

**THE DEVELOPMENT IMPACT OF THE DOMESTIC
WORKERS SKILLS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT ON ITS
PARTICIPANTS**

by

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I declare that **The Development Impact of the Domestic Workers Skills Development Project on its participants** is my own work and that all the sources that I have used or quoted have been indicated and acknowledged by means of complete references.

SIGNATURE
(Mrs T.S. Wessels)

DATE

DEDICATION

This study is dedicated to the domestic workers of South Africa. In silence, for generations, you have provided crucial support for the South African nation. I admire your contribution and your ability to place your commitment and care in the service of South African households. Without fuss, you provide a safe haven to your own families as well as the families of your employers. You aspire to improve the quality of life of everybody around you. You are driven with an urge to uplift yourself. This study recognises and acknowledges these admirable and formidable qualities.

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ABSTRACT

The Domestic Workers Skills Development Project, funded by the National Skills Fund, was designed to improve the skill levels of domestic workers in South Africa. It also was intended to address their historical lack of education and to advance their socio-economic circumstances.

This study investigates the implementation of this project within the framework of community development. Basadi Pele Foundation, a Non-Governmental Organisation, was a participant in this project. The central question was how to empower marginalised women through skills development. This implies a learning process for domestic workers and all involved.

Different learning theories are investigated to develop an understanding of how these illiterate adult women learned during this opportunity.

The conclusion reached by this study is that a gender sensitive environment, created by government institutions and the NGO involved, enabled domestic workers to change their lives and circumstances; enhancing this project and contributing to its success.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ANC	African National Congress
BCM	Black Consciousness Movement
BCEA	Basic Conditions of Employment Act
BNA	Basic Needs Approach
BPF	Basadi Pele Foundation
CALS	Center for Applied Legal Studies
CASE	Community Agency for Social Enquiry
CCFO	Critical Crossfield Outcomes
CCMA	Commission for Conciliation Mediation and Arbitration
CEDAW	Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women
CFO	Chamber Financial Officer
CGE	Commission of Gender Equality
COIDA	Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act
COSATU	Congress of South African Trade Unions
COSAW	Congress of South African Writers
CRA	Critical reflection on assumptions
CSRA	Critical self-reflection on assumptions
DOH	Department of Health
DOL	Department of Labour
DWA	Domestic Workers Association
DWEP	Domestic Workers and Employers' Project
DWSDP	Domestic Workers Skills Development Project
ECC	Employment Conditions Commission
ECD	Early Childhood Development
EFA	Education for All
ELP	English Literacy Project
ETQA	Education and Training Quality Authority
ETDP- SETA	Education Training Development Practices Sector Education and Training Authority
FET	Further Education and Training Act

GETC	General Education and Training Certificate
GAD	Gender and Development
GTZ	German Development Cooperation
ID	Identity
IRD	Integrated Rural Development
ILO	International Labour Organisation
ISO	International Standards Organisation
HIV/ AIDS	Human Immuno Deficiency Virus / Acquired Immuno Deficiency Syndrome
LDC	Less-Developed Countries
LIFE	Literacy Initiative for Empowerment
LRA	Labour Relations Act
MNC	Multi National Company
NACTU	National Council of Trade Unions
NALEDI	National Labour and Economic Development Institute
NSDS	National Skills Development Strategy
NGO	Non- Government Organisation
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NIPILAR	National Institute for Public Interest Law and Research
NSA	National Skills Authority
NSF	National Skills Fund
NTB	National Training Board
NPO	Non- Profit Organisation
NQF	National Qualifications Framework
OBE	Outcomes Based Education
OSW	Office of the Status of Women
PRO	Personal Responsibility Orientation
RDP	Reconstruction and Development Programme
RPL	Recognition of Prior Learning
SAHO	South African Homemakers Organisation
SAQA	South African Qualifications Authority
SSETA	Services Sector Education and Training Authority
SDA	Skills Development Act
SDLA	Skills Development Levies Act

SADAGWA	South African Domestic and General Workers' Act
SADWA	South African Domestic Workers' Association
SADWU	South African Domestic Workers' Union
SARS	South African Revenue Services
SGB	Standard Generating Body
SME	Small Medium Enterprise
STEE	Survey of Total Employment and Earning
UIF	Unemployment Insurance Fund
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UN	United Nations
UNC	United Nations Literacy Decade
UNESCO	United Nations Education and Science Organisation
UPE	Universal Primary Education
UNLD	United Nations Literacy Decade
USA	United States of America
WAD	Women and Development
WED	Women Environment and Development
WID	Women in Development

CHAPTER ONE

INTRODUCTION TO THE STUDY

1.1 Introduction

The purpose of this chapter is to:

- Give a general background to the problem.
- Define the formulation of the problem.
- Outline the objectives of the study.
- Discuss the significance of the study.
- Explain the research methodology
- Outline the layout of the chapters.

1.2 Background to the problem

1. 2. 1 The political and social environment of domestic workers in South Africa

The domestic workers¹ group in South Africa is one of the most vulnerable groups of workers, mainly represented by black women. Domestic workers have “borne the brunt of racial and gender oppression” (Services SETA 2003a: 2). Joni (2004: 12) pointed out that the dismantling of apartheid in 1990 and the adoption of the Constitution of South Africa certainly began to change the environment of domestic workers for the better. However, according to Samuel (2005: 18) domestic workers are still treated poorly by employers notwithstanding the democratic changes in South Africa.

All South Africans are equal and the rights of every person in South Africa are entrenched in the Constitution of South Africa (South Africa 1996a: 7). This means that the government has a responsibility to promote and to respect the rights of all South Africans as stated in the bill of rights (Joni 2004: 12). This responsibility is also applicable to the rights of domestic workers who have been

¹ A domestic worker is a person, male or female, who engages in various housekeeping tasks in and around the home for the benefit of the people living there. He or she may be employed full or part time, and may be paid in cash and/or in kind. This definition of a domestic worker was developed by the Project Steering Committee of Project 11(C) in 1999 (Gordon-Brown 2000: 1).

exposed to extreme situations of inequality in the period prior to the new dispensation era. In many instances, circumstances have not changed for domestic workers.

1.2.2 The status of women in South Africa

The unequal socio-economic and legal situation of domestic workers in the past and present times in South Africa can be attributed to the status of women in South Africa in general. As already stated, the Constitution guarantees equality for all persons, but serious inequalities still continue to exist.

Many women in South Africa today still cannot obtain access to full legal status or do not have the legal status to sign contracts or to get credit (INTERFUND 2001: 22-23). These continuing discrepancies contravene The United Nations Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination Against Women (CEDAW). South Africa was co-signatory of the CEDAW convention, with other states, agreeing that all human beings are born free. Women and men must have equal guarantees of all economic, social, cultural, civil and political rights (NIPILAR 1995: 3). The status of domestic workers in South Africa, in particular, does not reflect the ideas of CEDAW.

An audit² was undertaken by the Commission on Gender Equality (CGE) and the Gender Research Project at the Center for Applied Legal Studies (CALS) of South African legislation in an effort to identify sex and gender inequalities and discrimination in legislation of South Africa. Findings concluded that South African legislation was not necessarily insensitive to sex and gender, but were implemented inadequately (INTERFUND 2001: 23). The core problem of domestic workers identified in a report compiled by Renkema (1999: 4) of a workshop on the needs of domestic workers, was “a lack of skills, recognition of skills, training and career opportunities”. This situation influenced the access of domestic workers to education and training opportunities that could capacitate them to address their unequal status.

² This audit of legislation that discriminates on the basis of sex or gender was conducted by the Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) for the period 1998-1999.

1.2.3 The impact of the unequal status of women on the lives of domestic workers

Domestic work was, and still is, described according to gender criteria. House work, as domestic work is often referred to, is the responsibility of women, according to the sexist and patriarchal assumptions often prevalent in societies (Romero 1992: 15). During the apartheid era, women from different race groups experienced discrimination based on gender differently (Baden, Hassim & Meintjies 1999: 13-14). The perception of white women experiencing gender inequality themselves, in many cases was that domestic work suited the low status of black women. Domestic work also was regarded as unsuitable for the status of men (Cock 1981: 47). According to Cock (1981: 47), domestic workers had little free time due to the “double shifts” they worked, the first part of the day at work and then at their own homes.

The influx control implemented during the apartheid era was a major contributor to the creation of the oppressed, exploited and trapped situation of domestic workers as early as in the 1950's already (see 2.3.2). Black women were poor, had to get employment to survive with their families and took up domestic employment. They travelled long distances to work and back home or illegally stayed with employers and were paid meagre salaries (Cock 1980: 19; Delport 1995: 243; Oewies 1980: 35).

Domestic workers also were submitted to the inferior and unequal education of the apartheid dispensation (Taylor & Conradie 1997: 99). Their illiteracy and lack of formal education qualifications caused domestic workers to be unable to apply for better jobs and they often were exploited by employers who demanded long working hours without paying for overtime services (see 2.3.2).

Due to long working hours and the need to travel long distances home, domestic workers in many instances were exposed to family deprivation. Husbands were contract workers visiting their homes once a year and domestic workers often had

to leave their children with grandmothers and / or other caregivers for long periods (Cock 1989: 43). The long working hours of domestic workers further added to their social isolation as they had little time for leisure (see 2.3.6.2). Some could attend church services once a month on their monthly day off (Cock 1989: 48). In some cases, domestic workers were subjected to physical violence, sexual harassment and exploitation in the work place (see 2.3.6.4). Domestic workers were desperate for employment and ended up in a situation of powerlessness, with a resultant lack of confidence and self-esteem (Motsei 1990: 6). This unequal status also impacted on labour practices that controlled the lives of domestic workers.

In the past, domestic workers in South Africa were not protected from any form of unfair labour practice (Flint 1988: 189; Flood, Gibson, & Gibson 2002: 3). In 1982 a domestic worker appealed to the Cape Provincial Division Court because she was dismissed without notice and payment by her employer.³ She lost her case because the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act 25 of 1945 stipulated that she could only be employed after obtaining a working permit for that area. In *Lende v. Goldberg*, the Cape High Court⁴ decided that contract of work for that reason was illegal from the beginning and the domestic worker was unsuccessful with legal action.

The powerlessness of domestic workers was aggravated by their exclusion from labour relations regulations in the era prior to the new dispensation. When the South African Domestic Union was established in the mid-eighties, it could not be registered due to exclusion by the Labour Relations Act⁵ (Flint 1988: 198). Domestic workers who were victimised by employers when they joined the union, had no legal protection (Flint 1988: 199). It could be expected that domestic workers would benefit from the new democratic environment of South Africa and that domestic workers would enjoy legal protection in the work place.

³ An employer means any person who employs or provides work for any person and remunerates that person.

⁴ South African Law Reports, 1983, volume 2, p. 284.

⁵ Labour Relations Act, No. 28 of 1956.

1.2.4 Labour legislation in the New South Africa and domestic workers

After 1996, the legal framework of South Africa had to comply with the values in the Constitution. Labour laws were adapted to address the labour needs of previously disadvantaged workers. These developments impacted positively on the legal position of domestic workers (see 2.4.3). Some literature that served as guidelines to employers regarding the labour conditions of domestic workers became available as labour legislation was developed, enhancing the fair and equal treatment of domestic work in the work place (Flood et al. 2002: 3; Huber & Sack 1993: 10; Van Niekerk 2003:1). Hardy & Kleinsmidt (2004) addressed the rights of domestic workers in the workplace in a user friendly booklet in 2004.

The Labour Relations Act (LRA) 1995 and The Basic Conditions of Employment Act (BCEA) 1997 were applicable to all workers in South Africa (South Africa 1995a: 12; South Africa 1997a: 5 & 7). The LRA addressed the issue of work security for all workers. It stated that every employee had the right not to be unfairly dismissed from his/her job (South Africa 1995a: 183). These statutes were applicable to domestic workers as well. If a worker had been dismissed, the prescribed statutory steps had to be followed, notice had to be given and the dismissal had to be fair (South Africa 1997a: 8). The BCEA placed the focus on the importance of the contract of work for workers. These regulations improved the legal situation of domestic workers, but did not respond to the specific needs of domestic workers.

The publication of the Sectoral Determination 7: Domestic Worker Section 2002, was a major step by the Department of Labour to improve labour conditions for domestic workers in particular (South Africa 2002a: 4).

The Unemployment Insurance Act has covered domestic workers since 1 April 2003 (Van Niekerk 2003: 3). The Occupational Health and Safety Act focused on a safe environment without risk to the health of all workers in the work place and also was applicable to domestic workers (Van Niekerk 2003: 5; South Africa 1993c: 16). Although the statutes changed the legal status of domestic workers, training for domestic workers was needed to enable domestic workers to prevent

accidents in the work place (Van Niekerk 2003: 3). Goosen & Klugman (1996: 113) mentioned that the health of domestic workers were often at risk in the workplace. Domestic workers, for example, worked with chemicals and needed to be capacitated to use chemicals safely in the work place.

Up to 2002 no opportunities for employed domestic workers were available for developing skills that could assist them to improve their quality of work, to protect their own safety and that of their employees and their families in the work place. Skills development also could assist domestic workers to compete in the labour market for better jobs and salaries. The changes in the legal position of domestic workers did not address the issue of absence of development⁶ and training opportunities for employed domestic workers. Exposure to education and training opportunities was the most certain way in which domestic workers could free themselves from their oppressive and exploitive situation. A number of education and training acts were introduced that contributed to a changed approach about education in South Africa and to the education and learning of previously marginalised persons.

1.2.5 South African legislation impacting on adult education, training and development

The South African Qualifications Authority Act (SAQA) of 1995 introduced the National Qualifications Framework (South Africa 1995b: 1). The aim of the NQF was to create a mechanism to promote life long learning in South Africa. The Adult Basic Education and Training Act of 2000 resulted into a national co-ordinated adult basic education system (South Africa 2000: 641). This law redressed past discrimination regarding equal access to education and training for adults.⁷ Adults could embark on literacy and numeracy training from levels 1 to 4. Level 4 is equivalent to grade 9 in public schools or National Qualifications Framework level 1 as regulated in the SAQA Act (South Africa 2000: 645). Once adults had achieved a NQF level 1 qualification, they had access to the next NQF level.

⁶ Development means activities within a society that improve the standard of living of people.

⁷ An adult is a person who is 16 years or older, as defined by the Adult Basic Education and Training Act of 2000.

Legislation determined as unit standards and qualifications are gained that provides proof of competency in specific skills, this information would be registered on a national database to form the Record of Learning of each individual learner (Olivier 1998: 18). The paradigm shift from the traditional content-based learning to outcome-based learning⁸ that focused on a conducive learning environment, that is, people-centred and learner-needs driven, was most suitable for previously marginalised female adult learners. When achieving outcomes, the learners proved that they took part in their own development (Olivier 1998: 21). This education and learning approach most certainly could meet the needs of domestic workers, illiterate in many instances and previously exposed to formal education of a low standard (Taylor & Conradie 1997: 99).

For domestic workers the doors now opened to life long learning as well, but they needed training focusing on skills for domestic services in particular. Domestic workers were in need of quality training that could lead to certification and open up other career paths in, for example, Hospitality, Commercial Cleaning and Early Childhood Development (Gordon-Brown 2002: 19).

1.2.6 The impact of legislation on skills development opportunities for domestic workers

Up to 1998, only 6% of domestic workers had enjoyed formal training in domestic skills (South Africa 2001: 31). These training services were mainly provided by churches. Volunteers facilitated the training for free. In some instances employers paid for the training.

During the previous dispensation, training providers and Non-Government Organisations (NGOs) were contracted by Department of Labour (DOL) for the training of unemployed persons interested in domestic work. The 15 day course was named Home Management⁹. The need for skills development of employed

⁸ Outcomes-based education is discussed in 4.3.3 and 5.4.3.5.

⁹ Information on this course is available at Basadi Pele Foundation Training Center in Kagiso Extension 12, Krugersdorp.

domestic workers was not addressed as this programme was accessible to unemployed persons only.

A majority of domestic workers who were respondents in the research of DOL in 2001¹⁰ have acquired skills by relying on their own experience in the work place on their own or under the guidance of the employer (South Africa 2001: 31).

The Skills Development Act (SDA) in 1998 introduced a new era in South Africa regarding skills development for previously marginalised people (see 2.6.2.2). An estimated number of 800 000 to 1.5 million workers were involved in domestic services at that time (Services SETA 2003a: 3). A small percentage had been exposed to training, as stated above. The request for the training of domestic workers in 1998 by the Domestic Workers Union to the Department of Labour (DOL) was inspired by the arrival of the SDA. The SDA opened doors for marginalised groups to formal skills training (Services SETA 2003a: 3).

The National Skills Authority (NSA)¹¹ of DOL had the responsibility to advise the Minister of Labour on the National Skills Development Strategy (South Africa 1998b: 7). In the Consultation Draft of the National Skills Development Strategy 2005-2009 (South Africa 2004: 21) it was stated that the skills level of current workers often still reflected past apartheid education policies. The skills level of domestic workers reflected that situation as well. It was evident that domestic workers also could benefit from training in the workplace as already had happened with learnerships¹² in other industries. The skills development of domestic workers then was entrusted to the National Skills Fund (NSF)¹³ that had the financial capacity to fund such training.

¹⁰ This research is discussed in 5.2.3.

¹¹ The NSA advises the Minister of Labour on policies and strategies to implement skills development in South Africa.

¹² A learnership includes structured learning and practical work experience. It leads to a qualification registered at SAQA.

¹³ 20 % of skills development levies are directed to the NSF. NSF funding is used only for projects specified according to the National Skills Development Strategy.

The Services SETA (SSETA)¹⁴ undertook to implement and manage the Domestic Workers Skills Development Project (DWSDP)¹⁵ as the main responsibilities of domestic workers consisted of cleaning (Gordon-Brown 2002: 21). The Hygiene and Cleaning Standards Generating Body (SGB)¹⁶ was based at the SSETA and could assist with the development of a qualification on a NQF level 1 (Gordon-Brown 2002: 21).

The reason for this decision was that a formal domestic services industry was non-existent and training could not be funded by a SETA that derived funding for training from levies contributed by the members of the specific industry (South Africa 1999: 6; see 2.6.2.2).

Employers of domestic workers do not pay levies¹⁷ to SETA'S. No funding can be gained from employers through levies to accommodate the training for domestic workers. Twenty per cent of skills development levies are transferred to the NSF (South Africa 1999:12). The funds may only be used for projects that are national priorities according to the National Skills Development Strategy or for other projects that underline the purposes of the Skills Development Act. The Director-General of the DOL has the final say on financing of such projects (South Africa 1998b: 20).

In 1998, the Domestic Workers Union approached the Department of Labour (DOL) with a request to create training opportunities for domestic workers (Services SETA 2003a: 3). In November 1998, the National Training Board (NTB) of DOL, currently the NSA, established Project (11c) to investigate the training of domestic workers (see 2.6.4 and 5.2.1). The outcomes of the investigation were the design and implementation of the DWSDP. This project had the focus of addressing the need for skills development of domestic workers (Services SETA 2003a: 3). For the first time in South African history the

¹⁴ The SSETA is the Sector Education and Training Authority for a number of industries categorised as "services", for example, the Hygiene and Cleaning Industry.

¹⁵ The DWSDP was the first initiative by the South African government to train employed domestic workers.

¹⁶ The role of the SGB in the implementation of the DWSDP is discussed in 5.2.4.

¹⁷ "Levy" refers to the skills development levy payable by employers as regulated by the Skills Development Levies Act of 1999.

development needs of employed domestic workers were attended to. Domestic workers now gained access to the opportunity of life long learning, regardless of their previously marginalised educational situation.

1.3 The problem statement

In April 2003, the DWSDP commenced with a pilot short skills (Life Skills, Cooking and Cleaning) session which was conducted by two NGOs, namely Basadi Pele Foundation (BPF) in Gauteng and Bergzicht Training Center in the Western Cape. The project was expanded to Kwazulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape in August 2003 and private training providers were further contracted to enable the project to achieve its national deliverables (see 5.2.5). The implementation of the learnership started in April 2004.

The background to the problem was stated to motivate the need that existed for the skills development of domestic workers. As stated above, the DWSDP was the first initiative by government in South Africa to meet the needs of domestic workers for skills training. In real terms, this was a pilot project implemented at a number of training institutions in the provinces of Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal, the Eastern Cape and the Western Cape. Skills development of domestic workers at the period of implementation of this project was an unknown phenomenon in development in South Africa. Answers needed to be obtained on how such development could be conducted.

The implementation of the project within a community development framework as happened in the case of BPF Training Center, adds further interesting nuances to the problem to be researched. Effective community development depends on crucial elements that contribute to the envisaged outcomes of the development process and in some instances, depending on how it occurred, achieve far reaching results for its participants.

This exploratory study aims to give answers to how skills development of domestic workers happened during the DWSDP within this community development set-up of BPF. The scope of this study is the DWSDP as

implemented from November 2002 to March 2005 at BPF¹⁸ within a community development framework. The field work continued up to August 2006 to enable the researcher to define the development impact of the DWSD on participants.

The problem that was selected for research is the empowerment of domestic workers through skills development within a community development framework.

1.4 Study objectives

The primary objective of the study is to establish how the skills development of domestic workers happened during the implementation of the DWSDP within a community development framework and to suggest actions through which skills development of domestic workers could be improved in future.

The achievement of the following sub objectives will contribute to the fulfilment of the primary objective stated above:

- Establish the role of government and bureaucracy in the implementation of skills development of domestic workers.
- Assess the role of the NGO in the implementation of skills development of domestic workers.
- Determine the gender sensitive quality of the project and its contribution to the implementation of the project.
- Explore the learning of domestic workers and other participants.
- Explore the impact of the DWSDP on the lives of the domestic workers.

