logistical difficulties involved.

APPENDIX 3

SOME CASE STUDIES¹

Nosicelo Maganda has about her the look of undernourishment. Extremely thin and with the dark, matt complexion that is often evidence of a poor diet, she is neatly dressed in a scrupulously pressed blouse and skirt. Yet even her clothing speaks of poverty. Poverty has indeed haunted her life at every step. She twists a handkerchief in her hands as she speaks and is often tearful.

Nosicelo is 26, unmarried and has one child. She lives in Mdantsane with Nolulunga Siyo whom she calls her 'guardian'. Nolulunga has three children of her own and Nosicelo has to care for them every day, as well as her own. She cooks, cleans and washes for the entire household, her position is similar to that of unpaid housemaid/nursemaid, in return for her meagre keep.

Nosicelo is intelligent. She also has aspirations which are quite out of keeping with her present circumstances - unrealistically so. It makes her entrapment in poverty all the more poignant.

Born in Mdantsane, she grew up in a standard municipal house with five brothers and four sisters. Her father died when she was seven and she remembers little about him except that he was bedridden by illness. Her mother, Nokwazi, never speaks about him and has never mentioned what his illness was, but she presumes it must have been caused by his work because the family survived on government compensation. She has no idea where he worked or what he did. But when her father died her mother lost the compensation and had to support nine children on what she could earn from domestic chores - washing, ironing and cleaning - for township households who are themselves poor and unable to pay her very much. Now aged 60, Nokwazi still ekes out a living in this way and it distresses her daughter to speak of it. Nosicelo described her mother's hardships. Nosicelo is still close to her mother and visits her every day. They do not have the consolation of the Church, which many township people find such a comfort. Nokwazi has always been 'too tired' to attend and Nosicelo does not go either.

Nosicelo went to school in the township at the age of six. She was always unhappy, feeling tainted by her poverty. She had no uniform, nor shoes. She was never able to take lunch with her and usually went hungry, though sometimes her classmates would share their food with her. She says she was always anxious and embarrassed about her poverty.

All the same, she appears to have done well at primary school because she then progressed to a High School in the Transkei.

¹ Names and other details have been altered so that people cannot be identified but without altering the gist of the accounts we were given.

The headmaster placed her with 'guardians' - an apparently well-to-do family who were friendly with the headmaster. The house was a large one and had electricity. She had to share a bedroom with only one of the guardian's four children, a girl. They would study together at night, folding down the mirror on the dresser to form a desk at which they could work.

Nosicelo's life seemed to run on two tracks. She did excellently at school, consistently coming top of her class from Standards 5 to 9. Yet the old spectre of poverty continued to haunt her. Her guardians' children told the other schoolchildren she was living on their charity. The guardian himself was a heavy drinker. When intoxicated, his resentment of her presence surfaced and he would taunt and undermine her. In Standard 9 she dropped for the first time to second place in the class.

In mid-Standard 9 she fell pregnant. She completed Standard 9, having dropped to fifth position in the class, and at that stage the headmaster expelled her because of her pregnancy.

Nosicelo returned to Mdantsane but could not stay with her mother because she was too poor to support her. She now lives in a four-room house with the new 'guardian', under the circumstances already mentioned. She feels trapped. She has a child of her own and says she has no joy in motherhood, though she accepts the responsibility of caring for the child. She has no cash income whatever, and it is difficult to see what prospect she has of improving her lot, in spite of her relatively high academic achievement.

She is intelligent. She is ambitious. She wants to graduate with a B. Comm. Degree. She knows she has the ability. But she appears quite impractical about it, quite incapable of grasping the realities.

To register for university she has to matriculate. Schools nearby in Mdantsane offer adults assistance with matriculation study. Yet she had never spoken to anybody about this. Instead she undertook the long journey back to her old High School - of such unhappy memory - 'to get matric books for self-study'. She has no idea how she can hope to pass without tuition or supervised assignments, but simply says she will try her best. She admits she is having difficulty with mathematics and accounting, but says she will keep trying if she fails. Registration for the matric examination costs R200, which she does not have.

Nosicelo says that Nolulunga has offered to pay her tuition fees at a technikon and she understands that bursaries are available. She could, in fact, qualify in some occupation which would provide her with an income. Yet she says she is not interested in attending the technikon. She wants to matriculate, then graduate with a B. Comm. Degree. In reality she is a virtual slave in a household of three children, apart from her own. Nosicelo is an intelligent young woman who appears to be so bruised and confused by her life experience that she is in need

of counselling.

Zimlindile Fakude is a driver in Mdantsane. He might be expected to be an important link in the social and information network of the township, interacting with all with whom he comes into contact. But Zimlindile does not fit the part. Shy and reserved, he dislikes township life and hankers for his rural home in the Transkei. He also has an unrealised ambition which ought to be well within reach.

