

THE EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF
A BLACK WORKING MOTHER

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BY

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DEDICATION

This work is dedicated to
my father, Wilfred Mlondo, my
mother, Priscilla Nokuthula, and
to my maternal and paternal
grandmothers Gladys Dube and
Henrietta Mlondo

DECLARATION

This is to declare that the dissertation : "THE EDUCATIONAL ROLE OF A BLACK WORKING MOTHER" is my work both in conception and in execution. All the sources that I have made use of or quoted have been acknowledged by means of complete references.

N M MLONDO

N. M. Mlonde

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SUMMARY

Working outside the home exposes a woman to experiences and views common to herself and her family. The kind of job she does and her satisfaction with it, as well as her family's attitude towards her work affects the way she performs her roles as a wife and as a mother.

Very few Black working mothers derive pleasure from their occupations. Their working conditions and remuneration are not consistent with effective mothering in the sense that the period of interaction with the child is minimised, the quality of mother-child interaction is affected and low wages do not allow for satisfactory child care arrangements.

This study revealed that since the quality of mother child relationship during the formative phase determines the child's philosophy of life and his educability in later life, Black working mothers can ill afford to be effective primary educators. Inadequate ante-natal and post-natal care deprives the infant of general alertness that a psychologically prepared mother would elicit from him. Delegating motherhood to caregivers does not compensate for maternal deprivation because they change most of the time providing the child with different values and exposing him to a shaky framework of authority structure. Each of the caregivers does not stay with the child long enough to understand and monitor his total development.

Maternal nurturance builds feelings of security, love esteem and confidence which facilitates the child's venturing into new situations. A mother offers a comfortable and reassuring backdrop in his educational endeavours. Besides being a feedback mechanism for the child, She is a source of reference and she offers a reliable supportive guidance.

OPSOMMING

Die werkende vrou word buite die huisverband blootgestel aan bepaalde ervarings en kritiek. Die tipe beroep en mate van werksbevrediging wat sy daaruit put, asook die familie se houding teenoor die besondere beroep, het 'n beduidende invloed op haar rolvervulling as moeder en eggenote.

'n Geringe persentasie swart werkende moeders geniet werksbevrediging. Hierdie faktor word hoofsaaklik toegeskryf aan gebrekkige tyd beskikbaar vir doeltreffende interaksie en sosialisering met die betrokke familie, en 'n onvoldoende vergoeding wat slegs beperkte kindersorg moontlikhede toelaat, indien enige.

Die resultaat van die navorsing uit hierdie studie onderneem, het getoon dat die moeder-kind verhouding gedurende die formatiewe fase van die kind se ontwikkeling 'n onlosmaaklike verband toon met die vorming van die kind se latere lewensfilosofie. Onvoldoende voor- en nageboortelike bemoeienis en kontak met die kind, verlaag die kind se gevoel van sekuriteit, en dra by tot 'n onstabiele emosionele ontwikkeling wat onbepaalde nadele vir moeder en kind inhou. Delivering van moederpligte aan buitelanders vanweë moeders se beroepsgerigtheid in die huidige samelewing kompenseer nie vir 'n gebrek aan moederlike kontak met die kind nie. Hierdie praktyk stel die kind bloot aan eksterne prikkels en invloede wat 'n ongewenste invloed op die ontwikkelingsverloop van die kind mag uitoefen en 'n belemerende uitwerking op die ouerlike gesag hê. Hierdie "plaasvervangende-ouer" tradisie maak ook inbreuk op die kontroliering en ko-ordinering van die kind se ontwikkeling.

Moederlike bemoeienis met die kind ontwikkel positiewe eienskappe soos liefde, sekuriteit, selfvertroue en waagmoed wat belangrike boustone vorm vir die kind se eksplorasië-sin ontwikkeling. Die moeder se ondersteunende begeleidende funksie in die daaglikse omgang met die kind mag nie verwaarloos of onderbeklemtoon word nie.

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CHAPTER ONE

ORIENTING INTRODUCTION

1.1 Statement of the Problem

The traditional Black family in the Southern part of Africa and in South Africa was extended. Bonds of kinship which served to bring these people together were extensive as there were many fathers, mothers, sisters, brothers, aunts and uncles (Luthuli, 1982). Elder sisters and brothers were collectively responsible for the induction of the young ones into the ways of society. The father, a highly respected figure, was not directly responsible for the actual upbringing of the child. He was a symbol of authority and the mother was mainly a liaison between him and the children. The simplicity of the life pattern and informality of education made it possible to reach maturity which was the aim of education at the time (Nel, 1978) without formal education as is known in the Western World.

Industrialisation, and Christianity have had a tremendous influence on the traditional Black society. It has become Westernised and their communalistic way of life has been replaced by individualism. Subsistence economy which provided the daily economic needs has made way for a Western capitalistic economy with its profit motive. This implies that some members of the family especially the father has had to seek employment in the industries for the survival of the family. The new era of urbanization has weakened the bonds of kinship as new ideas and functions of the family have rendered it more dependent on urban services (Gutkind, 1963). A nuclear family consisting of the natural parents, children and one or two relatives, has replaced the extended family. In this set up the education of the child is no longer a collective responsibility of the elders who provided many models of adulthood but that of the natural parents. The family, irrespective of the size, is the first and primary institution for the child.

Since members of the family are biologically related, there is a natural bond of love and trust existing between them which makes a home a primary

milieu for educative occurrence (Steyn, 1984). The relationship between a parent and a child from pre-birth to six years is of great importance because during these years a child is exceptionally receptive to any type of influence which might affect his personality development. The primary duty of a parent is to help "in the stimulation of the senses, the use of the body, the inculcation of the first habits, the development of language, the shaping of attitudes, the assimilation of tradition, customs, values and norms." (opcit p.86).

Having performed the above duty parents will have secured a place of safety and comfort for the child. It is essential that a child should feel wanted and accepted because without this warm feeling of acceptance he cannot explore reality with confidence. He will constitute a narrow world for himself. Steyn (1984) further asserts that the daily presence of a mother creates and maintains security to a child. Viljoen and Pienaar (1971) agree and emphasise the indispensability of a natural mother. They cite a study where, investigations revealed that illegitimate children who were adopted cried more often than children who were accepted by their natural mothers (p. 191). Al-Timini (1976) cites Gray as seeing the mother as a child's first educator as she is usually the person who has most contact with a child from infancy onwards well into the school years. The mother is therefore the first person who shapes a child's behaviour, and one who sustains his total development over the years. The personality of a child reflects the quality of the way a mother treats her child and her method of communication. She lays a foundation for the educability of a child. Research has it that:

children who are able to function well in groups, able to share and participate in productive behaviour seem to come from mothers with a high ability to share and accept their children's feeling (opcit p.14).

Such children will exhibit healthy interpersonal relationships thereby constituting a broad fertile world for themselves. The educational situation is social in the sense that two people, the educator and the educand, interact, and the nature of the interaction determines the latitude of the child's learning. On the other hand, mothers that are

critical of their children's behaviour patterns, mothers that are cold and withdrawn tend to implant some kind of fear and awe in their children.

Children exposed to such circumstances generally reflect a condition where the exploration of reality tends to be limited. Consequently such children are inclined to be either repressive or even passive. The severity of such conditions in children vary from one child to the other, depending on various other circumstances, such as physical constitution, environment and mental capability.

Man discovers himself to a great extent in relation to others (Viljoen and Pienaar, 1971). As a child he discovers himself in relation to his mother through a dialogue relationship when the encounter takes place at a facial level, i.e. the face being a point of encounter. Contrary to ideas held by such philosophers as Locke, who believed that a child is born blank or tabula rasa, modern psychologists and education philosophers rightly believe that from birth a child is fully grown and perfect. The mother as an adult appeals to the child to become an adult and the child appeals to her for mutual support. Viljoen and Pienaar (opcit) stipulate four modes in the child's development toward adulthood namely; childhood, youth, adulthood and old age. All the four modes are of equal significance.

What is noteworthy in this stipulation is the fact that at no time or stage is a child a less human being than an adult. Equally true each stage is as important as the other stages. He is a full human being but a not-yet-adult. Being a child and being an adult contain a mutual existential corrective in the sense that an adult cannot exist independently of the child and the same applies to the child as each is judged against the background of the other (opcit).

From the foregoing it is conclusive that being a mother implies the presence of a child and vice versa. The mother starts caring for a baby before it is born until it becomes an adult. Her care is essential during the formative stage, when the development of the child is vulnerable to all the experiences he encounters. From here one can correctly conclude that a child without a mother has all sorts of problems as he grows up. These

problems manifest themselves in various ways. The personality of a child may be drastically effected. In the case of an employed mother the co-existence with the child is disturbed as she spends the whole day or most part of it away from home, the time when he needs her most. Nel (1978) asserts that the deficiencies of a father are not as important as those of a mother since she is the corner stone of the family.

Women seek employment for financial reasons (Al-Timini, 1979). They have to compensate if the family income is low. Nye and Hoffman (1963) feel that the effects of maternal employment on the family partly depends on the meaning employment has for the mother and her family. If, for example employment is motivated by a desire to escape the maternal role, the child may be aware of this and he may see her action as that of rejection. On the other hand the employed mother who is satisfied with her job may feel guilty and try to compensate by overdoing the maternal role, while the mother who does not enjoy her work will be free of guilt and is therefore likely to deprive the family of her role.

In the same work Kligler is cited as having found that women who work because of interest in the job are more likely to improve their mother-role performance than women who work for financial reasons.

Employment due to financial needs may be tied with other important attitudes worth noting. Maternal employment can symbolize a father's failure or it can also be part of co-operative planning and be perceived as a symbol of family unity (opcit). It is facilitated by the availability of aid from persons outside the conjugal family. Extended family ties and physical proximity to relatives makes it easier to seek employment as the household will include additional relatives like grandparents.

In an extensive research done by various social scientists it has come out very clearly that educated mothers are able to handle the family and work conflict. Al-Timini (1979) supports this view and states that the employment of working mothers who are college and university graduates have less marital conflict and showed better ability than their less educated counter-parts in their social as well as affectional roles. She cites

Garland (1971) as asserting that the advantages a man saw in his wife's employment were the added income, wife's satisfaction with the job and a work added interest to her personality.

Among other reasons given for the mother's occupation is that it provides the woman with a change from the daily routine of household chores. It offers her a chance to be out with people and assists her in developing her own identity (opcit). This could in some cases be an advantage to the family and particularly to a child. A mother who feels self fulfilled and fully actualised is more than likely to pass her feelings to her child.

Al-Timini (1979) agrees and mentions two thoughts concerning maternal employment. One is that mothers working away from home contribute to the development of the child, and the other is that the importance of the dyadic relationship between mother and child has been overstated. The point of argument between these two thoughts is the extent of maldevelopment due to maternal deprivation and this is the theme of this dissertation.

In defining maternal deprivation Ainsworth et al (1962) first lay out conditions which constitute this form of deprivation.

These conditions are:

- The deprivation that occurs when an infant or young child lives in an institution or a hospital where he has no major surrogate. Here he receives insufficient maternal care, and as a result has insufficient opportunity for interaction with a mother-figure.
- A form of deprivation which occurs when an infant or a young child lives with his mother or a permanent surrogate from whom he receives insufficient care and with whom he has insufficient interaction
- A deprivation occurring through the child's own inability to interact with a mother figure even when she is present and ready to give sufficient care. This condition may be due to repeated separation with a mother figure.

In all the above conditions the incessant implication is that maternal deprivation causes insufficiency of interaction between the child and the mother-figure. Maternal deprivation has been used to explain every undesirable kind of interaction between the mother and a child. Such undesirabilities are: hostility, rejection, cruelty, over-indulgence, lack of affection and many others - in which case the term was used to cover all pathogenic variations of mother-child interaction. Ainsworth (opcit) then suggests that the term "distorted" be used to social unfavourable transactions and that the term "depriving" be reserved for interactions of insufficient quantity regardless of their character. She further suggests that maternal deprivation implies:

- Insufficiency of interaction implicit in deprivation.
- Distortion in the character of interaction irrespective of its quantity. This means that a mother might be present but incapable of establishing a healthy relationship with her child.
- Discontinuity of relations through separation - as in the case of a working mother who is a subject of this investigation.

Such a situation can result in severing the establishment and maintenance of interpersonal ties. Effects of maternal deprivation on the child depend on many factors like:

- The age of the child at the onset of deprivation.
- The nature of his experience before his onset of deprivation.
- The duration of the deprivation.
- The nature of the child's experiences after deprivation has been relieved (opcit).

It is important to note that the response to relief from deprivation, that is, the introduction of the surrogate or the return of the mother from work is determined both by processes set up in the course of the deprivation experience and by the extent to which they are reinforced, modified or reversed by later interaction. Severe deprivation causes a vicious circle when the child fails to respond adequately to the later advances of a mother-figure due to processes set up by deprivation. It becomes a circle when the mother in turn interacts less with the child than she would have done with a more responsive child or when she rejects him and by so doing

unconsciously reinforcing the processes set up in the original deprivation experience.

Al-Timini cites Lathom's opinion that the child of a working mother benefits from the social life offered at a nursery school as he needs to be exposed to an environment which expands beyond the four walls of the house. Experience at such a school enables the child to develop a broader human relationship than the one he left at home. On the other hand Peixotto (1974) is cited as saying:

mothers are held responsible for juvenile delinquency, problem children, neurotic children, vandalism, communism and many other woes of society. Now, on bearing a child, one automatically loses any semblance of common sense one may have had earlier when one was in business, or in a profession or some other career..... p.4

While away from home a working mother deprives her child from being in close physical contact with her. A relationship seen as a very effective method of reducing fear and maintaining a secure feeling for the child in a strange situation (opcit).

The aim of this study is to investigate the extent of child maldevelopment due to maternal deprivation among Blacks which is not known. Very few Black women are professional. Most of them are unskilled and as a result they provide cheap labour. They are found in the factories, kitchens and in the farms (Barret et al, 1985). The conditions created by this untenable situation have of necessity a bearing on children and their reception of both formal and informal education.

1.2 Elucidation of major Concepts

1.2.1 Education:

Landman and van Rensberg (1984) refer to education as a practice or an educator's concern in assisting the child on his way to adulthood. It is defined as a conscious, purposive intention by an adult in the life of a non-adult to bring him to intellectual independence. It is:

designed to guide the child's humanisation on a determined course, with an educand co-operating in full acceptance of his mentor's guidance (p.277).

When the educand shows the ability to decide for himself and to accept responsibility for autonomous choice, the adult gradually withdraws from the scene, leaving him to act on his own.

Monroe (1911) defines education as one of the agents of society that imbues an individual with society's expectations, attitudes, convictions and even beliefs. According to Monroe education is concerned with the indictment of a not-yet-adult into adult world. Ross (1966) on the other hand, believes education is the influence an adult person, who holds a vital belief brings to bear on a not-yet-adult person, with the object of making him hold the same belief. Luthuli, (1982) cites Redden and Ryan as seeing this phenomenon as a deliberate and systematic influence exerted by the mature person upon the immature, through instruction, discipline and human development of all the powers of a human being, that is, physical, social, intellectual, moral, aesthetic and spiritual, according to their essential hierarchy, by and for their individual and social uses and directed towards the union of the educand with his Creator as the final end.

Education in Afrikaans as 'opvoeding' implies to mould spiritually. It means to lead to a higher plane (du Plooy and Kilian, 1984). The Latin origin "educere" means to lead out, implying that a child is not where he is but must be led to become what he ought to become. This kind of becoming what he ought to be is realised in adulthood.

This situation according to du Plooy and Kilian (opcit. p.73) is:

the original situation in which an educator and an educand associate with each other, and which is effected by the relationship between parents and their child and vice versa

For the purposes of this study the most befitting definition is one which describes the educational situation as a situation where a mother and her child are involved on the ground of their pathic connectedness or being together. This situation is as old as mankind and it will be there forever. The child in his 'being a child' is an appealing subject and the adult in his 'being an adult' answers the call (opcit). The calling of the child implies his helplessness and the adult answers the call in an elucidating and satisfying manner. In the same publication Oberholzer is quoted as stating that the relationship in the educational situation is one of dialogue which is present at birth when the baby cries for help and the mother cuddles it. By crying the child initiates a relationship and the mother responds to the call in their pathic relationship. This encounter lays a basis for a successful encountering in the future. The mother's bodily presence, her voice, her facial expressions and her smile ensures the child of his safety and security. Feelings of insecurity hinder the child's educability as he becomes withdrawn, making the relationship a one-way situation. The adult also faces problems with a withdrawn child as she cannot assess her own ability as an educator. The mother then lays a foundation for the actualization of the child's education.

1.2.2 Role

The English Oxford Dictionary defines role as a part to be played, undertaken or assumed. Cohen (1976) sees role as implying behaviour, expectations and individual style. It focuses upon the social bargains which underlie co-operation. Every social relationship like that of a teacher and a pupil, an employer and an employee, or a mother and child consists of a pair of roles where either party is bound by certain

obligations to each other (Banton, 1965). The obligations of the relationship are reciprocal and symbiotic in the sense that one man's obligation is his partner's right. Roles consist of clusters of rights and obligations which form the basis of co-operation between the parties involved.

Role is concerned with patterns of expected behaviour associated with the positions in question. Roles are generally allocated to persons according to age, sex, kinship and common residence.

Banton (1965) defines role as a set of rights and obligations or an abstraction to which the behaviour of people will conform in varying degrees. There are two approaches to the study of roles, namely a dramatic and a structural one. The dramatic approach starts from role as a metaphor emphasizing the selection and performance of parts by a single performer. The structural approach is concerned with the legal view of social relations, that is, the pattern of expected behaviour reinforced by a structure of rewards and penalties which induces individuals to conform to the pattern.

Roles are classified as being basic, general and independent. Basic roles predetermine positions open to an individual and they have implications for the way the parties behave towards one another in a correspondingly large proportion of social situations. These roles are ascribed to people at birth by fixed criteria which are independent of individual merit like sex, kinship and age. General roles have extensive implications for other roles open to their incumbents and for inter-personal relations. They are usually allocated to individuals in accordance with their qualifications and they are associated with activities important in the moral order of the society like a priest, a policeman, a convict and a member of parliament. These roles restrain the incumbent from engaging in a whole series of activities open to the ordinary person in the way that they confer influence and prestige recognized in many situations. Such roles bring both restrictions and privileges.

Independent roles have few implications for other roles and they are almost allocated in accordance with individual merit like a blacksmith and a domestic servant. These are occupational roles in industrial societies. The incumbent assumes his role for part of the day only and thereafter he is not expected to behave differently from other people.

The educational role of a mother is basic as she moulds the child in all situations. She assumes the role before the child is born and continues until the child satisfies the criteria of adulthood. Being a mother implies supportive guidance and being a child implies helplessness. These two roles, that is, being a child and being a mother, are reciprocal in the sense that the child has a right to be educated and the mother has a right to educate her child.

The role of a mother as a worker is independent since she assumes it only during business hours. Once she is with her family she is expected to behave as a mother.

1.2.3 Black

According to the University Oxford Dictionary this term refers to members of the dark skinned races of African aborigine. The term Kaffir was once used to refer to Blacks but it developed derogatory connotations which rendered it unacceptable. It was then substituted by Native which referred to people speaking Bushmen tongues, Hottentot tongues, Nguni languages, Sotho tongues, Pedi, Sesuthu and Setswana, Shangana-Tonga language forms and Venda tongues (Cemane, 1984). Native was replaced by Bantu which derives from a stem Urbantu, meaning 'people' which occurs in all African languages. State laws and regulations pertaining to these people were unbearable and this added a new denigrating meaning to the term. It has been replaced by Black which is presently accepted to the people in question.

1.2.4. Work

Schrecker (1948) defines work as an expenditure of energy designed to operate a change required by one or several provinces of civilization. It may be an occupation, employment or business serving as a means towards the end of earning a living. In the same work occupations are separated into two major categories, namely middle class occupations and working class occupations. Middle class occupations involve dealing with people while many working class jobs involve working with tools and machines. Examples of middle class occupations include professionals, managers and sales. Working class occupations include foremen, crafts and trade, machine operators, semi-skilled, unskilled and service.

A working mother is a natural mother who is engaged in full time gainful employment away from home for a full day, five to six or even seven days a week (Al-Timini, 1979).

1.2.5 Mother

The Oxford English Dictionary defines a mother as a female parent or a woman who has given birth to a child. The term is also applied to reflect the protective care of the mother and to acknowledge maternity of a woman who exercises control like that of a mother. Luthuli (1982) bears evidence to the fact that a mother is a representative of the society in which their child grows up. She guides the child during a very fragile stage, thereby acquainting him with the needs and demands of the society. She gives the child love and security which Steyn et al (1984) term 'geborgenheit'. Randall (1981) quotes Fidel Castro as saying:

Woman is the natural workshop where life is formed.

She is the extraordinary creator of the human being.

Hlubi (1985) quotes Gibran who states that children are a gift from God. They do not belong to the parents yet they come through them and particularly the mother. The mother uniquely bears a child for nine months from the date of conception to the date of delivery. This is generally a

biological link yet it is also emotional, spiritual and intellectual. Even before anybody knows that a child is expected a mother is in a state of expectancy and she behaves accordingly. She has even as early as conception entered into a mental, social, intellectual and spiritual relationship with her child. She conditions herself into a state of care, love and sympathy. Parents as early as conception have the responsibility to:

- house the bodies of their children but not their souls for their soles dwell in the house of tomorrow.(opcit)

The pedagogical category of expectation begins when the mother awaits her unborn child not as an organism but as a human being. The child inwardly experiences that he is welcome and he expects his parents to respond to his call (Luthuli, 1982). The mother bears the child full grown after it has developed completely through exalted love and has been carried for nine months in a mother's womb (Viljoen/Pienaar, 1971). What the child becomes depends on the foundation the mother laid during the early stage, the stage at which the child learns the rudiments of living. Pestalozzi in Verster (1983) regarded the family as a nucleus of education. The function of the school according to him, was merely to supplement that of the parents since he regarded the ideals and views of the mother as a paramount importance.

1.2.6 Culture

Culture is a way of life, a type of civilization in a society. It is made of ideas, norms, values and beliefs which are translated into material culture like architecture, fashions, technological products and machinery (Nxumalo, 1979). Taylor as cited by Stark in Nxumalo (opcit) refers to culture as

That complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, laws, custom and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society.

Culture is collectively learned or acquired and it is transmitted to the younger generation through socialization and also education.