1.5 The importance of the study

The DWSDP funded by the NSF is the very first initiative to develop employed domestic workers in South Africa through skills training. The implementation could be regarded as a pilot project. The information collected in this study makes a valuable contribution to knowledge about the skills development of domestic

¹⁸ See the background of BPF in 5.3.

workers in particular. The results of this study provide guidelines for the future implementation of skills development of domestic workers.

The research generated information useful for the implementation of other or similar development projects funded by the NSF. The DWSDP was one of the first learnerships implemented by the SSETA and the information gained through this study could be applied to the implementation of other future learnerships.

The findings of the study could inform government, development practitioners and stakeholders regarding aspects useful to formulate and implement policies and regulations.

The findings provide a framework for community development practitioners involved with skills training of unskilled and previously marginalised persons, in particular illiterate and semi-literate adult learners. Lessons learned in this project could be implemented to enhance the life long learning of adult persons, often women subjected to severe social inequalities.

Findings on the individual and social impact on the lives of domestic workers, how the project impacted on their self-image, the way they conduct their daily tasks in the work environment and their expectations of the future is information that development organisations and NGOs could find helpful in the design and implementation of future development projects.

This study makes a valuable contribution to enlarge the scholarly literature on domestic workers in South Africa in general and the skills development of domestic workers in particular.

1.6 The research methodology/process

1.6.1 Qualitative research

A qualitative research methodology was followed in this research. Cresswell (1998: 17) provides reasons why researchers conduct qualitative research. These reasons are applicable to this study in particular as the researcher was participant

in the implementation of the DWSDP at the worksite, BPF Training Center. He argues that the research question of a qualitative study starts with a “how” or a “why” that result into initial “forays” into the topic that describe what is going on. On the other hand, quantitative questions ask “why” and look for comparisons or relationships between variables to establish, *inter alia*, cause and effect.

A qualitative study demands exploration of a topic and wants to provide a detailed view of the topic. A qualitative approach provides also for individuals to be studied in their natural situation. This means that the researcher is present in the field of research and gathers information within the specific setting (Cresswell 1998: 17). The researcher brings himself/herself into the study and prefers to write in a literary style. In the qualitative approach, very importantly, the researcher fulfils the role of an active learner who is a participant and shies away from being the expert who is inclined to pass judgement on participants (Cresswell 1998: 18).

The constructivist approach in knowledge gathering was followed (Cresswell 2003: 8). Therefore, the research was based on the assumption that knowledge would be gained through understanding the world of the participants of the DWSDP. Meanings derived from situations were not embedded in individuals only. The researcher relied on the experiences, views and understanding of a range of people involved in the project, namely learners, employers, mentors, assessors, facilitators, the Assistant Project Manager at BPF and members of the Project Management Team of the Domestic Services Chamber in Port Elizabeth.

The inquiry consequently did not start with a theory. Reasoning was inductive and knowledge was hence collected through field work and meaning was formulated by using that knowledge collected from the field (Mouton 1996: 78; Strydom, Fouche & Delport 2002: 52). Strydom et al. (2002: 53) describe induction as “a creative reasoning mode”. Inductive reasoning provided the researcher with the opportunity to develop general principles from specific observations made during the field work period (Babbie 2004: 55; Mouton 2001: 117; Rubin & Babbie 1993: 698).

A case study strategy was followed. Three types of case studies are differentiated, according to their purposes. When conducting an intrinsic case study, the case, as it happens, is of interest. In the instance when the knowledge gained from the case is used to illustrate an issue, the study is called an instrumental case study. A collective case study is conducted when a number of cases are researched and compared with the aim of providing insight into an issue (Cresswell 1998: 61; Miller & Salkind 2002: 162; Strydom et al. 2002: 275).

This study is categorised as an instrumental case study. The implementation of the DWSDP is the case studied and the findings of this research could be used to develop strategies for a best practice model to address the skills development needs of domestic workers within a community development set-up. Cresswell (1998: 61) further describes this type of research as a “bounded system”. In the case of the DWSDP the bounded system was bounded by time, November 2002 to August 2006, and place, BPF Training Center in Kagiso Extension 12, Krugersdorp.

Rubin and Babbie (1993: 392) mention the use of a case study when a programme is implemented for the first time by a state/government. The results of such a case study research could be used to guide policy makers in the design of policies for similar programmes. This approach is applicable in the case of the DWSDP. The research was conducted in the natural setting of BPF Training Center. The researcher, the Project Manager for the DWSDP at BPF, gathered detailed information on the empowerment of the domestic workers through skills development as well as the empowerment of the organisation, BPF, and other participants.

Keeping in mind that the researcher cannot be separated from interpretation of research information, the researcher from time to time had to reflect on her own role in the project to prevent biases and values from impacting on the research results (Cresswell 2003: 181). This approach was important in the instance of this study of the DWSDP implemented at BPF Training Center, where the organisation, work site and the field research site of the researcher, overlapped. According to Cresswell (2003: 181), the “backyard” research situation, when the

research is conducted in the researcher's own organisation and immediate work environment, needs to be scrutinised carefully.

Therefore, a number of strategies were implemented to ensure validity of results in this study (see 1.6.2 and 1.6.3). Miller & Salkind (2002: 163) state that typical of a case study is an in-depth portrait of the case and that the qualitative researcher uses numerous forms of data collection to verify information. Verification is a continuous process that happens throughout the collection of data during fieldwork, analysis and the report writing (Cresswell 1998: 194). The two methods of verification used in this study were triangulation (see 1.6.4) and member checks as the availability of informants made discussion of findings and interpretations on an ongoing basis possible at the BPF Training Center and in the community.

1.6.2 The research techniques

In qualitative research, interviewing and observation and are most often utilised to collect the data needed for research (Miller & Salkind 2002: 163; Strydom et al. 2002: 321). In this study, these two techniques were used with the aim of developing an in-depth understanding of how skills development of domestic workers happened within the community development environment of the BPF Training Center.

1.6.2.1 Interviewing

According to Strydom et al. (2002: 292), interviewing is the method of data collection most often used in qualitative research. Babbie (2004: 299) describes this technique as qualitative field interviewing. Strydom et al. (2002: 292) describe the interview in the qualitative research sense as a conversation that presents a two-sidedness. Therefore, the experiences of participants were described in this study and the reflection on the experiences was implicated as well (see 5.5.2.5 and 5.5.2.6). Babbie (2004: 300) explains that qualitative interviewing implicates interaction between the interviewer and the respondent. As Babbie (2004: 300) advises, the interviewer had a general idea about questions

to be posed and guided the interview accordingly. Specific issues raised by the respondent then were followed up. The interviewer ensured that not more than 5% of interview time was consumed by the interviewer. Some limitations were experienced, however, in this regard (see 1.6.5).

Fontana & Frey (1994: 370) mention the growing reluctance amongst feminist researchers that women are treated in interviews as “objects” and that they are not considered as individuals. In this research, the interviewer and the respondents were women involved in the DWSDP in their capacity as members of bureaucracy, learners, employers or members of the staff at BPF. A closer relationship between the interviewer and the respondents was possible. This approach allowed for the minimisation of status differences and the elimination of the traditional hierarchical situation in the interview. The interviewer could show her human side when asking questions and answering. She could also show her feelings. Oakly (1994: 49) describes this as the reciprocity character of interviewing. Such interviews provided a greater range of information about the respondent and deeper insight into respondents. The interviewer experienced, in concurrence with Fontana & Frey (1994: 370), that the respondents became “participants” during interviews of this nature.

Different types of interviews were conducted in this research. The original aim to observe domestic workers in their workplace was not possible and interviews had to compensate for this limitation (see 1.6.5). Unstructured and semi-structured methods were implemented. One-on-one interviews were used to obtain information from employers and domestic workers at BPF Training Center. The informal conversational interview (unstructured) resulted into respondents at occasions forgetting that they were being interviewed, as questions flowed from the immediate context. Interviews with domestic workers in some instances were conducted in this manner as it encouraged them to relax and contribute without feeling pressurised.

Guided interviews (semi-structured) were used to ensure more specific topics to be covered and a detailed picture of a participant’s beliefs and perceptions of the applicable topic to be gained. This method was valuable, as the interviewer used a

checklist to ensure that relevant information about specific topics was collected. Owing to cost implications, a list of questions was provided beforehand to the members of the Domestic Workers Chamber in Port Elizabeth to ensure that all relevant information could be collected once-off due to cost implications (see 1.6.5). Interviews were taped and transcribed if the respondents were comfortable with the arrangement. In circumstances of doubt, notes were made and verified after the interview. Telephonic interviews were conducted only to collect factual information as values, attitudes and perceptions could not always be interpreted correctly in the absence of face-to-face communication (see 2.3.5.3).

Group interviews, also called focus group discussions, were used as a data collection technique as well (Babbie 2004: 302; Cresswell 2003: 186). Learner focus groups addressed the problem of inaccessibility of domestic workers for one-on-one interviews. Most employers of learner domestic workers were working full-time and could not afford another day's absence of the employee from work, as one work day was used to attend training sessions (see 1.6.5).

The benefit of focus groups was that they created a feeling of sharing and comparing among participants and a large amount of concentrated data could be collected in a short period of time (Strydom et al. 2002: 307). Focus groups of learners consisted of ten participants. Five focus group discussions were conducted with learners and two with facilitators, equally spread over the research period. This process enhanced verification of data collected. Carefully formulated and sequenced questions were prepared. An assistant-facilitator, fluent in the local languages, was used for the focus groups. This arrangement contributed to the effectiveness of the discussions. Notes made during the session were shared, discussed and verified by the two focus group facilitators after the session.

1.6.2.2 Participant observation

Participant observation was used by the researcher as a data collecting technique in this study as well. Strydom et al. (2002: 289) discuss participant observation as a valuable procedure for data collection in qualitative studies as it has an exploratory character. Babbie (2004: 285) and Strydom et al. (2002: 280) support

the notion that participatory observation implicates a continuum from complete observer to complete participant with a variety of degrees of involvement in between.

The researcher, in the role of Project Manager of the DWSDP at BPF Training Center, had opportunity to focus on the everyday and natural experiences of the staff and the learners in the research field. The researcher became part of the situation being observed and even contributed to it, being subjected to learning processes during the project implementation (see 5.4.3.4). The challenge was to make regular notes on observations and experiences in the research field and to convert it into field notes as soon as possible to prevent inaccuracy of data. In some instances, notes could not be jotted down as the observer would miss out on important observations. To observe attitudes, perceptions and feelings also were not always possible and observation had to be followed up with informal one-on-one interviews (see 5.5.2.4).

1.6.3 The literature study

A vast literature study was conducted to gain sufficient and sound theoretical knowledge of development (chapter 3) and adult learning theories (chapter 4). Theories in social sciences are tools to give valuable explanations for events taking place in the social world. Social science theories explain why things are the way they are, why people take action as they do and why things develop as they do (Mouton 1996: 20). Social science theories give clarity on the actions of people and events in future. It can be noted that theories not only give meaning to events in the world, but also impart meaning to behaviours, attitudes and values.

The services of the libraries of the University of South Africa on the Pretoria and Florida campuses were used to obtain secondary resources for the study. Resources for development and adult learning theories were easily accessible. The search for literature on the history of domestic workers in South Africa was more

challenging. The literature contributions of Cock¹⁹, Delpont²⁰ and Flint²¹ provided useful information on the history of domestic workers in the pre-new dispensation era in South Africa. The Internet²² provided access to articles banned from publication during the apartheid era about the lives and circumstances of oppression and exploitation of domestic workers, produced at the time by the Black Sash and other 'alternative organisations'. Resources on the New Constitution of South Africa and legislation were accessed through the Internet or obtained from the Government Printer.

Information on the development, design and implementation of the DWSDP was mainly collected from primary resources such as final reports by the Project Manager, the Educational Specialist and the Materials Developer of the Domestic Services Chamber. These reports were made available by the Project Manager.

The researcher had access to a wide range of primary resources generated and accumulated during the implementation of the DWSDP at BPF. The portfolio's of evidence of learners, the reports of mentors on mentoring sessions with learners, monthly progress reports of BPF, minutes of meetings, registration forms of learners, daily attendance registers of learners, learnership contracts, formative and summative assessment reports per individual learner by assessors, moderators and/or facilitators and training materials, all assisted the researcher to collect the detailed information needed for a qualitative research study. Owing to the availability of these resources at BPF Training Center, no difficulty to obtain access was experienced.

The use of these documents for data collection involved the ethical aspect of research (Cresswell 2003: 64-65; Rubin & Babbie 1993: 366). The researcher had to respect the rights of the participants who voluntarily took part in the data collection process. The participants were informed about the nature and the

¹⁹ Cock, J. 1989. *Maids and madams*. Great Britain: Hazel, Watson & Viney Ltd, Aylesbury, Bucks.

²⁰ Delpont, E. 1995. *The legal position of domestic workers in South Africa*. Pretoria: UNISA.

²¹ Flint, S. 1988. The protection of domestic workers in South Africa: a comparative study. *Industrial Law Journal* 9 (Part 1 & 2).

²² <http://disa.nu.ac.za>.

purpose of the research and how it possibly could impact on them. It was of great importance that the privacy of participants was respected. Care was taken to explain to participants what informed consent (Strydom et al. 2002: 65; Babbie 2004: 64) in terms of this study meant and how it impacted on their right to privacy and confidentiality. Respondents joined the research process as co-researchers and voluntary participants (Strydom et al. 2002: 63; Babbie 2004: 65). They volunteered and agreed to have their names used and their positions mentioned where applicable. Participants had access to the text as well. In a few instances permission was obtained telephonically from respondents and information used that concerned them, explained. Agreement was also gained from participants to use information collected in interviews, focus discussions, mentoring, assessments and training reports.

Babbie (2004: 29 & 76) states that social research can never be totally objective as researchers are human and all experiences are subjective. Objectivity in this study was therefore attempted to be achieved and maintained as far as possible by the researcher by comparing notes, ideas, observations and conclusions with those of other participants. This process again added to the social character of the research. Some of the respondents mentioned that their participation in this way gave them opportunity to gain greater insight into themselves.

1.6.4 Data analysis

Data analysis in qualitative research is the process that is implemented by the researcher to order and give structure and meaning to the vast amount of data collected. The handling of information needs to happen creatively and meaning given to the vast amount of information (Strydom et al. 2002: 339).

The two-fold approach as recommended by Strydom et al. (2002: 340) was followed in this study. Data analysis was conducted at the research site at BPF Training Center as the data collection happened. Data analysis was done away from the site before and between field visits and after the period of data collection. This approach enabled the researcher to revise data, apply different analysis

methods, to develop new insight into realities and to verify information and findings.

Triangulation was conducted by using different resources and techniques of research to reach insights on-site about the way the DWSDP was implemented to empower the domestic workers through skills development and the impact on their lives. The observation of domestic workers and other participants in the training situation, face-to-face interviews, telephonic interviews with a range of individuals, evaluation questionnaires completed by learners (see 5.5.1) and focus group discussions with different groups at different stages during the field work period, enabled the researcher to ensure a process of triangulation at the research site.

Data away from the site were organised in different ways. Secondary resources were indexed individually according to author, title and year of publication. A brief summary was compiled on the content of every book or article. This information was contained in see-through plastic files per chapter and numerically arranged. A computer printout of bibliography per chapter accompanied these plastic files. Notes made during and after interviews and discussions were provided with dates and contained in file folders. Trends and potential findings were indicated on the left hand side in small print. This technique was effective as a chronological version of the progress and changes in details observed through the project implementation was accessible instantly. Audiotapes and transcripts of interviews were categorised and labelled indicating date, person interviewed and topic discussed.

1.6.5 Limitations

The literacy status of domestic workers impacted on the process to gain information during focus group discussions and some interviews, as English or Afrikaans was the third or fourth language of most domestic workers. Interpreters, usually facilitators who were involved in the project at BPF Training Center and who were trusted by the respondents, were used in such cases. This situation resulted in a challenge to keep the involvement of the interviewer less than 5% of

the interview time, to ensure that the respondent contributes without being uncomfortable or pressurised and to achieve the aims of the interview.

Observation of learners in the workplace by assessors is an important aspect to establish the competency and progress of learners in the skills they are being trained in during a learnership. Access into the workplaces of domestic workers was not possible. This barrier impacted on the research as the qualitative research benefits most from detail collected in the normal life situation of participants researched. The situation was compensated for by collecting relevant information as far as possible during practical sessions in the training environment and from feedback from facilitators.

Many employers of learners were working full time and were not easily accessible. The aim to obtain research information from employers in focus group discussions could not be achieved and the researcher had to make use of one-on-one interviews and telephonic interviews that were cost effective and time consuming. Written feedback by employers was valuable in cases of the non-availability of employers for interviews.

Secondary literature resources on the lives and circumstances of domestic workers during the pre- new dispensation period were poor, as explained in 1.6.3. The interview with the president of the DWU and the internet access to banned articles during the apartheid era, however, provided valuable research information.

1.7 Layout of the dissertation

Chapter one of the dissertation describes the background of the study of the DWSDP. This section serves as a general introduction to the research study. The research problem is identified, the objectives of the research are defined and the importance of the study highlighted. The chapter provides an outline of the research methodology followed. It concludes with an exposition of the chapters of the dissertation.

An explanation of the history of domestic services in South Africa provides a valuable framework to understand the need for skills development that existed with domestic workers. The concepts “domestic worker” and “domestic services” are elucidated next to reflect the changing perception of the status and the role of domestic workers over decades in chapter two. The political and social circumstances of domestic workers that manifested in oppression, exploitation, gender inequalities and illiteracy of domestic workers of the pre- new dispensation era, were explained to justify the outcry by domestic workers for equality, development and career opportunities further.

The efforts of domestic workers themselves to change their circumstances, their unionisation and the labour and education legislation of the new dispensation, are examined as possible factors that could contribute to an environment conducive to the empowerment of domestic workers through skills development.

Chapter three explains the theories of modernisation, of dependency, the basic needs approach and the sustainable development theory as contributory elements to the development and of the current idea of community development. Successful community development is a people-centred and bottom-up process that involves the participation of the people themselves to meet their needs. In this process, people are empowered by learning individually and together, with and from one another. The description of the roles of bureaucracy and NGOs to enhance the empowerment of the people in community development projects is important for this study of the DWSDP.

The development education theory of Freire discussed in this chapter supports this notion of community development. It sets guidelines for the education and learning of adult marginalised and oppressed people which are valuable for the skills development of domestic workers that needs to result in individual and social learning as well as social change. Chapter three discusses and elaborates on gender-thinking as represented in the four different schools of thought, which assists in determining the gender sensitivity of this development project.

The term “adult” and views on adult education and learning are explored in chapter four to establish the place of the DWSDP in the current educational environment of South Africa. Elements of informal education, ABET, lifelong learning/education, outcomes-based education and popular education, identified in the DWSDP are linked with the different learning theories discussed. This provides a valuable framework to ascertain how learning of participants in this community skills development project happened and the contributing factors in the learning environment.

Chapter five describes the implementation of the DWSDP by the NGO and community training provider as the case study to explain/appraise skills development of domestic workers in a community development framework. The background of the DWSDP given, serves to highlight the role of bureaucracy in the design and implementation of the project. The contribution of BPF as NGO to the capacity building of the domestic workers through skills development and the process of individual and collaborative learning that happened, are explained. The impact of the project on the lives of the domestic workers are described to establish if and to what extent the domestic workers involved this project were capacitated to escape from oppression, exploitation and gender-inequalities.

In chapter six the analysis of the study, the findings / conclusions and recommendations on skills development of domestic workers in a community development framework, are provided. Recommendations are made on matters for further research that could contribute to similar development projects in future.

1.8 Conclusion

In this chapter the political and social circumstances that resulted into the demand by domestic workers for skills development, were outlined.

In the next chapter, the historical background of domestic workers in South Africa is explored and aspects mentioned in this chapter illuminated.

CHAPTER TWO

A HISTORICAL OVERVIEW OF THE DOMESTIC SERVICES SECTOR IN SOUTH AFRICA

2.1 Introduction

In chapter one the domestic workers group was described as one of the most vulnerable groups of workers in South Africa. The gender inequalities, the lack of education and the state of illiteracy of domestic workers, the absence of legislation to regulate domestic services and influx control measures were identified as the contributing factors to the oppressive, exploitive and powerless situation of domestic workers.

The aim of this chapter is:

- Firstly, to investigate the perception of the terms “domestic worker” and “domestic work” as they were applied in the second half of the 19th century in South Africa, with reference to the situation in Britain and USA. Further, to point out the factors that influenced and directed the defining of these terms in South Africa over the years.
- Secondly, to explore these circumstances of domestic workers against the background of the political and social circumstances in the pre- 1994 dispensation era and to identify the impact of these aspects on the lives and work of domestic workers.
- Thirdly, to investigate the effect of the positive climate of the new dispensation of South Africa on the position and circumstances of domestic workers.

2. 2 An exploration of the terms “domestic worker” and “domestic work”

2. 2. 1 Clarification of domestic worker and domestic services in South Africa compared to Britain and the United States of America (USA)

In Britain in the 19th century (in South Africa in the 20th century) domestic work was used as an instrument to alleviate the problem of unemployment and to provide a useable labour resource to industry (Flint 1988: 1).

In Britain, the domestic worker was defined as a person “whose main and general function is to be about their employer’s person, or establishments, residential or quasi- residential, for the purposes of ministering to their employer’s needs or wants, or to the needs or wants of those who are members of such establishments or those resorting to such establishments, including guests.” Domestic workers worked long hours. Domestic workers were accommodated as live-in workers and were in a situation of dependency and subservience caused by class and sex discrimination (Flint 1988:189). Opportunities for domestic work were increasing in Britain at this stage due to the influx of wealth and regulations of 1980 barring access into Britain by Mediterranean and Filipinian migrants.