His manner during the interview was polite to the point of becoming over-deferential, but he volunteered little, responding to questions with direct and brief answers.

Zimlindile is 30 and had a secure childhood in a Transkei village. One of seven children, his parents are still alive and living in the village. His father used to work in Cape Town as an unskilled labourer, living in a hostel. He would send money home and his mother never worked, apart from cultivating the family allotment. Today his father receives an old age pension. The family are strong churchgoers, though Zimlindile himself no longer attends.

Zimlindile says he never found it strange or disturbing that his father was away from home for long stretches, though it did bother him that he was able to remit only small sums of money from Cape Town. He felt this relative poverty and resented, in an unformulated way, the fact that his father was poorly educated and therefore unable to do more for his family.

Education of the children was a priority of his parents and Zimlindile and his brothers and sisters attended school right through to matriculation. They walked every day to a senior secondary school near the village.

Zimlindile says he enjoyed school very much, and it was there that he hit on a career choice which he has so far not been able to fulfil. A government rehabilitation centre was situated near the school, and Zimlindile would go in the afternoons and watch the carpenters at work for hours on end. The work intrigued him. The school did not offer carpentry lessons, but he decided this was his calling in life. One day he wanted to be trained in woodwork so he could make his living by it.

That brought him to Mdantsane, with which he does not identify. He says he misses the Transkei. He lives in Mdantsane with a girlfriend but says he doubts whether he will marry her. He enjoys music but has few friends and does not enjoy mixing with people. He finds his job as a driver poorly paid drudgery. In conversation he continually harps back to carpentry, saying he knows it is not particularly well paid either, but all he needs is an adequate income. He believes his career prospects have been prejudiced by his father's lack of education and poor earning, restricting his own opportunities.

With his education, a good training in carpentry should not be

out of reach. The impression is that, were he to achieve this, he would leave Mdantsane to ply his trade somewhere in the Transkei.

Monde Zondiyazi is a large, untidy person with a happy round face and a way of chuckling as he describes his frustrations in life. Easy to relate to, he is a person who could be close to achieving his ambition, though he has not quite made it yet.

Aged 24, he was born in Kingwilliamstown. In 1968 the Zondiyazi family moved to Mdantsane, though Monde does not remember the move. He is one of four children, only two of whom (his sisters Sindiswa and Nomonde) still live at home with their parents. His father works in a textile factory in East London.

Monde's father, Xola, looms large in his life. As a supervisor he earns a good income and is highly regarded by management, sporting a gold watch awarded for long and exemplary service. In this sense he is an anchor of stability. But there is another side to him. Once he leaves the factory premises each day, he starts drinking. Yet he always makes it to work next day, apparently clear-headed and fully in control of his job. Monde says he resents his father's behaviour and his double standards, which have gone on as long as he can remember. He concedes though that he has provided for his family. Xola has never physically harmed his family while drunk. His mother, sisters, and he himself are staunch Catholics and he says his mother, Sindiswa and Nomonde spend much of their time praying (so far without success) for Xola to give up drinking. Monde says the situation became so unbearable he moved out of the home a few years ago, though he still visits frequently. His sister Sindiswa is 30 and has no children, while Nomonde is 25 and has one child. Both are matriculants, though unemployed, and Monde says he has no idea what they intend doing with their lives.

He himself lives happily in a four-room house with three friends and a girlfriend, Matuse, who has borne him two children. Matuse is a 'doffer' in another textile factory, earning R300 a week, though he is not sure what a doffer actually does. Monde is not sure if he will eventually marry her. Five adults and two children live in the house and their circumstances are comfortable because three of the adults are earning.

Monde left school in Standard 8 at the age of 17 because of the school boycotts in Mdantsane. He could have returned, and wishes he had, but says his parents could not afford it. He took his first job at the age of 21 but soon left because he found factory work tedious. He drew unemployment benefits for six months and, during that time, completed a course in motor mechanics offered by the Department of Manpower. Here he discovered an aptitude and a great fulfilment. He says he enjoys nothing so much as working on motor vehicles, and he does this as a sideline in the township.

The Department of Manpower course is not certificated. It has made him a competent mechanic but with nothing to prove it. He

has approached several garages asking for a chance to prove himself, just a month's trial, but all insist that he needs to have served the proper apprenticeship.

In 1989, Mr. Mguli, an Mdantsane entrepreneur, took him on as a taxi driver. Mr. Mguli pays him more than the other drivers but Monde believes he is being exploited. He has to service and maintain the two-car taxi fleet and drive one of the taxis. He is given absolutely no time off.

Monde says he is frustrated at his position, even though he enjoys maintaining the cars. He would like to serve a proper apprenticeship somewhere, then once qualified, set up his own garage business.

But Monde makes the best of things and has a zest for life. He says he goes to the cinema on Saturday nights and to church on Sundays. He exhibits no sense of grievance or resentment. He is puzzled that his skills have not been recognised in such a way that he can get a proper job as a mechanic.