1.2.7. Socialization

This is a process by which infants and young children become aware of society and their relationship with others (Chambers Twentieth Century Dictionary). Socialization is an imposition of social patterns of behaviour. Nxumalo (1979) quotes Berger and Berger (1977, p.52) thus:

Socialization is a process of initiation into a social world, it's form of interaction and it's many forms of interaction and it's many meanings. The social world of his parents first confronts him as an external vastly powerful and mysterious reality. In the course of socialization that world becomes comprehensible. The child enters it and becomes capable of participating in it. It becomes his world.

Socialization is effected through education. It is a perpetual process involving a socializer and a socializee.

1.3 Methodology

Methodology is a system of methods and rules applicable to research or work in a given science or art (Chambers Dictionary). The term comes from a Greek word signifying a way by which a phenomenological approach will be used so as to reach the essence of the problem. The aim is to discover or disclose that which makes a phenomenon what it is, that is, education of the child during the formative years in the absence of the mother which is the essence of this investigation.

The point of departure for phenomenologists' investigation is the everyday life of human beings.

Viljoen and Pienaar (1971) cite Landman as calling the phenomenological description an essence-revealing reflection. It penetrates the phenomenon in order to arrive at ontologically-irreducible, eidetic categories which are constant and universal. It bridges the metaphysical gap between the

subject and the object and brings the investigator towards reality, back to things themselves. The phenomenologist accomplishes this by adhering to the scientifically set conditions namely; distancing, demarcating and constituting of the phenomenon in general, and lastly the designing of the categories. The investigator distances himself from the phenomenon by entering into a nuclear relationship with it. He then demarcates the phenomenon from other phenomena related to it by bringing it into prominence and showing it up in relief against universal reality as background. After that he constitutes an investigatory situation in which he and the phenomenon, he is exploring, are the main constituents. Finally he attaches meaning to the phenomenon in question (Viljoen and Pienaar 1971). There are many limitations to this approach. Such limitations are objectivity which can be highly impossible when education is involved for education is part and parcel of humanity. The language we use tends to betray and to reflect our philosophies of life so that when the interpretations of the phenomenological revelations are made one cannot avoid the self as an intruder. This method is employed with these limitations known, because of its efforts to be objective.

Despite the limitations of the phenomenological method in an effort to comply with the above procedure a review of available literature on child rearing practices among working and non-working mothers will be studied. Maternal deprivation as well as literature on fostering will be pursued. The problem in question is the effect of maternal deprivation on the education of a Black child. To validate the hypothesis an empirical investigation on the role of mothering will be undertaken. Open-ended questionnaires will be used so as to allow the respondent to state his case freely and perhaps to give reasons as well. A cluster sample of working mothers will be selected. These will be found in their homes, at work and organisations where they gather for sewing, handwork and cookery. The subjects having responded, data will be analysed and evaluated with the aim to offer solutions and ways to assist these pupils on their way to adulthood. It will also be pointed out how the working mothers need to be assisted in order to avoid maternal deprivation.

1.4. Composition of Chapters and their Brief Descriptions

Chapter One serves as a general orientation and puts the problem in its perspective. In this chapter the problem is introduced, the concepts are defined and described to make the investigation meaningful. Procedures to be followed are also spelled out and the ensuing chapters briefly discussed. Though this investigation pertains to Blacks, it is deliberately confined to a working mother as a new phenomenon in the life world of Blacks.

Chapter Two looks at the cultural background of Blacks. The traditional family with its kinship structures, the polygamous homestead and the role of the woman as a wife and a mother is described. The form in which traditional education took place is then briefly highlighted with the aim of revealing the collective participation of the community in the education of its children. A discussion of the transition of the Black society to its contemporary state will place a Black child in his proper perspective.

Chapter Three examines the impact maternal employment has on the family, especially on the education of the child. The work situation of the mother covering her type of employment as well as her working conditions will help predict her attitude towards her job and her ability to make up for her separation with her child. The importance of mothering will be highlighted so as to confirm or reject the indispensability of a mother and her role in socializing the child. Since she leaves the child with caregivers, an exposition of the quality of care they give the child will bring to light whether they do compensate for the absence of the biological mother.

Chapter Four comprises of the empirical investigation. The hypothesis is that the working of a Black mother cripples the child educationally as her interaction with the child is limited. It is assumed that mother substitutes cannot give enough care for the child as the natural mother does. A cluster sample of working and non-working mothers will respond to open-ended questionnaires. Collected data will be analysed and evaluated and it will be judged against the background of parental continuous involvement in the education of a child.

Chapter Five will summarise the whole study, give pedagogical implications of the findings and offer recommendations and suggestions for the way ahead and possible areas of intense investigation possibly a more specialised nature than this work.

1.5 Summary

The area of concern in this study and this orientation chapter in particular is the impact of maternal deprivation on the full development of the child during the formative stage among Blacks. This is the phase of development when a child needs his mother most. The quality of interaction between mother and her child determines the quality of experiences the child is exposed to. These experiences have a lasting effect as they colour the philosophy of life of the child later on. It is also at this stage when the capacity to learn is set, where educability of the child is defined.

Questions this study seeks to answer are:

- 1 Can a hard working mother afford adequate prenatal and neonatal care?
- 2 To what extent are care givers efficient?
- 3 Is the foundation for education firmly laid?

A literature review will give a theoretical background for an empirical investigation that will be carried later on.

This study falls within the scope of the philosophy of Education since it aims at revealing the occurrence of the phenomenon education at the earliest stage of child development as it occurs in the everyday life of Blacks.

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CHAPTER TWOTHE CULTURAL BACKGROUND OF BLACKS AND THE ZULU TRADITIONAL AND MODERN FAMILY IN PARTICULAR

2 The Traditional Family

2.1 Kinship Structures

Kinship deals with people who are related by ties of blood (consanguineal ties) or by ties of marriage (affinal ties). Mother, father, brother, sister and child are first degree consanguineal relationships while father's father, father's sibs, mother's father and mother's sibs are second degree consanguineal relations (Harris 1969). Classification of affines is not universal but a distinction is usually made between spouses of consanguineal kin on the one hand and consanguineal kin of spouses on the other. These types of affine can therefore be classified in the same way as consanguineal kin, that is, according to the degree of kin.

is also distinguished on the basis of the generational distance from X's father belonging to the first ascending generation and his children to the second descending generation; grandparents to the second ascending generation and his grandchildren to the second descending generation, and so on. Kin are related through parents and they may be referred to as matrilineal and patrilineal kin (opcit).

The traditional Black family was extended and polygamous. There were many fathers, mothers, aunts, uncles, cousins and siblings. Relatives help in times of need, illness or death. They can be trusted, can exercise certain claims to hospitality or are obliged to offer the same. They formed a strong bond of unity among family members which was "useful to the children as adults adopted a unified and responsible attitude towards the upbringing, socialization and education of the young" (Nxumalo, 1979). They helped look after the child while the mother was away and their mere presence broadened the child's horizon of interpersonal relationships.

The relationship between brothers and sisters was determined and influenced by two main factors : kinship and seniority (Dupire, 1973). Mutual help and affection was given more obligation between full brothers and sisters than between half consanguines. The fact of being born of the same mother, of having been brought up by her in the same hut, and having shared in the affection of the same maternal kin reinforced to a greater extent the relations resulting from mere consanguinity. Seniority was an important hierarchical factor which all members of one single generation alike, including cousins and parallel cousins brought up together in the pattern of common residence of the extended family, considered. They all referred to each other as senior or junior (*opcit*).

2.1.2 The Polygamous Homestead and its Management

The traditional Black family was polygamous as the head of the homestead had many wives. Each wife owned a cluster of huts within the homestead where she kept her belongings. The head of the homestead had his own hut where friends and casual friends and visitors were entertained. Assegais for slaughtering ritual cattle were stored there and matters of importance were discussed there. Around the homestead was a fence with one main gate which had to be observed even in times of emergency. A horse rider dismounted at the gate and approached the kraal while leading it. A visitor announced himself outside the fence before he could be attended to. Water was thrown only on the backyard behind the huts. During ritual feasts new brides did not walk in the frontyard and they were not allowed to shout within the yard. The kraal, milk, beef cattle and cowdung was also respected. In case some portions of the carcass were given to visitors or neighbours, it was taken out only via the gate. The same applied to milk. A new bride could only enter the cattle kraal, drink milk or eat beef after a cow had been slaughtered as a way of permission from ancestors. She would send a child if she wanted cowdung for polishing hut floors. Cattle symbolised the economic status of the head of the homestead. They were sacrificed during ancestral worship and during wedding feasts cattle slaughtering was important (Msimang, 1975).

Ancestors are spirits of the dead. It was a common belief that the soul of the dead did not rest until a ritual cleansing was done for him. After that his soul would become an ancestor and protect the family against enemies, diseases and bad luck. They brought luck and wealth to the kraal. They protected the child from birth till death. They had to be informed about events in the homestead and be given meat and zulu beer in return for their services.

The head of the homestead was highly respected. His permission was sought before anything could be done. He was not an authoritarian as he discussed some issues with the family members, yet he controlled and decided on family disputes, policy of the homestead and matters outside the family. He saw to it that there was enough crop supply for the whole family (opcit). He gave each wife several plots of land within the boundary of the homestead's land for cultivation. The working of the land was collective, men doing the clearing of the virgin soil, like cutting big trees and hoeing while women came behind them turning the soil to prepare it for planting (Kenyatta, 1973). The husband as the head of the family contributed his labour to all his wives equally since he belonged to all and all belonged to him. The division of personal property among the wives was under the husband's collective ownership and guidance. He also distributed his love equally. From childhood male children were brought up to cultivate the idea and technique of extending their love to several women and to look upon them as companions and members of one big family. The girls, too, were taught how to share a husband's love and to look upon him as the father of one big family. This idea of sharing everything was strongly emphasized in the upbringing of children, and when they grew up they found it natural to share love and affection with others.

Jealousy among wives was avoided by the arrangement that each wife was visited by the husband on certain days of the moon, usually three days after menstruation as this was considered the best time to have children. Each wife had a special duty assigned to her in the general affairs of the homestead. She was responsible for looking after her huts and her household utensils, grainery and her garden. All wives shared in turn the duty of looking after the husband, like cleaning his hut, supplying him with firewood, water and food.

A new baby born in such an arrangement was accepted by all as a "worthy addition to an already big family - all sharing responsibility for his upbringing" (Cemane, 1984). He was exposed to different ideas, attitudes and modes of conduct. This broadened his horizon on understanding interhuman relations. The whole homestead was a matrix for nurturing a feeling of self-worth and human dignity.

2.1.3 Relations between Husband and Wife

Division of labour separated husband and wife during the day. The husband ate with other men within the homestead while his wife ate with other women and children. On returning from a journey a husband would not hurry to go to greet his wife, instead he would meet with other men of the homestead under a tree (Gessain, 1963). This lack of expression of affection did not imply a lack of interest but the socio-moral code demanded of life-long attitude of restraint between husband and wife. The wife's emotional security and stability from her marriage relationship was strictly regulated by custom. The couple's marriage life demanded mutual forbearance, otherwise domestic harmony would be disrupted (opcit).

A husband used to give his wife a certain number of cows for milking. After each new marriage the husband redistributed a certain number of his milk cows among his wives. This left each wife with her share of the dairy products that were much reduced by the inclusion of a new wife in the homestead.

The chief wife had a higher social standing and since she enjoyed the confidence of the master of the house she derived a certain prestige from her position. She catered for visitors and divided meat for co-wives in times of feasts.

2.1.4 The Woman and her Family

A woman remained a member of her own paternal and maternal families. The maternal kin as a group provided the necessary affection, generosity and trustworthiness which was lacking in the paternal kinship group. A

maternal aunt was regarded as a second mother. A woman visited her natal family frequently especially when unhappy, widowed, divorced or when suffering from a long illness. The supervision from a distance which his wife's kin continued to exercise over her own well-being and her livestock was reason enough to induce the husband to treat her according to the rules of customary law (Gessaine, 1963).

Duties performed by a woman were compatible with staying at home since duties of motherhood require a more sedentary and more regular life. She made and decorated calabashes, fabricated mats and wove winnowing fans besides cooking. The most important function of a woman was to bear children, thus ensuring posterity for her husband and expanding her husband's kinship group (Nel, 1978). The mother was to her children a chief representative of the uterine kin who were related through the breast and whose characteristic feelings towards each other were those of devotion and affection. It was she who brought up her sons during their early years and who remained a counsellor of her married daughters. She used to be a peacemaker, either between father and sons, or on occasions when her sons fought. During old age she depended more on her sons than on her husband as she would live with one of them and be spared some milk from one of his cows. At times a woman who had been repudiated or separated from her husband would return to her husband's homestead to live with her sons (Gessaine, 1973).

Castle (1967) cites Kenyatta as saying the bond between children of the same mother and father is stronger than that of those with one father and different mothers. Children of the former feel inseparable as, having slept in the same womb and suckled the same breast, they are one another's flesh and blood, and therefore ought to live for one another. On the other hand children of different mothers and the same father behave differently towards each other. As long as the father is alive the bond is strong, but when he dies children break up the common homestead and establish separate homesteads with their respective mothers.

Affection between grandparents and children was great. Children seemed to belong to the same age-group as their grandparents, the name given to the

first male child usually being that of his paternal grandfather and at his birth it was announced that 'he' had come (opcit). Children spent more time with their grandparents, especially the grandmother, than with their mother. A grandmother called the boy 'my husband' and the girl 'my co-wife'. The grandfather called the boy 'my equal' and the girl 'my bride'. This form of address was used as an endearment.

2.1.5 The Mother and her Baby

Gessaine (1963) avers that the essential value of a mother lied in her fecundity as it was over the question of children that tension was most often created between husband and wife. Both husband and wife wanted children because children brought happiness to a family and helped adults in their work. A woman who could not have children consulted a healer or offered sacrifices to the ancestors, asking for their pardon, for childlessness was often regarded as a punishment for misbehaviour. If her husband could not give her children he would surrender her to a temporary substitute whose sole function was a biological one (opcit).

A newly wed bride was given first 'isihlambezo' prepared by old women so that she conceived in a clean uterus (Msimang, 1975). 'Isihlambezo' contained 'muti' that could protect the unborn baby against diseases and make the baby move around in the uterus. The second isihlambezo was given to the woman two months after conception. The difference between the first and the second isihlambezo is that the second one did not contain laxative herbs which could disturb the growth of the foetus. During childbirth community midwives helped. If difficulties were encountered the husband was consulted so that he would talk to the ancestors. Relatives and neighbours received the neonate by showering it with gifts and giving it a name. After six months the father ceremoniously gave the baby a name.

Nel (1978) mentions that by western standards mother-child relationship in the traditional Black family was underactualised. It is further stated that what was more important for the course of the child's education was his relationship with other members of the family than his relationship with his mother. Gessaine (1963) states that mother and baby were seldom

separated as the baby spent the day on its mother's back, wrapped in a cloth from which only its head and feet peeped out. When the mother was working she tucked the baby's hands inside the cloth. At night the baby slept on the same bed as his mother. She breastfed him everytime he cried, nursed him, played with him, sang lullabies and rocked him to sleep. Castle (1967) supports that and further asserts that the warmth of the mother's body provided him with comfort and security which served as a secure base from which he began to form his relationship with other members of the family. Dupire (1973) says that the mother nursed her baby in such a way that neither weaning nor the birth of another child resulted in a psychological trauma because if the older child resisted the weaning process on the birth of another child, the mother offered the older child her second breast while nursing her newborn baby. The mother, on her arrival from the fields or from fetching wood, suckled the baby first, before preparing supper (Castle, 1967). After weaning the child the mother spent much time with her children and took the youngest wherever she went (Gessaine, 1967). Welbourn is cited by Castle (1967) as having said that early detachment from the breast is associated with a policy of general withdrawal by the mother and it might cause intense separation-anxiety in the child. A child who has formed firm primary relationships with his mother adapts better to changes involved in weaning and establishes secondary attachments to other members of the family with ease.

After a few months the baby was supported to sit and then to stand. It was a pleasure for the baby to stand and walk on its own as the whole family chanted "Wema yedwan umntwana" for his ability to stand and "Ngcathu, ngcathu mntwana!" for his walking endeavours (Msimang, 1975). Dupire (1973) has it that hands were clapped and the baby was admired for being so grown up if his chubby little body managed to keep in time with the rhythm while he maintained a precarious balance.

The first-born son was invested with a particular position as he was considered superior to his younger brothers and sisters (Nel, 1978). His position also excluded the rule that age determined status. The eldest son of a first-born person was assumed to have a higher status than his uncles.

2.2 Traditional Education

(Nel, 1978) quotes Langeveld as stipulating four requirements which a philosophy must satisfy before educationists accept it as an educational aim. He evaluates traditional Black man's philosophical convictions on the strength of these requirements thus:

Sociability

Man should be considered as a social being, and since education is accomplished between at least two people, this implies that man must be recognised as a social being. Harmonious integration with a group is an essential requirement of life among Blacks - but this does not satisfy the demands for sociability as understood by Whites.

Individuality

Traditional Black culture discourages the development of individuality. A person is only considered to have human dignity in as far as he is identified with a specific group. Christian - Western education aims at, inter alia, individuality with the emphasis on individual responsibility to God. This aim does not reconcile with one aim of Traditional Black education, namely conformity, with the emphasis on group responsibility which practically means group accountability. Though traditional Blacks discouraged individuality their society was organised in a hierarchial structure. Descent and birth determined man's social position and influence. The first born child was and still is superior to his brothers and sisters and the man to the woman. Langeveld (1968) refers to pedagogics emanating from this philosophy as pathological since it does not comprise all the axioms of education and pedagogics.

Moral Independence

According to the western philosophy of life every normal person must make moral decisions and act accordingly - but according to the Black man's philosophy of life the individual is not always responsible for his

actions, as these actions may be directed by forces outside himself. Like the spirits of the ancestors or a magic force which can possess him and change him into an agent of witchcraft capable of engineering certain events. This Black man's belief in magic power is incompatible with educational norms.

Individual Differences

These are differences which have a bearing on being a person. If these individual differences are surrendered, the essential qualities of man are denied and such an act does not constitute a basis for education. Individual differences also imply latent potentialities which have to be actualised through education. The problems regarding the education of the Black child lie on the meaningfulness of these potentialities to Blacks and on the method and direction of developing them.

Luthuli (1982) cites Krige as pointing out that Blacks are basically communalistic in nature. Illustration is given that their behaviour patterns, kinship terminology, arrangement of their villages, distribution of food, marriage ceremonies and other activities exhibit this basic philosophy. They performed most activities together, like tilling the soil and reaping. The education of the young, as was pointed in the first chapter, was a collective responsibility of the whole community. Nxumalo (1979) writes of the philosophy of ubuntu (humanity) as the basic philosophy of life amongst Blacks. This is a richer view of communalism as it observes the individual in terms of other human beings. An individual's motivation to do things, to succeed and to satisfy many of his wants is not interferred with, and his sole gratification is not the ultimate purpose of his life. It is his preparedness to share and acknowledge the humaneness of his fellowmen. Nxumalo (opcit) further says:

Above the material acquisitions, there is a basic continuous cord that must tie him to the perpetual values of all humanity represented by both living and dead individuals for society (p.64).

The individual rises to a point where his lonesomeness is a sign of human inadequacy, a point where he must accept and uplift other human beings, thereby ascending to perfection and goodness. The aim of education was and still is, that the product will continuously be conscious of fellow mankind.

Dreyer (1977) states that the traditional Zulu society was stable and static and as such its education was an education in conservatism and conformity. Education, he elaborates, was the

enculturation of the traditional set of habits, attitudes and behavioural codes, resulting mainly in the conforming of the individual will to the unquestioned ways of the clan (p.5).

Castle (1967) asserts that traditional Black education was both formal and informal.

2.2.1 Informal Traditional Education

This type of education had no systematic curriculum, no specialized or full-time teacher and its results were in man's general stability, success and consciousness of observing norms (Nxumalo, 1979). The first lessons in social behaviour were taught by the method of reciprocity, that is, an 'eye for an eye' method. A child was punished by getting a gentle slap in the arm. If he gave signs of becoming spoiled by indulging in whims and tantrums, he would be calmly excluded from society by dumping him like a parcel outside the circle of women and children (Dupire, 1973). It was taken for granted that the mother and all other women of the homestead would together give a child this early training based on patience and reciprocity.

At early childhood, a child began playing games which were a direct imitation of the work done by women in the case of girls and by men in the case of boys. Boys used to play with wooden spears, arrows, bows and shields. They also built model huts, cattle pens as those would be tasks for them when grown up. Girls plaited baskets of grass, played as husband

and wife, made dolls, ground corn like their mothers, made little pots and cooked imaginary meals (Castle, 1967). Nxumalo (1979) mentions traditional sports for boys like ukhlabisa (chasing after a big round root and aiming at it with a bow), the ngcweka sport (duel in which fighters used sticks) and the hunting game.

It was believed that with age came wisdom and skill and therefore everyone had to show respect to older people. This principle explains why part of the child's education was left to the care of children who were just older than he. This was acceptable since the daily life pattern was arranged in clear patterns according to generally known norms and so the education of one child by another produced required results. A head girl, for instance, guided younger girls in connection with what was expected of them in future. She became responsible for teaching moral behaviour to her sisters and half-sisters, and even chose boy friends for them. Boys, while herding cattle, were taught values of manhood, love, care for stock and the environment.

In the evening grandmothers narrated folk tales which contained a number of moral and social lessons to the youngsters. They helped stimulate children's imagination and trained their memory. Re-telling these stories improved their articulation (Nxumalo, 1979). Riddles were used to test childish judgement and myths to explain the origins of the tribe, the genesis of man and heavenly bodies. Correctness of speech was learnt by imitation of the elders. Deeds of valour performed by people of different clans were told to the youth for appreciation and inspiration.

2.2.2 Formal Traditional Education

Formal instruction was of a very definite kind. Children were taught phrases of greeting and farewell at an early stage. They were drilled in correct gestures like kneeling and shaking hands with strangers. They were also taught to sit at once on the floor on entering the hut. A girl was taught to sit decorously with the feet on one side under her body. Fathers imparted kinship knowledge to the boys by formal instruction. Here a boy was told about his genealogy and his exact position in the clan in order

that he could claim his appropriate seniority and rights. Girls were instructed during orientation towards marriage by their mothers or their father's sister who was greatly respected.

Formal education also took the form of succeeding stages of initiation from status to status. At about age five the outer edge of a child's ears were pierced and at ten the lobes were pierced which indicated an advancement from childhood to boyhood or girlhood. There was then the most serious form of initiation which was associated with puberty and took the form of circumcision. It was regarded as a point of passage into full membership of the community (Castle, 1973). For boys it was a highly toned emotional and painful experience covering a period of many months. In this regard boys were also trained technically and sociologically and they were given a cosmological view as well as symbolic thinking. Girls underwent clitoridectomy comparable to circumcision except that it did not involve much training as in the case of the boys. The initiates were taught among other things that natural impulses were curbed in the interests of the community and that rules of good conduct had to be observed. This was formal since it was systematic, proceeding from one stage to another, and there were specific instructors teaching the initiates during the rite. Results could be determined by the behaviour of the subject after initiation.