Cock (1989: 2) described domestic work in the United States of America (USA) between 1870 and 1920 as non-industrial. With industrialism and the increase of productivity of labour in industry, labour-saving devices became cheaper than domestic services (Shindler 1980: 29). Notwithstanding the threat of labour saving devices to the domestic services sector, immigrants, mostly women, worked as domestic workers in the USA (Romero 1992: 27). Domestic workers worked irregular hours. The employer’s control often stretched into the private lives of the domestic workers. Within the domestic services environment not only gender and class inequalities were reproduced and reinforced, but also the inequalities of race (Romero 1992: 27).

In South Africa, domestic work, on the other hand, compared to Britain and the USA represented pre-industrial labour in the 1960’s to 1980’s (Cock 1989: 2; Flint 1988: 1). Shindler (1980: 29) emphasised that the cheapness of human labour delayed the modernisation of housework in South Africa. The domestic services sector reflected the South African government’s national policy of apartheid and racial discrimination, ensuring that a pool of cheap labour was in place to be of benefit to the white population.

Domestic work was one of the oldest forms of wage labour for black women in South Africa. Most domestic workers were women regarded as migrant workers because they came from the neighbouring Bantustans. These areas were extremely poor and taking up a domestic job was a way of escaping from the hardship of these areas (Flint 1988: 190). Women worked as live-in domestic workers because they had no place to stay in urban areas and had very little, if any, education and consequently experienced a lack of employment alternatives.

In the late eighties domestic service opportunities were shrinking in South Africa due to economic recession and the influx control measures of the apartheid government. Employers employed domestic workers on a part-time rather than full-time basis (Cock 1981: 50; Flint 1988: 191). Between 1978 and 1979 the number of full time domestic workers decreased by 8% and the number of part time domestic workers increased by 30% (Cock 1981: 50). Flint (1988: 1991) and Shindler (1980: 31) pointed out that labour-saving devices did not have much impact on domestic services as many employers found a full time domestic worker less expensive than labour-saving devices. The low wages of domestic workers contributed to this situation.

2.2.2 Defining “domestic worker” and “domestic” work according to Common and Statutory Law guidelines

Defining the domestic worker or domestic work in South Africa in the pre- new dispensation phase was complicated as no labour relations or employment condition regulations applied to domestic services. The contractual relationship between the employer and the employee was determined by the common law (Flint 1988: 193; Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 606). Although common law prescribed equal bargaining opportunities regarding contractual agreements, it was impossible for domestic workers to make any contractual demands due to the shortage of domestic work opportunities in South Africa (Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 606). Domestic workers were trapped and silenced in their circumstances of inequality, exploitation and poverty (Butlender & Bosch 2002: 8-9; Cock 1981: 43; Cock 1989: 1). The average work hours in rural areas were 73 hours per week. Most domestic workers worked seven days a week (Cock 1980: 11).

Flint (1988: 20) and Meintjies-Van der Walt (1989: 606) distinguished between the “contract of service”²³ and the “contract of services”²⁴ as decisive for the defining of employer and employee in the South African common law. The contract of service was applicable to the domestic services sector as the employer in this relationship could demand a certain performance from the employee as well as prescribe the way in which duties should be conducted. The common-law employee would for the purpose of the contract of employment in consideration then not be covered by any statutory, wage determination or industrial council agreement (Benjamin 1980: 198; Delpont 1995: 115).

In the contract of services relationship there was no indication of an employee (only an independent contractor) and the employer had no control over the way the work was conducted. This relationship was not applicable to the South African domestic service (Flint 1988: 20; Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 606). The Machinery and Occupational Safety Act, No.6 of 1983, the only Labour Act out of seven Labour Acts that included domestic workers, did not define domestic workers²⁵ (Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 605). From the above discussion it can be concluded that the domestic workers were “invisible” workers that did not figure in the legal environment. Domestic workers were trapped in a “legal vacuum” according to Cock (1989: 62) and Flint (1988: 187-188).

2.2.3 The contribution of court cases in defining “domestic worker” and “domestic work”

In court cases in the 1980s the focus was on the nature of domestic work, rather than on defining the term domestic worker. According to Meintjies-Van der Walt (1989: 605), certain court decisions described the nature of domestic work. These descriptions included the work of chauffeurs and gardeners and originated from court cases in the first half of the twentieth century.

²³ *Locatio conductio operarum.*

²⁴ *Locatio conduction operaris.*

²⁵ Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No.3 of 1983; Wage Act, No. 5 of 1957; Labour Relations Act, No. 28 of 1956; Machinery and Occupational Safety Act, No. 6 of 1983; Manpower Training Act, No. 56 of 1981; Workman’s Compensation Act, No. 30 of 1941 and unemployment Insurance Act, No. 30 of 1941.

Benjamin (1980: 187) and Meintjies-Van der Walt (1989: 605) pointed out that descriptions of the nature of domestic work were used by courts with the focus on legislation that would exempt employers of domestic workers and farm workers from insuring them against injuries and had no reflection on common law rules that were applicable to domestic workers.

Descriptions of domestic service by court cases implicated the close personal contact between the employer and the employee. The domestic worker had to do physical work to ensure the comfort of the employer, the family and even guests of the employer, duties had to be conducted at the home or premises of the employer, but the domestic worker could not be employed in the business of the employer (Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 605).

According to Meintjies-Van der Walt (1989: 605), the inclination in cases of statutory regulations was that wider definitions were allocated to the domestic worker and domestic work. When defining domestic worker and domestic work in terms of common law rules, narrower descriptions were used. These descriptions were based on the idea that the domestic worker was a full-time live-in employee. It can be concluded from the above discussions that descriptions of domestic worker or domestic work placed the focus on the employer and statutory regulations that could protect the employer. The status or position of the employee was not of importance.

Cock (1981: 50), Flint (1988: 200) and Meintjies-Van der Walt (1989: 605) referred to the decline in opportunities for full time domestic service that resulted in the need to revisit the meaning of domestic work due to the change in working hours and the nature of the work.

2.2.4 A wider definition to accommodate the changing nature of domestic work

A wider definition of the domestic worker in the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No.137 of 1993 covered the work of the domestic worker more extensively

(Delpont 1995: 130; South Africa 1993a: 2). Domestic worker was defined as “...an employee charged wholly or mainly with the performance of domestic work on dwelling premises”. Gardeners and drivers of motor vehicles were also regarded as domestic workers. This approach brought a new dimension to the meaning of domestic work as it gained a much wider meaning (South Africa 1993a: 2). The description further specified domestic workers as caretakers of children, the aged, sick and disabled. It also implicated that all that workers involved in such services were covered by the act. An interesting development was the exclusion of farm workers from this definition. This exclusion applied to domestic workers on farms as well.

In the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No.75 of 1997, a domestic worker was defined as “...an employee who performs domestic work in the home of his or her employer ...” (South Africa 1997a: 5). No specific referral was made to whether the domestic worker was a full-time or part-time employee.

The Sectoral Determination 7: Domestic Worker Section of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act of 1997, binding as from 1 September 2002, brought clarification on the special nature of domestic work and the employment conditions applicable to domestic workers in particular (see 2.5.3). Payment for specific hours of work was, *inter alia*, clearly specified for full time and part time domestic workers (South Africa 2002a: 15). It was noted that the understanding of “domestic worker” and “domestic work” had evolved from a meaning that focused on the employer and his/ her needs initially to a meaning in the new dispensation that included the needs of the domestic worker equally.

2.2.5 A definition in preparation for the skills development of domestic workers

In 1998, during a domestic worker stakeholders’ meeting of the National Training Board²⁶, renamed to the National Skills Authority (NSA)²⁷, the following

²⁶ The National Training Board became the National Skills Authority (NSA) under the Skills Development Act of 1998.

definition of a domestic worker was drafted: “A domestic worker is a person, male or female, who engages in various housekeeping tasks in and around the home for the benefit of the people living there. He or she may be employed full or part time” (Gordon-Brown 2002: 18). This definition was developed with the aim of assisting the Department of Labour to establish the nature of the work of domestic workers in order to develop skills training for domestic workers that would address the needs of employers and employees of the domestic workers’ sector.

The definition above fell short of describing the specific nature of the work of the domestic worker and in 1999 and 2002 workshops were conducted to determine the nature of domestic work.

The definition referred, however, to the presence of both male and female workers in domestic services and demonstrated the focus on the gender issue present in the education and training approach of the South African government in the new dispensation (see 6.2.3). The CASE report discussed in 5.2.3 identified the wide range of tasks currently included in domestic work. The need for skills to care for frail and aged persons, identified in the research, highlighted the impact of HIV/AIDS on the services delivered by domestic workers.

2.2.6 Factors that could impact on future definitions of domestic worker and domestic work

The impact of HIV/AIDS on the South African society and the nature of domestic services are closely related. At a public hearing in Cape Town in 2005, facilitated by the Department of Labour to revisit wages of domestic workers, the issue was raised that domestic workers often are employed to care for the aged, ill people or those with HIV/AIDS.

²⁷ The NSA commenced in February 1999. The functions of the NSA is to advise the Minister of Labour on a national skills policy and the guidelines on the development of a national skills development strategy; allocation of subsidies from the National Skills Fund and regulations in this regard. The NSA liaises with the SETAs and conducts investigations that arise from the application of the Skills Development Act (South Africa 1998b: 6).

According to Caroline (2006) domestic workers often work long hours for food, lodging and little remuneration, if any, in poor areas and neighbourhoods that accommodate less privileged people. Monitoring of these domestic workers' work situations is almost impossible. The idea was shared that these services rather should fall under the Department of Social Services and be removed from the definition for domestic workers as defined in the Sectoral Determination 7: Domestic Worker Section of 2002 of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No. of 1997. A proposal was made at this public hearing that these workers should be regarded as care givers who could benefit from social grants.

Caroline (2006) also pointed out that the problem of child labour in domestic services is linked with the situation of domestic workers caring for HIV/AIDS affected persons. Children are sent from rural areas to "assist the family with an HIV/AIDS relative". Closer investigation into this situation shows that children are exploited and vulnerable in these households and often fall prey to trafficking. Butlender & Bosch (2002: xi) indicated that children involved in unpaid domestic work number up to 605 000 in South Africa.

The affect of HIV/AIDS in South Africa on the nature of the work of domestic workers in particular is a matter that falls outside the scope of this study. It could, however, be a valuable phenomenon to investigate in future research studies on domestic workers and domestic services in South Africa.

2.3 The circumstances of domestic workers in the pre-1994 dispensation phase in South Africa

2.3.1 Domestic services: reflection of the inequalities in social structures in South Africa

The 1970 census indicated that 38% of all employed black women were involved in domestic service in South Africa. In 1988, it was estimated that almost 1 million domestic workers were employed (Sechaba 1980: 2). The situation of these domestic workers in the 1970s and 1980s represented a model of the wider society in the minds of many workers in South Africa (Cock 1981: 46). The institution of domestic service was a microcosm of the exploitation and the inequality that the

entire social order was based on (Cock 1989: 4; Sechaba 1980: 2). An attitude of deference that was attributed to domestic workers, was a method used to cover their real feelings. Social structures and historical processes silenced domestic workers. Within this social order domestic workers were oppressed and trapped workers. Domestic workers experienced discrimination with regard to sex, class and race and within these parameters they found themselves powerless. These circumstances caused domestic workers to perceive themselves as slaves (Cock 1989: 15; Sechaba 1980: 2).

The lack of educational opportunities resulted in few employment opportunities for black women. To raise an income, they had no choice other than taking up domestic employment. Combined with the impact of the influx control legislation, black women were trapped in domestic service (Cock 1980: 19; Cock 1985: 405; Delport 1995: 243; Oewies 1980: 35).

2.3.2 Influx control

Black women already were included in the influx control system in 1952 when they were subjected to the Blacks (Urban Areas) Consolidation Act No. 25 of 1945 amended by the Bantu Laws Amendment Act No. 42 of 1964. Black women had to carry pass books like black men (Flint 1988: 190). Blacks were restricted from entering certain areas. They had to register their contracts of service at the pass office. The aim of this act was to keep the urban areas white at night. Domestic workers suffered the most through this amendment: They had to leave their places of employment after work and travel long distances to locations (black townships) to spend nights there. No sufficient transport or funding for transport was available (Anti-Pass 1968: 2-3).

In a memorandum issued by the Black Sash in 1974, it was reported that between July 1970 and June 1971, 615 075 people were prosecuted for pass law offences (Black Sash 1974: 2). Women from rural areas who did find domestic work, could not take up the jobs if they had no accommodation. The result was that unemployed domestic workers were prevented from legally seeking work (Shindler 1980: 23).

The system was abolished in 1986, but Cock (1989: 5) indicated that the new orderly urbanisation policy of the government intensified the control even more. All domestic workers now had to be registered. A domestic worker who left a job had to return to the so called “homelands” where opportunities for employment were almost non-existent.

Butlender & Bosch (2002: 7-8) indicated that due to the influx control and forced removal policies, a high population density existed in the rural areas. Combined with the relative infertility of the soil in rural South Africa (compared with other developing countries), subsistence agriculture rarely could provide sufficient support to families. Black men and women had to migrate to urban areas to survive.

The economic recession in the second half of 1974 caused a decrease in employment opportunities for domestic workers (Flint 1988: 190; Yawitch 1983: 83). Many employers used more affordable part time domestic service. Employers introduced labour-saving devices in their homes (Flint 1988: 191; Shindler 1980: 30). These two matters, supported by the impact of influx control, exacerbated the trapped situation of many domestic workers: domestic workers had to cling to jobs (often very unsatisfactory positions) or face the extreme of unemployment and poverty.

Education is considered to be a key factor in the development and empowerment of women. The lack of education added to the trapped situation of domestic workers in the pre-1994 era in South Africa.

2.3.3 Lack of education

Due to the apartheid education system, black women experienced education that was inferior, undemocratic, unequal and inappropriate for the needs of the country and the black people in particular (Taylor & Conradie 1997: 99). Joni (2004: 13) added to this view by indicating that different levels of education existed among

the different racial groups and then also between men and women. Black women were the most disadvantaged in this regard.

The effects of unequal education were still evident in 2001, according to the Census 2001 results. Among South Africans aged 20 years and older, 17.5% of black women had no formal schooling and 3.2% of black men had no formal schooling,; 0.3% of white women and 0.2% of white men had no formal schooling, 29.1% of white women had tertiary education, but only 5.5% of black women and 5.2 % of black men had tertiary education (Census 2001: 46).

Passing Grade 7 (standard 5) is often used as a measure of literacy. In South Africa in 1995, 23% of black women of 25 years and older had not passed grade 7, compared to 21% of Black men (Baden, Hassim & Meintjies-Van der Walt 1999: 16-17). This education status of black women was clearly reflected in the CASE report that indicated that 52% of domestic workers were not literate in the language they used at work (South Africa 2001: 4).

Women complained that quite often, as female children, education and skills development were not considered a priority for them. They had to assist in the home with household chores, child care or be sent into domestic work to contribute to an income for the family (Taylor & Conradie 1997: 99).

Domestic workers tried to improve their own education by making use of the few resources available. Maggie Oewies of the Domestic Workers Association (DWA) of the Western Cape explained in 1980 about the huge responsibility of domestic workers to look after employees' children. In an effort to meet expectations of employees, making an effort to compensate for the lack of education and to develop domestic workers for their work, the DWA provided training to domestic workers in child psychology (Oewies 1980: 35) and sewing (Grassroots 1984: 2).

Elizabeth Ndaba, a domestic worker in Johannesburg, attended classes in literacy provided by the English Literacy Project (ELP) (Unidentified 1991: 2). This training enabled her to write a book about her experiences as a black woman. Her book was specially written for people who were learning to read and write.

Elizabeth mentioned that it was harder for women to learn than for men owing to the double shift²⁸ women have to work every day (Unidentified 1991: 3).

Roseline Naapo, a domestic worker was a poet and writer as well. She was a member of the Congress of South African Writers (COSAW). COSAW encouraged domestic workers to write short stories. This was an effort to discover some hidden talents among domestic workers (Unidentified 1989: 2). Writing poetry was regarded as an effort to lift the self-esteem and image of domestic workers.

These efforts of domestic workers demonstrated that some domestic workers wanted to free themselves from a situation of dependency (see 3.2.2) caused by their oppressed employment situation. The following poem of Josephine Nlaapo gave expression to the feelings of exploitation and isolation experienced by domestic workers. The poem also accentuated the need for appreciation and care of domestic workers after retirement or dismissal.

*“Madam,
remember when I was young
and happy
Remember when I used to run
your errands fast*

*Today I am old
I am no good
Today I’am walking on three legs
I am no good*

Madam, where did my sweat go

*Madam
did you ever consider
that today I need you
as you needed me
in the sixteen years
I worked for you.”*

(Unidentified 1989: 2-3).

²⁸ Double shift: domestic workers do domestic work at the homes of their employers. Before leaving their own homes and after returning home after work they have to do the homework in their own homes.

The Manpower Training Act No 56 of 1981 provided opportunities for unemployed persons to get access to training. Employed domestic workers, therefore, did not qualify. Informal short courses (15 days) in Home Management were provided by private training centres or Non-Profit Organisations (NPO) contracted by the Department of Labour. Other informal training for domestic workers was conducted by churches. Domestic workers very often had to rely on training offered by the employer, if the employer was available (Delpont 1995: 144).

The work of domestic workers was, therefore, often referred to as “unskilled” work (Joni 2004: 15; Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 607). Domestic work was undervalued and regarded as work that special skills are not needed for (Horton & Vilana 2001: 1; Romero 1992: 22). Cock (1989: 23) pointed out that the argument of unskilled work was used to justify the low wages paid to domestic workers. She emphasised that a vast variety of skills was demanded by the employer, ranging from an uncomplicated cleaning task to extremely specialised and personal services. These skills were usually accompanied by a situation of trust and responsibility.

Domestic workers were trapped once again. The absence of recognition for skills achieved practically in the work place in many instances over many years, resulted in an absence of opportunities to progress into better jobs with improved wages.

2.3.4 Domestic workers’ difficulties to organise in unions

Domestic workers were excluded from the Labour Relations Act, No. 28 of 1956. The South African Domestic Union (SADWU), established in 1986, but could not be registered as a union due to the exclusion of domestic workers from the Act (Flint 1988: 198). According to Meintjies-Van der Walt (1989: 607), domestic workers could, however, conduct collective bargaining allowed by the Common Law as agreements between the employer organisation and a union established in a non-statutory environment, were legal (Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 610).

Flint (1988: 199) stated that the exclusion of domestic workers from the Labour Relations Act further implicated that they had no access to conciliatory facilities or to the industrial court. Protection against victimisation on account of trade union membership also was not accessible to domestic workers (Flint 1988: 199; Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 611).

On the other hand, collective bargaining by SADWU was not achievable as no national organised employee organisation existed. The isolated situation of domestic workers, combined with their scattered geographic situation and the inter-dependent relationship between employer and domestic worker made collective bargaining impossible (Meintjies-Van der Walt 1989: 607; Delpont 1995: 212).

The absence of statutory protection added to the trapped and oppressed situation of domestic workers. Delpont (1995: 212) emphasised the value of trade union action compared with the effect of legislation for workers to bring about change in employment conditions. Notwithstanding the difficult circumstances for domestic workers to form unions, unionisation happened quite successfully in 1986 in South Africa owing to the strong sense of group identity caused by the oppression and inequalities that domestic workers experienced.

2.3.5 The unionisation of domestic workers in South Africa

According to Witbooi (2006)²⁹, the South African Domestic Workers' Association (SADWA) was launched in 1981 in Durban. SADWA was formed after five meetings of the Domestic Workers and Employers Project (DWEP) in 1979. DWEP was an exclusive employee organisation (Flint 1988: 199). According to Flint (1988: 198), two domestic workers' bodies did not join the merger, namely the Black Domestic Workers' Union in the Transvaal and the Domestic Workers' Association of Port Elizabeth. Witbooi (2006) stated that the aim of SADWA was to provide protection to domestic workers against exploitation and unfair labour

²⁹Mertle Witbooi is the President of the SADWU

practices. SADWA acted as spokesperson for domestic workers and aimed at forming a union.

In 1986 SADWA and DWA joined to form the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU). Delpont (1995: 214) indicated that the Domestic Workers Association of the Western Cape too did not join SADWU. According to Witbooi (2006), the focus of the Association was to provide general assistance to domestic workers and provided skills training to domestic workers.

SADWU had 52 000 members in 1986. SADWU affiliated with the Congress of South African Trade Unions (COSATU). The Black Domestic Workers Association affiliated with the National Council of Trade Unions (Delpont 1995: 213). Flint (1988: 198) predicted that the “class-race consciousness” of domestic workers and the shared concern of domestic workers about their interests in the community would be valuable building blocks for successful unionisation. The membership of SADWU diminished to 24 149 in 1995. The Black Domestic Workers Association had a membership of 8 434 in 1995. Delpont (1995: 213) mentioned that the domestic workers sector, due to the small union membership, reflected the image of being disorganised and not representative of the sector that consisted of almost one million domestic workers.

2.3.5.1 SADWU’s difficulties to communicate with domestic workers

Libby Lloyd, a journalist, wrote about the difficulties to organise domestic workers and lobby for domestic workers issues she had heard about during a visit to the SADWU offices in Johannesburg (Lloyd 1992: 2-3). There was no factory floor to visit and domestic workers were scattered over thousands of households. The union had to rely on domestic workers learning about the union from friends or neighbours. When the domestic workers were contacted by the union per telephone, the employer just put down the phone. Some domestic workers who requested assistance from the union were fired by the employees. Employers did not allow visitors for domestic workers at their homes.

It was evident that successful unionisation of domestic workers was important to assist them in addressing the inequalities and oppression they experienced. The existence of two unions for domestic workers with relatively small membership and thousands of domestic workers not belonging to any union, however, resulted in domestic workers being less effective in efforts to address the problems they experienced.

2.3.5.2 Union involvement aggravated trapped situation of domestic workers

Once black women became involved with unions, they ended up trapped between their work and their responsibilities at home (the dual shift) and the union activities, described by Cock (1985: 409) as the “third shift”. During a workshop with members of the Federation of South African Trade Unions, one of the members declared that being married stood in her way of being liberated because of her husband’s unwillingness for her to participate in union activities (Cock 1984: 10). Black women could not develop as leaders within the unions because of the constraints that their domestic roles caused (Cock 1984: 16).