Nohle Fihla is an attractive woman of 32. She has a glowing, olive complexion and shiny, black permed hair. She dresses in the height of fashion. Her manner is open, friendly and engaging.

She was born in the servant's quarters of an East London suburban home where her mother, Nokwazi, was employed as a domestic servant. Until the age of 18, she did not know who her father was. This caused great trauma. In Standard 1 at school she began to realise it was unusual not to have a father in the home, nor even to know who he was. Other children asked about him and she had no answer. Her mother refused to say, and this was the source of endless pleading, argument and tears. It was also the start of a lifelong resentment between her and Nokwazi.

Eighteen months after Nohle's birth, Nokwazi had another daughter, Nocado, by a different father. This man was no mystery. Whereas Nocado's father had contributed a layette at the time of her birth, and not a cent thereafter, Nohle's father paid money to her mother every month without fail. A strong bond grew between mother and younger daughter, while a corresponding resentment of Nohle developed and continues to this day. Nohle has always felt excluded by her mother and half-sister.

When Nohle turned 18, Nokwazi told her the identity of her father and it was arranged that she should go to East London to meet him. Nohle describes the encounter as one of the most exciting and pleasing moments of her life. She still sees her father occasionally and has a great affection for him, even though she barely knows him and he has never done anything for her. Paradoxically, her resentment is reserved for her mother and her half-sister. It is they whom she perceives to have behaved with hostility and spite.

Nokwazi used to work in a factory. However it did not appeal to

her and she took up dressmaking instead, and now operates from a small industries site in the township. Nohle went to Primary School and then to Secondary School in Mdantsane.

However, she dropped out in Form 3 because of the constant resentment expressed by her mother and half-sister at her being a financial drain. She went to live with a boyfriend and at the age of 19 began work on a television assembly line with an electronics company.

When she was 25 she left the man she was living with for another man, Mlungisi, and had a daughter by him. The relationship with Mlungisi was not the most stable and satisfying of her life. He was a sales representative, well-educated and well-paid. She needed to work as well because they were providing for his parents too. But that ended when he was retrenched in 1989. He had to sell his house and is now living with friends and off their charity.

When she separated from Mlungisi, Nohle and her daughter moved in with her mother and half-sister. They are not welcome, Nohle in particular. The old resentments surfaced immediately. Ncedo has joined her mother in the dressmaking business and Nohle would very much like to do so as well but it has been made clear she is not wanted.

Nohle was offered the opportunity of living with a relative in Johannesburg. She decided to give up her job and to leave Mdantsane and look for a job in Johannesburg, leaving her daughter with her mother and half-sister, though with great misgivings. Johannesburg was not a success. She disliked the place so much she was soon back and has applied for her old job on the television assembly line, which she is sure she will get because she is already trained and experienced.

She finds assembly line work repetitive and tedious, with no opportunity for extra skills training and advancement. The only interest the job has comes from the women on the assembly line discussing their problems and offering one another advice. She sometimes finds this stimulating and rewarding. And she is back with her mother and half-sister, still not wanted and still excluded. She feels she has travelled a vicious circle.

Nohle would prefer secretarial or clerical work to a factory production line. She has twice tried to matriculate, once through correspondence school and once through night school, but dropped out. She could not cope with the load on top of working all day and caring for a baby. It was too wearying after the 40 minutes travel between her factory and Mdantsane that she had to do twice a day. But she wants to matriculate so that she can complete a secretarial course at the technikon.

Nohle is intelligent, though frustrated. She should succeed, given the right tuition. She likes smart clothes and aspires to smart, clean house. She does not want to be dependent on a man ever again. Although depressed by her predicament, she appears



to be a resilient woman who is coping reasonably well and would do a lot better, given the opportunities.

However, she had to cope with the fact that her husband was a very successful businessman and she was a very successful businesswoman. She was a very successful businesswoman and she was a very successful businesswoman. She was a very successful businesswoman and she was a very successful businesswoman.

When she was 15 she left the home and went to work for a company. She was a very successful businesswoman and she was a very successful businesswoman. She was a very successful businesswoman and she was a very successful businesswoman. She was a very successful businesswoman and she was a very successful businesswoman.

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DEVELOPMENT STUDIES UNIT INSTITUTE OF SOCIAL AND ECONOMIC RESEARCH

The Development Studies Unit (DSU) at Rhodes University is located within the Institute of Social and Economic Research (ISER).

The DSU recognises that development is a multi-faceted, people-orientated process in which explicit cognisance must be taken of the economic, social and political needs and aspirations of all communities, especially those that are disadvantaged, discriminated against and excluded from access to opportunities for democratic participation in building a regional economy.

Through its research, the DSU probes and attempts to expose underlying causes of inequality and relative deprivation, in order to identify alternative ways of facilitating development, and establishing a socio-political framework within which development can be pursued.

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