2.3. The Traditional Black Society

2.3.1. A Brief History of the Transition of Black Culture

According to Luthuli (1981) during the second half of the nineteenth century Africa was partitioned by Europeans to the extent that cultural contact with Blacks has far-reaching results.

The stable perspective of Black culture was overwhelmed by its dynamic perspective, leaving Blacks caught off balance. The material culture of Blacks as well as their political and religious systems changed partly due to the work of the missionaries who brought about noticeable, effective and permanent transformations. The impact of the missionaries resulted in a complete transformation of the traditional Black way of life.

Cultural interaction began when people started to meet daily at places of work. Acculturation, the process of adopting certain features from another civilization, made its appearance and is still taking place as various cultural groups meet on the gold and diamond mines, in workshops, in offices, in domestic homes, on farms, and in shopping centres. This process is leading to a new social philosophy to keep pace with the rate of transformation among Blacks.

2.3.2 The Transitional Society and the Education of the Child

Contact between Zulus and Whites caused rapid social changes to take place for the Zulu (Dreyer, 1977). In Western Society the careful cultivation of each child's individuality and uniqueness is the most important goal and due to acculturation, this goal is gradually replacing ubuntu. Because of the continued contact between conventional Zulu Society and modern Western Society there is no more such thing as a typical Zulu Society.

The Black individual has to realize that he belongs to a certain physical world inhabited by a particular people. He is expected to obey and respect laws of society. He has to serve leaders and at the same time he has to try to preserve his traditions (Nxumalo, 1979). Cattle farming and tilling the soil has become unpopular among Blacks as land given to them is unproductive. All people are expected to seek outside employment since there is a demand for professionals and skilful labour. Dreyer (1976) in his study on the Zulu adolescent came to the conclusion that Zulus can be classified into three 'categories or societies'. These three types are practically impossible to distinguish but theoretically possible as they do not exclude one another. They are:

- The transitional Zulu Society undergoing different stages of transition and enculturation. The Zulus are becoming detribalized and Christianized.
- The contemporary Zulu Society which has become detribalized due to Westernization, Christianity and industrialization. This society is found mainly in urban areas.

During the period of transition the image of adulthood was shattered as the school represented a new world and became more important than the home. The Traditional role of adults in the education of the young changed as teachers took over and, values and norms put forward by the parents were mostly rejected while those of the teachers were accepted. Participation in the part of the child became no longer spontaneous as a result of adult aid and concern. The image of adulthood was no longer clear as there appeared a variety of future possibilities (Dreyer, 1977). Nxumalo (1979) avers this point and further states that what children learn at school makes parents think their contributions are either unnecessary or redundant as children themselves seem to be confused.

Kenyatta (1961) is cited by Castle (1967) as stating that traditional education achieved its objectives, however limited they may seem. With the introducing of Western education tribal education slowly diminished. Communal identity has given place to individual ambitions, and, he states, "the young African moves into situations where he treads with diminished confidence". (p.45).

2.3.3 The Contemporary Society

The present Black society has suffered the gradual loss of traditions, values and social customs which has brought about confusion, uncertainty and made way for a new value system. The material culture is marked by technological development and dependence on the individual earning of the family. Cemané (1984) has it that the majority of Blacks have crowded in urban areas in search for work. They have lost ties with their traditional culture and are now mixing with other cultures.

Those found in urban areas have developed a culture of their own and patterns of behaviour and of expressing emotions.

All Blacks believed in the Supreme Being and in life after death. Since Christianity has condemned polygamy Christians have distinguished themselves by having one wife. Nxumalo (1979) mentions churches which have taken into account the culture of the people and allowed polygamy. Those

churches are the Shembes, Nazarites, the Amakhehla sect and some Ethiopian sects.

Transition has brought about a new image of adulthood which Luthuli (1981) sees as Western. Adults, that is, parents and teachers experience difficulties in guiding the young in an evaluating normative way. This has reduced spontaneous active participation by the child towards his own development since mutual trust between the child and the adult as well as the child's acceptance of the adult's authority has diminished (Dreyer, 1977).

2.3.4 The Black Modern Family ✓

Due to political development and location of industries Blacks either live in the homelands or in the townships. Heads of families in the rural areas are employed on a migratory basis in the mines, white-owned farms and industries. Luthuli (1981) categorises the Black modern family thus:

- a family in the rural areas with a husband, a wife and children which is not disturbed by distant employment.
- a family affected by migratory labour where the husband lives in a compound or a hostel while the wife and children remain in the rural area.
- a family living in a township house where husband and wife live together. This category includes families that are affluent and able to build sophisticated houses.
- a family where partners cannot afford matrimony. It is found among squatters in the outskirts of Black townships near big cities.

Rural Blacks still live in huts with agricultural allotments which women till and weed. They still carry traditional objects, shields and knobkieries and still use open fires for cooking. Meer and Mlaba (1982) in their investigation into living conditions at Nqutu in Northern Natal noted that:

At any time of the day, when the sun still sheds light warmth, the older men can be seen sitting on wooden benches in tattered trousers held together by safety pins, their shirt sleeves rolled up to their elbows, their feet, when fortune shines, protected in izimbadada - sandals made from the rubber of discarded motor car tyres. Fowls scratch for worms nearby, and the children, half naked, play on the commonage while keeping an indifferent eye on the goats or cattle. (p.143).

A common household has a mother, four children, a mother-in-law, a nephew and a niece - being illegitimate children of a sister-in-law. There is a cattle kraal and a grainary, one or two cows, few goats and fowls. Poverty looms at large as the little money sent by the husband is like a grain of salt in the ocean. For breakfast children eat porridge with their fingers silently and without fuss. They eat again when they come back from school in the late afternoon. Women rarely wear shoes and their soles are hard and cracked (opcit). The house of an urban Black consists of a lounge, a dining room, bedroom suites and a basic kitchen unit and in some cases it is electrified.

Life in the townships is also impoverished but to a lesser extent than in the rural areas. Research has proved that about 40% adult urbanites tend to drown their frustrations in drink and that youth tend to turn away from their parents in disgust, thus contributing to problems of juvenile delinquency.

Meer and Mlaba (1982) found that children in the labourer's families suffer parental neglect and grow up feeling that they owe them nothing, unconsciously perpetuating a cycle of misery and poverty. They don't attend school for long. This can be attributed to Cemane's (1984) statement that since both parents work, they spend most part of the day away from home and as a result their control of the children is practically non-existent. Parents also do not have enough chance of protecting children from negative influences in the environment. Affluent parents on the other hand, are far more involved with their children than poor parents.

Their children are never left alone at home as there is a servant who cares for them.

Such parents watch and cultivate habits of children, provide properly cooked meals, celebrate birthdays and give presents. They are concerned about extra mural activities, elocution, dancing, joining youth clubs and receiving extra tuition in weak subjects. (Meer and Mlaba, 1982).

2.4 Summary

The traditional Black family which was extended and polygamous has been replaced by the nuclear family. Along with it has gone the collective responsibility of educating the young which was directed towards inculcating codes of manners, deportment and behaviour. A conspicuous feature of the modern family is that both parents are involved in outside employment which means the amount of time a mother spends with her baby is minimal. The next chapter seeks to describe the extent of the impact of maternal employment in the family against the background of an unemployed mother.

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CHAPTER THREETHE WORKING MOTHER IN RELATION TO THE FAMILY, SOCIALIZATION AND EDUCATION

3.1 Employment of Black Women

Women engage in gainful employment outside the homes to boost the family income if it is low. They also engage in employment for pleasure as well as some of them are professionally trained. The income of a wife helps in such complexities like the number of children and the extent of their need for education, medical care or capital assets like a house, a car, furniture or appliances which cannot be inferred directly from the income of the husband (Nye & Hoffman, 1963). Though most wives earn less than their husbands, their income allows the families to enjoy higher levels of living. This sharing of the provider roles is rare if the husband is in a high-status white collar occupation (Nye, 1976). Since most Black men are unskilled and employed in low-status blue-collar occupations, few Black women work for reasons other than financial gain. They have little education and training and they qualify for unskilled jobs. When Meer (1984) interviewed 998 Black women workers, 55% had primary school education, 27,5% had passed standard eight or nine, 2,4% had passed matric and higher education, and 3,6% had received no schooling at all. About half of them left school because their parents could not afford to keep them at school. A third left for personal reasons like loss of interest (18%), pregnancy (27%) and marriage (3%). Others had to leave school to help with work at home.

According to Obery et al (1985) the percentage of employed Black women per sector in 1981 was as follows:

Agriculture	16,6%
Mining	0,4%
Manufacturing	10,7%
Electricity	0,1%
Construction	0,6%
Commerce	15,0%

Transport	0,06%
Financing	1,3%
Services	54,4%

A large bulk of them do service work which includes office and shop cleaning, domestic work, municipal service, laundry work and cooking. This sector is comprised of jobs which serve other people (Perold, 1985). These jobs are often underpaid, hard and tiring. Nursing and teaching, the most common kinds of professional jobs for Black women, fall under this sector. although such professions are valuable to the community, they lack the status and high salaries of other professions. In 1981 nine out of every ten Black professional women were nurses or teachers, and the majority of them are in the lowest grades of work and low wages as they are underqualified (opcit).

Most domestic workers are migrant workers from the rural areas with little or no formal education. They usually have nowhere to stay in towns and so they opt for live-in. Although living-in at the place of work makes domestic service a full-time occupation in South Africa, economic recession has made it difficult for some employers to afford the domestic services of a full-time worker and so they do most of the housework themselves and only employ a worker once a week. This has necessitated some domestic workers to seek different jobs for different days of the week (Obery, 1985). In some cases domestic workers have to work for different employers at the same time as they cannot be kept for a whole week.

Yawitch (1980) sees domestic service as a diminishing sector of employment due to both economic recession and the fact that in periods of retrenchment white women become pushed out of employment to their homes and then domestic servants cease to become a necessity. In the same work Katzman is cited as saying that labour-saving machines have become cheaper than human labour. Yawitch (opcit) further mentions that domestic service is a sector characterized by the exchange of revenue as it frees the White woman for a higher service sector like typing, saleswork, office work, and so on, and allows her to fulfil her consumer function like shopping and entertainment. At the same time Black women perform domestic labour on a

dual level and in a double sense since they are both responsible for the reproduction of their own families as well as for the families of the employers. Also they are reproducing labour power in a material sense as well as reproducing the existing relationship of domination and subordination. High rural unemployment, unreliable remittances from migrant men and unavailability of land, forces some women to work on farms. They are employed on a daily or on seasonal basis as domestic or casual labour, especially during the picking and harvesting times (Obery et al, 1985). Factory workers are employed in food, clothing, textile and leather industries. These are referred to as women's industries as they are considered to be 'home-like' and it is taken for granted that women, by natural upbringing are more geared to do these jobs. Perold (1985) argues that this is not true as a housewife does not sew or pack food for the whole day. It is only because women provide cheap labour. Most women working in the industries are permanent urban dwellers. This is partly because their mothers were domestic workers and they themselves came to the cities as their children (Obery, 1985). Few women workers are found in furniture, non-metal, minerals, rubber, paper and chemical industries. Night women workers scrub floors, polish desks, empty wastebins, sweep carpets for a full twelve hour shift with only a short break.

Between regular employment and total unemployment is the informal sector. In this sector people earn their living by sewing, buying and selling, running shebeens (Obery et al, 1985) and child minding (Perold, 1985). People first engage in this self-employment sector when they are still looking for jobs, and as jobs prove more difficult to find this way of living becomes permanent. Most of the activities in this sector are illegal (Obery et al, 1985), though of course shebeens can now be legalised.

3.2 Working Conditions

Domestic work includes cleaning, washing, ironing, cooking and looking after children. It is a both tedious and a tiring type of work as workers start work early and finish late. If the worker lives in she may always be on call for baby-sitting, making tea or running up to the shops. Obery et

al (1985) quote one worker who said, "I must start work at seven o'clock in the morning and I only finish at 8.30 p.m. after they have finished eating supper and I have washed up the dishes. Every Friday I have to work until 10.00 p.m. because my madam had people for supper." (p.31).

Average working hours are twelve to fourteen hours six days a week. There are no laws setting hours of work, leave or terms of contract. Working hours, time off, days off during the week and annual leave depend on the employer's lifestyle so that he or she is not inconvenienced. Some get time off for breakfast and lunch and others eat while they work, or get no time to cook and therefore eat nothing (opcit). The Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1983 which lays down minimum working conditions like hours of work, sick leave and holidays, excluded domestic work. This leaves domestic workers with no legal rights to paid holidays or a fixed working day. They are also not covered by the Unemployment Insurance Fund which provides unemployment, sickness and maternity benefits (Perold, 1985). Wages are too low and some employers justify that by arguing that they provide free accommodation and food, which is the actual wage. The little cash they pay is pocket money. Food usually provided by employers is usually left overs or inferior meat and porridge. Most domestic workers, therefore, do not enjoy their work as they have no options. They also complain that they are called "the girl" even when they are old enough to mother the employer. Some complain saying that employers' children swear at them (Obery et al, 1985).

Women in the food industry suffer as they work in extreme cold refrigerated spaces often without adequate protective clothing. Gangrene is common in such situations (Bird, 1985). Farm workers, like domestic workers, have few rights and no legal protection against the harsh conditions and low wages. On average women farm workers work for sixty six to seventy hours a week. Some employers demand that a worker pays a fine for a day when she is sick. In the manufacturing sector women are not isolated from each other as in domestic service, on farms or other kinds of services. They work in groups and can best organise themselves so as to advance their wages and working conditions (Obery et al, 1985).

Problems concerning night workers are inadequate and expensive transportation as well as crime in the streets. They get restless sleep as it is too noisy in the township to sleep properly during the day. Most have sore eyes and some complain about deteriorating eye-sight due to working under fluorescent lights and lack of sleep (opcit). A general complaint is that of sore and running stomachs which might be related to abnormal eating patterns and working hours which interrupt normal digestion.

Most of them wait for three or four hours after work before public transport is available or before it is safe to return home. Factory workers, who manage to sleep after finishing work do so on pieces of cardboard in cold, sparsely furnished change-rooms.

Bird (1985) mentions that management sexually harass women both verbally and physically - verbally by using words like 'bitch' and 'cow' and physically when management feels free to touch their breasts and crotches at any time. She quotes a British Trades Union Council book on women workers which defines sexual harassment as any verbal or physical approach, including jokes and innuendoes, right up to actual assault, that's unwanted and that makes a woman feel uncomfortable and affects her work if it is continued. In the same vein Perold (1985) states that in some cases job security depends on the employee's preparedness to succumb to the employer's sexual advances.

In the manufacturing industry women are exposed to substances like mercury, lead, benzene, organic dyes and radiation which are dangerous to the unborn child. Also women working in plastics, dry-cleaning and perfume factories are prone to inhale dangerous fumes from these chemicals. Such fumes may cause a woman to miscarry or to give birth to an abnormal baby. Meer (1984) found that medical facilities available to 998 women factory workers interviewed are as follows:

- 23% of the factories have doctors
- 24% of the factories have nurses
- 79% of the factories have sick rooms
- 17% of the factories have first aid kits
- 61% of the factories have family planning services.

Work involving too much physical labour damages the unborn baby and some of the mothers miscarry. Perold (1985) and Bird (1985) referred to a heavy steam-pressing machine in one of the dry-cleaners in Johannesburg which was regarded as 'the abortion machine' since many pregnant women got miscarriages whilst working on that machine. A family planning facility usually available at management run clinics is the Depo Provera injection which is an unsafe and unpleasant contraception as it often leads to sterility.

Child bearing is not a right for working women according to the South African law (Obery et al, 1985). A woman takes maternity leave at her own risk as she has no legal guarantee of getting her job back. According to the present law a pregnant woman may not work four weeks before and eight weeks after deliver (opcit). Cock (1983) states that a woman is fired either as soon as the employer discovers that she is pregnant or sometime during her pregnancy. This can be attributed to the fact that pregnant women are viewed as ruining the image of the company and employers consider them undesirable for public eye (Obery et al, 1985). Saleswomen, for instance, are usually fired because management deems it undesirable for them to be seen in the shop. she may be shifted into warehouses but since warehouse work involves carrying parcels and climbing ladders, her health is at a risk (Cockm 1983). Keeping a job for a pregnant woman costs extra money as it usually involves both training, paying a substitute and even keeping up the pension payments as well as wages for the absent worker (opcit). Other employers see no need to make concessions as there are always more people seeking jobs. Fear of dismissal has led to other women to conceal their pregnancy by wrapping their stomachs tight. This harms the foetus and even causes abortion.

Unemployment Insurance Fund benefits can be used for a maximum of twenty six weeks and these benefits are available to a small section of the working women population. Seasonal workers, agricultural employees - excluding those in forestry, piece workers, domestic servants and people employed on certain establishments of the public-service are but a few of those excluded from such benefits (Cock, 1983). Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) maximum benefits is 45% of the wages, and should the woman

retain her job, she does not earn more than a third of her salary while absent. She should have been employed and have contributed to the UIF for at least eighteen weeks prior to the birth of her baby. Though the pregnant woman can claim for a maximum of eighteen weeks before and eight weeks after confinement, in actual fact she can only claim one week benefit for every six weeks employment so that she is only eligible for the full twenty six weeks benefits after having contributed for three years to the UIF. In other words it means for a mother to claim the full amount she can only have a baby approximately every four years (opcit, Obery et al, 1985).

According to the Education and Training Act R819 No.90 of 1979 teachers have twelve days per annum accumulative leave excluding school holidays and Sundays. Married female teachers are entitled to a maternity leave period of ninety days without pay. They have to apply when they commence their sixth month of pregnancy. If the applicant has thirty days credit she will receive thirty days leave with pay and sixty days without pay or she may have sixty days with half pay and thirty days without pay if so requested. Unmarried female teachers do not qualify for maternity leave. All they can use is the accumulative leave days.

Nurses work for about 40 hours a week. They get an annual leave of forty two days. Unmarried nurses are entitled during their working life to one maternity leave of five months. On the other hand married nurses get maternity leave of five months twice. If she gets pregnant after that the employer uses his or her discretion. A nurse reports her condition after the second month of conception and then arrangements are made for attending the ante-natal clinic. Maternity leave is without pay, except if the nurse is employed on a temporary basis and contributed to the UIF.

3.3 The Mother in the Family

Goode (1982) describes a family as a unit with not less than two adult persons residing together. They perform some tasks which are not exactly the same and they are involved in economic as well as social exchanges. Among things they share is food, sex, residence, goods and social activities. They have parental relations with their children and the

children have filial relations with them. As parents they have some authority over the children and both parties assume obligations for protection, co-operation, and nurturance. Children share sibling relations among themselves as well as a range of obligations to share, protect and help one another. Spring Rice (1981) sees the family as Nature's first group where individual character and physical health are mainly formed, and strongest affections focussed. For working men and women it is a place for rest and recreation. For children it is a place for play and rest. In the same work maternal personality is viewed as a hearth which holds together family dynamics. She is the most passionate upholder of faith and her most sacred responsibility is the health and happiness of her husband and children.

A family is characterised by roles which are not easy to delegate to others. Each family member has a role to play, but no form of formal punishment is exercised against not playing your part well as, for instance, no sanctions are exercised against not supporting a family (Good, 1982). As an expressional and emotional social unit it serves as an instrumental agency for the larger social structures like the school and the church since the role behaviour inculcated within the family becomes the model for behaviour required in other agents of the society. In other words a person's total range of behaviour and how he budgets his time is more defined to family members than to others (opcit). The main functions of a family are procreation, social placement of the child, socialization and social control. Golantz (1982) sees family roles and relationships as incompatible since relationships are dynamic and unpredictable whereas roles are static, everything is understood at the outset. Relationships on the other hand are fragile and susceptible to break down to false starts. Roles, it is further stated, can be crushing and frustrating. This is true in a family where mothers, children, brothers and sisters, husband and wives are being locked in a struggle, trying to transcend the kinship roles. These are caught up in a fight for dominion, recognition, tribute, and affirmation. They try to emerge and have some identity as they seek the

meaning of life. The role of being a parent carries with it the responsibility of bringing up one's child (Urbani, 1982). A mother, unlike the father, regards her baby as a reality long before it is born. A baby becomes truly real to the father when it is physically present. After that both parents adopt a whole series of attitudes, actions and inclinations as they mould their child. They, as educators then lead their child to a meaningful conscious, voluntary and responsible acceptance of his task. The helpless child needs guidance and moulding from his parent so that he fulfills his task (opcit). Such parental responsibility implies acceptance of the child as a permanent family member (Kruger, 1983). Parental support and warmth consist of praising, encouraging and showing affection towards the child. Children with supportive parents, Broderick (1977) states, are more likely to be ahead of their age group in cognitive and moral development, conformity to parental expectation, coping ability, social skills and self-esteem. Lack of parental support, on the other hand, is associated with developmental problems like aggression toward other children, social withdrawal, learning disabilities and emotional problems. Fathers, by virtue of their authoritative nature, implant a sense of respect in their children. They do this by loving and respecting their children early in life so that respect as a moral obligation comes from within.

The period of interaction between the father and his child is minimal due to employment outside the home. The mother then has not only to care for the child but to inculcate a sense of responsibility and discipline as well. A non-working mother does not feel over-worked since the employment of the father enhances his role as a provider. Nye (1976) avers that non-working wives tend to rank their husbands as better providers than husbands rank themselves. He further states that working wives tend to have a lower opinion of their husbands as providers than do non-working wives. Evans (1982) supports that when she says the ideology of male superiority is only effective if women are materially dependent upon their husbands. It is conclusive then that maternal employment further reduces parent-child interaction and diminishes the domination of the husband as the wife develops bigger say in family matters. It becomes a little difficult for a husband to make her conform to wifery gestures of deference. Employment of the wife also means loss of domestic services done by her. Nye and Hoffman

(1963) are of the opinion that the need for a wife's income should be balanced against the need for her domestic services. This should depend on, among other things, the family life cycle, especially the age of the youngest child, the frequency of the children's sickness and the regularity of meals for the husband. These situations render the wife's income as of crucial or marginal significance to the family since the need for her domestic services might outweigh her financial contributions.