The newly elected national president of SADWU mentioned the obstacles to get involved and stay involved in union activities. Her employer told her to choose between the union and her job as domestic worker. She then resigned from her job. Her husband became increasingly abusive when she became president and she left the home (Pandy 1993: 2-3).

2.3.5.3 Establishment of the South African Homemakers Organisation (SAHO)

The South African Homemakers Organisation (SAHO) was established by the Transvaal Women’s Agricultural Union. According to Boshoff (2006), the idea was to accommodate employers and domestic workers as members. SAHO ultimately turned out to be an employers’ organisation only. Delpont (1995:215) stated that membership of employers and employees in the domestic workers services sector of another organisation was not a viable option as the relatively small membership of domestic workers unions were threatened by such a

possibility. Witbooi (2006) confirmed that SADWU would have benefited more from the membership of domestic workers than SAHO.

SAHO developed a code of conduct for employers and employees. Boshoff (2006) stated that it planned to unite employers and domestic workers and to give advice to employers and employees on contractual agreements. Training was provided to domestic workers by SAHO (Delpont 1995: 214; SAHO pamphlet).

The nature of domestic services prevented the existence of an employers' organisation. Employers represented different individual households and employers were not part of a culture of unionisation. Due to the political separation of domestic workers and employers historically in South Africa, these well-meant aims of SAHO could not be achieved. SAHO was unsuccessful to register as an employers' organisation. According to Boshoff (2006), membership of workers in an employers' organisation was not acceptable to the Department of Labour. SAHO could, therefore, not as an employers' organisation contribute legally in a collective bargaining situation in the domestic services sector. This situation added to the difficulty to establish a Domestic Services industry in the real sense and SAHO contributed to the Domestic Services Chamber Board with an unregistered status (see 5.2.8) during the implementation of the DWSDP.

2.3.6 Other matters that added to the trapped and oppressed situation of domestic workers

2.3.6.1 Family deprivation

In the 1970s and 1980s domestic workers worked long hours (65 hours per week), were paid low small wages (R50.00 per month) and in many cases were the only breadwinners in the family (Cock 1989: 41). Many black men were working in the urban areas as contract workers. Some women saw their husbands only once a year (Cock 1989: 43). Domestic workers experienced a serious situation of family deprivation. Some domestic workers had to look after two families, namely the children of the employer and their own children.

To ensure that their own children were cared for, involved costs, as children were left in the care of aged grandmothers or with childminders who were ill-equipped and very expensive. Older children had to stay out of school to look after younger ones. The vicious circle of deprivation continued as children's education was disrupted (Cock 1984: 5).

Insufficient childcare provision was made by the government. This resulted in children sent to grandmothers in remote rural areas to be in safety while the mothers were providing domestic services in the urban area. Mothers and children were separated for long periods from one another—a situation that caused a lot of pain for families (Cock 1985: 407; Cock, Emdon & Glugman 1984: 58).

2.3.6.2 Social deprivation

Domestic workers had very little leisure time in these oppressed times due to long working hours. Cock (1989: 48) stated that among a number of 225 domestic workers she interviewed between 1978 and 1979 in the Eastern Cape, 98% belonged to a church, but 60% said that they could rarely visit the church as domestics were free one Sunday a month only in most instances.

Motsei (1990: 50) described the work environment of the domestic worker as a “total institution”. The lives of domestic workers were controlled by their employers to such an extent that the way domestic workers organised their private lives often was determined by the needs of the employers and to the disadvantage of the domestic workers themselves. Domestic work as an institution “blurred the barriers between work and private life”. Many domestic workers were barred behind high security walls and alarm systems in backyard rooms, not allowed to receive any visitors. Delport (1995: 212) described the domestic workers as a “socially fragmented work-force”. These circumstances impacted seriously on the way domestic workers regarded themselves.

2.3.6.3 Self-image

Domestic workers experienced a lack of self-confidence and a low self-esteem that was the direct effect of apartheid on the dignity and the worth of black people and of women in particular (Taylor & Conradie 1997: 84).

Motsei (1990: 6) added that domestic workers in a sense were depersonalised by their work situation, suffering from a lack of confidence and low self-esteem. The powerlessness of domestic workers turned them into dependents. Their dependence appeared to lead to deference, because they did not complain or strike. Cock (1989: 84) came to the conclusion that both employer and employee realised the power was in the hands of the employer. Consequently, it can be noted that the non-committal attitude of domestic workers was a mask of deference to protect themselves.

2.3.6.4 Violence against domestic workers and sexual exploitation

In the apartheid era, black women workers were at times so dependent on jobs to ensure the survival of themselves and their families that they were exploited sexually in exchange for a job (Cock 1989: 9). A black woman who worked in a factory had to go without her increase because she refused to sleep with the supervisor (Cock 1984: 9).

Domestic workers, like other black women workers, were the object of sexual harassment in their workplaces. When the Immorality Act was repealed in 1987, the concern was present that black women would be even more exposed to sexual harassment than before (Cock 1989: 9). The ironic positive side of this act was that it protected domestic workers from sexual exploitation by their male employers (Cock 1989: 81).

Violence had been hidden by the private nature of crime in the domestic environment (Pandy 1993: 2). Violence took different forms. Motsei (1990: 9) reported the physical abuse of a domestic worker in 1997 because she refused to clean up the dog's mess. A domestic worker was sexually harassed by her

employer during the day when his wife was out. The domestic worker needed the job badly. To elude the employer, she worked outside the house when he was present. Had she complained to the wife, she would have lost her job immediately. She ultimately resigned from the job (Motsei 1990: 9).

Verbal abuse was common in domestic service. According to Cock, (1989: 140) domestic workers were scolded for being “stupid” and “without brains”. A domestic worker approached SADWA in 1985 with a complaint that the employer shouted at her when she was cleaning the fridge with boiling water. This resulted in the domestic worker being seriously burned as she dropped the water and slipped on the floor (Govana 1985: 2). Employers would not teach or allow domestic workers to use labour-saving devices as “blacks do not understand machines” (Shindler 1980: 31).

The trapped situation of domestic workers often forced them to stay on in an environment of violence within the work situation: domestic workers were poor, they needed the employment, although often paid very little. Baden et al (1999:13 & 14) and Motsei (1990:1) regarded the presence of violence in domestic workers’ services as representative of the high statistics of gender violence in South Africa.

2.3.6.5 Gender oppression

According to Romero (1992: 15), domestic work, also called housework, was described in the United States of America (USA) on the basis of gender firstly. It was further described according to class and in most cases it was linked with race and ethnicity. In South Africa the situation was not different.

In the 1970s and 1980s women, in general, were subordinates in South Africa in a sexist and patriarchal environment that treated them as second rate citizens, inferior and dependent people (Cock 1989: 12). Baden et al (1999: 2) indicated that under apartheid women from different race groups and classes suffered different levels and forms of discrimination. Baden et al (1999: 2) pointed out that women lost their status in South Africa during the times of colonialism.

Missionaries and colonialists changed the customary law that regulated the lives of people and women lost their status as farming became less important to the economy. This situation reflected the modernisation thinking that resulted into dependency for domestic workers as well (see 3.2.1 and 3.2.2).

Domestic workers experienced these convergences in a more intensified manner. They were paid the lowest salaries (Joni 2004:14). They had less access to all levels of education. They were the most exposed to violence, sexual harassment and rape in the work place and they were the most affected by legal inequalities. Many black women were heads of households, but were much poorer than male heads of families (Baden et al. 1999: 15).

Domestic workers often were victims of the view that homework is women's work, or that domestic work is inappropriate for men (Cock 1981: 47). These women had less than two thirds of the free time men enjoyed, because they laboured outside the home at work and then inside their own homes. The working hours of some women totalled between seventy and eighty hours a week (Unidentified 1989: 2-3).

Domestic work was regarded as unskilled work and not suitable for white women to do (Cock 1981: 47). This indicated that women in South Africa were fragmented and not at all homogeneous, observed from a gender angle. Domestic work as an institution created the opportunity for a situation of "tyranny" (Cock 1979: 2). White women as employers controlled the lives of domestic workers and domestic workers were left powerless and vulnerable because the employer decided about the wage of the domestic worker, what hours the domestic workers had to work and no legislation was in place that could protect the domestic worker from unfair treatment by the employer.

Romero (1992: 15) analysed the employer-employee relationship in domestic services from a feministic angle. She pointed out that domestic services accentuated the contradiction between race and class: women of one class used the labour of another class to escape from the oppression and discrimination of sexism. Cock (1981: 44) supported this view and added that black women in

South Africa were further “propelled” into domestic services because they needed to support themselves and their families and the absence of quality affordable child care facilities intensified their oppressed and trapped situation. It can be concluded from the above discussion that domestic workers in South Africa experienced an urgent need for change in their economic and social circumstances.

2.4 An overview of the circumstances of domestic workers during the approach and after the advent of the new dispensation

2.4.1 A changing environment for domestic workers

The late 1980s and early 1990s gradually brought about developments that contributed to changes that would affect the trapped and oppressed situation in South Africa for domestic workers. According to Witbooi (2006), SADWU was active and experienced a successful phase as organisation. The union received funding from the Netherlands that enabled them to organise conferences for domestic workers across South Africa. However, subsequent to the advent of the new constitutional dispensation, this funding came to an end.

SADWU benefited from their cooperation with COSATU as the union had a stronger voice to address the exploitation of domestic workers (Gami 1988: 2). Witbooi (2006) stated that The Black Domestic Worker’s Union was affiliated with the National Council of Trade Unions (NACTU) and benefited from this relationship as well. The unions arranged a number of marches to demand that the rights of domestic workers be respected (Unidentified 1990: 2).

Domestic workers took up a strong position about gender equality and against the sexual exploitation of women inside the unions. A book, ‘No turning back - fighting for gender equality in the unions’, addressed the matter (Unidentified 1992: 2).

The establishment of a committee in 1991 by the National Manpower Commission to investigate the situation of domestic workers was regarded as a

major victory for unions (Lloyd 1992: 2). The committee's report recommended, *inter alia*, that domestic workers should be included in the Labour Relations Act and in the basic conditions of employment developed for domestic workers (Delpont 1995: 142; Unidentified 1992: 2).

2.4.2 The Constitution of the Republic of South Africa , Act 108 of 1996

The stage was set for changes within the domestic services sector when the Interim Constitution of South Africa was accepted in 1993 and the final Constitution of the Republic of South Africa in 1996. The Constitution contained a Bill of Rights in Chapter 2 that applied to all South Africans. For the purpose of this study, Section 9 (South Africa 1996a: 7) and 23 (South Africa 1996a: 10) were of special importance.

Section 9 focused on equality and section 23 on labour relations. The principles reflected in these two sections addressed the inequalities discussed above that caused the oppressed and captured situation of domestic workers.

2.4.2.1 The Constitution and equality

The Constitution, *inter alia*, gave the following guarantees with regard to equality that affected the lives of domestic workers:

- Everyone is equal before the law and has the right to equal protection and benefit from the law.
- Equality includes the full and equal enjoyment of all rights and freedoms. to promote the achievement of equality, legislative and other measures designed to protect or advance persons or categories of persons, disadvantaged by unfair discrimination may be taken.
- The state (and no person) may not unfairly discriminate directly or indirectly against any one on one or more grounds, including race, gender, sex, pregnancy, marital status, ethnic or social origin, colour sexual orientation, age, disability, religion, conscience, belief, culture, language and birth.”(South Africa 1996a: 7).

A number of bodies were established to monitor gender equality. These bodies were collectively called the National Machinery for Advancing Gender Equality in South Africa. The Commission for Gender Equality (CGE) and the Office of the Status of Women (OSW) were part of the National Machinery. The CGE had the responsibility to monitor and evaluate government and private sector regarding gender matters. The Office of the Status of Women (OSW) had to develop national gender policy, support government bodies to co-operate on gender issues and organise gender training for government departments (Baden et al 1999: 4-6). Gender equalities that impacted on the lives of domestic workers could now at least be reported and investigated, but the situation could not be addressed overnight.

A report of a combined research effort by the CGE and the Centre for Applied Legal Study (CALS) on sex and gender inequalities and discrimination in South Africa in 2001, however, indicated that legislation in the new dispensation was not inconsiderate regarding to sex and gender, but that implementation of the legislation did not reflect the same sensitivity (INTERFUND 2001: 23).

The gender structures and implementation of gender policy had many imperfections as indicated above, but at least it provided an infrastructure in society that could assist domestic workers to break through the barriers that caused them to be trapped and oppressed people. The inequalities with regard to race, sex, class and gender they had experienced due to apartheid during the previous the dispensation, now at least could be addressed in the work place as well.

2.4.2.2 The Constitution and Labour Relations

The Constitution provided the opportunity for domestic workers, as for all other South Africans, to be treated fairly in their work environment. The following guarantees were given:

- “Everyone has the right to fair labour practices.”

- “Every worker has the right -
 - a. to form and join a trade union;
 - b. to participate in the activities and the programmes of an employers’ organisation; and
 - c. to strike.”

- “Every employer has the right -
 - a. to form and join an employer’s organisation; and
 - b. to participate in the activities and programmes of an employer’s organisation” (South Africa 1996a: 10).

Organisations of employers and organisations of domestic workers could take part in collective bargaining within the parameters of national legislation developed to regulate collective bargaining. Domestic workers also could demand fair treatment in their work environment. The Constitution created a positive environment for the development of legislature that could free domestic workers from the “legal vacuum” (Cock 1989: 5).

2.4.3 Labour legislation that impacted on domestic services

2.4.3.1 The Occupational Health and Safety Act, No. 85 of 1993

The Act included domestic workers (South Africa 1993c 2). The employer had the responsibility to ensure that the workplace was free of hazardous substances that may cause injury, damage or disease. Domestic workers needed to be informed of potential dangers and protective measures should be implemented like the wear of protective clothing (South Africa 1993c: 14). The safety of the domestic worker was also the joint responsibility of employer and worker (South Africa 1993c: 18; South Africa 1993d: 2).

The challenge was to educate domestic workers and their employers about precautions to be taken to ensure the safe working environment in domestic services.

Such knowledge and skills were important to empower domestic workers for the work they do. It was evident that education and training focusing on domestic services was urgently needed.

2.4.3.2 The Compensation for Occupational Injuries and Diseases Act (COIDA), No. 130 of 1993

The Act did not cover domestic workers (South Africa 1993b: 6). The financial contribution by employers was the issue of consideration. The employment opportunities of domestic workers could diminish if employers were legally forced to contribute for their workers. According to Caroline³⁰ (2006), the exemption of domestic workers by COIDA left them still vulnerable. Feedback to the Black Sash currently is indicating that domestic workers are, for example, still exposed to violence and rape in the work situation. They need medical treatment and trauma counselling. Domestic workers are dependent on the goodwill of the employer who may not be able to assist financially.

Nabe³¹ (2006) confirmed that instances of employers taking insurance out for their domestic workers were reported at their offices. This normally happens when a positive work relationship exists between the employer and the domestic worker and the employer is financially able.

2.4.3.3 The Basic Conditions of Employment Amendment Act (BCEA), No. 137 of 1993

³⁰ Leoni Caroline is the Regional Director for the Black Sash in the Western Cape Province. She operates from the Advice Office of the Black Sash. The physical address of the Advice Office is 4th Floor, Burley House, 24 Barrack Street, Cape Town. The Advice Office renders services to domestic workers and members of the community regarding labour issues, application for grants and pensions.

The Advice Office also liaises with employers and SADWU in connection with domestic services issues.

³¹ Normahludi Nabe is a paralegal consultant at the Western Cape Province Advice Office of the Black Sash.

This Act included domestic workers and provided for both full-time and part-time domestic workers (South Africa 1993a: 1). A written contract between the employer and the employee was still not compulsory. The wages paid to domestic workers were not prescribed and depended on the agreement between domestic worker and employer. Payment in kind could be part of the wage and maximum work hours of a live-in domestic worker were phrased in the Act as a “spread-over of 12 hours” (South Africa 1993a: 2 & 3).

From the above it can be concluded that the relationship between the employer and the employee and the wage issue was not clarified yet. Domestic workers were still exposed to exploitation. Wages were not prescribed and domestic workers had to depend on the goodwill of employers as in the past. Payment in kind could be anything from food to clothes, most often second hand in quality.

However, it was felt by domestic workers to be a move into the right direction as they could only benefit from the basic conditions of employment as regulated in the Act (Unidentified: 1994: 2). With the benefit of hindsight, this Act can be regarded as a ground-breaking step to regulate domestic services and more changes to address the basic conditions of domestic workers regarding wages, work hours and leave could be expected.

2.4.3.4 The Labour Relations Act, No. 66 of 1995

Domestic workers were included by the Act (South Africa 1995a: 12). They could now join and take part in union activities and make use of collective bargaining to gain better salaries. Different to other industries, Section 17 of the Act referred to the restricted rights in domestic services. The office-bearer or official of a representative union did not have the right to enter the home of the employer without the permission of the employer. The right to the disclosure of information to unions as prescribed by section 16 also did not apply to domestic workers (South Africa: 1995a: 21). The matter of the privacy of the workplace of domestic workers was typical of the different nature of the domestic workers industry and impacted on the DWSDP during implementation (see 5.2 5).

Labour dispute procedures could at least be resolved as the services of the Commission for Conciliation, Mediation and Arbitration (CCMA) was available to employers and domestic workers to solve labour disputes, for example unfair dismissals (South Africa: 1995a: 101). This Act contributed to breaking down the legal vacuum domestic workers had experienced before. Witbooi (2006) and Nabe (2006) confirmed that employers and domestic workers would rather come for legal advice before they ended up in a CCMA dispute.

2.3.4.5 The Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No. 75 of 1997

This Act covered domestic workers (South Africa 1997a: 5 & 7). Conditions were the same as for other workers. The Act recognised domestic workers as part of the workforce of South Africa. Unfortunately, the crucial matters of unusual working hours, low pay and unfair working conditions that affected the lives of domestic workers so negatively still were not addressed separately. Domestic workers enjoyed rights and freedom that the previous government withheld, but the position of domestic workers in society and their day to day lives had not improved. Hesitancy still existed to address matters like wages, work hours and compulsory written contracts between employer and employee, through applicable legislation. It was evident that a law focusing on the special needs of domestic workers and their employers needed to be developed.

2.5 A new era: inputs that resulted in the first “Domestic Workers’ Act” and other legislation beneficial to domestic services

2.5.1 Recommendations by COSATU supported by SADWU

The main thrust of the recommendations to the Department of Labour in 1999 by COSATU³² regarding employment conditions for domestic workers, concerned payment. Minimum wages needed to be set and enforced for domestic workers.

³² COSATU made the recommendations on behalf of SADWU that was affiliated with COSATU.

The minimum living wage of R1200 for skilled, R800 for semi-skilled and R75 per day for part-time workers were prescribed as well as graduated increases on wages over an agreed period (COSATU 1999: 1).

Further recommendations by COSATU were that the BCEA should apply uniformly to domestic workers and that COIDA should cover domestic workers as well. The request also was that domestic workers should have access to the Unemployment Insurance Fund (UIF) and a state supervised pension implemented (COSATU 1999: 2).

The question was if all employers could afford to pay the minimum wage suggested and if that would not result into domestic workers losing their work. According to COSATU (1999: 3), the regulation of payment in kind was important to avoid the continuation of exploitation of workers in the name of payments in kind. It was quite difficult to set criteria for skilled and unskilled domestic workers as recognised skills courses and qualifications for domestic workers were unavailable.

A recommendation also was submitted regarding education and training for domestic workers. This was a follow-up of concerns about a lack of career opportunities for domestic workers, voiced by SADWU in 1998 (Gordon-Brown 2000: 10). It was evident that a qualification in domestic services had to be developed and implemented as soon as possible.

2.5.2 Recommendations by the Employment Conditions Commission (ECC)

The Department of Labour appointed the Employment Conditions Commission in 2000. The terms of reference of the ECC were to investigate the appropriate demarcation of the Domestic Worker Sector to enable a sectoral determination. The ECC further had to investigate conditions of employment that included minimum wages for domestic workers (South Africa 2001: 1) Finally, the ECC aimed to address the most urgent needs of domestic workers, to improve the circumstances of rural domestic workers in particular, to ensure that domestic

workers do not lose jobs due to forthcoming recommendations and to improve the image of domestic work in society (South Africa 2001: 1).

A total of 139 responses and representations were received from trade union federations, trade unions within domestic services, an employers' organisation, NGO's, churches and other organisations (South Africa 2001: 2). Public hearings across the country provided opportunities for employers and domestic workers to give inputs on employment conditions for the domestic services industry.

Some important recommendations of the ECC were:

- Demarcation of the Domestic Workers Sector: the suggestion was that the sector be graded into urban (Area A) and rural (Area B) areas (South Africa 2001: 40).
- Wages: Hourly minimum wages for full time and part time domestic workers were recommended. Wages were graded according to the demarcation in areas and domestic workers should be paid on an hourly basis:
 - Ø Rate for full time workers (urban areas): R4.10 per hour.
(R800.00 per month for a 45 hour week).
 - Ø Rate for part time workers in urban areas: R4.51 per hour.
(A part time worker worked 27 or less hours per week).
 - Ø Rate for full time workers in rural areas: R3.33 per hour.
(R650.00 per month for a 45 hour week).
 - Ø Rate for part time workers in rural areas: R 3.66 per hour. (South Africa 2001:40).
 - Ø It was recommended that no deductions for payment in kind be allowed except for accommodation (South Africa 2001: 50).

Compared with the recommendations of COSATU, proposed wages by the ECC were more realistic and affordable to employers. The ECC had the same approach about UIF, COIDA and a state-supported pension fund for domestic workers (South Africa 2001: 32). These recommendations culminated in the Sectoral

Determination 7: Domestic Worker Section also named the Domestic Workers' Act. It was quite interesting that the issue of education and training in domestic services skills was not included in the recommendations. It was still not possible for domestic workers to provide proof of skills in domestic services gained through education and training. The issue of a "skilled" or "unskilled" domestic worker was still unresolved.

2.5.3 Sectoral Determination 7: Domestic Worker Section and binding as from 1 September 2002 (addition to Basic Conditions of Employment Act, No. 75 of 1997)

For the very first time, legislation was issued in South Africa for the domestic workers sector only. The numbers of domestic workers employed at that stage in South Africa was an estimated one to one and a half million (Unidentified: 2003: 1).

The matters covered were wages, hours of work, overtime pay, salary increases, deductions, annual and sick leave and termination of employment (South Africa 2002a: 4, 5, 19 & 24). Prohibition of child labour and forced labour was also included (South Africa 2002a: 23).

For the very first time the unregulated domestic services industry was regulated. Domestic workers that have been among the most exploited workers in South Africa could cast off those shackles that had kept them captured and oppressed.

The recommendation of the ECC of A Areas (urban) and B Areas (rural) became applicable. Minimum wages for full time and part time workers were set. These minimum wages became effective on 1 November 2002. 8% increase in wages was regulated for November 2003 and November 2004.

For the very first time wages for domestic were set and legally enforced in South Africa. The difference in payment of domestic workers according to the division of urban and rural areas prevented workers from losing employment in areas less affluent. Much uncertainty for employers and domestic workers were clarified regarding the basic conditions for domestic services.

Table 1 Domestic workers who work more than 27 ordinary hours per week

	Area A	Area B
Hourly	R 4.10	R 3.33
Weekly	R 184.62	R150.00
Monthly	R 800.00	R 650.00

Table 2 Domestic workers who work 27 ordinary hours per week or less

	Area A	Area B
Hourly	R 4.51	R 3.66
Weekly	R 212.77	R98.82
Monthly	R 527.67	R 428.22

Source: South Africa 2002a: 8-9

The wages for domestic workers were revisited during 2005. The new wages became effective from 1 December 2005. Average raise per hour for full and part time workers was R1.00 per hour (Department of Labour 2006: 7). The issue of payment in kind was sorted out as well: No deductions were allowed, except 10% of the wage for accommodation.

The matter of hours of work of domestic workers was regulated as well. An employer is not allowed to expect more than 45 hours in any week. If a domestic worker worked for five or less days per week, hours of work should not be more than nine hours per day. If a domestic worker worked for more than five days a week, not more than eight work hours are allowed (South Africa 2002a: 8-9).

Domestic workers were empowered to negotiate for the most suitable employment option. Domestic workers also could reach an agreement on overtime, work on Sundays and public holidays that not only suited the employers, but also themselves. The one outstanding matter of education and training in domestic services skills was still outstanding and domestic workers could not compete for jobs based on skills achieved.

2.5.4 The Unemployment Insurance Contributions Act, No. 4 of 2002

The Act included domestic workers and their employers and became enforceable in the Domestic Workers Sector from 1 April 2003 (South Africa 2002b: 3). Employers had to register their domestic workers, whether the worker was a full time or part time worker. If a domestic worker worked for more than one employer, all employers needed to register the worker for UIF. The employer contributed 1% of the salary and the domestic worker 1% of the salary.

The Act introduced a co-responsibility for employer and domestic worker to ensure that a worker is not left without any income whatsoever after becoming unemployed. While looking for other employment, domestic workers could benefit from the UIF.

2.6 Education and training for domestic workers

2.6.1 Situation in formal school institutions

The new dispensation certainly brought along many positive changes and opportunities for marginalised workers such as domestic workers. A number of new Acts were passed to address the backlog in education and training for the black people of South Africa. The profound inequalities of social class, gender and regions had to be addressed in education as well (Christi 1994: 45).

The majority of South Africans received inadequate schooling that resulted in widespread illiteracy among black South Africans, more so amongst black women (Christi 1994: 46). Many black women took up domestic services employment as they had no other choice due to a lack of education. How to address the breakdown of black schooling was not so evident. Schools in the marginalised areas were poorly equipped with human resources and infrastructure (Christi 1998: 2).

This problem resulted in black women still being forced to enter domestic services in the new dispensation as no immediate improvement to the quality of education

happened. This situation was exacerbated by the decrease in employment opportunities. During 2002, 40 000 jobs were shed in the non-agricultural sector of the economy alone. The information technology, business services or the large survivalist informal sector was not included in the survey³³ (INTERFUND: 2001: 59).

2.6.2 Legal framework regarding education and training of domestic workers

2.6.2.1 The South African Qualifications Act, No 58 of 1995 and The National Education Policy Act, No. 84 of 1996

These two Acts were of significance for the domestic services as it ensured equal access for all South Africans to formal education (South Africa 1995b: 2; South Africa 1996b: 4). Inequalities of the past, promotion of gender equality and the advancement of the status of women were set as priorities.

Education and training were approached as one concept and the national qualifications framework ensured that the barriers to lifelong learning were removed. Lifelong learning was enhanced and education and training were integrated within a national qualifications framework. This Act resulted into the recognition of abilities, aptitudes and prior knowledge (South Africa 1996b: 5; Pillay 1998: 337).

Domestic workers certainly could benefit from these Acts as equal access to education and training and the opportunity to develop a career path, supported by the national qualifications framework, opened up new opportunities to all marginalised South Africans.

2.6.2.2 Skills Development Act (SDA), No. 97 of 1998 and the Skills Development Levies Act (SDLA), No. 9 of 1999

³³ Survey of Total Employment and Earning (STEE) Stats SA June 2000.

The SDA was another stepping stone for domestic workers to address their urgent need of training. The Act aimed to provide an institutional framework to devise and implement strategies on national, sector and workplace level to develop and improve the skills of the South African workforce. These strategies would be integrated into the National Qualifications Framework (NQF). Learnerships³⁴ would be developed to lead to recognised qualifications for occupations. The SETA's³⁵ (per sector) would implement learnerships. Skills development would be funded by a levy³⁶-grant scheme and National Skills Fund³⁷ and employment services would be regulated (South Africa 1998b: 1). Domestic workers, however, experienced another barrier to get access to education and training.

No official domestic workers' industry existed. A domestic workers' industry needed to be established to be part of a SETA. The skills of domestic services were covered by at three different SETA's. The SDLA was complimentary to the SDA as it provided for the imposition of the skills development levy as introduced in the SDA (South Africa 1999: 6).

The employers of domestic workers, however did not pay levies like other employers in established industries. The National Skills Fund was capacitated to fund training of domestic workers as the 20% contribution of the skills levy paid by employers of different sectors could be applied for training of domestic work. The challenge for domestic workers was to get access to NSF assistance.

³⁴ Learnership: A SETA establishes a learnership. A learnership consists of a structured learning component. It includes practical work experience based on a specific nature and period of time. A learnership leads to a qualification registered by the South African Qualifications Authority and linked to an occupation. A learnership is registered with the Director- General of the Labour in the prescribed manner (South Africa 1998b: 14).

³⁵ SETA: Sector Education and Training Authority. A SETA has the following responsibilities with regard to the implementation of learnerships: implement the sector skills plan developed by the SETA by establishing a learnership; approves workplace skills plans; allocates grants to employers, education and training providers and workers; monitor the training and education in the sector; promotes learnerships by identifying workplaces for the practical experience of workers; supports the development of learning materials; enhances the quality of facilitation and finalise the registration of the learnership (South Africa 1998b: 11).

³⁶ Levy: Every employer / organisation needs to pay a skills development levy (1% of payroll) to SARS. The levies are re-distributed through SARS to the applicable SETA and to the National Skills Fund. Employers/ organisations that plan, implement and report on skills development in the workplace can claim back 65% of the skills levy (Govender 2003: 12 & 13).

³⁷ National Skills Fund: 20% of the skills levy is contributed to NSF for the sectors that have to SETA. The fund is used only for projects that are identified in the National Skills Development Strategy as a national priority (South Africa 1998b:20).

2.6.3 The Further Education and Training Act, No. 98 of 1998

This Act regulated further education and training. Further education and training refer to education and training that covers grade 10 to 12 as well as NQF levels 2, 3 and 4. The Act ensured access to further education and training in the workplace to persons who previously have been marginalised, such as women, the disabled and the disadvantaged (South Africa 1998a: 1). Domestic workers could benefit from this Act as many of them did not have access to these levels of education before.

2.6.4 Adult Basic Education and Training³⁸ Act, No. 52 of 2000

The provision of optimal opportunities for adult learning and literacy was the main thrust of this Act (South Africa 2000: 641). The Act impacted on domestic workers due to the high level of illiteracy or semi-literacy among domestic workers. The research report on domestic workers conducted before the implementation of the DWSDP indicated that 48% of domestic workers were illiterate (South Africa 2001: 3). According to Lira (2005) these findings were confirmed during the implementation of the Domestic Workers Skills Development Project (DWSDP). Facilitators experienced that five out of ten domestic workers were illiterate³⁹.

Access to ABET programmes could assist domestic workers to take down messages, design budgets, making shopping lists as well as to open doors within families to assist children with home work.

The request for skills development of domestic workers by SADWU⁴⁰ turned out favourably when the Department of Labour appointed a Project Steering Committee in 1999 for the Domestic Workers Skills Development

³⁸ Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET): ABET focuses on all learning and training programmes for adults from level 1 to level 4. Level 4 is equivalent to grade 9 in public schools or national qualifications framework level 1 in accordance with the South African Qualifications Act No. 58 of 1995 (South Africa 2000: 645).

³⁹ Julia Lira is a facilitator, mentor and assessor at Basadi Pele Foundation.

⁴⁰ SADWU has since changed its name to SADAGWU – the South African Domestic and General Workers Union.

Project—Project 11(C). R117 000 000 was allocated to it by the NSF for the development and implementation of the DWSDP. The Services SETA took responsibility for the implementation of the project as the main responsibilities of domestic workers were cleaning (Gordon-Brown 2000: 2).

2.7 Conclusion

The vulnerable position of domestic workers over the years is identifiable in the way domestic work, the relationship with the employer and the nature of the work were defined and described. The domestic worker was traditionally expected to be totally committed to and available to serve the employer. The incorporation of domestic workers in labour relations legislation in the new dispensation did not change the perception that domestic work has a low status and that domestic work is regarded as unskilled work.

Domestic workers in South Africa experienced sexual, class, gender and racial oppression during the apartheid era. Their exclusion from labour legislation, the impact of the apartheid legislation, poverty and lack of education resulted in their trapped and oppressed situation. Domestic workers were discriminated against not only by their female employers, but experienced further inequalities within their own households where they had to conduct “women’s work” as well.

The exposure of black women to education of feeble quality caused many domestic workers to be illiterate. Unionisation provided some support to domestic workers to free themselves from oppression. The Constitution of South Africa prepared the way to freedom for domestic workers.

Domestic workers benefited from labour legislation in the new dispensation. They gained freedom never experienced before in South Africa by domestic workers. The effective implementation of these Acts would be the challenge. Shortcomings still existed. Domestic workers still were not included by COIDA. A state regulated pension had not been introduced for domestic workers. This could be regarded as an inability by the state to design and implement gender sensitive

legislation. Most domestic workers were black marginalised women and had the same right to benefit from legislation which others workers had.

The DWSDP could have expected to have an impact on the lives of employers and domestic workers and domestic services in general. The improved self-image of domestic workers and positive attitude towards domestic work had result into work performance of a high standard. In the homes and community of domestic workers newly achieved knowledge and skills could contribute to improved family lives. Most importantly, domestic workers could be empowered to shed the burden of oppression and exploitation through skills development and training.

Chapter Three will focus on the modernisation, dependency, sustainable development and praxis theories and their relevance for this study. The principles of development education of Freire will be investigated and applied to the development of domestic workers who, in many instances, are illiterate. Gender development theories will be discussed and linked with women in the domestic services sector in particular. The manifestation of all these matters in the idea of community development, as currently understood, will be explored.

CHAPTER THREE

DEVELOPMENT: THEORIES AND DEBATES IMPORTANT FOR THE DOMESTIC WORKERS SKILLS DEVELOPMENT PROJECT

3.1 Introduction

In chapter two the issues and circumstances were investigated that historically impacted on the lives of domestic workers in South Africa. The new dispensation in South Africa and the enabling environment created by democracy for domestic workers to free themselves from oppression, exploitation and deprivation, were highlighted. The Domestic Workers Skills Development Project (DWSDP) as community project provided that development instrument for domestic workers to achieve freedom by empowerment through skills development.

The aim of chapter three is, firstly, to investigate the development theories that evolved over time which directed the development and lives of South African women and those of domestic workers in particular. The evolving of the concept of community development, influenced by these theories, up to the current understanding of community development as an empowering process for all participants in a community project, will be described.

The DWSDP is a community project that is based on education and skills training of previous marginalised, oppressed and educationally deprived domestic workers. The development education theory of Paulo Freire is, secondly, investigated to establish its possible value for successful implementation of the DWSDP as community project aimed at uplifting the lives of these women.

The debate around development initiatives and their impact on the lives of poor and underprivileged women is researched next. This is important to understand and to evaluate the implementation and the outcomes of the DWSDP against the criteria set by gender development thinking and community development programmes for women's empowerment. Arising from and complementary to this discussion, important international conventions, declarations and decisions that focused on education equality and access to literacy and skills development for

women, finally will be highlighted as contributing and determining elements of the DWSDP.

3.2 An overview of development theories

Development concerns people. It focuses on the millions of persons who are in abject poverty across the world. Development is described differently by different interest groups and philosophers (Kotze 1997: 2). In the Western world, development has been regarded as change since the 1950s and the focus generally was on economic change and the growth of developing countries (Regan & Ruth 2002: 24). In the Third World, development was and still is expected to identify and address the needs of unemployed, poor and deprived people through development efforts (Coetzee 1989: 2). All people want a worthy life and for that reason the well-being of people is the basis of development (Coetzee & Graaff 1996: 14).

As different socio-economic problems appeared, different schools of thought have emerged to give an understanding of its impact on development strategy (Hettne 1996: 14). These theories also guided and directed development initiatives. Since the 1950s and 1960s the developed world had a huge concern with the problems of the underdeveloped countries. Coetzee (1989: 3) mentions that the Western contribution to development was accompanied by hidden motives. External involvement in development efforts often resulted in a position of power over and domination of the developing country and power is generally accompanied by exploitation (Freire, in Torres 1998:91).

For the purpose of this study the following development theories will be discussed: modernisation, dependency theory, sustainable development, the basic needs theory and sustainable development. An investigation of community development follows, as these theories are reflected in the idea of community development as it developed over time. The discussion on community development is useful for this study as the development impact of the Domestic Workers Skills Development Project (DWSDP) on stakeholders will be evaluated against the characteristics of and criteria applicable to community development.

The influence of development theories also are evident in the gender development debate discussed in 3.4.

3.2.1 The Modernisation Theory

The modernisation theory developed from the need for economic growth in the second half of the 1950s. Industrialisation, urbanisation and political revolution were social changes and combined with the idea of change and progress, formed the basis of modernisation. Classical theorists like Comte, Spencer, Durkheim, Marx and Weber focused on the transition from traditional to modern society (Coetzee & Graaff 1996: 42; Coetzee 1989: 19).

According to Coetzee (1989: 4) the idea of modernisation was a form of change that focused on the influences coming from outside to the less developed world. The solution to the less-developed countries (LDCs) was simple: Ignore tradition and follow the route to development as the developed Western countries (modernity) did (Davids 2005: 9; Coetzee & Graaff 1996: 39; Coetzee 1989: 17).

Rapley (1996: 16) argues that modernisation wanted to identify the conditions that caused the First World to develop and, by doing so, could establish if and why they were lacking in the Third World. Leys (1996: 10) explains that theorists of modernisation believed that the values of the modern world would be spread out through education and technology development aid programmes to the LDCs. To some theorists the problem of underdevelopment was just a shortage of capital (Leys 1996: 16).

Although a number of schools contributed to modernisation, theorists concurred that development was an initial state. Rostow (1990: 4) explained development in five stages. He compared it to the take-off of an aeroplane. The different stages of underdevelopment (initial state), through the phases of increased savings and interest to self-sustaining development, were explained as follows:

- The traditional society is in a stage when almost no history exists (Rostow 1990: 4-6).

- Societies are guided to enable them to imitate the economic history of European countries and to have growth resulting in development (Rostow 1990: 6-7).
- The “take-off” happens when economic growth happens independently. Accumulated interest becomes part of the mode of growth and structures of the society (Rostow 1990: 7-9).
- The society progresses to maturity and enhances the criteria of modern, efficient production. GNP indicates the progress (Rostow 1990: 9-10).
- The society is present in the stage of high mass consumption (Rostow 1990: 10-11).

Modernisation as explained by Rostow assumes that economic and social change of societies takes place along a development continuum starting from traditional underdevelopment to modernity. Progress always will be a possibility and improvement will automatically follow, should the correct procedures (the Third World imitating the development steps of the West) be followed (Coetzee & Graaff 1996: 56).

According to Rist (1999: 101) and Coetzee & Graaff (1996: 58), modernisation did not always evolve in spite of favourable circumstances. Rostow argued that should any of the stages experience obstacles, foreign capital could be used to remove any obstacle to development in LDCs (Davids 2005: 11; Coetzee & Graaff (1996: 58). Bauer (1995: 56) disagrees with this idea as he believes that most aid recipients severely restrict private internal investment. Todaro (1989: 12) has a less materialistic approach. He defines development in terms of economics and how it can assist in the understanding of problems of economic and social progress in poor nations.

From the 1960s to 1980s the former underdeveloped homelands of South Africa were provided with infrastructures for agriculture, education and industry by the South African apartheid government. These underdeveloped areas were extremely poor and unemployment rampant (Cock 1980: 45). The aim was to institutionalise

and support the policy of separate development (apartheid) and to expose the people living in these areas to modernisation (Westernisation).

The envisaged development did not occur nearly to the extent envisaged and the trickle down effect was not achieved (Coetzee 1989: 39; Leys 1996: 10). People who qualified at universities in these areas, could not find employment. This was a typical example of unbalanced growth and the progress of modernisation as the economy could not provide employment for the educated people (Coetzee & Graaff 1996: 59; Coetzee 1989: 39; Leys 1996: 10).

The hidden agenda of modernisation affected the lives of black women in general and of domestic workers in particular. Women stayed behind as heads of households. They did not have the exposure of men to education. Many were illiterate (Cornwell 1995: 271; Goosen & Glugman 1996:113; Taylor & Conradie 1997: 81). Driven by poverty, women had to leave their families behind to survive and to look for domestic services employment illegally in the urban areas (Cock 1989: 5).

Sharp criticism exposed modernisation as an effort to justify Northern countries' use of domestic growth and foreign aid as methods of fighting communism. Southern countries expected an improved future, promised by modernisation, while the new ruling class of the South were benefiting themselves and not the poor people (Regan & Ruth 2002: 32; Rist 1999: 109). The critique resulted in reaction and counter-reaction and the dependency theory was born.

3.2.2 The Dependency Theory

The dependency theory was a reaction to the shortcomings of modernisation and it was mostly the Latin American countries that spearheaded the reaction. These countries had enjoyed independency for more than a century, but had not benefited from modernisation and its promises (Coetzee & Graaff 1996: 75; Rist 1999: 109; Leys 1996:11). Coetzee & Graaff (1996: 74) argue that the same processes that led to growth and prosperity of the capitalist West in the past broadly caused underdevelopment in the Third World.

The elite of the Third World that dominated the developing specialist export-orientated economies had a dependent relationship with capitalists in the more advanced countries (Coetzee & Graaff 1996: 74). The elite benefited from its dependence by earning revenue on the export market and then spending its profits on imported luxury goods (Rapley 1996:19). Todaro (1989: 79) describes dependency as a spiralling phenomenon to which multinational corporations, aid agencies and multilateral assistance organisations such as the World Bank and the International Monetary Fund contributed. The actions of the elite prevented rather than enhanced genuine development efforts and resulted into the perpetuation of underdevelopment in the Third World.

Todaro (1989: 78) refers to this situation as the neo-colonial dependency and regards it as indirect Marxist thinking. Frank (1995: 28) believes that the unequal exploitive power relationships between the center (the developed countries) and the periphery (the less developed countries [LDC]) prevented poor nations from becoming self-reliant and independent in their development efforts. Underdevelopment was externally induced, a situation that could be rectified by revolutionary reaction or at least major restructuring of the world capitalist system (Frank 1995: 28; Davids 2005 :16). Booth (1995: 35) agrees with Frank that de-linking of dependent countries could prevent underdevelopment. This process rather intensified the poverty in developing countries.

The end result of external interference was that the poor people concerned took up a passive role that was forced onto them by outside forces as they were robbed of their own free will (Vorster 1989: 72). This attitude caused serious implications for the educational structures of dependent countries. This is applicable also to the South African situation in the apartheid era.

The “independent” self-governing states (former homelands) formed the periphery of the economic core which consisted of developed cities, mines and farms and proved to be largely dependent on the South African economy. In 1980, 50% of black men working in the central economy of South Africa were migrant workers

of the periphery states (Vorster 1989: 84). Their families were dependent on the salaries of these migrant workers.

Black women also became dependent migrants in an effort to survive the poverty in the homelands (see 3.2.1). Many were coerced into domestic work and were trapped in a situation of dependency and exploitation, not only economically, but also culturally and socially. In households headed by domestic workers poverty was acute (Wilson & Rampele 1989: 60). Their wages were low and legitimised by racist and sexist ideologies: black women's needs were so-called "different" to those of white women (Cock 1989: 9-10). The exploitive character of the domestic worker-employer relationship was evident. Domestic workers were dependent on their employers for most of the necessities of life.