The role of housekeeping includes all instrumental tasks in food processing, cooking and serving, cleaning, laundering, repair of clothing and household equipment, marketing and keeping financial records relevant to these tasks. Housewife roles include everything a wife does within the confines of the home like child care, child socialization, housekeeping, sexual, therapeutic, recreational and kinship roles (Nye, 1976). Gilman (1982) argues that housewives as domestic servants are entitled to the wages of cooks, housemaids, nursemaids, seamstresses and housekeepers since the labour they perform in the house enables men to produce more wealth than they otherwise could. Husbands argue that duties and services of the wife entitle her to support, thereby meaning that motherhood is an exchangeable commodity given by women in return for clothes and food (opcit). Nye (1976) asserts that technological specialities like restaurants, laundries and professional housecleaning ease the labour involved in domestic service. Goode (1982) states that the introduction of labour saving devices do not exactly reduce the number of hours housewives spend in domestic tasks, although inventions like free-flowing water, gas and electricity for heating and washing machines do decrease the actual physical labour of cleaning and cooking. Working wives work more hours than men because direct care of children increases hours spent on domestic service. Better educated husbands are more flexible as they contribute their services to domestic labour more than do less educated husbands (opcit).

Marital conflicts are decreased if there is time for solving them. Spouses need opportunity for catharsis, for ventilating feelings, for help in interpreting difficulties for emotional support and encouragement. Hard-working couples tend to lack time and energy to help solve their partner's

problems (Nye, 1976). Another problem facing hard working couples is lack of communication skills because of their little education and limited exposure to people who can offer advice. Marital communication is impaired by the poor quality of life which not only narrows the overlapping of interests and consequent sharing of interests, but also stunts personal development (Evans, 1982). Limited outside experiences threaten the bond of the couple as the meagreness of joint social life deprives the couple of conversation about the mutual friends, gossip and planning of social affairs and after party discussions (opcit). Free time is usually spent doing the work for which women workers don't normally get time like sewing or spring cleaning the house. They get little time for reading, watching TV or going to the cinema or even listening to the radio (Meer, 1984). Broderick (1977) on the other hand asserts that working wives appear more self-reliant and not needing much of affection, social involvement and impersonal influences as they are busy most of the time. They sacrifice leisure activities and time spent on eating and sleeping.

According to Perold (1985) an average Black working mother wakes up at four o'clock so as to wash the nappies she had been using during the night. Thereafter she makes food for the husband and the baby after which she takes the baby on her back and drops him with the aged caregiver. She then rushes for the train to be at work by half-past seven. She knocks off at half-past four and reaches home by six in the evening. She then fetches the baby from the caregiver and starts cooking until eight o'clock or half-past eight. By the time food is ready the baby is asleep. When woken up he doesn't eat well as he is drowsy. The husband does not help with cooking as he regards that as a woman's job.

Night women workers arrive at home in time to make breakfast for their families. They then clean the house and do some shopping and after that they are left with few hours to sleep (opcit). When children return from the crèche or from school they find their mother leaving for work. Some of these mothers don't see the children as when they arrive home the children have left for school and when they leave for work the children are still on their way home. A night working mother stands a better chance of interacting with her baby as she is present during the day when the baby needs her most and is absent from home when the baby is asleep.

In families where one parent is working the infant gets significantly more tactile stimulation in the form of touching, stroking, patting or caressing. The extra tactile stimulation provided by both parents in such families occur because they have a generally more leisurely tempo in managing caregiving and other routines in the family. In families where both parents work time is a scarce commodity since they do not have enough time for simple tactile stimulating their infant (Pedersen et al, 1982). Tactile stimulation is important in maintaining the infant's equilibrium. According to Pedersen et al (opcit) during the evening employed parents centre around the child and the interaction becomes stressful as both parents interact with the child. Such a child shows attenuated rates of interaction as a result of being crowded out by parents' needs of interaction.

3.4 Mothering

Working women are faced with a dilemma of conflicting loyalties about their two responsibilities as workers and as mothers. They are faced with a problem of finding a way to harmonise these two responsibilities (Myrdal and Klein, 1956). Since the most important duty of a woman is to bear and rear the next generation it is essential to scrutinize the effect of women's employment on both these functions. Recent studies on maternal bonding stress the importance of physical and psychological symbiosis between mother and child in the early phases of life and has led to the practice of keeping mothers and newborn babies together in maternity wards where women are told to learn the individual rhythms of their children's needs for food, sleep and elimination so as to establish self-regulatory schedules instead of following a clock and time-table set by doctors on the basis of statistical averages. This and the exacting standards of motherhood is not affordable in the case of a working mother (opcit).

It is of utmost importance for a pregnant woman to attend an ante-natal clinic to ensure a healthy development of the foetus. During the first trimester attention is paid to adequate check-ups, signs for early detection of possible miscarriage, sexual relations during pregnancy, diet, rest and physical exercise. During the second trimester attention is paid

to maternity clothing and the importance of regular laboratory tests and exercise. During the last trimester lectures cover the danger of premature delivery, explanations of the different instruments and devices used in diagnosing specific problems related to the state of health of both mother and child (Randall, 1981). Accessibility to these check-ups to working women is rarefied by the absence or limited period of maternity leave. Such ante-natal care prepares the woman for labour, lactation and the subsequent care of her child from the physical, psychological, social and educational points of view. Advice is also given on proper nutrition and rest. Protein deficiency in early foetal life causes biological retardation and behavioural deficiencies in adulthood due to irreversible deficits in the brain structure (Wiggins et al, 1971). It further alters behavioural responsiveness in children and impairs the usual kinesthetic skills essential for success in early education (opcit). Rest, besides refreshing the mind and facilitating the functioning of all physiological systems, relieves stress.

Working mothers worry about low wages, husbands at home and inadequate child care arrangements (Meer, 1984). Wiggins et al (1976) emphasize that indirect effects arising through social experiences of the mother affect the personality of the children in the sense that psychological stress elicits an neuroendocrine response in the pregnant mother that will alter the chemical composition of her blood and affect the foetus through placental transfer. Anxious mothers usually give birth to neonates who cry most of the time.

Early mothering is according to Ribble (1965, p.3) a "continuance of the closeness of the parental state, with the additional factor of touch or contact." A newborn baby still needs to be rocked gently as he was inside his mother's body, to be carried about at regular intervals until he can move and co-ordinate his own body. Besides strengthening his sense of equilibrium, this gives him his first feeling of belonging. Frequent periods of close contact with his mother give the child warmth and holding which gradually takes the place of the physical connection before birth when the child was like an organ of the mother's body. This is vital in stimulating sensory growth and awareness. Mothering includes, in addition

to care like bathing and feeding, the whole gamut of small acts of love displayed by an emotionally healthy mother like fondling, caressing and singing or speaking to the baby (opcit).

Schaffer (1977) contends the exclusiveness of mothering by suggesting that attention be paid first to the nature of the child's attachment. He lays down three stages of the development of attachment as follows:

- The infant is initially attracted to human beings so that he prefers them to other inanimate features of the environment.
- He learns to distinguish among different human beings so that he recognizes his mother as familiar and strangers as unfamiliar.
- He forms lasting emotionally meaningful bonds with specific individuals whose company he actively seeks and whose attention he craves for. At the same time he rejects the company and attention of others.

Attainment of mature social behaviour occurs if the child accomplishes each of the above developmental stages.

The first stage, that is, the differentiation of human beings as a class apart from the rest of the environment, is important because the child must first recognize his mother before he becomes attached to her within the first three months. Between the first and the second stage the child may be acquainted with his mother and yet be satisfied with the attention offered by others before he recognizes them as familiar. Formation of specific bonds takes place around the seventh month. The child's ability to miss the absent mother is not mature between the second and the third stage as other people may be able to satisfy his needs of attention and stimulation. When specific bonds are formed people cease to be interchangeable and the baby actively seeks his mother. It is appropriate that adoption and other procedures involving a change of the mother-figure be carried out within the first half-year.

Attachment is activated by two conditions, namely separation and threat (Al-Timini, 1979). It is quietened by being in physical contact with his mother. Children seek physical contact with certain people - as their attachment tends to be directed toward specific individuals. Dependence is a condition when the child pursues approval and closeness as well as the attention of the grown up just for the sake of wanting to be close in itself, not to satisfy other needs. Behaviour associated with dependency is when an individual seeks to be near and wants body contact, when he tries to get attention, approval and praise, and when he refuses separation (opcit). In the same work Bowlby is cited as using attachment to describe a tendency to carry on nearness to another person or regain that nearness when it is interrupted. A distinction between attachment and dependency is drawn by suggesting that dependency occurs when the individual relies on another for his physical needs. A new born infant is said to be dependent on its mother, not yet attached. Dependency is used to refer to physical needs and attachment to closeness which continues well into adulthood. In the same vein Wiggins et al (1971) say dependency develops from biological immaturity and therefore it serves adaptive functions.

Bonding is a healthy mother-child relationship which commences during pregnancy and progresses more at birth. It is secured by imprinting, the attachment of the young to its own species.

Wiggins et al (opcit) explains imprinting as a selective responsiveness of the young to certain stimuli due to genetic encoding for stimulus aspects which in the natural situation focusses the behaviour of the young on the parent. This prepotent stimuli is referred to as a releaser whereby the infant is genetically biased to selectively react to stimulus situations where the mother factor is involved.

Kritzinger (1978) cites Montagu's terminology of uterogestation and exterogestation, the former meaning the baby's growth in the uterus and the latter term referring to the second half of gestation leading to adulthood which takes place after birth. Birth is viewed as representing a highly complex and highly important series of functional changes which prepare the newborn for bridging the gap between gestation within the womb and gestation continued outside the womb. Birth, seen in this light, is merely an avenue from uterogestation to exterogestation.

Giving birth to babies in hospitals breaks the strong emotional tie between mother and child. This affects the style of upbringing the child gets from his mother as he grows (Cemane, 1984). In hospitals immediately after giving birth the mother is seldom allowed to hold the baby, the reason being that baby has to be weighed, put under a heater, bathed, clothed and given to the paediatrician first. It usually takes a long time for woman to love her child when the beginning of her relationship with him has been disturbed (Kritzinger, 1978). Women who had undergone Caesarean sections initially face some difficulty during breast-feeding not because they are uncomfortable when holding the baby or that they are recovering from the effects of anaesthesia but because they did not experience childbirth. They describe their experiences thus, "I could'nt believe he was mine" (opcit, p.171). Most positive expressions of emotion about the baby occur when the mother sees the head as it emerges or when she feels the baby moving against her thigh, or lying on her abdomen immediately after delivery. Here the physical contact reinforced by sight and sound is the most significant element in attachment to the neonate (opcit).

Basic maternal tactile behaviour starts when the mother slightly explores the baby's anatomy with her fingertips, holding him stiffly as if he were a bouquet of flowers. Flesh to flesh contact between mother and her baby expresses her passion. An experiment is cited by Kritzinger (opcit) where new born babies were left with their mothers for an hour within three hours of birth. Special heat lamps were turned on so that the infant did not have to be clothed. A scene was set for free intimacy. It was later observed that these mothers related much easier to their babies than did mothers whose babies were put in a nursery.

For the neonate immediate bodily contact is necessary when the outside world is mainly experienced by touch, followed by more and more visual and acoustic experiences. Seeing the mother and hearing her voice becomes connected with the cutaneous experiences of the person who gives bodily warmth and support. A matrix will then be formed for a more complex relationship to a first human being and a basic pattern is set for future human relations. These first experiences determine the manner in which a person meets the world around him, that is, whether he meets it with

confidence or distrust, in a co-operative or defiant manner. The indispensability of a mother to give these first ministrations and to lay a secure basis for the emotional development of her child is self-evident (Myrdal and Klein, 1956).

Through sucking and breastfeeding the baby experiences his first task and his first grasp is an innate biological endowment. Oral activity which follows brings a better supply of food to the head, face and the brain. The urgency of intensity of sucking diminishes after the fourth month of his life because this is the phase when the baby begins to vocalize, to bite, and to grasp with his hand. Among other functions of the tongue is its intimate connection with the brain and its relation to early mental development through speech which is evident from a variety of cranial nerves which supply it (Ribble, 1965). As sucking becomes easy and gratifying the baby gradually shows eye attention. Eyes begin to share with the mouth in the relationship with a mother figure. Through the medium of the mother figure and the delicate assistance which she gives, elaborate functional associations are assisted to develop in the baby's brain. Babies with inconsistent mothering are slower in development and are less alert. Breastfeeding, Ribble (opcit) further states, serves as a foundation for the development of the infant's emotional hold on the mother, for his curiosity and orientation toward inanimate objects and for his dawning recognition of other realities which are the basis of his learning. The baby drinks in with his eyes and ears, along with milk, as he stares and listens. He will later handle words as names or symbols for persons and objects, which is a true mental expression. Infants with limited sucking activities and mothers who do not stimulate response in the sense organs, have retarded speech.

Mothering stimulation includes holding the baby, fondling it, walking with it or singing with it. The importance of holding the baby is further emphasized by Kritzinger (1978) when he states that newborn babies become more alert when they are well propped up or when they are upright. Mention is made of Prechtl who discovered that when a baby under two weeks of age is put down on his back he tends to get drowsy.

Working and homestayng mothers are prone to commit the two psychological risks of rejection and over protection. Rejection occurs when the child experiences lack of love or insufficient attention. Working mothers, due to work overload, ambition or worries, develop personality problems and as a result their understanding of the child's needs become deficient, causing the child to feel neglected (Myrdal and Klein, 1956). Home staying mothers run the risk of rejection when they are too strict, since parental strictness is experienced by children as rejection. The effect of rejection is a neurotic personality exhibiting insecurity, restlessness and dissatisfaction. The risk of over protection is experienced by children whose mothers do not help them outgrow their baby needs. These are again, mothers with personality problems, who, because of their own maladjustment, become more unwilling than others to give up their dominance over their children. Home staying mothers run the greater risk of this mistake. The structure of personality rests on two main pillars, namely security and independence, and its growth is fostered by striking the balance between the two. As the child grows a measure of independence has to be increased and this can be successfully done if a firm foundation of security has been laid by parental affection (opcit).

There are two opposing viewpoints concerning the impact of maternal deprivation during the first months of life.

One is that the impact is significant and the other is that it is not. According to Myrdal and Klein (1956) short absences of the mother during the first months are not harmful to the child. What matters is that all that is important to the child should be done by one particular person. That person should be ready to give and receive love identification from which the child's understanding grows. The round-the-clock presence of a mother can be lessened before the end of the first year so that the child may go through the normal maturation process. During the end of the first year a second person can be introduced within the horizon of the child. thereafter two stable people may be gradually introduced, especially when the child learns to speak. In the first three years the presence of a mother is of great importance because she gets a deep personal understanding of the child.

Schaffer (1971) asserts that there is nothing to suggest that mothering cannot be shared by many people. It is the nature of attachment that varies from individual to individual, from exclusive concentration on one mother-figure to a distribution among many. The nature of attachment depends on the social setting, and the personalities of the individuals within that setting. A varied social setting exposes the child to different personality structures, provided they are warm enough and extend love adequately as the mother does. In the same work a comparison is cited where anthropologist Margaret Mead compared exclusive maternal relationship with shared mothering. In the case of shared mothering the child is secured against possible loss of the mother as there will be a greater continuity of care arrangements and less liability to trauma.

Constant availability of a person or his responsibility for the child's physical care do not guarantee that attachment will be formed. A child can become intensely attached to a father or an older sibling though he does not see these often and it may happen that the mother, though a constant companion, comes low on his preference list. A child becomes attached to someone with subtle qualities like sensitivity, responsiveness and emotional involvement. Such personality attributes contribute to bonding and they are not exclusive properties only displayed by the biological mother.

A biological mother only gives birth and suckles the baby and technologically such functions are not sacrosanct since a foetus may grow in an artificial environment and bottle feeding has been perfected adequately to substitute suckling. With these traditionally biological constraints now being technologically dispensable child care is no longer confined to a mother, but anyone with appropriate personality characteristics, be it a father or mother or another woman (opcit). In the same work reference is made to a survey by Tudkin and Holme which revealed that the exhaustion of doing a full-time job makes it difficult for the mother to respond sensitively to the child in the short time of their interaction. Multiple attachments help in such cases but they have to be consistent because the world of the child must be predictable to him (cf. Myrdal and Klein, 1956).

Studies relating to the effect of short term separation between mother and child reveal three phases of disturbance (Al-Timini, 1979). The first phase is the period of protest discernible by acute distress and crying when the child refuses a substitute.

The second phase is marked by despair when the child becomes quiet and apathetic.

The third phase is characterised by detachment when the child comes to terms with the situation though at the cost of his emotional tie with his mother and his ability to put his trust into any relationship. At times a child may initially continue to be detached and treat his mother as a stranger and end up becoming over dependent and clinging, refusing to be left alone.

Al-Timini (1979) cites a study which investigated the effect of early mother-child separation on the personality of the child. Two hypotheses devised were:

- that personality damage is related to the age of the child at the time of separation.
- that personality damage is directly related to the multiplicity of surrogates during the period of separation.

Findings revealed that children who experienced separation during the first six months of their life had no lasting personality damage while those who experienced separation from their mothers during the last six months of their first year of life suffered the most and more lasting damage.

It was further proved that separation during the second year of life is as damaging as that of the second half of the first year. The degree of damage fades gradually from two years to normal at the age of five. It was found that damage was more severe when care was provided by more than one person during the period of separation. Ainsworth (1962) mentions some of the specific processes affected by maternal deprivation like language and abstraction, personality and ability to control impulse in the interest of long-range goals. She says language and abstraction are affected if separation occurs during the first year of life.

3.5 Socialization

Socialization, according to Datta (1984), is the effectiveness of the totality of social influences on the individual. It is the impact of the family, the neighbourhood, the peer group, voluntary association and the media of mass communication on the individual. There are modes of socialization whereby the different mechanisms or sanctions are used to direct the individual's conduct along desired channels and to conform to social norms. By social norms is meant rules governing appropriate behaviour based on etiquette, morality, rationality, religion, socio-political ideology and aesthetic judgement.

Broderick (1977) nominates a triangle of parental control comprising of two sides of induction and coercion and detached permissiveness at the bottom. Induction aims at obtaining voluntary compliance by avoiding power confrontation with the child. The method is based on giving reasons for requests, explanations of the policies or rules and sanctions for non-compliance, whereas coercion can be described as a contest of wills between the parent and the child as it results in withdrawal of privileges, power confrontation and direct application of force or threat. Children seem to comply greater with induction than with coercion. Coercion per se elicits rebellion and resistance. Detached permissiveness does not make pupils comply voluntarily.

The mother is the first authority figure in the life of a child. The manner in which she exercises her authority and the degree to which she controls her child's activities as his capacities for independent action are important differentiating factors in the development of a sense of being subject to external, arbitrary forces, feelings of helplessness or self-doubt. An authoritarian mother is more likely to use negative and punitive sanctions with her child. She coerces the child into the habit of obedience by applying force and further subjugates the child by denying him the right to voice criticism and negative feelings, thereby inhibiting the development of an active stance towards the environment. If such a mode of control is used aspirations for autonomy are viewed as transgressions that need suppression. Children of such parents become submissive in their presence and vent out hostility when parents are not there (Blau, 1981).

Authoritarian maternal values and practices not only inculcate a low sense of control but also impede the development of conceptual thinking and language skills essential in the development of verbal intelligence. Blau (opcit) quotes Bernstein's view of language as a form of social behaviour that determines and is determined by the nature of social relations and control systems operative in the family. Two types of family control are distinguished, namely a status-oriented and a person-oriented type. Such modes of control are respectively expressed by two types of language codes, the restricted and the elaborated code. Restricted verbal codes are stereotyped, limited, unspecific and unprecise in conceptualization and communicated meaning. They are characterised by short and simple sentences that do not elaborate the content much. Elaborated verbal codes on the other hand are more particularized with respect to referents, more differentiated, precise, and discriminate more between cognitive and affective contents, making allowance of a wider and more complex range of meanings. Parents identifiable with the status-oriented mode of control rely more on status-oriented, imperative forms of address. They regulate behaviour of their children more in terms of status attributes and external criteria. Parents using a person-oriented mode of control are more concerned with the individual characteristics of a child and with the effects of personal communications on the internal thoughts and feelings of children. They use less imperative modes of interaction and communication.

Goode (1982) stipulates three categories of the content of socialization. In the first category skills learned are how to eat and drink correctly, how to talk, control one's toilet behaviour and how the socializee is rewarded. Parents encourage these first beginnings of competence which match physical and neurological maturation. The second category comprises of skills which are somewhat more difficult as they include some complex bits of knowledge or the ability to cope with the physical or social environment. These skills are bound to yield intrinsic pleasure as well as material and social rewards. The third category is made up of the obligations family members owe to one another like how elder children should protect their younger brothers and sisters, paying respect to parents, helping others with chores, and so on. This part of socialization is more difficult to teach as many of the rules seem arbitrary and lack

justification. What is a right for one person, for instance, is an obligation for another and what one family member wants is usually obtained at the expense of another.

Goode (opcit) suggests seven factors characterising effective socialization. They are:

- Warm and Nurturance - Socializers should show love because the socializee is likely to reciprocate that love and be concerned about their wishes or feelings. Warm parents are alert to the needs of the child and they offer rewards that will reinforce what they see as good behaviour. Withdrawal of love by such a parent is likely to arouse feelings of guilt or concern in the child.
- Identification - A warm nurturant relationship motivates the child to identify with the parent or parent substitute. The child shares his parents' worries and accepts the wishes of the parents as his own.
- Recognized Authority - Parents have to convince the child that they stand for the moral community, that the rules they have laid down are part of the society as a whole. It is also important that parents identify with the rules.
- Consistency - A consistent pattern in praising or rewarding the child when he is being good minimizes confusion.
- Freedom - Children follow rules better if they are involved in them. They must be gently induced to conform by letting them freely internalize social norms.
- Communication - Giving explanations and reasons for rules elicits more social interaction, more caring between the adult and the child. Giving explanations links the specific rule with the larger system since explanations show how the rule affects other people. The child also feels respected as he is not just commanded but takes part in the decision making process.

- Punishment - Being punished creates in the child an attitude of fear, anxiety or rejection when he faces the possibility of violating a rule.

Moral evaluation and character training begins as early as during the first year of life although the child may not be oblivious to the pressures being exerted upon him (Newson, 1963). During toilet-training for instance the mother teaches her child to control his natural functions so that he will only empty his bladder or bowels at an appropriate time in an acceptable place. The whole pattern of the mother's behaviour in this situation, like the emotive flavour of words she uses, her facial expression, the degree of emphasis shown in her voice and movements, the distaste she may betray in her cleaning up the child and his clothes impress upon the child more subtle cultural conventions. The child eventually learns that the act of excretion is actually a private matter not suitable for general conversation, that genitals are especially private parts of the body, that certain activities and postures are considered impolite, and so on. Besides learning the control of urination and defecation, the child also acquires a conventional sense of modesty and propriety in the way in which he behaves, talks and feels about these matters (opcit).

Freedman (1977) emphasized that young infants are innately sociable. The first behaviour exhibited by a newborn is a cry which excites the parent to take care and most infants quieten when held and carried. Young infants prefer looking at models in the likeness of the human face thereby proving that there is a lowered threshold for following a real-live human. It has been found that the most visual elicitor of social smiles yet found is a full-face view of a nodding human face or a model of a human face. The social smile itself facilitates attachments between the baby and his caregiver. It is a means by which the biological unity of mother and child, once broken, may be re-established as a social unity. When an infant coos at the beholding of an adult, the adult feels the irresistible urge to respond to the conversation. Cooing develops into babbling, which, like cooing, is a social interchange because when the adult speaks the infant stops and waits for his turn before he continues. The infant seeks to make expressive sounds and feels an intense social drive to converse with others.

When the child plays he explores his capacities as he encounters the social and the non-social world. Playing operates at the level of a set goal, with full exploitation and mastery of the living and non-living environment as its goal. When eye-hand co-ordination matures at six months all objects interest the child and he feels the urge to exploit them (opcit). Fathers tend to engage in physically stimulating and robust types of play than do mothers and fathers engage in more play than do mothers by the time the infant is eighteen months (Lawson and Sigel, 1982). Infants find more fun in playing with fathers than with mothers because mothers usually assume the primary responsibility for caretaking and so many of their interactions take place in the course of caretaking.

Children of working mothers grow according to the morals of neighbours, crèches, nurseries and peers. The family leaves no impact on the child as he is exposed to many resources. The scarcity of time for recreation is another factor that minimizes interaction (Kruger, 1983).

3.6 Fostering

Maternal employment has led to an increasing demand for child-care facilities. Obery et al (1985) state that child-care facilities of 885 women were as follows:

<u>Type of Care</u>	<u>% of a sample of 885 mothers</u>
Adult relative	40%
Older child	10%
Neighbour	9%
Crèche or nursery school	14%
Child minder	14%
Servant	6%
Child left alone	7%

Crèche staff usually consist of a supervisor, a nursing assistant and a cook. They take care of about forty children ranging in age from eight months to six years. Babies are aged between eight and eighteen months and they are looked after by a nursing assistant. Children from two to three

years are classified as toddlers and those from three to six years as the top group. They are both looked after by the supervisor who among other things teaches them rhymes, supervises painting, free play, and tells them stories. A nursing assistant looks after about fourteen babies. Child minders are usually old or unwell unemployed women who care for children in their own homes. Wages are poor and uncertain as they depend on the number of children being cared for. According to Speak (1984) child-minders complain about long working hours and that they are lonely most of the time. The care provider is a central figure because her background, her motivation for providing care, her child-rearing attitudes and practices and other personal qualities shape the experiences of the children for whom she cares.

Fosburg (1982) observed that the caregivers involvement with children ranges from active involvement (teaching, playing, participating in children's activities) to indirect involvement (supervising children) to no involvement (household chores and recreational activities). Her control activities range from positive routine control measures with given explanations to strict negative control measures. A childminder is less child-focussed than a crèche supervisor because she spends most of the time attending to her own needs and those of her household while the children are present. Supervisors are more involved with children since there is more teaching, more play and participation, more supervision and preparation and less house keeping and solitary recreation. The supervisor usually has a group of forty children to look after (Speak, 1984). Such a big number affects the supervisor's potential attention which in turn decreases her inter-actions with each child. Her amount of teaching also decreases if the number of children in her care increases (Fosburg, 1982). Children in such a situation spend more time inter-acting with each other and less time inter-acting with the caregiver. They get more opportunity to interact with their peers.

In cases where the caregiver looks after an infant and older children she tends to concentrate more on the infant and less on older children. Her attention to older children becomes more confined to their physical needs than to their emotional and cognitive needs. She spends little time in

correcting their language, answering their questions elucidatively, and structuring their fine motor activity. The presence of an infant therefore demands special behaviour on the part of the caregiver (opcit). Such behaviour towards the infant however, is not likely to substitute that of the biological mother who is more psychologically prepared for the task as she will be doing the job for some type of emolument (Cemane, 1984). Cemane (opcit) cites Wolff as being cited by Fein who distinguishes three types of baby cries namely the basic cry or hunger cry, the pain cry and the mad cry. It is not possible for a young and inexperienced caregiver to respond appropriately to the message relayed by the infant.

Gonzalez-Mena and Widmeyer Eyer (1980) lay out ten principles for respectful adult-infant interaction where the infant is treated as a full human being regardless of age and degree of helplessness.

They are:

- Involve the infant in things that concern him

The caregiver should keep the baby interested in the task at hand, involve him by distracting his attention if he concentrates elsewhere. She should involve him in what is going on to get him to pay attention and develop a spirit of team work. The baby will get education on human relations for which he can build his whole outlook towards people.

- Invest in quality time

The caregiver ought to be fully present, not to do caregiving tasks routinely being only physically present like diapering and talking to someone else at the same time. The caregiver can make herself available without directing action like just sitting near the baby, being fully available and responsive but not in charge and initiating. A time for shared activity like playing a game is of high quality. At the same time the caregiver must allow some measure of privacy because without privacy time, the baby will try to be private by drifting off, being absent minded. This might become a habit to an extent that time spent together with the caregiver becomes time spent when he is 'half-present'.

- Learn the infants' unique ways of communicating and teach him yours

Since the infant uses his body and voice to communicate, it is up to the caregiver to respond by interpreting, answering and discussing, teaching the infant to listen, that talking is communication, not distraction or turning out. After some time the baby will depend more on words for expressing himself and less on other means of communication.

- Invest in time and energy to build a total person

Promotion of total development is essential for a healthy adult-to-be. It is not wise for a parent or caregiver to concentrate on promoting intellectual development alone thereby ignoring the fact that the level of intelligence is determined by genetics and day-to-day experiences.

- Respect the infant as an individual

Whatever the caregiver is going to do to the infant, she must speak to the infant, not just to treat him like an object. She must show empathy and respect the infant's right to express his feelings. The caregiver ought not to superimpose her sympathetic feelings on the child's anger by hugging him because he might associate warm attention with anger and learn that anger brings rewards. In the long run he might learn to use anger to elicit warm feelings. Respecting the infant also means not talking about him as if he doesn't exist in front of others because he might get the message that he is an object rather than a person.

- Be honest about your feelings

The caregiver should verbalize her feelings and connect them clearly to the situation. She should let the child know how he angers her and not to conceal her anger by smiling.

- Model the behaviour you want to teach

A child learns more from what adults do than from what they say. It is then necessary to model co-operation, respect, honest feelings and communication as early as possible.

- Let infants learn to solve their own problems

Giving infants time and freedom to work on their problems makes them learn from their mistakes. Instead of responding to every frustration immediately it is advisable to show a bit of facilitating so that the infant proceeds when he gets stuck on a problem.

- Build up security by teaching trust

Infants can be taught trust by being reliable. For a caregiver to lie or trick the infant by sneaking away instead of boldly bidding him goodbye, makes him anxious. He needs to know how the situation is, no matter how painful it is.

- Be concerned about the quality of development in each stage

Ambitious parents or caregivers tend to push the infant ahead of his development. Attention should rather be paid to broadening his experience in the stage where he is by providing experiences and opportunities for him to develop his curiosity.

A very old caregiver, usually an aged parent of one of the spouses may show a dull understanding and short-sightedness in her inter-actions with the child because of her physical weakness and obscured perception. The quality of her inter-action with the child is not likely to be progressive as the aged caregiver may be a bit slow in attending to a child. At times she may so love the grandchild that she becomes too permissive. This will be evident in the grandchild's manner of deportment and decorum, toilet training, neatness, orderliness, noisiness, care of household furniture, obedience, aggression towards siblings, peers and parent (Cemane, 1984).

Effects of inattention or absence of the mother include among others, periods of breath holding, frequent prolonged spells of hiccups, violent crying and momentary unconsciousness (Ribble, 1965). At times a maternally deprived child gets himself a substitute stimulation. The way in which he acquires this substitute depends on his individual constitution. It also depends on the phase of development when he suffers either early stimulus hunger or later emotional need. Some babies develop the habit of staring at lights while older ones beginning to vocalize develop the habit of making rhythmic noises, humming or repeating words. Older children learning to talk repeat words persistently and make rhymes invariably. All maternally deprived children show disordered behaviour accompanied by a dulling of general alertness (opcit). Eliminating such behaviour may not be an easy task for the caregiver.

Perold (1985) states that some caregivers do not feed babies properly. Wiggins et al (1971) emphasize that malnutrition at critical stages of infancy, that is, under six months of age, may lead to a permanent lag in the development of both the brain and behaviour because the biochemical organization of the nervous system is still incomplete at that stage. Such damage is irreversible.

3.7 Education

The basis for good eating and elimination behaviour as well as for the start of a smooth mental development and educability lies in the security formed by the relationship between the child and his mother or her consistent substitute (Ribble, 1965). Verbal inter-action between parents and the child influence the acquisition of linguistic cognitive skills important for reading. Parents enhance the child's vocabulary by letting him repeat and elaborate on his utterances (Laosa, 1982).

Mother's use of questions is related to certain aspects of language acquisition. Laosa (1982) found that her tendency to elicit verbal rather than non-verbal responses from her child and to ask questions requiring the child to explain his responses in his own terms correlates with letter knowledge and math ability in the primary school. If a mother accepts her

child's interests and intentions in a conversation, if she continues the dialogue until problems of meaning are solved, reading performance improves.

Parke and Powers' (1982) findings from their home study reveal that fathers seem to have their greatest influence in the area of sex role and social development while mothers seem to have their greatest impact through the ways in which they influence the development of exploratory and cognitive skills. Klaus and Kennel (1977) cite Hess as suggesting the following parent behaviours related to intellectual development, and academic achievements:

- Intellectual Relationship - characterised by demand for high achievement, maximization of verbal interaction, engagement with and attentiveness to the child, maternal teaching behaviour, and diffuse intellectual stimulation.
- Affective Relationship - where parents show warm affective relationship with the child and feeling of high regard for the child as an individual.
- Interaction Patterns - where parents foster a sense of independence and self-reliance in their child. They clarify their disciplinary rules and use conceptual rather than arbitrary regulatory strategies.

Maternal employment has been demonstrated to correlate positively with children's school performance, especially if the mother is better educated (Fogarty et al, 1971). In the same work Grandke is mentioned as having stated that the influence of the mother's employment on children's school performance depends on many factors like her attitude to her occupation and family, her conditions of work, the attitude of her family to her work and the general family situation. Al-Timimi (1976) on the other hand puts forward the idea that maternal absence has been held responsible for hindering the child's cognitive growth.

Parents influence the development of attitudes, opinions and interests in their children. The home is where the child's moral development is greatly influenced since it is where the earliest and most long-lasting identifications are made. Kay (1968) quotes Sawinson as saying that young children believe that there is a fundamental moral order in life to which they may have access. They willingly trust the guidance of adults because they believe that adults understand the nature of this fundamental order. Values adults impose on the child are absorbed into himself in order that he responds to their guidance from within, even during their absence. The introjected values are seeds of moral autonomy in later life. The child becomes submissive to authority if there is harmony between the voice of authority coming from within and the one coming from outside. Having identified with feelings, mental attitudes, personal characteristics and values of those closest to him, the child forms his own inner ego-ideal, his moral self (Bull, 1969). This moral self gives him his unique self-consciousness, the self-criticism termed 'conscience' and the self-control termed 'will'. Exposure of a child to different caregivers offers him a variety of identifications which persist into adult life and shape his character. Their impressions will be reflected in his moral judgements which are both orectic and cognitive as they do not only involve the mind but also the appetite and desire, feeling and striving emotion and will.

This will influence his assignment of meaning to his surrounding world. This surrounding world consists of his Creator, people, objects, ideas as well as his relationship with himself. He forms a relationship as he understands his world. The nature of the relationships he forms and their effect on his development reflect a dynamic progression reaching its culmination before the school years begin (Vrey, 1979). Consistency of mother's behaviour makes her an anchorage point for the child's forming of further relationships, the child relies on her for reference. The parent-child relationship characterised by love, security, self-giving acceptance, trust and esteem enables the child to venture and explore into the world with less tension and anxiety. Acceptance by parents, peers and the family members makes the child accept himself better and enriches his self esteem. A positive self-concept encourages the child to take risks and form further relationships with reality, constituting his life-world.

Jean-Paul Satre, an existentialist philosopher, states that man assigns meaning to nature so as to control it. What is seen as natural or beyond man's control is because it has not been given sufficient meaning (Ozman and Craver, 1981). Education enhances meaning the educand assigns to reality until he controls it. Maslow, an exponent of existentialist philosophy, came with an idea of a hierarchy of needs. There are basic needs and 'meta-needs'. Basic needs are primary needs like the need for air, food, protection from danger and familiarity with the environment. Meta-needs transcend basic needs and include such things as belongingness, self-esteem and aesthetic needs. They help us to become self-actualised, to be realistic, autonomous and creative (opcit).

Basic needs become dominant motivators if rarely satisfied. If they become dominant motivators, they block the appearance of meta-needs or higher order needs. Childhood experiences together with the gratification of lower order needs facilitate the individual's accessibility to self-actualisation. Vrey (1979) asserts that before a child becomes self-actualised he has to have his needs for achievement, love and esteem, understanding and belonging satisfied. A mother does not have to be home for twenty-four hours a day to satisfy these needs as it is the quality of her interaction with the child that matters, not its quantity (opcit, Al-Timini, 1976). The quality of mother-child interaction is affected by the level of satisfaction a mother derives from her work and the degree of mental and physical exhaustion.

3.8 Summary

Outside employment helps the woman accumulate a range of experiences and points of view common to herself, her husband and children. If she is satisfied with the job, she developed a positive self-esteem and the quality of her relationship with her family improves. Few Black working women derive pleasure from their jobs. Most of them because of their limited education, occupy low status jobs involving a lot of physical labour. They bring home their frustrations from work, depriving their families of adequate love. Such a woman, as review of literature bears out in this chapter, cannot fulfil her obligations both as a wife and as a mother in a satisfactory manner.

The family as an intimate and united group is concerned with the well being of its members and giving emotional support. A child does not only have a right of contact with the mother but he has to be a member of a stable and harmonious family as well where members have time for one another (Fogarty, 1971). The presence of a mother is vital during the first twelve months for developing senses of security, trust and identity. Working mothers, because of their ambivalence, tend to become anxious and they are prone to produce fearful offspring, not as a result of genetic transmission but they may transmit anxiety to their offspring either prenatally by way of hormonal mechanisms activated by the state of anxiety itself or postnatally through socialization (Wiggins et al, 1976).

High quality day-care may compensate for maternal absence. Black women workers are faced with inadequate child care arrangements. Caregivers are unreliable and incompetent. Crèches due to overcrowding cannot afford individual attention to the child. He lacks a reliable source of reference to monitor and enhance his interpretation of reality.

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CHAPTER FOUREMPIRICAL INVESTIGATION

4.1 Statement and Explanation of a Hypothesis

The major hypothesis of this study proposes that the educational role of a Black working mother is hampered by her inability to provide adequate and effective motherly care. Effective mothering consists, among other things, the following:

- Provision of physical care
- Adequate emotional support
- Attention to social problems of the child
- Provision of guidance
- Acting as a feedback mechanism to problems of the child.

The period of interacting with her child is minimal since she leaves early for work when the child is still asleep and comes home late in the evening finding the child sleeping already or about to sleep. The number of times of mother-child interaction is insignificant to healthy child development. It is the quality of the interaction that matters. Working conditions of a Black mother affect the quality of her interaction with the child. She is not satisfied with her job because she earns little, works for long hours, fringe benefits are minimal. Maternity leave is without pay and it ranges from days to three months with the exception of nurses who get five months. There is no guarantee of returning to the job after maternity leave, time for ante natal care is minimal, and above all, she comes home fatigued because her work involves physical labour. Therefore she uses a caregiver to substitute her motherly role. It is not known whether she has guilt feelings about the caregivers or not.

Minor hypotheses stemming from the major hypothesis are that:

- there is a close relationship between the caregiver and the educational role of the mother. The closer the blood relationship is between the mother and the caregiver the higher are the chances for a sound educational role of the caregiver.

The closer the blood relationship the more the mother accepts caregiving and the caregiver is likely to love the child as her own. The mother will be well disposed to caregiving and to the child as such.

Operational definition of caregiver: A caregiver is anyone who looks after the child but not the natural mother. It can be an adult relative, a nursery assistant, a child minder, an older child, a servant or a neighbour.

- There is a close relationship between mother-father economic status and educational provision.

Those with a salary figure above R700 per month are likely to provide facilities for the education of their young children. Toys, educational visits to museums, parks etc., are within the means of parents. They can afford a caregiver who can give adequate help. They can also provide educational toys for their children to play with.

- Working mothers do expect contributions from employment agencies towards educational progress of their children.

Most of the time spent daily is with the employer, who should have interest in the welfare of her infants and children. So the employer's contribution is a necessary fringe benefit.

- Home chores are closely related to the educational role of the mother.

The greater the housekeeping role of the mother the less is the time for educational guidance to the child. Husbands don't help much with housework. So mothers who do not have a full-time caregiver or housekeeper will have to concentrate on housekeeping chores in the evenings and during weekends. This affects the quality of mother-child interaction.

4.2 Description of the Research Technique

This investigation was carried out by means of an interview schedule. This is a list of questions put to the respondent by the researcher or interviewer. A questionnaire seeks information, opinions, attitudes and interests of the respondent in the area being investigated. It is used as the best evidence that validates answers collected from literature or documentary sources because of its standardized and objectified observations (Good, 1972). Data collected by an interview schedule is rich and spontaneous and it creates a sense of security from biases as it is collected in face-to-face situations. Interview schedules are expensive as there are travelling and subsistence expenses to be met whereas a mailed questionnaire only requires cost of the planning and pilot work, printing or duplicating expenses, sampling, addressing, mailing and providing stamped self-addressed envelopes for returns. Sampling is more accurate because the envelope is addressed to a particular individual who meets the relevant criteria. Response from people of low intelligence or of limited educational background cannot be relied upon as it lacks the personal introduction by the researcher and additional explanation where necessary. The response rate is very poor whereas in the case of an interview schedule it is high, sampling is accurate and the personal contact of the interviewer provides necessary explanations.

An interview schedule is presented to the respondent by an interviewer or by someone in an official position. The interviewer explains the purpose of the investigation and then leaves the respondent alone to complete the questionnaire which is either sent in or collected later (Oppenheim, 1966). It reminds the respondent of each item and ensures response to the same item from all respondents. An ideal interview schedule has to meet the following criteria:

- It must be precise so as not to take too much of the respondent's time.
- It must be not too narrow, restrictive or limited in its scope of the field of study.

- Questions should be penetrative so that the respondent does not answer superficially.
- It must elicit definite, valid responses that answer the basic question.
- Questions should not embarrass the respondent or raise his suspicions concerning the hidden purpose.
- Questions should not have hints and lead the respondent to a particular answer.

It is important that before the final form of a questionnaire is prepared and distributed to the respondent for answering, a pilot study be done so as to validate its practical use. It is conducted to determine if the items yield the kind of information required. A questionnaire is administered personally and individually to a small group of respondents. Two or more comparable groups can be used to test the wording or sequence of items (Sax, 1979). Certain questions will be revised, unclear ones deleted and others will be added. Responses can then be tabulated to ensure that answers will be tabulated satisfactorily and that major questions will be answered (opcit). It is begun by exploring unstructured interviews to get the general feeling about the problem followed by organised assembly. It covers question wording, letters of introduction, type of paper used, ordinal position of multiple responses and timing of each section of the questionnaire (Oppenheim, 1966).

When deciding about the sequence of questions the researcher may start with factual questions, followed by additional ones or vice versa. He may repeat the same questions in different contexts or by use of different techniques. It is wise to avoid putting ideas into the respondent's mind early in the interview so as to get spontaneous responses on the same points later on. A start can be made with some easy, impersonal questions and when the researcher is sure that rapport has been established, details like age, family, occupation, and so on can be asked.

Gallups Onintemensional Plan of Question Design if used starts off with questions designed to find out whether the respondent is aware of or has considered the issue at all. Questions that follow concern his general

feelings on the issue, then those dealing with specific parts of the issue preferably a multiple-choice type. After that questions that will elicit reasons for the respondents view are asked, and finally it is enquired how strongly such views are held.

In some cases the researcher will start each question sequence by asking few factual multiple choice questions about the respondent's own habits, background and experience. Consequent questions will cover the respondents attitudes concerning these points and about wider issues. The monotony will be broken by starting off with wide-open questions followed by those that inquire about the respondent's own behaviour and experience.

The questionnaire used in this study comprises of both closed and open-ended questions. Closed or structured questions are definite, concrete, predetermined in terms of items and has additional questions to clarify inadequate answers or to elicit more detailed responses. Closed questions are categorised and they are referred to as a checklist which the respondent checks, like listing frequency of performance of certain duties by working mothers. Such questions provide categorized data that facilitates evaluation and summarizing. Open-ended questions invite free response and data collected goes beyond factual material by including hidden motivations lying behind attitudes, interests, preferences and decisions. The amount of space provided determines the length and fullness of the answer required. Respondents express their ideas spontaneously and such spontaneity and individual flavour is lost when answers are classified later. Free-response questions will be analyzed by employing a coding frame. Black working mothers were asked on working conditions, child-care arrangements, and the impact of their work on their families with a view to finding out if their children are not deprived educationally. In this work the questionnaire was divided into three sections. Sections A and B needed factual information, A being biographical data and B being general data. Section C aimed at finding a working mother's attitude towards work and child-care arrangements. Biographical information covered the marital status, age, type of work, reason for working, working hours and the level of education. Questions that followed related to job satisfaction like fringe benefits, work choice, income and so on.

Information about the time the mother leaves for work and the time she returns home from work were important for this study as it is based on the minimal period of interaction between mother and child.

General information covered the home life of a working mother like child care, housework, caregivers and husband's help in home chores. Having obtained the above facts the questionnaire probed the attitude towards working mothers and child-rearing. The respondents opinions on the assistance the employer should have on the welfare of the working mother's children were asked.