It is the aim of this study to establish if and to what degree the situation of dependency of the domestic worker has been affected or changed by the new dispensation in South Africa. The DWDP and its impact in this regard will provide valuable information to establish if domestic workers managed to break the shackles of dependency in a democratic South Africa.

As with modernisation, there were problems with the dependency theory and differing criticisms of dependency. Regan & Ruth (2002: 32) argue that the dependency theory attributed the wealth of developed countries unfairly to colonial exploitation only. Dependency did not attend sufficiently to the cultural aspects of development. Internal factors that contributed to underdevelopment were ignored (Davids 2005: 16). The de-linking strategy could lead to self-destruction rather than self-reliance (Booth 1995: 35; Davids 2005: 16).

The improvement of human conditions, in particular material conditions, was the underlying motivation of development in the Western World. The need existed for development to be based on human well-being and basic human needs as defined by ordinary people. The Basic Needs Approach (BNA) was an effort in development thinking to move in such a direction.

3.2.3 The Basic Needs Approach (BNA)

The concept of the Basic Needs Approach (BNA) made its first appearance in 1972 when Robert McNamara, then the President of the World Bank, gave his annual speech to the governors of the Bank. He explained about the dramatic conditions of the people of the South who were unable to change their own circumstances of poverty because their most basic needs were not being satisfied. This was an effort by McNamara to reconcile the growth imperative with social justice (Rist 1999:162; Regan & Ruth 2002: 32). It also was a call for greater public development assistance. Countries were encouraged to establish growth targets in terms of essential human needs, the needs being nutrition, housing, health, literacy and employment (Rist 1999:163). The new approach was introduced at the World Bank: the Bank was keen to be involved at grass roots level and to continue to fund large-scale projects.

The New International Economic Order (NIEO) was established by the non-aligned countries in 1973 at an Algiers conference. The focus of the NIEO would be development in the Third World and had radical, more political solutions for development in the Third World (Regan & Ruth 2002: 33). The BNA brought new arguments in solidarity with the poor. Outside interference in developing countries was not acceptable to the NIEO as it impinged on the sovereign equality of States. According to the BNA, on the other hand, intervention in the countries of the South could be justified, even if it was necessary to ignore what developing governments thought (Rist 1999:164).

The 1975 Hammarsköld Report and the Cocoyoc Declaration drafted in 1974 by a group of intellectuals of the Third World Forum, reiterated that development should enhance satisfaction of basic needs of the people concerned as well as environmental restraints (Hettne 1996: 181; Rist 1999: 165). The International Labour Organisation ILO re-launched the debate in 1976 at the World Conference on Employment. The NGOs joined in the international support for the BNA. Their aim was to ensure that the basic needs of disadvantaged communities are met

(Rist 1999: 165). The ILO, the World Bank and the Third World Forum all supported the approach (Rist 1999:167; Regan & Ruth 2002: 32).

The BNA came as a new paradigm striving for an increasing social justice. Development in BNA terms included food, shelter, clothing, health and education, but also extended to other needs, goals and values. Development was further regarded in terms of freedom of expression and impression (Coetzee 1989: 154). It was believed that people must have the right to share their ideas and to receive idea and stimuli. People have a deep social need to be involved in the design of and to contribute not only to their own existence, but also to the future of the world. Development implies the right to have work and to experience personal fulfilment through work (Coetzee 1989: 155; Rist 1999: 164; Todaro 1989: 89-90).

The BNA did not supply all the answers for effective development. Needs were based on cultural perceptions and to understand needs in a universal and cross-cultural set-up was not so straight forward. Who decide what the needs of different people are? (Regan & Ruth 2002: 32; Rist 1999: 167). The BNA was in coherence with the mainstream economics. Both approaches assumed that the history of the people of the world was determined by the struggle against scarcity, the ongoing battle to satisfy needs that are insatiable. This implied that unlimited growth was needed to reach a point of final satisfaction (Rist 1999: 168-169). The BNA made a distinction between economic growth and needs satisfaction, but the focus remained the material aspect of development and not the human issues.

Friedman (1992: 66) explains that it turned out to be a political claim to entitlement and poverty. Funding was available for development programmes from international organisations, but the BNA efforts had little potential of any economic or social changes.

In the past, extensive foreign funding had been available in South Africa to counteract apartheid as apartheid was regarded as the main cause of poverty. This resulted in an erroneous perception in the new dispensation regarding the continuation and the aims of external funding (see 2.4.1). Fitzgerald (1992: 61)

states that the basic needs of people, whose direct political influence had been minimal before, needed to be attended to in the new dispensation in South Africa. Domestic workers fall within this ambit of South Africans whose basic needs, which include education and training, needed to be attended to.

The focus of BNA on *what* the basic needs of poor and deprived people are did not develop into a methodology of *how* the basic needs could be met in development programmes (Friedman 1992: 60; De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 5). The BNA lost its support in the Third World, but appeared again in the idea of participatory development (De Beer 1997: 27). The idea of development that enhances the basic needs of the people and simultaneously look at the constraints in the environment reappeared in the theory of sustainable development. Sustainable development forms an integral component of a people-centred approach that is reflected in community development, discussed in 3.2.5.

3.2.4 Sustainable Development

Environmental matters were not part of the developmental debate in the 1960s and 1970s. The environmental concerns of the North, namely the loss of ozone, the loss of biodiversity and acid rain, combined with the Bruntland Report in 1987, provided a stimulus for this debate (Adams 2001: 1; Treurnicht 1997: 84; Redcliffe & Sage 1995:4). The vision of sustainable development of the Bruntland report was to maintain and revitalise the world economy (Adams 2001: 72; Regan & Ruth 2002:39). This meant that the fulfilment of the basic needs of the people through sustainable development had to serve economic development firstly.

The South shared the concerns of the North, but was more concerned about poor water supply, bad sanitation, soil erosion, the depletion of wood supplies and environmental health in general. These were the aspects that had a direct impact on the poverty situation of the people of the South. The developing countries were of the opinion that capital resources could be spent on efforts to address the environmental problems of the South instead of undermining the livelihoods of the poor (Redcliffe & Sage 1995: 5).

The World Commission on Environment and Development (1987) described sustainable development as development that focused on the current needs of people, but simultaneously ensured that future generations will be able to meet their needs (Treurnicht 1997: 86; Adams 2001: 2). Treurnicht (1997: 85) and Vandana (1992: 212) both accentuate that a clear distinction needs to be made between sustained economic growth and sustainable development. Sustainable development wants to improve the lifestyle of people as well as an ethic to respect the limits of the ecology (Treurnicht 1997: 85).

One of the approaches in sustainable development is that economic growth will enhance technological power and wealth. The potential is then created to revitalise the exhausted ecological resources (Treurnicht 1997: 87). However, it is unclear if and how technology can be that effective.

The effect of modern technology and industrialisation were questioned regarding its impact on the environment. The idea that nature has value only in exploitation for economic growth and consumption was not acceptable from a sustainable development viewpoint (Treurnicht 1997: 85; Vandana 1992: 212). Productivity and growth turned out not only to be ecologically destructive, but also a source of inequality for class, culture and gender. The survival of the poor was threatened and a new poverty was created (Redcliffe & Sage 1995: 5).

Treurnicht (1997: 85 & 87) and Vandana (1992: 212) argue that there need to be a point in development that allows for the maintenance of limits of nature to resurge and to renew. It means that environmental sustainability is closely linked with economic sustainability. If the livelihoods of the poor are damaged by economic growth or poor people persistently exploit natural resources, the relationships in the natural ecosystem, of which people form part, are disturbed. Social sustainability is then at stake (Redcliffe & Sage 1995: 9; Treurnicht 1997: 87).

Sustainable development demands cooperation and support on different levels. Guidance at individual government, inter-government and inter-agent levels must be linked with the role of NGOs and local community (African National Congress

1994: 4 & 5; Treurnicht 1997: 88). Maser & Kirk (1996b: 166) stresses the contribution of the local community. Sustainable development needs to be implemented where people “are able to learn, feel and be empowered to act- at a local level”. Adams (2001: 365) concurs with this idea by stressing that sustainable development is possible only as development “from below”.

In South Africa, the environmental problems can be related back to the separate development of apartheid. Parts of South Africa were overpopulated due to forced removals and migration. The livelihood for families could not be sustained on the small and infertile land occupied (Cornwell 1996: 82; UNDP 2003: 124). The lives and families of domestic workers were affected directly by environmental deterioration.

Sustainable development further cannot be separated from community development. Development programmes that are based on people’s participation and empowerment need to include the creation of environmental awareness. Cornwell (1996: 86) states that a “common environmental ethos and ideology” needs to be established in South Africa. The DWSDP included education on waste management for domestic workers. This research will aim to identify to what extent the project succeeded to sensitise domestic workers, their employers and other participants, within the process of empowerment, for their role in protection of the environment in the work place as well as in their communities (see 1.4).

3.2.5 Community development

3.2.5.1 Defining “community”

The term “community” usually refers to a group of people of the same locality. These people share an interdependency that originates from their efforts to make an existence. The United Nations’ (UN) definition that refers to communities of individuals “at the lowest level of aggregation at which people organise for comfort” is applicable to this study as it includes groups that are involved in community development and are in some ways dependent on one another (Swanepoel & De Beer 1998: 18; Maser & Kirk 1996a: 174).

Local communities may or may not share the same ethnic, racial or class characteristics (Groenewald 1989: 257). In South Africa the policy of separate development divided the population according to race into separate groups and further into different political and social positions in the system. This policy resulted in racially homogeneous communities, specifically in urban areas (Davids 2005: 18; Groenewald 1989: 259).

Meanings attributed to “community” imply a range of approaches: geographic closeness of people, needs that are shared, needs that are the stimuli to participate in development projects and the presence of poverty and deprivation. No specific definition for “community” is generally accepted (Swanepoel & De Beer 1998: 18; Groenewald 1989: 258). The challenge for a development organisation is to establish the characteristics and the needs of the community that is the focus of a specific development project.

Black women, as discussed in chapter two, “immigrated” to urban areas from the rural homelands (see 3.2.1). At present, domestic workers mostly stay in urban areas and form an integral part of urban communities. Eighty per cent of the domestic workers who participated in the DWDSP in Western Gauteng were permanent members of urban communities in Roodepoort, Krugersdorp, Kagiso and Randfontein. The above-mentioned qualities of communities, such as poverty, deprivation, race and class, can be applied to domestic workers as a group as well.

3.2.5.2 The evolving of the idea of community development

The idea of community development is not new. In the colonial phase, getting communities to take on responsibility for their own development was regarded as part of efficient colonial government. The emphasis was on self-help (Roodt 1996: 313; De Beer 1997: 24; De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 2). In the 1950s to 1960s the assistance of a more developed community to a less developed community was prominent in community development (Jeppe 1980: 8). The trickle-down effect was a determinant for effective community development (Roodt 1996: 313). The influence of modernisation was evident in this top-down approach. The elite benefited and local community initiative was absent (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998:

3). Community development lacked successes and a need arose for new (alternative) approaches.

Integrated Rural Development (IRD) focused mainly on rural areas (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 2). This method used a change agent or a NGO whose responsibility it was to involve community participation. IRD again was top-down community development. The needs of the community were identified *for* the people.

In the mid-1970s the BNA influenced community development. The satisfaction of basic needs of the people was the aim of community development. The way to achieve the fulfilment of basic needs still evaded developers, but the mind shift to community development as process was made: the poor identify their basic needs and realise them in community projects through their own initiatives and activities (Liebenberg & Theron 1997:127).

The radical view of community development became the dominant approach in the mid 1980s (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 6). In the late 1980s and early 1990s the “Another Development Approach” put the emphasis on NGO’s as facilitators of community development in contrast with the top-down centralised government involvement. This approach was supportive of people-centred development (African National Congress 1994: 4 & 5; De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 31; De Beer 1997: 10).

A number of themes arose in the field of the radical approach. For the benefit of this study, people-centred community development will be investigated further.

3.2.5.3 People-centred community development

People-centred community development places the emphasis in development projects on the action and the enhancement of the ability of the people to participate in the process (Davids 2005: 18; Kotze 1997: 40; Roodt 1996:318; Swanepoel 1997: 5). It also implies that the self-esteem and the living standard of the participants improve through their own doing (Jeppe 1985: 30; Groenewald

1989: 267). All activities of bureaucracy, development agents, NGOs, the development organisation and other participants are linked to the fulfilment of the needs of the people who are the beneficiaries of the community project or programme.

People-centred community development implicates participation in decision making on and implementation of development programmes and projects. People participate in monitoring and evaluation and they share in the benefits of the development opportunity. They become the actors in the development process (Davids 2005: 19 & 20; Freire 1993: 116; Swanepoel & De Beer 1997: 21).

The participation of people contributes in different ways. The development project has greater acceptance as people take ownership of the project. Participation motivates people to become self-reliant with regard to their own development. It is a method of ensuring equity as it provides opportunities for marginalised groups such as women to influence development initiatives. Participation of the people can result in capacity building and empowerment of the organisation as well (Davids 2005: 20).

Successful community development is determined by a range of contributing matters such as sustainability, adaptiveness, ownership, simplicity, the roles of bureaucracy, agents and NGOs (Davids 2005: 18; Swanepoel 1997: 2-13). For the purpose of this study, the roles of bureaucracy and NGO's will be investigated. These two entities were prominent participants in the DWSDP. Their contribution to the processes of empowerment and learning will be investigated to establish the development impact on participants in the DWSDP. Empowerment and learning in community development generally cover the many contributing elements of community development.

The role of bureaucracy changes from inhibiting and prescriptive to capacity building and support in people-centred community development. Government becomes the enabler and is adaptive in its approach (Botes & Van Rensburg 2000: 43; De Beer 1997: 30; Davids 2005:19; Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 36). Top-down decision making is substituted by bottom-up decision making, but it does not

necessarily exclude government involvement (Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 36). Government decision making is necessary as it often includes regional and national issues (Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 41). It seems that the answer for successful people-centred development with regard to the role of government is, “a two-way inter-change of decision making and preferences” (Davids 2005: 19).

NGOs make a valuable contribution to community development. They are able to co-operate with the bureaucracy, other agencies and corporate business and, therefore, have the capacity to provide a more holistic service to the people (Allwood 1992 :57; MacRobert 1992: 69; De Beer 1997: 23). NGOs link closely with the community, they serve in a consultative manner and work from a basic needs perspective. Their services are cost-effective and they are able to adapt and to be innovative (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 39).

South African NGOs often provide multi-dimensional services to the people acting as facilitator between resource providers and agents, providing training in literacy, technical and entrepreneurial skills and ensuring continuous people participation (Allwood 1992: 58; MacRobert 1992: 69; African National Congress 1994: 121). The position of NGOs is unique for attending to the alleviation of poverty and the development of people through community development programmes and projects.

Empowerment is a building block of people-centred community development. The Reconstruction and Development Programme (RDP) (African National Congress 1994: 5) describes development as active participation by the people and increasing empowerment. Empowerment implies that people have the right to participate (Swanepoel 1997: 6). It further indicates that the people are able to take decisions, but from a position of knowledge and understanding. Swanepoel (1997: 7) and Davids (2005: 22) describe empowerment as a process of personal development that is sped up through external support. Empowerment also is collective action. (Davids 2005: 22; Swanepoel 1997: 7). Individuals work together and all benefit from the extensive impact one individual could not achieve singly.

Successful community development implies a learning process (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 40; Davids 2005: 20; Swanepoel 1997: 9; Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 43). In the effort to fulfil their needs, people go through a learning process to achieve objectives (Swanepoel 1997: 9). This type of learning is referred to as “social learning” as people learn how to use their own potential and the environment to meet their own needs as well as the needs of others (Davids 2005: 20). The creative knowledge of the poor, deprived and marginalised participants are valuable resources in development (Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 36). Social learning is a bottom-up approach that implies that everybody participating in the development project is learning (Davids 2005: 21; Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 43; Swanepoel 1997: 9; De Beer 1997: 28).

The Black Consciousness Movement (BCM) was a radical community development effort opposing apartheid (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 14). The mother of Steve Biko, a key person in the BCM and other empowerment programmes, was a domestic worker (Cock 1989: 9). It is meaningful for this study that the exploitation of his mother as domestic worker caused him to become politicised and a great impetus for him to be involved in radical community development..

The aim of the study is to establish the development impact of the DWSDP on its participants. The project is typical of the elements of community development. The domestic workers of the areas specified above, were the people concerned. The Department of Labour, the National Skills Fund, the Services SETA, Domestic Services Chamber, the NGO (Basadi Pele Foundation), employers of the domestic workers and domestic workers all were role players. The success of the project will depend on if and how the empowerment and learning processes evolve to ensure a sustainable environment that includes social and economic sustainability for the participants.

Regan & Ruth (2002: 24) state that there are deep contradictions in the idea of development and there is nothing “natural” or self-evidently obvious or scientific about the current idea of development. The above discussion on development theories and community development illustrates their observation.

People should be able to identify injustices caused by their actions or non-actions as individuals, but also in groups and institutions. Development education that aims to teach justice and how it can bring about change in the poor and oppressed people's lives through critical consciousness and action by the people themselves, is next discussed against the background of the ideas of the "education of freedom" of Paulo Freire.

3.3 Paulo Freire and development education

The idea of development education evolved in the 1970s. International aid agencies and NGOs involved in development programmes realised that development was more than implementing and funding projects. The need existed to raise awareness and educate people about development issues in order to achieve the objective of human development with justice (Regan & Sinclair 2002: 44).

The influence of Paulo Freire, the Brazilian educator, regarding education linked with development in circumstances of inequality, is widely recognised (Blackburn 2000: 3; Regan & Sinclair 2002: 43). He made an enormous impact on the field of education, but also in the struggle for national development in the second half of the twentieth century (Freire 1996:11; Regan & Sinclair 2002: 43).

Freire made a number of theoretical innovations that impacted considerably on the development of educational practice and on informal and popular education in particular. Freire's writings on adult learning "struck a responsive chord" with people such as educators, social workers and community workers and leaders committed to the development of the poor, the exploited and deprived (Merriam & Brockett 1997: 329).

Freire was convinced that formal education as practiced in educational institutions the world over was an instrument of oppression, rather than an instrument of liberation (Blackburn 2000: 60). Development education the Freire way frees the educator or development worker and the learner from the culture of silence and

monologue caused by oppression (Blackburn 2000: 4; Freire 1976: ix; Freire 1993: 12). In solidarity with the poor, this approach is a revolutionary call to challenge established oppressing social norms and institutions. It is also a call to challenge the oppressive characteristics within people that direct their behaviour (Blackburn 2000: 4; Freire 1998:41). With this approach personal empowerment and social change is possible and cannot be separated from one another (Merriam & Caffarella 1999: 324).

Paulo Freire developed a methodology to educate the illiterates in Brazil to empower them to create a new social order (Freire 1996: 13 & 14). He regarded literacy as a medium for people to obtain social transformation in order to change situations of oppression, exclusion or disadvantage due to gender, ethnicity or socio-economic circumstances (Cornwell 1996: 291; UNESCO 2006: 152).

The education theory of Freire overcame the traditional paternalistic teacher-learner approach. He regarded the educator and the learner as partners in the education environment (Merriam & Caffarella 1999: 324). He stated that true education does not “suffer from narrative sickness”, the teachers being the narrating “Subjects” and the learners the patiently listening “Objects” (Freire 1996: 52). Education then becomes an act of “depositing” if the learner remains in “silence” (Freire 1998: 44). The teacher or the community worker must not be the privileged person with the knowledge that he or she most kind-heartedly bestows upon those who they think know nothing (Freire 1996: 53; Shor & Freire 1987: 40). Talking to and with learners should be the balance kept in development situations (Freire 1998: 63).

The learners, not withstanding the stigma of illiteracy, poverty or illiteracy, must develop a feeling of self-worth (Freire 1996: 63). As learners are increasingly meeting with problems relating to themselves in their world, they regard the situation as a challenge to be tackled. They see this challenge interrelated within the total context (Freire 1996: 63).

Freire regarded people-centred development as the product of a social learning process (Davids 2005: 20). People learn how to use themselves and the

environment to meet their own and the needs of others. “Conscientisation” is the critical awareness of one’s own potential to manage positive change for the benefit of oneself and others (Davids 2005: 20; Freire 1976: 8).

Through conscientisation—critical consciousness—learners obtain an in-depth understanding of the powers that impact on their lives. They become the agents of action themselves that change their lives to become more just (Merriam & Caffarella 1999: 325; Roodt 1996: 315). This process Freire called “praxis” (Freire 1976: vii).

A partnership relationship between learners and teachers is conducive for this social learning process. Critical reflection happens through problem posing and dialogue with teachers and fellow learners within this partnership (Freire 1996: 62). Dialogue (conversation) is an important ingredient of informal and popular education (Smith 1997: 2) Dialogue leads to reflection; it encourages a critical attitude that results into action (praxis) (Freire 1996: 68, 107 & 125). Dialogue in social learning implicates love for the world and for people, humility, mutual trust and hope (Freire 1993: 70-71; Freire 1998: 39-40). Social change happens when solidarity is present; solidarity flows from humble, loving and courageous interaction by leaders with the people (Freire 1993: 110).

The content of the learning programmes of Freire was initiated by “generative themes”, namely concerns and needs that originate from and are raised by the learners themselves. In the education situation the educator should rediscover the learning materials with the learners in dialogue (Freire 1996: 74; Freire 1998: 17; Shor & Freire 1987: 101). Freire expressed valuable ideas as far as community development is concerned.

In community projects, community participation means the people have a voice and take part in decision making at certain levels of power (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998: 102). Social learning and empowerment of people, according to Freire, cannot happen if development is implemented in a top-down way (Davids 2005: 21).

Community involvement does not exclude participation of the state either, according to Freire. The state must have a commitment to popular education and development. His advice was that communities have to fight hard for government to fulfil such duties (Freire 1999: 91). Community development is a collaborative effort to empower people as well as a social learning process for all participants. The result is an environment that meets the needs of all participants.

Freire was criticised for a range of his ideas. Some of the main elements of critique were that he did not distinguish between the different types of oppression that exist in the world (Freire & Macedo 1996: 171; Freire 1996: x; Mayo 1997: 2; Hendriks 1994: 4). His educational theory encouraged revolutionary action (Blackburn 2000: 13; Torres 1998: 97) and was politically loaded and he was accused of cultural invasion (Hendriks 1994: 3 & 5; Blackburn 2000:13; Da Silva & McLaren 1996: 39). He was accused of preaching a utopian vision of humanity and social transformation (Hendriks 1994: 4). His writings were too complicated to understand (Hendriks 1994: 3). His language was sexist (bell hooks⁴¹ 1996: 148; McLaren & Leonard 1996:5). He relegates gender to a minor issue (Freire & Macedo 1996: 169 & 171) and his functional literacy methodology was not freeing (Lankshear 1996: 91 & 92).

For the purpose of this study, the focus will be on critique on his approach about oppression, the sexist tendency in his writings, his gender insensitivity, the revolutionary and political character of his education theory and his oppressing functional literacy methodology.

Weiler (Freire & Macedo 1996: 170) argued that Freire failed to express the different positions of power teachers have, depending on race and gender. He advocated social transformation to end all forms of oppression, but relegated the issue of gender to a minor position. The sexist language that Freire used proved his gender insensitivity (hooks 1996: 148). His engagement with “man’s” liberation had the potential of contributing to the suppression, invisibility and powerlessness of women (Taylor 1993: v).

⁴¹ bell hooks was the pseudonym of Gloria Watkins.

hooks (1996: 150), a black women and feminist, stated that although she was always conscious of the sexist language of Freire, she never felt excluded from Freire's liberation. She appreciated his willingness to engage with critique in this regard (hooks 1996: 152). She stated that Freire regarded the struggle of women as also belonging to men (like Freire) who do not accept the "machista" approach. Freire declared that as a male he had a right and duty to fight with women for women against any form of oppression (hooks 1996: 153).

Freire explained that he always "felt" for all forms of oppression, acknowledging that owing to the political situation in Brazil in his early educational years, the class and racial oppression struck him mostly (Freire & Macedo 1996: 171). His engagement with North American feminists in later years influenced him to rid his language of sexism after the publication of *Pedagogy of the Oppressed* in the early 1970s. He believed that his understanding of oppressive structures conveyed in his work, contributed to the struggle of all women in their search for equality and freedom (Freire & Macedo 1996: 173). Freire regarded the gender struggle as political and not sexual (Freire & Macedo 1996: 175). He specifically referred to wives being oppressed by husbands when they (wives) achieve financial independency through own empowerment (Torres 1998: 92).

Freire was accused of teaching a political and revolutionary education that had the potential of being misused by educators with hidden agendas (Blackburn 2000: 11 & 13; Da Silva & McLaren 1996: 39; Hendriks 1994: 5; Roodt 1996: 318; Torres 1998: 97). His explanation was that his education approach was political as he was confronting traditional education institutions that function in a top-down manner and teach learners to conform, accept inequality and authority and thus practice a political education themselves (Shor & Freire 1987: 28).

Da Silva & McLaren (1996: 39) argued that the principle of Freire's political and revolutionary education was that learners should think critically and must feel free to express own ideas. If learners are subordinate and passive in the education situation, they would be the same in the larger social and economic situation. Therefore, he proposed a dialogical education. The content and form of education

and its link with the larger economic and social structure makes it political. The message of the education of freedom of Freire was that, as in politics, the aim is to win, whereas in true education the aim is to convince.

Lankshear (1996: 91-92) referred to the critique that the functional literacy of Freire minimalised human beings because it equipped adults with skills and knowledge that enable them to operate at the lowest levels. The criticism also is that the functional literacy of Freire focused on the external demands of work and duties in society, and not on the personal and collective expansion of human beings. Lankshear pointed out that the value of Freire's technique of using generative words, supplied by the learners themselves, is that learners take part actively and creatively in the learning process (Lankshear 1996: 91-92).

Notwithstanding the critique on the work of Freire, his theory of transformation education is applicable to this study that aims to determine the development impact of the DWSDP on its participants within the enabling environment of a community project. His ideas of development as a human process of empowerment in which the capacity of people is enhanced to take responsibility of their own development and further development of themselves, is applicable to the community development process as expected to evolve in the DWSDP. His solidarity with the oppressed speaks to the situation of domestic workers, women mostly, exposed to class, racial and gender domination and exploitation. Their oppression was aggravated further by semi-literacy or illiteracy inherited from the previous dispensation of apartheid in South Africa (see 2.1).

Freire sets valuable criteria for community developers and projects: personal empowerment must take place in development projects such as the DWSDP and lead to social change that will enhance a sustainable social environment for participants themselves and for others. The community worker needs to respect the knowledge of the people that they gained through their own life experiences. The community worker and all other participants need to learn from and together with the people. Community workers need to demonstrate empathy, humility and respect in their relationship with the people (see 3.3).

In his dialogue with Macedo (Freire & Macedo 1996: 175), Freire took up the issue of men being present in debates of women's movements. He supported their presence in the process of critical reflection on gender matters in these debates, but advised that this should happen only as the movement "takes hold" to the prevent men from acting with so-called superiority in relation to the position of women (Freire & Macedo 1996: 176).

This contribution of Freire links with the gender-development debate and specifically the Gender and Development (GAD) debate of the late 1980s (see 3.4.3). The GAD idea of men's participation in gender analysis and teaching in development projects to address gender inequalities and inequity women were subjected to is supportive of Freire's suggestion.

3.4 The gender development debate

" ...there is more poor than non-poor; there's more coloured than non-coloured; there's more women than men..." .Black American poet Hattie Gosset, as quoted by Galvin (2002: 59).

This quotation expresses the enormous inequalities that women are exposed to globally and are exploited by. This discussion on the gender-development debate wants to illustrate the evolvement of the debate over decades and its importance for this study.

Women's participation in development is critical, because no true people's participation is possible without the equal participation of women and men in all domains of life and levels of decision making (Karl 1995:1). Contrary to this belief, research over the past three decades highlights the fact that women were excluded from the planning and / or implementation of development programmes (Galvin 2002: 59). Development affects women differently to men and often results in negative consequences for women concerning their role and status in society.

When women are part of decision making processes and represented in structures, they are able to transform those structures to enhance their own needs (Galvin 2002: 59; Taylor & Conradie 1997: 104). This approach is important for this study to be used as a measure to establish if the structures represented in the DWSDP were gender sensitive and resulted in women being the primary beneficiaries of this development project as it aimed to do.

An investigation into the DWSDP concerning its quantitative and / or qualitative dimension (Karl 1995:1), furthermore would be valuable to determine the impact on the empowerment of participants in the project. Qualitative development is typical of projects where women's participation is measured by how many women are affected by or participate in development projects. Development is qualitative when women themselves give input into the design, planning and implementation and actively participates in decision making. The quantitative aspect could be supportive of the qualitative as large numbers of participants have more possibilities of making impact.

The participation of women in development projects has been a topic of discussion over the past decades. Four distinctive paths in this field are distinguished that represent the perspectives on development and women that were dominant since the 1970s. They are Women in Development (WID), Women and Development (WAD), Gender and Development (GAD) and Women, Environment and Sustainable Development (WED) (Visvanathan 1997: 24; Karl 1995: 94-102). These paths also give an interesting view on changing perspectives on women, gender and development over the previous three decades (Galvin 2002: 61; Visvanathan 1997:18). These different approaches on women and development are applicable to the understanding of the role of women in their own empowerment in the DWSDP. It is noted also that the debates are interlinked and that ideas are overlapping, but in a supportive manner. Moser's classification of WID also implicates some of the WAD and GAD ideas (see 3.4.1).

3.4.1 Women in Development (WID)

This approach was influenced by the modernisation theory (see 3.2.1) (Galvin 2002: 61; Visvanathan 1997:18). The assumptions that developing countries were

traditional (men's roles are dominating) and developed countries were modern (societies are more democratic regarding women's position) were followed (Visvanathan 1997: 17). Western values were regarded as essential for effective development and implementation of these values automatically would result in the improvement of women's situation in society (Charlton 1997: 8). Progressive feminists, however, argued that this world view distorted the image of women of developing countries. It was evident in the early 1970s that women in the Third World were not benefiting from modernisation.

Ester Boserup, in her book *Women's Role in Economic Development* (1970), was one of the researchers and activists who began to make women visible as participants in economic production, in the household, providers of health, educators and in other sectors of society (Benaria & Sen 1997: 42; Karl 1995: 94). Her work had a major impact on WID thinking. Moser also made an important contribution to this field (Van den Hombergh 1993: 39).

Moser developed a classification with regard to policy approaches to WID (Van den Hombergh 1993: 39). It gives an overview of the evolution of WID thinking and how development programmes impacted on women. She identified the *welfare* approach (1950s and 1960s): the Western stereotype that women had a reproductive role and were perceived as victims of underdevelopment. Development programmes were characterised by top-down handouts of goods and services. The *equity* approach (early 1970's) stemmed from the work of Boserup (see above paragraph) and was endorsed by United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985). This approach did not analyse gender / power structures. The *anti-poverty* approach (1970s) focused on the basic needs of women and on the productive roles of women. The *efficiency* approach (late 1970s) also was called the *instrumental* approach because it regarded women as a human resource for development. The *empowerment* approach is the most recent. Southern women supported this approach that advocated that historical inequalities can be broken by strengthening and extending the power base of women (Van den Hombergh 1993: 39; Karl 1995: 97-100).

The WID approach argued that women needed to be integrated into economic systems via necessary legal and administrative changes. It was believed that these changes would result in women being included in existing development frameworks and planning as workers and producers (Galvin 2002: 61). The focus on economic involvement of women simultaneously carried along with it claims for women's rights of equality, access to education, employment and empowerment opportunities. The United Nations Decade for Women (1975-1985), inspired by the WID approach, included these objectives in programmes, but according to Tinker (1997: 36), it was not always evident in programmes working with women.

It can be noted that WID placed the focus on what women could offer development, but the questions of what development could offer women were not debated yet. Owing to the WID approach being non-confrontational, it did not inquire why women did not benefit from development strategies. While focusing on sexual inequality (though in a narrow way) it was not established why these inequalities happened. WID regarded women as an undifferentiated entity, not taking in account the impact of class, race and culture.

It is evident that the main contribution of WID to the development debate was that women's issues became visible in the arena of development theory and practice. Through increasing visibility gender issues were mainstreamed in development agencies and development data were reported by gender. According to Visvanathan (1997: 21) and Karl (1995: 102), WID secured a legitimate place for women's issues on the agenda of the UN and other international agencies. The WAD approach arose in the second half of the 1970s as a response to the criticisms of WID.

3.4.2 Women and Development (WAD)

The WAD approach emerged in the second half of the 1970s from the critique of the modernisation theory and the WID approach. WAD was influenced by the dependency theory (see 3.2.2) (Visvanathan 1997: 18).

WAD argued that women need not be integrated into development processes as they had been integrated already (Galvin 2002: 61; Visvanathan 1997: 18). Although integrated in development processes, WAD implied that integration of women into development supported inequality and caused development to be ineffective in the South (Galvin 2002: 63; Visvanathan 1997: 22).

The focus of WAD on global equalities resulted in extensive attention to the exploitation of women within the development process by Multi-National Companies (MNCs). Visvanathan (1997: 22) indicated that poor, young, non-white women were sought out due to their dependency and paid low wages in staff factory complexes that amassed profits for foreign companies. This is also applicable to domestic workers, exploited by employers in the domestic environment. The aim of the DWSP would be to address this exploitive situation through the empowerment of domestic workers and their employers.

WAD assumed that as global inequalities were addressed, women's position would improve. Men and women both would then be the beneficiary entities. The relation between gender roles were not investigated by WAD (like WID) and the way women's social situation needed change did not receive any attention.

WAD emphasised the importance of reproductive and productive roles of women. Although WAD argued that development that was beneficial for women should acknowledge both roles, WAD still allocated more weight to the production role of women (Galvin 2002: 63). WAD, however, accepted women as important economic contributors in societies. Women's work inside and outside the home, private and in public was regarded as the cornerstones of the maintenance of society (Visvanathan 1997: 18).

This approach promotes understanding of and appreciation for the roles women, and specifically of domestic workers in the South African set-up. Domestic workers care for and nurture their own children and, due to their employment, very often fulfil the same role for the children of their employers. They are instrumental in developing future human labour resources for the country and by

so doing, illustrate their important reproductive and productive contribution to South African society as well as the economy.

From the above discussion it can be concluded that WAD provided valuable information on exploitation of women under the banners of social change and development, but (similar to WID) focused very narrowly on the creation of gender equalities, the reproductive roles of women or the relations between men and women inside the home (Galvin 2002: 63).

3. 4. 3 Gender and Development (GAD)

GAD was developed as an alternative for WID. It wanted to address the lessons learned from WID and the limitations of WAD. It was influenced by socialist feminist perspectives (Galvin 2002: 63; Young 1997: 51; Visvanathan 1997: 23). Karl (1995: 102) argued that the shift from the integration of women to mainstreaming since the mid-1980s, was accompanied by a shift in focus from women to gender. This means that gender relations were the main category of analysis in society instead of women.

It is important to note that gender is understood as the socially defined and constructed roles of men and women which can differ from one another in a range of settings such as place, culture and even across time (Karl 1995: 102; Van den Hombergh 1993: 15; Young 1997: 51).

GAD also focused on the productive and reproductive roles of women. Gender relations within both the labour environment and reproduction were, however, emphasised and not regarded as separate issues. It represented a holistic perspective of the roles of women, focusing on all aspects of the lives of women (Visvanathan 1997: 66; Galvin 2002: 63; Young 1997: 51). Young (1997: 52) described this approach as a “fit” between family, household and domestic life and the organisation of political as well as economic domains.

GAD also welcomed the contribution of sensitive and understanding men because it did not emphasise solidarity of women only. Men were regarded as potential

supporters of women (see the contribution of Freire in this regard in 3.3). GAD introduced the idea of consciousness-raising into development programmes as the structures of inequality between men and women often weaken them in their common struggle against poverty and to survive (Karl 1995: 106; Young 1997: 54).

Unlike WID and WAD, the role of the state was regarded as important to empower women for their dual roles of production and reproduction. It underlines the responsibility of the state to provide for education, health and training services to ensure the care and maintenance of the future generation. Greater equality between men and women then will be the outcome and women also will be able to participate and make effective contributions to the economy and production in society (Galvin 2002: 66; Taylor & Conradie 1997: 9; Young 1997: 53). Young (1997: 53) encouraged support seeking at all levels of the state, namely local, regional and central. This approach confronts the idea that women have little bargaining power at these levels of power and points to the need for the political self-reliance of women.

The implementation of the DWSP represents the sentiments of GAD. The successful outcome of the Domestic Workers Union and COSATU's (see 2.5.1) joint request for training opportunities for domestic workers to the government, is proof of the effect of concerted action between women and men to enhance the development of women. This study will investigate how the process of empowerment was affected by the active change agent roles of women themselves in the leadership and structures participating and the contribution of development education in the DWSDP. The bottom-up approach that is a prerequisite for women's empowerment in community development projects, is a typical characteristic of people-centred community development (Galvin 2002: 66; Young 1997: 51; Taylor & Conradie 1997:2 & 11).

3.4.4 Women, the environment and sustainable development (WED)

In the early 1970s a growing interest emerged in the relations of women with the environment in the South within the debate on development (Braidotti,

Charkiewicz, Hausler & Wierenga 1994: 55). The oil crisis in 1973 and its effect on the world economy, the degradation of the environment and the feminisation of poverty in the South resulted in a growing debate on the impact of these processes on women. The ideas of Boserup (see 3.4.1) caused an interest in women's role in agriculture and rural development in the mid-1970s.

The success of Chipko forest project in India, discussed at the 1972 NGO UN Conference on Human Environment in Stockholm, placed the focus on women's bottom-up, people-oriented development work. At the Nairobi Forum in 1985, held parallel with the UN Women and Development Conference, women were portrayed as environmental managers whose contribution to sustainable development was critical.

The Bruntlandt Report of 1987 (see 3.2.4) stimulated the WED debate further (Adams 2002: 1). The idea of women's involvement in strategies and programmes aimed at sustainable development gained momentum nationally and internationally in the late 1980s. The image of poor women of the South as victims now changed to the image of resourceful environmental managers with specific skills and knowledge to care for the environment. The sexual division in labour resulted in this role of women managing natural resources. In the WED debate women were regarded as the most valuable resource for achieving sustainable development (Bradotti et al.1997: 60).

At the World Women's Congress for a Healthy Planet in 1991 the Agenda 21 conference document was developed with the aim of ensuring that women's crucial economic, social and environmental contributions to sustainable development be recognised (Karl 1995: 137). The Earth Summit in Rio de Janeiro in 1992 placed the focus on the enhancement of women's expertise in environment and development.

The WED debate caused a focus to develop on the linkages between literacy, women's issues and the environment (Karl 1995: 137). The 600 million illiterate women in the world in 1995, double the number of men, underlined the inequalities for women regarding educational access as detrimental for sustainable

development. Karl (1995: 139) describes this statistic as an “environmental statistic” as uneducated women are less able to protect their environment.

The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination (CEDAW) against Women, adopted by the United Nations in 1979 (ratified in 1993 by South Africa), already accentuated equal access to education for women in article 10 as a human right (Karl 1995: 1556; NIPILAR 1995: 17). The challenge of eradicating the illiteracy among women and gender inequality in education remained enormous as two thirds of the illiterates in the world in 2000 were women. Fifty seven per cent of the 140 million children not attending school were girls (UNESCO 2003: 2).

It can, therefore, be concluded, in accordance with WED thinking, that women’s contribution to their own development and sustainable development was prevented due to the enormous inequalities in education that caused the high numbers of illiteracy amongst women. A greater international, national and local commitment to ensure an enabling environment for the enhancement of literacy and the education of women was needed. To convey this message to the applicable international agencies and national institutions was, and still is, not an easy task.

3.5 Women, literacy and education

Between 1970 and 1990 the World Bank included literacy programmes in only one out of five projects funded in developing countries (Cornwell 1994: 136). Only 1% of the total budget of the Bank for development projects in poor countries was allocated to literacy (World Bank 1997: 111). Jones (1992: 164) explains that the Bank regarded capacity building as its sole role to achieve a fully literate society. Recent efforts of the UN to address inequalities in education regarding literacy in particular resulted in the Bank funding literacy programmes,, but the focus remains literacy at foundation phase schooling (UNESCO 2005: 153). The New Millenium introduced the impetus that was needed to meet the educational needs of marginalised women as expressed in the GED and WED debates specifically.

The *Dakar Framework for Action Education for all (EFA): Meeting our Collective Commitments*, adopted at the World Education Forum in Senegal in April 2000, specifically focused on education (UNESCO 2000: 3; UNESCO 2003: 5). The six goals of Dakar aimed, *inter alia*, to achieve UPE⁴² and gender equality, improving adult literacy levels and basic education specifically for women, with 50% and equitable access to basic continuing education for adults by 2015 (UNESCO 2002b: 1). The gender goal was regarded as most urgent (UNESCO 2002c: 5).

The Millennium Development Goals were agreed on in the same year by the international community⁴³, with two goals focusing on education. Goal 2 targeted UPE for all girls and boys in 2015 and goal 3 was aimed at promoting gender equality and at empowering women by eliminating gender disparity in primary and secondary education and, importantly, at all levels of education (UNESCO 2006: 29). The challenges remained daunting and when the aim of full parity between the enrolment of girls and boys could not be achieved by 2005, the goal post was moved to 2015. The UN made a commitment to assist countries with a credible plan to achieve EFA with resources to implement the plan where necessary (UNESCO 2003: 4).

In 2002, a further concerted step was taken by the UN to address literacy, specifically by declaring the United Nations Literacy Decade (UNLD) 2003-2012. The motto for the UNLD “Literacy as Freedom” emphasised the social dimension of literacy and was reflected in its support of the Dakar goals on literacy and gender equality in education, the creation of sustainable and expandable literate environments to enhance the quality of life. Resolution 56/116 acknowledged the place of literacy as the heart of lifelong learning (United Nations 2002: 2).

⁴² Universal Primary Education

⁴³ United Nations General Assembly Resolution A/56/326, of September 2001 confirmed these commitments.

In an effort to capacitate the process further and to ensure that the aims of the UNLD are achieved, UNESCO also created the Literacy Initiative for Empowerment (LIFE) 2005-2015. LIFE focuses on the 34 countries globally where 85% of the illiterate people of the world live. The needs of each individual country are considered. The best practices of countries are being used to enrich existing literacy programmes and to ensure ongoing effectiveness (UNESCO 2005: 11). Partnerships with governments, civil society, development agencies and NGO's are envisaged by LIFE. This co-operation seeks to enhance the identified needs of the learners that are regarded as the priorities in the process. These aims and criteria of LIFE reflect the bottom-up participatory and basic human needs orientated approach expected from successful development efforts. The United Nations seemed to be eager and serious to put words and promises into practice, talk in to reality.

The focus of EFA on literacy and skills development is valuable for this study as a positive environment already was created by the South African government with the Skills Development Act (SDA) of 1998 (see 2.6.2.2) and the Skills Development Levies Act (SDLA) of 1999 (see 2.6.2.2) that created an enabling situation for the implementation of the DWSDP for previously marginalised women in domestic services. The aim of EFA with skills development for marginalised groups to facilitate the integration of previously excluded groups socially and economically (UNESCO 2004: 17) supported the aims of the SDA of 1998 and the SDLA of 1999.