Questions requiring factual information were in a closed form comprising of a checklist. Provision was made for answers not fitting in the listed items whereby the respondent will specify her case. Questions on attitudinal information were mostly open ended so that the respondent explained on earlier response and so that she gave comments on mothers as workers and as educators.

4.3 Selection of the Sample

When selecting a sample the researcher should look for a design that serves the research objectives. its definition measurement and sampling procedures should be orientated to the aim of the project. It must be measured for statistical inferences, that is, it must be a probability sample where the probability of selection of every element of the population is known. It must be practicable with no stumbling blocks in the way of accomplishing the design as was intended. It must, above all, be economical in the sense that it facilitates the achievement of survey objectives with minimum costs - (Kish, 1965).

A sample is a representative of the population with subset elements from the population. For a sample to be truly representative the analysis made on its elements should produce results equivalent to those as would be obtained if the entire population had been used (Helmstadter, 1970). Samples are either biased or unbiased. Biased samples either over estimate or under estimate parameters, unbiased samples do neither of these and,

with the increase of cases, statistics equal the corresponding value of the parameter. A parameter is a corresponding value. Unbiased samples can be selected by simple random sampling, stratified random sampling, systematic sampling and cluster sampling (Sax, 1979).

A simple random sample is a sample where every member of the population has an equal chance of being included in the sample. The investigator first assigns a number to each member of the population. He then enters a table of random numbers and selects the numbers of individuals to be included in the sample by moving in any predetermined direction.

In the case of stratified random sampling the population is divided into a number of strata with homogeneous variables within each stratum. A separate sample is selected within each stratum from all sampling units comprising that stratum. A separate stratum mean from the sample in each stratum is then computed so that in the end all the stratum means are weighted to form a combined estimate for the whole population. Deviations are also calculated separately within each stratum and properly weighted before being added into a combined estimate for the population (Kish, 1965). Merits of stratified sampling are that sampling is effective as it takes advantage of whatever information is known about the characteristics of the population. Sampling errors arise only within strata not between strata. The selection of cases within each stratum can be done in different ways and in different proportions.

A systematic random sample is selected by counting every n -th person that is, every third, fourth or nineteenth person in a structured sample. Much labour is saved due to the fact that tabling random numbers becomes unnecessary if population elements are listed. It ensures a broad sampling throughout the population thereby providing a more accurate sample. Bias can be avoided by selecting the first element from a table of random numbers.

Clustering refers to methods of selection in which the sampling unit and the unit of selection contains more than one population element, making the sampling unit a cluster of elements. It is recognizing in the sampling

design some features observable in the physical distribution of the population and to its selection frame (Kish, 1965). The researcher begins by sampling areas or clusters of elements after which he samples elements within the clusters (Sax, 1979). Each cluster is as variable as possible with regard to the attributes being investigated and the differences between clusters should be as homogeneous as possible. Whereas stratified sampling maximizes differences between strata and minimizes differences within each stratum, cluster sampling minimizes differences between clusters and maximizes differences within each cluster. This increases the standard deviation within each cluster and, in order to increase accuracy, the investigator should select a larger number of cases (opcit).

A cluster sample is less expensive and less precise than a systematic sample. Loss of precision can be minimized if individual elements within the cluster are sufficiently heterogenous to represent the entire range of the population under study (Helmstader, 1979).

A population of Black working mothers was classified into three clusters namely professionals (teachers and nurses), industrial-workers (factory and shop workers) and domestic workers. The cluster of the professional workers comprised 20% of the sample, the industrial workers 45% and domestic workers 35%. They were classified in this manner because most of them do these jobs. The size of each cluster depended on the physical distribution of the population. The research intends interviewing 400 subjects.

40 Nurses were found at Stanger and Maphumulo hospitals. 40 Teachers were found at schools around Stanger. Most of the 140 domestic workers were found at South African Domestic Workers Association offices in Durban where they gather to advance their grievances. Some were found at churches. 180 Industrial workers were found at KwaSifubebe in Zululand. Shopworkers in shops in Durban and around. Others were found at organizations where they gather for sawing, handwork and cooking.

4.4 Presentation and Analysis of Data

Respondents responded by either marking with an X on the boxes provided or by giving explanations where necessary.

SECTION A: BIOGRAPHICAL DATA

1. Marital Status

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Single	26	18.57	59	32.78	2	2.50
Married	64	45.71	57	31.67	63	78.75
Separated	27	19.29	31	17.22	5	6.25
Divorced	3	2.14	8	4.44	3	3.75
Widowed	9	6.43	19	10.55	7	8.75
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	-
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

78.75% of the professionals indicated that they are married, the biggest number compared to the domestic workers' 45.71% and industrial workers' 31.67%. One of the reasons is that industrial and domestic workers do not have to be married to qualify for maternity leave as it is in the case of teachers and that industrial workers interviewed were younger than the other two groups i.e. the domestic workers and the professionals. For most of the industrial and domestic workers education of their children lies entirely on them, they do not have the support of a husband.

Age Range

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
Less than 18 years	1	0.71	3	1.67	0	-
Between 18-22 years	3	2.14	14	7.78	2	2.50
23-27 years	11	7.86	23	12.78	5	6.25
28-32 years	17	12.14	31	17.22	16	20
33-37 years	24	17.14	34	18.89	26	32.50
38-42 years	31	22.14	22	12.22	18	22.50
43-47 years	27	19.29	13	7.22	8	10
Over 47 years	15	10.71	16	8.89	5	6.25
Responses	129	92.14	156	86.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	24	13.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Mothers were younger in the Industrial and Domestic groups because they have spent less years in education than the professionals. Domestic service is not attractive to younger people because of low pay compared to a secondary school education. Industrials are the youngest because they do not undergo any formal tertiary education, therefore they spend fewer years than the professionals. A common fact is that they all do have young children to look after and guide to adulthood.

3 Work Type

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
Domestic	129	92.14				
Industrial			174	96.67		
Nursing					40	50
Teaching					40	50
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The table reveals a physical distribution of Black working mothers as they appear in everyday life.

4 Reason for Working

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Breadwinner	55	39.28	106	58.89	16	20
Supplementing Husband's Income	58	41.43	56	31.11	59	73.75
Other	16	11.43	12	6.67	5	6.25
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The breadwinner category includes widowers, divorcees, those on separation and unmarried mothers. 58.89% of the Industrial workers are breadwinners because many of them are unmarried. Of the domestic workers 39.28% of them are breadwinners, perhaps because more of them are married than the industrial workers. Most professionals are working so as to supplement spouse's income and some work because they are professionally trained. Some are working to finance the education of younger siblings or their own children. There is a great need for them to be employed.

5 Working Hours Per Week

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Less than 20 hrs						
21-39 hrs						
40-58 hrs	21	15	130	72.22	80	100
59 or more	108	77.14	44	24.44	0	0
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

That most of them work for 40 hours or more per week means they all spend more time away from home. Some of the domestic workers live in at the place of work. They see their children during week-ends or month-ends. Some only see their children when they are on leave. Few of the industrial workers see their children after work because their homes are in the rural areas where work is scarce. They live in the hostels, with relatives in the town shops, and only see their babies when they are off or when they are on leave. Townships and hostels are far from the places of work, so a considerable time is wasted by travelling between a place of work and a place of residence. They do not have enough time to care for their children physically, spiritually and on all the other aspects.

6 Gross Monthly Income in Rands

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Below 70	27	19.29	32	17.78		
Between 70-170	99	70.71	102	56.67		
171-271			16	8.89		
272-372			10	5.55		
373-473			10	5.55		
474-574			4	2.22	39	48.75
575-675					14	17.50
676-776					13	16.25
777-877					6	7.50
Over 877					8	10
Responses	126	90	171	95	80	100
Non-responses	14	100	9	5	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

90% of the domestic workers earned less than R170 per month. The remaining 10% did not want to reveal their income. They generally earn less than industrial workers. Those who appear to earn more earn so because they have stayed longer in their present job. At the time of writing this dissertation they were still fighting for a living wage of R200 per month. Professionals earned better than the other two groups which means that they can afford material things to compensate for their absence they can make more reliable child-care arrangements and that they are able to pay caregivers adequately in order that they stay longer with the child. Caregivers working for domestic servants and industrial workers are paid less compared to the groups sampled because their employers are underpaid. It is a cycle of job dissatisfaction. Usually it is women, not men, who pay for servants because servants do work that ought to be done by wives.

7 Level of Education

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
No Schooling	13	9.29	4	2.22		
Lower Primary	28	20	21	11.67		
Higher Primary	64	45.71	36	20		
Junior Secondary	24	17.14	86	47.78	3	3.75
Senior Secondary			27	15	14	17.50
Tertiary Education					63	78.75
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180		80	100

Only 17.14% of the domestic workers had passed the Junior Secondary level. 45.71% of them the Higher Primary level, 20% the Lower Primary level and 9.29% had received no formal school at all. 15% of the industrial workers passed the Senior Secondary level. 47.78% the Junior Secondary level, 20% the Higher Primary level, 11.67% the Lower Primary level and 2.22% had never gone to school at all. These were cleaners in the shop. 3.75% of the professionals had passed Junior Secondary education, 17.50% the Senior Secondary level, 78.75% the Tertiary level. Less education of the domestic servants and the industrial workers means fewer chances of better jobs, limited exposure to enlightening material about child-rearing like magazines and radios and televisions.

8 Fringe Benefits

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Bonus			42	23.3	80	100
Annual leave	79	56.43	169	93.89	80	100
Medical Scheme	0		0		80	100
Housing Subsidy	0		0		29	36.25
Pension Scheme	0		0		80	100
Maternity Leave	0		11	6.11	73	91.25
Other (old clothing, Xmas presents)	11	7.86	7	3.89	0	

Domestic workers and industrial workers had fewer fringe benefits compared to the professionals. They derive less pleasure from their jobs. The few benefits they have are usually not stated clearly and as a result some do not reveal their pregnancy to the employer. Some are expelled as soon as they report their conditions. The employer uses his discretion in providing maternity/annual leave. 7.86% of the domestic servants get old clothing and Christmas presents from their employers.

9 Permanence of Employment

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Permanent	103	73.57	169	93.89	71	88.75
Temporary	17	12.14	5	2.78	9	11.25
Other	9	6.43	0		0	
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Only 12.14% of the domestic workers, 2.78% of the industrial workers and 11.25% of the professionals reported being employed on a temporary basis. Being permanent or temporary influences the way a worker commits herself to her job.

10 Work Choice

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Liked it	0	0	9	5	53	66.25
Saw others	0	0	58	32.22	9	11.25
Security	0	0	0	0	18	22.50
Was available	129	92.14	103	51.22	0	0
Responses	129	92.14	170	94.44	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	10	5.56	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

92.14% of the domestic workers chose domestic service because it was the only sector that could absorb them, not that they liked the job. 7.86% did not respond. Of the industrial workers only 5% liked the job, 32.22% saw others and 57.22% worked these because it was the only type of job available. 5.56% did not respond. 66.25% of the professionals (nurses and teachers) chose their work because they liked it. 11.25% chose their professions because there are many models for these professions. 22.50% went for these professions because there is security.

11 Liking the Job

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Yes	14	10	53	29.44	49	61.25
No	67	47.86	99	55	28	35
Responses	81	57.86	152	84.44	77	96.25
Non-responses	59	42.14	28	15.56	3	3.75
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The questioning of liking the job among the domestic workers is out. Industrial workers follow and more than half of the professionals reported liking their jobs. Disliking the job among domestic workers and industrial workers is due to the unsatisfactory working conditions they are faced with. Domestic workers are not protected by the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1983. At the launching of the South African Domestic Workers' Union in November 30, 1986 at Cape Town they were demanding the following:

- Laws to protect their right
- Living wages of R200 per month. The present average wage is R100 per month.
- Unemployment Insurance Fund
- workman's Compensation
- Maternity benefits
- Sick pay
- Holiday pay
- Minimum working hours of eight hours per day, five days a week instead of the present fourteen hours a day, six or seven days a week.

Conditions of industrial workers are a little better than that of the domestic workers, perhaps because their working in groups makes it easier for them to organise themselves and press for better conditions of work. The professionals liked their occupations, as a result of improved salaries and satisfactory fringe benefits.

12 Possibilities for Promotion

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Yes			24	13.33	69	86.25
None	127	90.71	31	72.18	11	13.75
Responses	127	90.71	155	86.11	80	100
Non-responses	13	9.29	25	13.87	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

90.71% of the domestic workers reported no possibilities for promotion. The remaining 9.29% did not respond. Only 13.33% of the industrial workers reported that it is possible for them to be promoted. 86.25% of the professionals gave a positive answer. Absence of chances for promotion means the worker is destined to her present position, whether she likes it or not, and no matter how productive she works. There is no incentive to improve her work image. Such a condition frustrates.

13 Time of Leaving Home for Work

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Before 4h30	11	7.86	18	10	4	5
4h30-5h30	61	43.57	83	46.11	26	32.50
5h30-6h30	31	22.14	67	37.22	23	28.75
6h30-7h30			6	3.33	17	21.25
7h30-8h30						
Other	26	18.57	0	0	10	12.50
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The table reveals that the domestic workers are the earliest of the three groups to leave home for work in the morning. Next to them come the industrial workers and lastly the professionals. They leave their young children still asleep.

14 Time of Reaching Home from Work

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professionals Workers	
		%		%		%
14h00 - 16h00	0		0		11	13.75
16h00 - 18h00	7	5	22	12.22	43	53.75
18h00 - 20h00	32	17.78	84	46.67	14	17.50
20h00 - 22h00	31	22.14	36	20	2	2.50
Other (specify)	59	42.14	29	16.11	10	12.50
Responses	129	92.14	171	95	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	9	5	0	
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

13.75% of the professionals reported arriving home between 14h00 and 16h00 in the afternoon. 22.14% of the domestic workers reported coming home as late as 22h00 while 20% of the industrial workers reported the same. Those who responded in the other category are mothers who come home during week-ends or month-ends and night women workers.

15 Time of Husbands Reaching Home

	Domestic		Industrial		Professionals	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
14h00 - 16h00	0		6	3.33	2	2.5
16h00 - 18h00	13	9.28	16	8.89	16	20
18h00 - 20h00	19	13.57	17	9.44	24	30
20h00 - 22h00	33	23.57	21	11.67	21	26.25
Other (shifts)	22	15.71	19	10.55	0	
Responses	87	62.14	79	43.89	63	78.75
Non-responses	53	37.85	101	56.11	17	21.25
Total	140	100	180		80	

Some husbands were shift workers which means that their time of reaching home varies. The table reveals that generally husbands come home later than their wives. The reason for a large number of non-responses is that some of the working mothers were single and others did not live with their husbands.

SECTION B : GENERAL INFORMATION

16 Maternity Leave

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
1 -4 weeks	24	17.14	31	17.22		
5 - 8 weeks						
9 - 12 weeks					37	46.25
13 - 16 weeks						
17 - 20 weeks					40	50
21 - 24 weeks						
Other	47	33.57	58	32.22		
Responses	71	50.71	89	49.44	77	96.25
Non-responses	140		180		80	

Maternity benefits in the case of domestic and industrial workers are not laid down legally. It all depends on the leniency of the employer. Few employers grant it, and the length varies from two days to three weeks. It is not paid. There is no guarantee of returning to the job after confinement and as a result most pregnant women hide their condition for fear of dismissal. Time for antenatal check-ups is therefore not available. Unmarried teachers do not qualify for maternity leave and so they use their accumulative days instead or apply for sick leave. The 50% of the professionals who indicated that they get 17-20 weeks maternity leave are nurses as they get 5 months unpaid maternity leave.

17 Number of Own Children

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
1 - 3	44	31.42	121	67.22	69	86.25
4 - 7	69	49.28	53	29.44	11	13.75
8 - 11	13	9.28				
12 and over	3	2.14				
Responses	129	92.14	127	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The table reveals that the group with the most number of children is the domestic workers, the very group with child-care problems. The way they work is incompatible with maternal nurturance. The reason for many children may be that some of them are still more sceptical about family planning than industrial workers. That professionals have less children than the other groups may be because they are enlightened enough to value quality rather than quantity of child rearing.

18 Ages of Children

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professionals Workers	
		%		%		%
Under 1 year	28	20	29	16.1	26	32.5
Between 1-2 years	16	11.4	26	14.4	17	21.5
2-3	14	10	19	10.5	21	26.25
3-4	29	20.71	31	17.2	18	22.5
4-5	20	14.3	24	13.3	17	21.5
5-6	37	26.43	27	15	22	27.5
6-7	24	24.20	36	20	19	23.75
Above 7	56	40	29	16.1	26	21.5
Total	234		221		166	

76% of the children of the domestic servants were less than seven years, 86.88% of the children of the industrial workers were of the same age i.e. less than seven years of age, and 84.34% of the children of the professionals were below seven years of age. These children are still within the formative phase, therefore they are vulnerable to the side effects of maternal deprivation.

19 Child-care Arrangements

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
Adult Relative	26	18.51	32	17.78	10	12.50
Caregiver	15	10.71	20	11.11	24	30
Child minder	13	9.28	11	6.11	3	3.75
Creche	24	17.14	41	22.78	35	48.75
Older child	17	12.14	27	15	0	0
Alone	20	14.20	15	8.33	6	7.50
Other (neighbour, relatives)	14	10	24	13.33	0	0
Responses	129	92.12	170	94.42	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	10	5.56	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Some mothers have two or three children cared for by different types of caregivers at the same time, depending on the age of the child. In such cases they had to the caregiver for the youngest child. There were cases where the child is left alone especially if he can try and feed himself. Professionals did not make use of an older child, probably because they know the value of education.

20 Best Caregiver

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
Adult relative	73	52.14	97	53.89	36	45
Creche	22	15.71	58	32.22	33	41.25
Caregiver	18	12.85	16	8.89	11	13.75
Responses	113	80.71	171	95	80	100
Non-responses	27	19.28	9	5	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Reasons given for the choice of an adult relative, especially a grandmother, were that she is reliable, she looks after the child as if he is hers, she reports almost everything about the child to the mother and she is less expensive than other caregivers. A creche was chosen because there the child is safe, gets educated and eats nutritious food. A caregiver (servant) was said to be easier to instruct and more active than the adult relative. In most cases the preferred caregiver was the adult relative.

21 Number of caregivers before the child's two years

	Domestic Workers %		Industrial Workers %		Professional Workers %	
1	4	2.86	2	1.11	3	3.75
2	4	2.86	3	1.66	4	5
3	9	6.43	6	3.33	8	10
4	7	5	13	7.33	20	25
5	21	15	36	20	14	17.50
6	31	22.14	40	26.67	15	18.50
7	53	37.86	66	36.67	16	20
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The table reveals that many people care for the child while he is still under two years of age, a phase when maternal separation causes irreversible severe personality damage. One caregiver does not stay long enough to master the natural rhythm of the child and assist him accordingly. Multiplicity of caregivers during this phase confuses the child (Myrdal and Klein, 1956).

22 Other Duties of the Caregiver (excluding creche & child minder)

	Domestic Workers %		Industrial Workers %		Professional Workers %	
Cooking	51	36.42	82	45.56	21	26.25
Laundering	62	44.28	66	36.67	36	45
House cleaning	61	43.57	59	32.78	21	26.25
Shopping	32	22.14	29	16.11	11	13.75
Other	0	0	0	0	0	0
Total	206		236		89	
Non-responses	47	33.57	57	31.67	40	50
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

In the case of child minder, creches, neighbours, it was not easy for the mother to know exactly the other duties of the caregiver besides looking after the child. Those who had servants as caregivers enlisted that they cook, wash and iron and go to the shops. Such a caregiver is less child focussed.

23 Breastfeeding

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Always	41	29.28	105	58.33	50	62.50
Sometimes	29	20.71	31	17.22	11	11.75
Never	59	42.14	38	21.11	19	23.75
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

42.14% of the domestic servants reported that they do not breastfeed their babies. Only 21.11% of the industrial workers and 23.75% of the professionals reported the same. Reasons given for not breastfeeding were that there is no time since the mother is working, that the baby refuses mother's milk and that the mother's nipples do not let milk pass through. During breastfeeding the child socialises with his mother. The flesh-to-flesh contact, eye-to-eye contact, mother's tender acts like stroking and caressing help him form a secure basis for emotional development.

24 Frequency of Breastfeeding

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Once a day	8	5.71	19	10.56	6	7.5
Twice a day	19	13.57	64	35.55	12	15
Thrice a day	14	10	22	12.22	21	26.25
Other (at any time)	29	20.71	31	17.22	11	13.75
Responses	70	50	136	75.56	50	62.50
Non-responses	70	50	44	24.44	30	37.50
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

25 Activities Done Before Leaving for Work

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Breastfeed baby	81	57.86	142	78.89	61	76.25
Prepare Spouses Lunch	87	62.14	79	43.89	63	78.75
Prepare own Lunch	41	29.28	36	20	32	40
Prepare children's lunch	48	34.28	24	13.33	16	20
Prepare family's breakfast	23	16.43	27	15	38	47.50
Take child to the caregiver	13	9.28	11	6.11	3	3.75
Other Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

According to the table all the three groups attend to a number of things before they go to work. The number of the activities affects the quantity of time allocated to the child.

26 Activities Done on Arrival from Work

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Fetch child from caregiver	27	19.29	29	16.11	39	48.75
Prepare supper	52	37.14	96	53.33	65	81.82
Clean the house	37	26.43	48	26.67	19	23.75
Wash and/or iron	57	40.71	73	40.56	9	11.25
Other (sewing, studying)	13	9.29	8	4.44	2	2.50
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The table shows that most mothers arrive home to prepare supper, clean the house, wash and iron. Such activities mean a double job for the mother and by the time she attends to the child she is tired. This negatively affects the quality of mother-child interaction.

27 Condition of Baby on Arrival from Work

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Dirty/in wet napkins	24	17.14	29	16.11	14	17.50
Clean	21	15	27	15	21	26.25
Hungry	19	13.57	38	21.11	6	7.50
Crying	28	20	26	14.44	8	10
Asleep	21	15	45	15	26	32.50
Other Responses	103	73.57	165	91.67	75	93.75
Non-responses	37	26.43	15	8.33	5	6.25
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Some mothers complained that they usually found the baby in three or more of the above conditions simultaneously, for instance he might be asleep, wet and hungry. Mothers who see their babies on week-ends, month-ends or during leave could not remember how they found their babies. What can be concluded from the above table is that less professionals found their babies not clean, hungry, crying and asleep. A likely reason may be that they set higher standards of baby-care than the other groups and that they arrive home a little bit earlier than the other two groups therefore find their babies still awake.

28 Spouses' Level of Education

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professionals	
		%		%		%
No schooling	10	7.14	0	0	0	0
Lower Primary	27	19.28	16	8.89	0	0
Higher Primary	36	25.71	21	11.67	11	13.75
Junior Secondary	14	10	29	16.11	18	22.5
Senior Secondary	0	0	11	6.11	24	30
Tertiary Education	0	0	2	1.11	10	12.50
Responses	87	62.14	79	43.89	63	78.75
Non-responses	53	37.86	101	56.11	17	21.25
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The highest academic standard of the domestic workers' husbands was standard eight, the industrial workers' standard ten and the professionals had tertiary education. It was stated in the review of literature that spouses with little education have a traditional attitude that sees housework and child-care as strictly feminine. As fathers they are not likely to value education high enough to buy educational toys for their children or take their children on educational outings. Like their wives, they derive little pleasure from their work since they occupy low status

jobs, earn little and labour at work.

29 Spouses Monthly Income in Rands

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
Below 200	11	7.86	3	1.67		
201-401	38	27.14	17	9.44	4	5
402-602	18	12.86	38	21.11	10	12.50
603-803	1	0.71	4	2.22	10	12.50
804-1004			4	2.22	7	8.75
1005-1205			1	0.5	16	20
1206-1406					11	13.75
Over 1406					5	6.25
Responses	68	48.57	67	37.22	63	78.75
Non-responses	72	51.43	113	62.78	17	21.25
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Non-response is due to the fact that some mothers were single and some husbands of the married ones do not declare their income. The highest income of the domestic workers' spouses was within the range of R603-803 (0.71%). The industrial workers' spouses highest earnings was within the range of R1005-1205 (0.5%) and the professionals' spouses exceeded R1406 per month. A majority of husbands can only afford bare necessities of survival.

30 Areas of Marital Conflict

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
Money	28	20	36	20	48	60
Furniture	11	7.86	16	8.89	16	20
Child Discipline	29	20.71	14	7.78	15	18.75
Groceries	16	11.8	9	5	27	33.75
Housekeeping	14	10	27	15	37	46.25
House			1	0.5	9	11.25
Other (Drinking, infidelity)	39	27.86	36	20	29	36.25
Totals	160		139		181	
Responses	109	77.86	127	70.56	78	97.5
Non-responses	31	22.14	53	29.44	2	2.5
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

The professionals reported more areas of marital conflict than the other groups, the most common issues being money, housekeeping, furniture, groceries and drunkenness and infidelity. The reason may be an increasing

demand for independence. Less willingness to surrender to male domination frustrates the husband who in turn indulges in other pleasures like drunkenness and unfaithfulness. Marital satisfaction is achieved if the couple experiences vocational satisfaction, good parent-child relationship, high standard of living and prestige (Myrdal and Klein, 1956).

31 Expenditure of Free Time (arranged in order of frequency)

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
Spring cleaning	89	63.57	103	57.22	61	76.25
Washing & Ironing	86	61.42	101	56.11	56	70
Shopping	54	38.57	62	34.44	44	55
Visiting friends	32	22.86	43	23.89	28	35
Watching T.V.	11	7.86	26	14.44	19	23.75
Going out visiting	7	5	12	6.67	4	5
Other						

This was chosen in the order of frequency. Most mothers in the three groups listed spring cleaning, washing and ironing and shopping as activities they did during their free time. There is little time for relaxation as the above duties impinge on the expressive function of the family where each member expresses himself and is listened to.

32 Areas where Spouse Helps

	Domestic		Industrial		Professional	
	Workers	%	Workers	%	Workers	%
Cooking	3	2.14	5	2.78	3	3.75
Washing						
Ironing						
Gardening	42	30	28	15.56	11	13.75
Minor repairs	38	27.14	46	25.56	48	60
Other (holds baby)	5	3.57				
Responses	87	62.14	79	43.89	63	78.75
Non-responses	53	37.85	101	56.11	17	21.25
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Most mothers reported gardening and minor repairs as areas where their spouses helped. They do not share housekeeping roles. Wives, therefore, work overtime and time for children does not practically exist.

33 Work Experiences Before Motherhood

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Not working	47	33.57	61	33.89	17	21.25
Industrial work	11	7.86				
Domestic work			11	6.11		
Present work	71	50.71	101	56.66	63	78.75
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

7.86% of the domestic workers were employed in the industrial sector before motherhood, 33.57% were not working and 50.71% were already doing domestic work. 6.11% of the industrial workers were employed as domestic workers before motherhood, 33.89% were not working and 56.66% were already industrial workers. Only 21.25% of the professionals became mothers before assuming employment and the remaining 78.75% were doing the present work. In the case of nurses one maternity leave is granted even if she is single.

34 Attending child if he fights with peers in your presence

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Yourself	102	72.85	136	75.56	64	80
Caregiver	27	19.29	38	21.11	16	20
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Very few of the mothers (20.13%) in the three groups felt that it is the caregiver who should attend to the child if she fights with peers during the presence of the mother. They have surrendered their role as educators to the caregivers. 76.14% of all the respondents felt they as mothers should attend to the child in such circumstances. It indicates that there ought to be a difference between mothers absence and presence at home.

35 Frequency of Allowing Caregiver to Take the Child to the Clinic/Doctor

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Always	73	52.14	108	60	16	20
Sometimes	41	29.28	53	29.44	53	66.25
Never	15	10.71	13	7.22	11	13.75
Responses	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
Non-responses	11	7.86	6	3.33	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Most mothers in the three groups stated that the seriousness of the child's illness determined whether it is her or the caregiver who had to take the child to the clinic or the doctor. Some sent the caregiver because being absent from work means no pay for that day. A few never allowed the caregiver to take the child to the doctor because they felt it is their responsibility to do that. Giving such a responsibility to the caregiver implies negligence on the part of the mother.

36 Expecting Caregiver to Punish the Child if he is Wrong

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Yes	47	33.57	73	40.55	69	86.25
No	54	38.57	59	32.78	11	13.75
Responses	101	72.14	132	73.33	80	100
Non-responses	39	27.86	48	26.67	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Reasons for above responses:

	D.W.	%	Ind.W.	%	Prof.W.	%
Yes: She knows the child better than I do;	31	22.14	59	32.78	62	77.50
The child spends more time with her than I do.	47	33.57	66	36.67	54	67.50
No: She has no right to punish my child;	27	19.29	38	21.11	7	8.75
I don't trust her to know if the child is wrong.	39	27.86	43	23.89	9	11.25

Reasons don't add up to the number of yesses and no's given above because respondents could give as many reasons as possible. Of mothers who

expected the caregiver to punish the child if he is wrong 86.25% were the professional, 40.55% were industrial workers and 33.57% were domestic workers. The reasons for a high percentage of the professionals may be that since vocationally they serve people they completely take charge of the client, and that teachers as educators, take the role of the parent. Giving the reason that the caregiver knows the child better than the mother implies that motherhood is a delegated responsibility.

37 Attitudes Towards Working Mothers

Attitudes of people whether they accept that a mother should work if she is convinced of the need for that.

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Yes	47	33.57	129	71.67	80	100
No	46	32.86	32	17.78	0	0
Responses	93	66.43	161	89.44	80	100
Non-responses	47	33.57	19	10.56	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

38 Do people in your area think it is acceptable for a woman to work outside the home if she has:

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Infant children						
Children between 2-6			32	17.78	6	7.5
Schoolgoing children	81	57.86	103	57.22	69	86.25
Children at any age	17	12.14	14	7.78	4	5
Responses	98	70	149	82.78	79	98.75
Non-responses	42	30	31	17.22	1	1.25
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

All respondents indicated that people in their area do not think it is acceptable for a woman to work outside the home if she has infant children. Only 17.78% of the industrial workers and 7.5% of the professionals reported that it is acceptable for them to work if they have children between 2 and 6 years of age. Domestic workers seem not to know whether to work or not when they have infants and pre-school children. Of the non-respondents they constitute 56.76% of the whole sample.

39 Do you yourself feel a mother should work outside the home?

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Yes	63	45	55	30.56	57	71.25
No	35	25	50	27.78	23	28.75
Responses	98	70	105	58.33	80	100
Non-responses	42	30	69	38.32	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Reasons:

	D.W.	%	Ind.W.	%	Prof.W.	%
Yes: If she sees the need She has to maintain her children	26	18.57	35	19.44	41	51.25
No: She must look after her family	51	36.43	43	23.89	27	33.75
	35	25	50	27.78	23	28.75

Mothers who showed a positive attitude towards maternal employment stated that they have no objections if a woman sees the need to work and if she has to maintain her children that is, if she is the sole provider of the family. Those who objected gave a reason that a woman must look after her family.

40 Does working outside the home make you feel guilty that you do not give adequate help and guidance to your children?

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Guilty	57	40.71	53	29.44	28	35
Not guilty	62	44.29	96	53.33	52	65
	119	85	149	82.78	80	100
	21	15	31	17.22	0	0
	140	100	180	100	80	100

Explanations: Most domestic workers appear guilty that they do not help and guide their children. This might be because they are the least earning group and cannot afford reliable child-care arrangement. All respondents who revealed similar guilt feelings explained that their children do not know them, their children are exposed to bad influences and that they cannot give their children enough love and comfort. Those who indicated having no guilt feelings about the effect of their employment on their

children stated that they have confidence in the caregiver.

	D.W. %	Ind.W. %	Prof.W. %
Guilty: My child is exposed to bad influences	29.75	9.86	16.58
I cannot give my child enough comfort and love	12.33	16.52	26.31
Not Guilty: I have confidence in the caregiver	27.14	53.33	52

41 Is a working mother able to provide adequate care to promote the educational progress of her children?

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Yes	61	43.57	94	52.22	48	60
No	31	22.14	47	26.11	32	40
Responses	92	65.71	141	78.33	80	100
Non-responses	48	34.29	39	21.67	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Reasons:

	D.W. %	Ind.W. %	Prof.W. %
Yes: She can provide necessities needed for the education of her child	37.86	29.44	51.25
She can afford caregivers	13.57	47.78	33.75
No: She cannot monitor the progress of her child	20.71	24.44	39.25
She cannot know if the child plays truant	7.55	4.45	1

50.75% of all respondents pointed out that a working mother can provide adequate care to promote the educational progress of her children because she can provide necessities needed for the education of her children and that she can afford caregivers. Those who objected stated that a working mother cannot monitor the progress of her child and that she cannot know if the child does go to school every school day or not.

42 What provisions do you think a mother should give to a child so that he advances educationally?

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
a) School uniform, school fees, toys.	129	92.14	174	96.67	80	100
b) Teach him respect, good behaviour	31	22.14	27	15	9	11.25
c) Give him support e.g. check his homework, encourage him to read	71	50.71	98	54.44	69	86.25

Provisions respondents thought a working mother should give to a child for educational advancement were school uniform, school fees, toys, teaching him good behaviour, respect and supporting him by checking his homework and encouraging him to read.

43 How does working motherhood generally disturb the educational progress of children?

	D.W. %	Ind.W. %	Prof.W. %
Explanations:			
a) The child does not grow according to mother's discipline and control	91	59.44	81.25
b) The child mixes with bad company and acquires bad habits	56.54	76	58.25
c) There is no time to check on his educational progress	52.11	64	100

Respondents asserted that working motherhood generally disturb the educational progress of children because the child does not grow according to his mother's discipline and control, he mixes with bad company where he learns bad habits and because there is no time to check on his educational progress.

44 Should an employing agency provide assistance towards the educational progress of young children?

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Yes	78	55.71	104	57.78	59	73.75
No	43	30.71	48	26.67	5	6.25
Responses	121	86.43	152	84.45	64	80
Non-responses	19	13.57	28	15.56	16	20
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Reasons:

	D.W. %	Ind.W. %	Prof.W. %
Yes: I spend most of my time working for my employer	41.43	55	36.25
The little wage I earn is not enough	24.29	38.33	37.75
No: It will tie me to my present job	0	4.44	0
It is my duty to care for my children	25	22.22	6.25

73.75% of the professionals felt an employing agency should provide assistance towards the educational progress of young children. 57.78% of the industrial workers and 55.71% of the domestic workers shared a similar feeling. Reasons given were that they spend most of their time with the employer away from home and that monthly earning determine the quality of educational assistance the child gets.

Reasons for objecting to the assistance of the employer were that such help would tie the mother to the present job in the sense that if she wished to move to another place it would mean that the child would move with her and his education would be disturbed, and that the employer is not obliged to provide such assistance therefore it is the mother's duty to care for her children.

Kind of help mothers expected from the employer were bursaries, school uniform, help in buying school books, more wages to afford a caregiver and provision of creches near the place of work.

45 Does your employing agency have a duty to help working mothers with the educational progress of her young children? Explain.

Explanations:

Only a few domestic workers (5.71%) stated that their employers help them pay school fees, buy uniform and stationery for their children. Industrial workers and the professionals reported receiving no help from

the employer.

46 Give general comments on working mothers and the educational role of the mother.

	D.W. %	Ind.W. %	Prof.W. %
Working mothers cannot control the behaviour of their children	61	29	57
They have no time to solve all problems faced by the child	22	34	58
They can afford school requirements	53	41	36
They have difficulty in inculcating respect in their children	49	34	59
They cannot guarantee that young children eat properly during their absence	11	16	26

Respondents gave the following comments about working mothers and the educational role of the mother:

- Working mothers cannot control the behaviour of their children;
- They have no time to solve all problems faced by the child;
- They can afford school requirements;
- They have difficulty in inculcating respect in their children;
- They cannot guarantee that young children eat properly during their absence.

47 How happy are you with having to leave your young child with the caregiver?

	Domestic Workers		Industrial Workers		Professional Workers	
		%		%		%
Happy	25	17.86	24	13.33	23	28.75
Not happy	53	29.44	69	38.33	18	22.50
Responses	78	55.71	93	51.67	41	51.25
Non-responses	62	44.29	87	48.33	39	48.85
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Very few respondents reported being happy with having to leave their young children with the caregivers, the reason being that they trust the caregiver and that the child has become used to the caregiver. About half of the whole sample did not respond to this question, reflecting ambiguity. Those who reported being not happy explained that a caregiver cannot substitute a real mother and that they work because they need money.

48 Do you sometimes feel some misgivings about entrusting your young children, that is, before school going age to a caregiver?

	Domestic Workers	%	Industrial Workers	%	Professional Workers	%
Yes	106	75.71	116	64.44	51	63.75
No	18	12.85	32	17.78	29	36.25
Responses	124	88.57	148	82.22	80	100
Non-responses	16	11.43	32	17.78	0	0
Total	140	100	180	100	80	100

Mothers who agreed to having misgivings about caregivers reported that some caregivers are negligent, they usually attend the child when the mother is about to return from work, they leave the child alone and visit their friends, they do not feed the child properly and that they ill-treat the child.

4.5 Analysis and Evaluation of Data

The major hypothesis was tested by questions 14, 15, 16, 17, 23, 24, 25, 26, 35, 42, 43, 46 and 48. It was found that Black working mothers cannot adequately provide physical care to their children because they leave early for work usually while the child is still asleep, and come home late in the evenings often to find the child already asleep. They do not have maternity leave, therefore time for antenatal care does not exist for most of them. Some do not have time to breastfeed their babies, those who do breastfeed them do so in the morning before they leave for work and at night when they have returned home. That they have so many chores to do before and after work further minimises time for child-care.

When a child is ill it is the time when he needs his mother most. A finding that very few mothers afford to take the child themselves to the clinic or to the doctor implies that work has become more important than the child.

Mothers revealed feeling guilty that they fail to render sufficient emotional support and that they are unable to attend to social problems of the child. That is witnessable from their responses to questions 40 and 43. They reported feeling guilty that they cannot offer adequate help and guidance to their children. One of the primary pedagogic functions of a mother is being a beacon or a frame of reference when the child encounters problems. This is best possible if the mother is with the child most of the time, not if she has to leave him for the greater part of the day.

A hypothesis stating that if there is a close blood relationship between the mother and the caregiver the caregiver is likely to love the child as her own was confirmed by responses to questions 20 where 51.5% of the respondents chose an adult relative, especially the grandmother, as the best caregiver because she treats the child as if he is hers.

That there is a relationship between the economic status of the parents and the education of the child is evident from the responses to question 41 where 60% of the professionals, the highest earning group in the sample, agreed that a working mother can provide necessities for the education of her children and that she can afford a reliable caregiver.

A hypothesis suggesting that working mothers do expect contributions from the employer is confirmed by responses to question 44 where most respondents gave a positive answer and further stated that the kind of help they expected was in the form of bursaries, school uniform, school books, creches near the place of work and more wages so as to afford caregivers.

The quantity of home chores working mothers reported to engage in before going to work in the morning and on arriving home from work, as well as during their free time reduces the quantity of mother-child interaction and negatively affects the quality of that interaction since by the time she attends to her child she is fatigued. Such evidence verifies a hypothesis that home chores correlate with the educational role of the mother.

Respondents where both parents stay with their children showed greater attachment to their children. Their children receive more comfort and love

than children of single mother because a single mother struggles on her own maintaining the child, nurturing him and managing the caregiver. There is less strain on the part of a working mother who lives with her spouse because they share these responsibilities. The care giver performs her duties more effectively if there is a father factor around.

4.6 Parental Continuous Involvement in the Education of the Child

Parents are responsible for the upbringing of their child from birth until he reaches adulthood. They see to the social placement of the child, socialization and how he controls himself socially. Within the family the child's expenditure of energy is channelled to social institutions like the church and the school.

The development of attitudes, opinions and interests in the child is influenced by parents who, by guiding the child, impart their values to him and he identifies with them. Judgements the child makes reflect parental attitudes. He identifies with their feelings, attitudes and personal characteristics and as he internalizes these he constitutes his self.

Parents especially the mother, teaches primary skills like eating, drinking, talking and how to control one's toilet behaviour. These skills match the child's physical and neurological maturation. Skills that follow help the child manipulate his physical and social environment. As the young child explores his surroundings he refers to his parents for guidance, assurance of meaning he assigns and for broadening horizons of his world. Their support helps promote his development as well as his readiness to venture into new situations. The education they give to the child does not only lay a foundation for formal education, but it also determines how the child progresses at school. They show involvement by spending some time each day discussing with the child the day's happenings.

A gap between the school and the home can be bridged by the interest the parent shows in the child's schoolwork. He motivates his child by being available most of the time to enquire about his child's progress at school and helping where necessary. It is a parent's duty to monitor his child's attendance at school and supervise his homework.

4.7 Conclusion

The mother-child relationship is one of love, care, security, trust and safety. It is the primary relationship that prepares the child to venture into new situations by giving him confidence and self-esteem. It is a springboard for the educability of a child since he is equipped with personallity disposition favourable to learning.

The empirical investigation revealed that Black working mothers do not effectively educate their children. That they spend most of their time away from their young ones does not promote a healthy mother-child relationship as when they interact with their children the nature of interaction is discoloured by the fact that they engage in other household chores after returning from work. Most of them earn little therefore few can afford satisfactory child-care arrangements.

A working mother as an educator is not pathically bound to the child as she is not with him most of the time. Her duty of nurturing the child is delegated to the caregiver who reports to the mother about the child. If the act of educating is realized, when periods of association are longer than those of intervention as du Plooy and Kilian (1984) state a working mother has fewer periods of association and more periods of intervention the reason being that during her presence she has to correct the child if he loses the track. Delegating child-rearing to caregivers disturbs the course of pre-school education for a Black child because in most cases he is brought up by different caregivers who do not associate with him long enough to know him, understand him and sympathize with him.

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CHAPTER FIVESUMMARY RECOMMENDATIONS AND SUGGESTIONS FOR FURTHER STUDY

5.1 Summary of the Study

Since the communalistic culture in the traditional Black society has been gradually effaced by individualism, the collective responsibility in the education of the young which was facilitated by the extended family now rests on the nuclear family and the school. In the family the mother is the chief educator as she spends most of the time with the child. Their togetherness is significant during the formative years because the experiences the child is exposed to during this period determine his philosophy of life. The act of educating blooms on the fertile ground of educability laid during this period.

Maternal employment outside the home has a negative bearing on the total development of the child since it reduces their period of togetherness, making it difficult for the mother to monitor the growth of her child. It is not maternal employment per se that tempers with effective mothering but factors associated with it. Such factors are her attitude towards her employment as well as the attitude of her family towards her job and the nature of her employment. These factors tarnish her personality thereby ill-disposing her interaction with her child.

It has been demonstrated in this study that most Black mothers do not enjoy their work as they are employed in low-status jobs which are underpaid and tedious. Their level of education and employment opportunities expose them to such jobs with unfavourable working conditions like among others long hours of service, little or no fringe benefits, absence of maternity leave.

Engagement in outside employment and doing housework becomes an overload for a woman as little time at her disposal makes it impractical for her to fulfil all obligations as a wife and as a mother satisfactorily.

Companionship, the most valued aspect of married life becomes a scarce commodity due to the fact that during leisure time when the couple is supposed to express affection and relieve emotional problems, the wife does housework. Little time is allocated to child care.

Caregivers bring problems as they are unreliable and change now and then. The child is then exposed to different characters, some not worthy of identification which implies that the education of the child is not harmonious, the authority structure being unpredictable. Caregivers have other duties to provide at home with the result that they only succeed to provide physical care.

Other developmental areas of the child among them, emotional development, social development and intellectual development and moral development do not receive adequate attention. A young child battles to find a reliable frame of reference who can guide the meaning he assigns to his experiences.

From the above investigation it can be concluded that most Black children lack effective maternal care. Care that is conducive to stable adulthood. That the condition of instability is not pronounced, is due to relatives who compensate for maternal separation. A disturbing fact is that they are also getting employed and so the number of adult persons who remain with the child during the day is becoming smaller.

5.2 Pedagogical Implications of Findings

This study has established that maternal employment among Blacks has diverse effects on the young, the reason being that the period of interaction between mother and child is minimal. It has also been acknowledged that though it is the quality of interaction not its quantity that determine the nature of mother-child relationship, a high quality of interaction occurs if the mother is happy with her work. Work experiences of a majority of Black working mothers are incompatible with successful mothering in the sense that the quality of interaction is marred as her worries concerning her work spill over the child. Effects of maternal deprivation depend on the phase of development when deprivation occurs.

Absence or shortage of the period of maternity leave implies that the infant is deprived of general alertness that is tapped by maternal instinct. Little time for physical care like breastfeeding deprives the child of a well grounded social, emotional and language development. Deficiency in language, for instance, is deficiency in the vehicle of thought because thinking has to be stateable in public language. Such a child cannot be able to verbalise his encounters optimally.

The finding that there are more than seven caregivers in the life of the child before he is two years signifies that he experiences inconsistent authority figures. Such figures could model different and unstable values, thereby inculcating in him emotional instability. He is bound to fail to accept authority with ease and may develop distrust since he may be reluctant to invest in human relations with confidence. The educator encounters a child who uneasily surrenders himself to be addressed and to be led. Exposure to different disintegrated values provide him with a shaky framework of decision making with the result that he experiences problems in directing his activities towards the pursuit of absolute values. He is steering so uncertain a course of moral development that it is possible for him to lack the essential human qualities.

It is not possible for each of the caregivers during her togetherness with the child to stay long enough to help him solve his problems. Solving problems involves applying a learned operating device in new situations according to the previously inculcated safeguards demonstrated by the caregiver or the educator. Making a follow up and evaluating the progress of the child is not always possible in the case of unreliable caregivers.

It can be concluded therefore, that most Black children enter school not having reached the expected level of maturity and readiness for school life. Primary education has to be extensive in order to make up for the gap. A qualified counsellor or total devotion of school guidance services might alleviate the problem.

5.3 Recommendations and Suggestions for Further Study

In order to alleviate the problem of Black children who enter school having not reached the necessary level of maturity due to the unique circumstances the following recommendations are suggested for further study:

- Opportunities for further education should be created so that working mothers improve their education, and in so doing they will advance their positions in the occupational ladder.
- The employer has to acknowledge that his employee is a mother with children to bring up. Childcare facilities like maternity leave, time for antenatal and postnatal care, ~~and~~ collective day care services can ease problems faced by working mothers. High quality and affordable child care facilities affect a woman's ability to stay on the job. It will also improve her morale and productivity, her health and welfare as well as her record of absenteeism.
- More money should be invested in pre-school education so that reversible side effects of maternal deprivation are eliminated as early as possible. Such an investment will prevent the loss caused by early school leavers because early education will lessen frustrations encountered by pupils who are ill-equipped for the educational processes. Another merit for such an investment is that the end products are likely to be productive as workers.

This study focussed on the effects of maternal deprivation due to maternal employment among Blacks. An attempt was made to get into the root of the problem but since the effects are diverse it cannot be warranted that they were all uncovered. A longitudinal study of Black children of working and non-working mothers, tracing their nature of attachment to their mothers will give a clearer picture.

It is further suggested that a study concentrating on specific developmental areas effected by mother-child separation be conducted so that a move towards a seat of each maldevelopment is ensured.

5.4 General Summary

It has been confirmed in this study that the way most Black mothers work makes it difficult for them to fulfil their roles as effective educators of their children. They spend long hours away from home. Some see their families during week-ends others during month-ends. Maternal separation deprives the child of an emotional stronghold necessary for confidence, preparedness to venture into new situations, and expression that elicits dialogues.

Since such a mother cannot mould the child accordingly she entrusts the custody of her child with the caregiver. Caregivers are ~~un~~reliable, not trustworthy and the quality of care they afford is poor. They are less child focussed, indirectly inculcating in the child that he must not always appeal for help, that he must not expect explanations for orders, that questions are a futile exercise, that curiosity is frustrating, and so on. Such an unstimulating environment is prone to produce a withdrawn spiritless child. Instability of authority figures when the child is still young as surrogates change now and then, negatively affects the child's emotional development. He learns not to invest in authority for supportive guidance, security and reference. Ultimately he identifies with the values of caregivers, neighbours, nurseries and peers.

It has been argued that the formative phase is the miniature of the child's later life therefore experiences during this phase of development direct his exploration of reality. Most Black children of working mothers enter formal schooling not mature enough socially, intellectually and emotionally due to a lack of motivating home background. Foundations for their educability are shaky. The philosophical base on which to view adulthood and its expectations is not very strong. This affects the education of a child remarkably.

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APPENDIX A

A QUESTIONNAIRE FOR BLACK WORKING MOTHERS

AIM: The aim of this questionnaire is to collect information about child-rearing problems experienced by Black working mothers and the education implications thereof with a view to highlighting these.

DIRECTIONS: Please fill in this form by either ticking on the boxes provided or by providing required information as the case may be. Note that there are no wrong or right answers. Feel free to respond faithfully. Please do not write or sign your name on this form since information gained from you would remain confidential and anonymous. All data given by you will be used only for research purposes.

SECTION A : BIOGRAPHICAL INFORMATION

1 Marital Status:

Single
Married
Separated
Divorced
Widowed

1
2
3
4
5

2 Age Range:

Less than 18 years
18 - 22
23 - 27
28 - 32
33 - 37
38 - 42
43 - 47
Over 47

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8

3 Work Type:

Domestic	1
Industrial Work	2
Nursing	3
Teaching	4
Other (Specify)	5

4 Reason for Working:

Breadwinner	1
Supplementing husband's income	2
Other (specify)	3

5 Working hours per week:

Less than 20 hrs	1
21 - 39 hrs	2
40 - 58	3
59 or more	4

6 Gross Monthly Income in Rands:

Less than 70	1	474 - 574	6
70 - 170	2	575 - 675	7
171 - 271	3	676 - 776	8
272 - 372	4	777 - 877	9
373 - 473	5	Over 877	10

7 Level of Education:

No Schooling	1
Lower Primary (SSA - Std 2)	2
Higher Primary (Std 3 - 5)	3
Junior Secondary (Stds 6 - 8)	4
Senior Secondary (Stds 9 - 10)	5
Tertiary Education (Diploma/Degree)	6

8 Tick as many fringe benefits as you are entitled to as possible:

- Bonus 1
- Annual Leave 2
- Medical Scheme 3
- Housing Subsidy 4
- Pension Scheme 5
- Maternity leave 6
- Other (Specify) 7

9 Is your employment:

- Permanent 1
- Temporary 2
- Other 3

10 Work Choice:

- Liked it 1
- Saw Others 2
- Security 3

11 Do you like your job?

- Yes 1
- No 2

12 Possibilities for Promotion:

- Yes 1
- None 2

13 Time of leaving home for work:

- Before 4H30 1
- 4h30 - 5h30 2
- 5h30 - 6h30 3
- 6h30 - 7h30 4
- 7h30 - 8h30 5
- Other (Specify) 6

14 Time of reaching home from work:

- 14h00 - 16h00
- 16h00 - 18h00
- 18h00 - 20h00
- 20h00 - 22h00
- Other (Specify)

1
2
3
4
5

15 Time of the husband's reaching home:

- 14h00 - 16h00
- 16h00 - 18h00
- 18h00 - 20h00
- 20h00 - 22h00
- Other (Specify)

1
2
3
4
5

SECTION B : GENERAL INFORMATION

16 How long is your maternity leave?

- 1 - 4 weeks
- 5 - 8 weeks
- 9 - 12 weeks
- 13 - 16 weeks
- 17 - 20 weeks
- 21 - 24 weeks
- Other (Specify)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

17 Number of own children:

- 1 - 3
- 4 - 7
- 8 - 11
- 12 and over

1
2
3
4

18 Ages of Children:

- Under 1 year
- 1 - 2 years
- 2 - 3 years
- 3 - 4 years
- 4 - 5 years
- 5 - 6 years
- 6 - 7 years
- Above 7 years

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8

Sex:

M or F

1
2
3
4
5
6
7
8

19 Child-care arrangements:

- Adult Relative
- Caregiver
- Childminder
- Creche
- Older Child
- Alone
- Other (Specify)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

20 In your own mind who should be the best as a caregiver under normal circumstances?

- Give reasons:
1.
 2.
 3.
 4.

21 Number of caregivers or childminders up to the time of the child is 2 years:

- 1
- 2
- 3
- 4
- 5
- 6
- 7

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

22 Tick as many other duties of the caregivers as possible:

- Cooking
- Laundering
- House Cleaning
- Shopping
- Other (Specify)

1
2
3
4
5

23 How often do you breastfeed your baby?

- Always
- Sometimes
- Never

1
2
3

Give reasons: 1.
2.
3.

24 If you do how often?

- Once a day
- Twice a day
- Thrice a day
- Other (Specify)

1
2
3
4

25 Tick all the activities you do before leaving for work from this list:

- Breast feed baby
- Prepare Spouse's lunch
- Prepare own lunch
- Prepare children's lunch
- Prepare family's breakfast
- Take child to the caregiver
- Other (specify)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

26 Tick all the activities you do when reaching home from work:

- Fetch child from caregiver
- Prepare supper
- Clean the house
- Wash and/or iron
- Other (specify)

1
2
3
4
5

27 On arriving home from work do you usually find the baby:

Dirty/in wet napkins

1

Clean

2

Hungry

3

Crying

4

Asleep

5

Other (specify)

6

28 Spouses level of education:

No schooling

1

Lower Primary (SSA - Std 2)

2

Higher Primary (Stds 3 - 5)

3

Junior Secondary (Stds 6 - 8)

4

Senior Secondary (Stds 9 - 10)

5

Tertiary Education (Degree)

6

29 Spouse's Gross Monthly Income in Rands:

Below 200

1

201- 401

2

402 - 602

3

603 - 803

4

804 - 1004

5

1005 - 1205

6

1206 - 1406

7

Over 1406

8

Other (specify)

9

30 Areas of Marital Conflict: Tick as many as you have.

Money

1

Furniture

2

Child discipline

3

Groceries

4

Housekeeping

5

House

6

Other (specify)

7

31 How does the family spend free time? Write numbers in the order of frequency:

Spring cleaning	_____
Washing and/or ironing	_____
Shopping	_____
Visiting Friends	_____
Watching TV	_____
Going out visiting	_____
Other (specify)	_____

32 In which of the following activities does the spouse help?

Cooking	1
Washing	2
Ironing	3
Gardening	4
Minor repairs	5
Other	6

33 Where did you work before you became a mother?

34 In your opinion who should attend to the child if he fights with peers when you are at home?

Yourself	1
Caregiver	2

35 How often do you let the caregiver take the child to the hospital/clinic if he is ill?

Always	1
Sometimes	2
Never	3

36 Do you expect the caregiver to punish the child if he is wrong?

Yes	1
No	2

/10.....

SECTION C : ATTITUDES TOWARDS WORKING MOTHERS

37 Do people in your area think that it is acceptable for a woman to work if it is convinced of the need for that?

Yes

1

No

2

38 Do people in your area think it is acceptable that a woman should work outside the home if she has:

Infant children

1

Children between 2 - 6

2

School going children

3

Children at any age

4

39 Do you yourself feel a mother should work outside the home?

Yes

1

No

2

Give reasons: 1.
2.
3.

40 According to you does working outside the home make you feel guilty that you do not give adequate help and guidance to your children?

Guilty

1

Not guilty

2

Explain: 1.
2.

41 According to you is a working mother able to provide adequate care to promote educational progress of her children?

Give reasons: 1.
2.
3.

42 What provisions do you think a mother should give to a child to help the child so that he/she advances educationally?

- List them: 1.
 2.
 3.
 4.

43 As far as you know how does working motherhood generally disturb educational progress of children?

Explain:

44 To assist a working wife and mother towards the educational progress of young children do you think the employing agency should provide assistance?

Yes

No

1
2

If Yes, Why?

- State kind of help: 1.
 2.
 3.

If No, why not?

- Give reasons: 1.
 2.
 3.

45 Does an employing agency have a duty to help working mothers with the educational progress of her young children?

Explain: 1.
2.
3.

46 Give general comments on working mothers and the educational role of the mother.

.....
.....
.....

47 How happy are you with having to leave your young child with a caregiver?

Explain:
.....
.....

48 Do you sometimes feel some misgivings about entrusting your young children i.e. before school going age to a caregiver? Explain.

.....
.....
.....

APPENDIX B

IPHEPHA LOKUPHENDULA IMIBUZO LOMAMA ABASEBENZAYO

INJONGO: Injongo yaleliphepha ukuqoqa ulqazi ngezinkinga umama osebenzayo ahlangebazana nazo mayelana nokukhulisa izingane kanye nokuzinika imfundiso yasekhaya.

INDLELA YOKUPHENDULA:

Gcwalisa lefomu ngokukhetha ezikweleni noma unikeze impendulo. Noma iyiphi impendulo ivumelekile kuphela nje uma uzophendula ngokwethembeka. Ungalibhali igama lakho ngoba ulwazi oluzovela kuwe kufanele lube imfihlo futhi lungaziwa ukuthi luvele kubani. Konke ozokusho kuzosetshenziselwa ukucwaninga amacebo okuzazulula izingkinga ohlangabezana nazo.

ISIQEPHU A: OKUPHATHELENE NOMLANDO WAKHO

1 Isimo sokushada:

Awushadile

1

Ushadile

2

Awuhlali nowakwakho kodwa anikehlukanisi

3

Senahlukanisile nowakwakho

4

Washonelwa

5

2 Iminyaka:

Ngaphansi kuka 18 iminyaka

1

Phakathi kuka 18 - 22

2

Phakathi kuka 23 - 27

3

Phakathi kuka 28 - 32

4

Phakathi kuka 33 - 37

5

Phakathi kuka 38 - 42

6

Phakathi kuka 43 - 47

7

Ngaphezu kuka 47

8

3 Uhlobo lomsebenzi:

Owasukhishini

1

Owokukhiqiza

2

Owokufundisa

3

Owobuhlengikazi

4

Okunye (Cacisa)

5

4 Isizathu sokusebenza:

Uwena wedwa owondlayo

1

Ulekelele umyeni

2

Okunye (cacisa)

3

Wawutholakala

4

5 Amahora owasebenzayo ngesonto:

Ngaphansi kuka 20

1

Phakathi kuka 21 - 39

2

Phakathi kuka 40 - 58

3

Ngaphezu kuka 59

4

6 Umholo wonke wenyanga ngamarandi:

Ngaphansi kuka 70

1

Kusukela ku 70 - 170

2

171 - 271

3

272 - 372

4

373 - 473

5

474 - 574

6

7 Izinga lemfundo:

Awukaze uye esikoleni

1

Wagcina eLowey Primary(SSA-Std 2)

2

Wagcina eHigher Prim. (Std 3-5)

3

Junior Secondary (Ibanga 6-8)

4

Senior Secondary (Ibanga 9-10)

5

Emfundweni ephakeme
(Iziqu/amagqúzu)

6

8 Ngaphandle konhlo zingaki izinto ozitholayo emsebenzini:

Ibhonasi

1

Ilivu yonyaka

2

Usizo lokwelashwa

3

Ukuzhaswa ngokwakho

4

Impesheli

5

Ilivu yokuyoteta

6

Okunye (cacisa)

7

9 Ukuqashwa kwakho:

Okugcwele

1

Okwesikhashana/okwetoho

2

Ngenye indlela

3

10 Lomsebenzi wawukhetha ngoba:

Uwuthanda

1

Wabona abanye

2

Uphephile

3

11 Uyawuthanda umsebenzi wakho:

Yebo

1

Chabo

2

12 Kungenzeka unyuswe esikhundleni:

Yebo

1

Chabo

2

13 Isikhathi osuka ngaso ekhaya uye emsebenzini:

Ngaphambi kuka 4h30

1

Phakathi kuka 4h30 - 5h30

2

5h30 - 6h30

3

6h30 - 7h30

4

7h30 - 8h30

5

Esinye isikhathi

6

14 Nsikhathi ofika ngaso ekhaya uvela emsebenzini:

14h00 - 16h00

16h00 - 18h00

18h00 - 20h00

20h00 - 22h00

Esinye isikhathi

1
2
3
4
5

15 Isikhathi owakwako afika ngaso ekhaya evela emsebenzini:

14h00 - 16h00

16h00 - 18h00

18h00 - 20h00

20h00 - 22h00

1
2
3
4

ISIQEPHU B : ULWAZI OLUJWAYELEKILE

16 Yinde kangakanani ilivu yakho yokuyteta:

1 - 4 wamasonto

5 - 8 wamasonto

9 - 12 wamasonto

13 - 16 wamasonto

17 - 20 wamasonto

21 - 24 wamasonto

Okunye (cacisa)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

17 Inani lezingane zakho:

1 - 3

4 - 7

8 - 11

Ngaphezu kuka 12

1
2
3
4

18 Iminyaka yezingane:

Ngaphansi konyaka

1 - 2

2 - 3

3 - 4

4 - 5

5 - 6

6 - 7

Ngaphwzu kuka 7

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

Ubilili

M noma F

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

19 Uhlelo lokubhasobha ingane:

Isihlobo esidala
 Umzanyana
 Umbhasobi zingane
 Inkulisa
 Ingane endala
 Isala yodwa
 Dlunye (cacisa)

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

20 Ngokwakho ubani umzanyana okahle uma isimo sivuma?

Nikeza izizathu: 1.
 2.
 3.

21 Inani labazanyana ingane ize ibe neminyaka emibili:

1
 2
 3
 4
 5
 6
 7

1
2
3
4
5
6
7

22 Khetha eminye imisebenzi kamzanyana kulena elandelayo:

Ukupheka
 Ukuwasha
 Ukublanza indlu
 Ukoyothenga ezitolo
 Okunye (cacisa)

1
2
3
4
5

23 Ingane yakho uyincelisa kangaki:

Uyayincelisa ingane yakho:

Njalo
 Kuke kwenzeke
 Awuze ungayincelisa

1
2
3

Nikeza izizathu: 1.
 2.
 3.

24 Uma uyincelisa kukangaki:

Kanye ngosuku	1
Kabili ngosuku	2
Kathathu ngosuku	3
Ngezinye izikhathi	4

25 Khetha zonke izinto ozenza ngaphambi kokuba uye emsebenzini:

Ukuncelisa ingane	1
Ukulungisela owakwako ukudla	2
Ukulungisa ukudla kwakho	3
Ukulungisa ukudla kwezingane	4
Ukuhambisa ingane kumbasobhi wayo	5
Okunye (cacisa)	6

26 Khetha imisebenzi oyenza ekhaya uma uvela emsebenzini:

Ukulanda ingane/izingane kubabhasobhi	1
Ukulungisa ukudla kwasebusuku	2
Ukuhlanza indlu	3
Ukuwasha noku ayina	4
Okunye	5

27 Uma ufika ekhaya uvela emsebenzini uvamise ukufika ingane ikusiphi isimo:

Ingcolile/igqokiswe amanabukeni amanzi	1
Ihlanzekile	2
Ilambile	3
Ikhala	4
Isilele	5
Esinye isimo (cacisa)	6

28 Izinga lemfundo lowakwakho:

Akazange aye esikoleni	1
Wagcina eLower Prim. (SSA-Kubanga 2)	2
eHigher Prim. (ibanga 3-5)	3
eJunior Secondary (ibanga 6-8)	4
eSenior Secondary (ibanga 9-10)	5
Emfundweni ephakeme (iziqu/amaqhuzu)	6

29 Iholo lonke lenyanga lowakwakho ngama Randi:

Ngaphansi kuka 200	1
Phakathi kuka 201 - 401	2
402 - 602	3
603 - 803	4
804 - 1004	5
1005 - 1205	6
1206 - 1406	7
Ngaphezu kuka 1406	8

30 Izinto ezinixabanisa nowakwakho:

Imali	1
Ifenisha	2
Igolosa	3
Umsebenzi wasendlini	4
Indlu	5
Okunye (cacisa)	6

31 Umndeni wakho usichitha kanjani isizungu? Bhala izinombolo ngokuvamise ukwenzeka:

Ukuhlanzisisa ikhaya	1
Ukuwasha/uku ayina	2
Ukuyothenga	3
Ukuvakashela abangani	4
Umabonakude/i T.V.	5
Ukuvakashela izindawo	6
Okunye (cacisa)	7

32 Kulemisebenzi elandelayo owakwakho ulekelela kumiphi?

Ukupheka

1

Ukuwasha

2

Uku ayina

3

Ingadi

4

Ukukhanda izinto ezincane

5

Okunye (cacisa)

6

33 Ngaphambi kokuthola umntwana/abantwana kade ukuphi ngomsebenzi:

.....

34 Ngokubona kwakho ubani okumele anake ingane uma ilwa nezinye ngesikhathi ukhona ekhaya:

Uwena uqobo

1

Umzanyana

2

35 Umdedela kangakanani umzanyana ukuba ayise ingane kodokotela/ emtholampilo uma igula:

Njalo nje

1

Kuke kwenzeke

2

Akwenzeki

3

36 Ukulindele yini ukuthi umzanyana ayishaye ingane uma yonile:

Yebo

1

Chabo

2

ISIQEPHU C : IMIBONO MAYELANA NOMAMA ABASEBENZAYO

37 Abantu abasendaweni yakho bakubona kuvumelekile uini ukuthi owesifazane asebenze uma esibona isidingo?

Yebo

1

Chabo

2

- 38 Abantu abasendaweni yakho bakubona kuvemelekile yini ukuthi owesifazane asebenze ngaphandle kwekhaya uma enalokhu:

Usana

1

Izingane eziphakathi kuka 2-6 weminyaka

2

Izingane ezifunda isikole

3

Izingane ezinanoma yimiphi iminyaka

4

- 39 Wena ngokwakho ubona umama kufanele asebenze ngaphandle kwekhaya?

Yebo

1

Chabo

2

Nikeza izizathu: 1.
2.
3.

- 40 Wena ngokwakho ukusebanza ngaphandle kwekhaya kuyakwenza yina uzizwe unescala lokunganikezi usizo nemfundiso eyonayona ezinganeni zakho?

Ngizizwa nginecala

1

Ngizizwa ngingenacala

2

Chaza:
.....

- 41 Ngokwakho ukubona umama osebenzayo uyakwazi yini ukunika izingane zakhe ukunakekelwa okuthuthukisa infundo yazo:

Nikwza izizathu: 1.
2.
3.

- 42 Yiziphi izinto ocabanga ukuthi umama kumele azenzele ingane yakhe ukuze iqhubeke emfundweni yayo: Zihlele ngezansi.

1.
2.
3.

43 Ngokucabanga kwakho ukusebenza kukamama kuyiphazamisa kanjani izingane ezifundweni zayo? Chaza

.....
.....

44 Kufanele yini umqashi alekelele afake usizo kumama osebenzayo ekufundiseni izingane zakhe?

Yebo

Qha

1
2

Uma uvuma nikeza izizathu: 1.
2.

Yiluphi usizo olubona ludingekile:

Uma uphika nikeza izizathu: 1.
2.

45 Umqashi kukhona yini akwenzayo ukulekelela omama abasebenzayo ekuthuthukiseni imfundo yezingane zabo? Chaza:

.....

46 Phawula ngokusebenza komama nemfundiso okumele bayinike izingane:

.....
.....

47 Ujabula kangakanani ukushiya izingane yakho encane nomzanyana?

Chaza:
.....

48 Kuke kwenzeke yini ube nokungamethembi umzanyana mayelana nokushiya izingane zakho ezincane ezingakangeni esikoleni kuye?

Chaza:
.....