The Adult Basic Education & Training Act of 2002 (see 2.6.4), aimed at addressing the high levels of illiteracy of South Africans, is in line with the aims of EFA. The importance of literacy for lifelong learning as mentioned above is a critical ingredient of education policy in South Africa too (see 4.3.4). The DWSDP included training in literacy and numeracy at ABET Level 4 as fundamentals in the qualification of the domestic workers. This study will investigate the contribution of these fundamentals in the empowerment of the domestic workers who participated in the DWSDP. The evident benefits of literacy for learners have been presented in a range of reports and studies

(UNESCO 2005: 16; UNESCO 2006: 30; Robinson-Pant 2005: 1-12; Stromquist 2005: 16).

According to Stromquist (2005: 10), a newly literate person gains confidence and develops a positive self-esteem. Literacy can lead to empowerment of learners to take action individually or collaboratively (Freire 1985: 49; UNESCO 2003: 138) and can contribute to socio-economic processes in a broader way. Educated women tend to take part more in voting activities and support tolerant attitudes and democratic values (UNESCO 2003: 139). Farah (2005: 8) indicates that literacy programmes also can contribute to values such as equity and respect for cultural diversity.

In Nepal, literacy programmes enabled women to develop changed attitudes towards family planning, but they still experienced difficulty to put these new attitudes into practice in the household due to oppressive gender power relations (Robinson-Pant 2005: 5). Literacy has important educational value for women in their family set-up. Literate women tend to send their children to school and are able to provide educational support to their children (UNESCO 2003: 142). Numeracy skills gained through literacy programmes enable women to participate in the planning and management of household finances.

Finally, it would be valuable for the study to establish if domestic workers, through the access that they gained to literacy and skills training in the DWSDP, were empowered to change the most evident gender inequalities historically imposed on them by issues such as son / boy preference that denied girls access to formal schooling or adolescent girls the opportunity to attend non-formal education (UNESCO 2003: 24). School attendance by girls often is affected negatively by child labour. 211 million (18%) children of the world between 5 to 14 years were economically active in 2003, of whom about half were girls (UNESCO 2003:13). In situations of poverty, girls get married at a very young age in certain countries, which impacts badly on their education (UNESCO 2003: 24). High school fees and distance from schools specifically often result in a disadvantage for girls due to the safety risk. These are only a few of the

inequalities that threaten the development of women and their day-to-day lives and were and might still be applicable to domestic workers in South Africa.

3.6 Conclusion

In concluding this chapter, it must be noted that the lives of domestic workers in South Africa, historically and currently, reflect the evolving of development thinking over decades. The investigatory journey above, from the so-called trickle-down effect of modernisation, through the exploitive situation of dependency to the shifting emphasis from basic human needs to the relationship between poverty and the environment, so evident in the idea of sustainable development, culminated in the exploration of community development.

It was noted that the idea of community development, influenced by the different development theories, arrived at the current radical notion / meaning of people-centred community development. People-centred community development is characterised as a bottom-up approach, in which the beneficiaries themselves are the decision-making, active change agents. The responsibility of bureaucracy, development agents and NGOs is to facilitate the process of empowerment of the people in need. Empowerment is a learning process as objectives are followed and/or achieved. All participants learn together as the development process evolves. True community development is characterised by respect for local knowledge, the ability to adapt, simplicity and ownership by the beneficiaries.

The development education theory of Paulo Freire contributed to the discussion on development in many supporting ways. His idea of participatory and collaborative learning that uses conscientisation and praxis as vehicles to achieve social change, provide valuable guidelines for the empowerment of marginalised and oppressed people through a skills development community project of the nature of the DWSDP.

The investigation of the gender-development issue demonstrated the influence of the different development theories in this debate. The important contribution of

women's participation in sustainable development to ensure a viable ecological, social and cultural environment for themselves and others, became evident.

Women's capacity to bear this responsibility must be enhanced by addressing the historical gender inequalities that left women illiterate and deprived of access to equal and quality education.

The challenge for a skills development community project, with poor, uneducated and semi-literate to illiterate adult women as the main participants and beneficiaries is to use these theories, debates and ideas as guidelines for successful implementation of such a development education project.

It is, however, important that an enabling learning environment is created within a development education community project that focuses on adult basic education. Chapter 4 will focus on meeting the learning needs of adult learners in a practical educational environment.

CHAPTER FOUR

AN INVESTIGATION INTO ADULT EDUCATION, ADULT LEARNING AND HOW ADULTS LEARN

4.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter it was noted that the idea of community development was influenced by theories on development that evolved over the decades. The current approach of community development is that of people-centredness combined with empowerment. Empowerment indicates that growth happens through learning. Learning is a social process implicating individual learning, but also collaborative learning with other participants in the project, whilst the focus of the community project remains the needs of the people.

The learning relationship is that of a partnership between the learners and the educators or facilitators in a community project like the DWSDP (see 3.2.5.3). In the DWSDP the objective was to address the learning needs of adult domestic workers who were mainly female persons. It could be expected that in this community development project the administrative staff and facilitators, also adults and participants, were exposed to learning processes themselves. This research aims to bring about more clarity on the different adults that were exposed to skills development project, how these adults learned and the methods used to foster a capacitating learning environment within this community development project which focused on skills development and training.

The aim of this chapter will be to develop a framework to serve as instrument for establishing how adult learning occurs and what factors promote the learning of adults within an adult education initiative such as the DWSDP. This will be achieved by:

- Firstly, developing an understanding of the meaning of the term “adult” in order to define the nature of adults who participated in this educational community project and, simultaneously, to take note of their learning needs and expectations.

- Secondly, investigating the relationship between education and learning and the different terms that are applicable to adult learning and education.
- Exploring the different learning theories to establish their impact on adult learning, thinking and processes.
- Finally, investigating the implication of these learning theories based on assumptions and models of adult learning and education practice that aims to enhance an enabling adult learning and education environment that meets the needs of the learners in a participatory and bottom-up way.

4.2 Defining the term “adult”

The DWSDP focused on the empowerment of adult domestic workers through adult basic education and training (see 4.3.3) that included skills development. Typical of people-centred community development, other participants such as the facilitators and administrative staff in this particular project learned as well (see 3.2.5.3). The term “adult” is approached in varying ways, depending on the reasons for understanding and defining the term. According to Merriam & Brockett (1997: 5), the answer to who an adult is, is dependent on the construction of the definition by a particular society and culture at a certain time. In Colonial America, adulthood was defined for example in terms of age (men at fourteen and women at twelve).

Other definitions are based on psychological maturity and social roles (Knowles 1980: 24). Darkenwald & Merriam (1982: 8) refer to biological as well as social and psychological maturity with distinguishing characteristics such as judgement, independency, responsibility and the acceptance of adult life roles. Patterson (1979: 13) focuses on maturity and its accompanying qualities as an attribute of adulthood.

People-centred community development based on skills development needs to aim at meeting the learning needs of the beneficiaries.⁴⁴ In this study the primary

⁴⁴ “Beneficiary” in the community development sense normally indicates a passive receiver. In the instance of the DWSDP beneficiary has the implication of adult learners receiving skills training, but actively taking part in the learning processes that result in empowerment.

beneficiaries of the DWSDP mostly were adult female domestic workers. With the exception of one, all 173 learners trained at Basadi Pele Foundation (BPF) were black female learners (BPF 2004) of previously marginalised backgrounds. Their ages ranged from 18 years to 50 years and older (Services SETA 2005b: 25). Most of the women were mothers, 80% single mothers. 60% of the women were illiterate or semi-literate. Twenty per cent of these women had completed grade 12 (BPF 2004). These are some of the factors that not only determined their expectations as adults of the learning experience the DWSDP provided, but also the way in which they participated in the learning processes.

To build the capacity of the training providers and the project in general, facilitators, mentors and assessors, mostly women, also were exposed to learning processes as well. The roles of the facilitators, mentors and assessors and the administrative staff of Basadi Pele Foundation had to be contributing factors to ensure that an enabling learning environment for these adult female domestic workers was created and maintained throughout the implementation of the learnership⁴⁵ and short skills programmes⁴⁶.

It can be concluded that although the meaning of “adult” is influenced by different social environments, knowledge and understanding of the characteristics of adults are important to meet their learning needs in a skills development and training initiative.

4.3 Views on adult education, adult learning and other related terms

4.3.1 Relationship between education and learning

Understanding the relationship between education and learning is important to identify the learning processes that took place in the DWSDP and the ways in which learning was experienced in the DWSDP.

⁴⁵ A learnership is “a mechanism to facilitate the linkage between structural learning and work experience in order to obtain a registered qualification which signifies work readiness” (South Africa1998b: 3).

⁴⁶ Short skills programmes in Life Skills, Cleaning, Laundry and Cooking Skills were provided. The period per programme ranged from 4 to 6 days. Assessment was included in these programme periods.

Merriam & Brockett (1997: 6) describe learning as a cognitive process that happens internally, whilst education is about meeting certain outcomes and learning needed for learners to achieve these outcomes. Adult learning is about what the adult learner does in the teaching-learning situation, but adults also are involved in unplanned and incidental learning that happens in daily life (Jeffs & Smith 1990: 2). Thomas (1991: 17) agrees with Jeffs & Smith (1990: 2) that learning is not dependent on education and quite often is found outside the context of education. On the other hand, education cannot happen without learning. Merriam & Brockett (1997: 6) define adult education as planned learning activities for adults. Darkenwald & Merriam (1982: 6) argue that education has a purpose, is organised and can be sustained, but need not always to be organised and can occur within a short period of time.

Knowles (1990: 10) distinguishes as follows between the terms education and learning:

- education—focuses on the educator who is the agent that brings about change through stimuli and reinforcement for learning and that creates activities to cause that change within the learner.
- learning—focuses on the person in whom change happens or is expected to happen.

From the above discussions it can be concluded that adult education is about the external matters that impact on the learning process and adult learning emphasises what happens inside the learner during the learning process. In researching the learning processes that evolved during the DWSDP, the roles of the facilitators and the learners will be investigated in an effort to establish the nature of and how learning happened during empowerment.

4.3.2 Formal, informal and non-formal education

The terms formal education, informal education and non-formal education are used by Merriam & Brockett (1997: 14) to categorise certain educational activities and situations of adults:

- formal education—refers to educational institutions ranging from schools to institutions providing technical and professional training.
- informal education—refers to learning that happens incidentally, unplanned and connected with experience in daily life. Learning could happen through watching television or discussions with friends.
- non-formal education—refers to any organised educational activity that happens outside the field of formal education. The literacy and skills development programmes included in the learnership and the short skills programmes of the DWSDP are typical of non-formal education.

4.3.3 Adult basic education

A number of synonyms and related terms exist for adult education and adult learning that could be fitted into the categories of formal, informal or non-formal education.

According to Cornwell & De Beer (2004: 46), the basic education approach regards basic education as a human right. It is not an alternative for formal education, but rather a supplement to formal education. It could be facilitated through formal or non-formal education programmes. The World Bank (1974: 28) regards the contribution of basic education in developing countries as important to enable the masses to participate effectively in productive life as well as in social and political processes. Basic education programmes could include literacy and numeracy skills, also skills needed for day-to-day living about nutrition and environmental care and skills that enable persons to produce products and services.

Adult basic education makes a huge contribution in South Africa to empower the previously educational marginalised people. The DWSDP is part of this initiative. The aim of this study is to establish if this project empowered these adults, many of them lacking proper formal education, with knowledge, attitudes and skills they could use for their own benefit and that of the society they live in.

4.3.4 Lifelong learning or education

Internationally, the terms “lifelong learning” or “lifelong education” is used in relation with adult education and even have connotations broader than adult education. According to Merriam & Brockett (1997: 13) and Soobrayan (1998: 104), the United Nations Education and Science Organisation (UNESCO) developed the term lifelong learning as a “master concept” applicable to adult learning. Lifelong learning focuses on restructuring existing educational systems and addressing educational needs further than the existing systems. It continues throughout life and includes all skills and fields of knowledge. Lifelong learning gives the opportunity to all people for full development of the personality and can be achieved through formal, informal or non-formal means of education.

The DWSDP is one of the efforts to enhance lifelong learning / education in South Africa (see 2.6.2.1 and 3.5.). The development of a culture of lifelong learning was one of the key National Skills Development Strategy 2001-2005 indicators. One of the objectives of DWSDP stated in the Project Plan of 18 March 2003 responded to this key indicator in particular (Services SETA 2003: 6) (see 5.2.2).

One of the most significant changes in the education policy of South Africa in the new dispensation is the merging of education and training as a single educational concept (Pillay 1998: 337). Although the idea of lifelong learning is not evident in all education policy debates, it is regarded as the “touchstone of the overarching conceptual framework of the emerging education policy in South Africa” (Soobrayan 1998: 104).

In South Africa, lifelong learning has two meanings. Firstly, it is a “coherent conceptual framework” that represents a comprehensive and specific understanding of the priorities of education, the strategies needed to address them and a basic explanation of a totally different and specific education. Secondly, it is a very simple way of focusing on the ordinary, making education and training available throughout life (Soobrayan 1998: 104).

The establishment of the National Quality Framework (NQF) in 1996 specifically ensured enhancement of learning opportunities throughout the life cycle and to remove those barriers that prevent lifelong learning (see 2.6.2.2). The NQF must lead to the elimination of all disparities in learning and education caused by apartheid (Van der Horst & McDonald 1997: 5; Pillay 1998: 38). The NQF is a “scaffolding” that represents learning pathways, opportunities of learning and levels of qualifications that will empower learners to become part of a society of lifelong learners (Malan 1997: 5). The South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) was commissioned to develop and maintain the NQF in South Africa.

The introduction of Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) also has an impact on adult learning and education (see 5.4.3.1 and 6.2.2). It is a process of recognition of learning that has already happened in many different ways and sites over time. The idea of RPL in the new education policy transformed the meaning of lifelong learning from a desirable to a reality (Pillay 1998: 337).

Education policy focus shifted from “inputs” to a policy focusing on “outputs” or “outcomes” as reflected in the emphasis on Outcomes Based Education (OBE) (Soobrayan 1998: 105. See 5.5.2.4). OBE is the vehicle that is used to transform education in South Africa. Van der Horst and McDonald (1997: 6) describe OBE as a social-reconstructivist view of schooling: it needs to change and improve society.

Olivier (1998: x) states that the learning achievements of OBE is obvious and tangible. The results achieved can be measured against the needs of the real world where different ways of work and earning income are realities.

According to Malan (1997: 5), the outcomes-based movement started with the work of Tyler (1950) and Bloom (1976). They indicated that learning takes place step-by-step and that the most logical learning process progresses from the simple to the complex. These progressive steps are described in learner competencies or learning objectives.

In OBE facilitators and learners focus on two matters:

- Facilitators and learners concentrate on the desired end results of each learning process. These end results are called “outcomes”. The learners are continually assessed to establish that they have achieved the envisaged results.
- The focus is on the instructive and the learning processes that will guide learners to the desired results. When instruction lessons are planned, learning outcomes is the guideline. OBE is learner-centred (Van der Horst & McDonald 1997: 5).

Three categories of outcomes can be distinguished (Malan 1997: 16):

- Traditional outcomes: these are the learner competencies in a certain subject or topic. They represent elements of the learning materials and are called the lesson objectives.
- Transitional outcomes: they are behaviouristic (see 4.5.1) and experiential (see 4.5.3) descriptions of the learner’s achievements. These outcomes focus on the knowledge, skills and the values the learners have obtained and the ability to apply these outcomes in the world outside the educational environment.
- Transformational outcomes: these are called the critical cross-field outcomes (see 5.5.4.2). They focus on the role that competent, well-adjusted adults might be expected to fulfil in the world outside.

It can be concluded that OBE allows learners to develop their full potential (see 4.5.3). It has a positive approach and expects success regardless of sex, age, background or previous achievement. OBE enhances the development of self-esteem as success motivates learners to strive for more success. Learning environments need to be attractive and inviting for learners. An atmosphere that promotes a culture of learning is most effective. Opportunity for reflective thinking, problem-solving and active learning promotes OBE. In OBE, all stakeholders share the responsibility for learning: the community, facilitators, learners and family members contribute to ensure that the planned outcomes are achieved.

The implications of the OBE approach for education and training methodology are:

- The learner is facilitated towards the achievement of outcomes. The teacher is a facilitator rather than a carrier of knowledge and information (Van der Horst & McDonald 1997: 13).
- A variety of specific outcomes will be achieved, but all will be based on critical cross-field outcomes Malan 1997: 44-45; Olivier 1998: 17).
- Learning cannot happen through memorising of information as the focus of learning is the achievement of abilities and skills (Olivier 1998: 21).
- The emphasis is on activity-based learning that includes problem-solving, communicating effectively, team work and continuously assessing progress through formative assessment by the facilitator, learner or by peers (Olivier 1998: 21).
- Development and involvement in tasks that combine theory and practice and prepare the learner for the realities of the world outside the education environment (Olivier 1998: 21).

Pillay (1998: 345) expresses her concern that the new education system in South Africa does not address the needs of adult marginalised women. She refers to statistics of 1997 that indicated that 20% of African women aged 20 and above have had no formal education. Women are in need of adult education classes. A large number of women who are in the informal market are in need of adult education. Fifty per cent of employed African women are involved in cleaning and farm work. She comes to the conclusion that not many African women will comply with criteria to access learnerships due to their lack of formal education as some level of literacy is required for access to learnerships.

The implementation of education and training in the DWDP was based on the ideas of OBE (Services SETA 2005a: 1). This study will provide valuable information and lessons on the contribution of the NQF and OBE in the DWSDP, a community development project focused on the empowerment of previously marginalised women. Eighty per cent of the women involved in the learnership were full-time domestic workers and 20% were unemployed and could now be

capacitated by the training to obtain employment (BPF 2004). Forty five per cent of domestic workers had at least some level of secondary education and 6% had passed grade 12 while 25% had not been exposed to any formal education beyond grade 4 (South Africa 2001: 4).

4.3.5 Popular education

The term “popular education” originates from the theories of Freire in Latin America (see 3.3). Education in this sense is linked to the right to education of every person, specifically those who were deprived of formal education. Popular education involves “praxis” (see 3.3) and is used to achieve social change. Jesson & Newman (2004: 253) refer to “learning radical action” in this sense. It implies a collective learning process when a whole group learns collectively through action to achieve change. They use “learning radical action” in contrast with “liberal adult education” that focuses on learning for individual intellectual stimulation or personal enrichment.

“Learning radical action” implies that people collectively challenge social structures, changing the substance of the world they live in and gaining more control over their own lives (Jesson & Newman 2004: 254). Group exercises, Freire’s problem-posing and dialogical method (see 3.3 and 4.5.6.1) are mentioned as appropriate strategies for collaborative learning.

Merriam & Brockett (1997: 249) argue that individual learning is a by-product of collective learning and not an end in itself. Contrary to this statement, Knowles (1989: 39) states that Freire’s consciousness-raising (see 3.3 and 4.5.6.1) that focuses on collaborative learning in particular as part of the learning process made a valuable contribution to his revised approach of andragogy (see 4.5.7), enhancing individual learning.

The implementation of the DWSDP could be regarded as the outcome of “praxis” of critical reflection and consciousness-raising of domestic workers and the Domestic Workers Union collaboratively during the period of apartheid oppression (see 2.3.3). The expected changes that the DWSDP could have

affected in the lives of individual domestic workers again have the potential of “praxis” as individual adult learners free themselves from the oppression of being illiterate and uneducated by gaining skills in literacy, numeracy and domestic services. Change in the social and economic circumstances of oppressed individuals through “praxis” could have been achieved in the opportunities of empowerment provided by the project.

The different views on and terms applicable to education and adult learning in particular were influenced by a range of theories on learning. Knowledge and understanding of learning theories are important to determine and describe the learning processes that adult learners experienced in the DWSDP and the learning environment created in the community project to enhance adult learning.

4.4 The value of theories of learning in the educational environment

According to Knowles (1990: 10), a good theory needs to provide educators with explanations of phenomena of learning, but also with guidelines for action in the learning and education situation. All learning specialists, whether educators, facilitators, developers of curriculum or a designers of teaching methods, benefit from learning theories in the following ways:

- They use theories to establish which techniques will work best in specific educational circumstances.
- They evaluate and assess theories and take decisions on the suitability and adaptability of theories to their own human nature and the purpose of education.
- They study the implications of various learning theories for their own role and performance as educators (Knowles 1990: 10).

Merriam & Caffarella (1991: 125) argue that learning theories do not provide solutions to practical problems in the facilitation of learning, but focus attention on those variables important to find solutions. It can, therefore, be concluded that insight into various theories assists the educator to make the best decisions regarding learning experiences that will achieve the outcomes envisaged.

Knowles (1989: 47) and Merriam & Caffarella (1991: 125) state that learning is multi-faceted and, therefore, does not allow it being categorised easily. For the purpose of this study of the development impact of the DWSDP on the adult participants, the focus will be on different theories of learning that contribute to the understanding of adult learning. These theories form the basis of andragogy (see 4.5.7) and self-directedness (4.5.8) that will be applied in this study as guidelines to determine the environment created for adult learning to happen in such a way that the learning needs of the beneficiaries of the project were met successfully.

4.5 Learning theories applicable to adult education

4.5.1 The behaviourist learning approach

The behaviourists regard the purpose of education as programming people through stimulus-response mechanisms to behave in predetermined ways (Knowles 1989: 46). Thorndike and Skinner are known for their behaviourist ideas. They focused on the observable behaviour, rather than the internal processes. When behaviour is rewarded, the response mostly will be repeated and contingency of reinforcement is important for learning to happen (Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 126).

Merriam & Caffarella (1991:129) and Knowles (1989:47) regard the behaviourist ideas important for vocational and skills training. The learning task is divided into elements and there is reward for correct response. This approach is applicable to the skills training of domestic workers, for example in the learning of the hand washing routine and other repetitive tasks such as operating appliances in the domestic services environment (Domestic Services Chamber 2003: 36).

4.5.2 The cognitive approach

According to the cognitive ideas of Piaget, the distinguishing characteristic of the human being is the highly developed brain that has the ability to think, feel, learn and solve problems (Knowles 1989: 129). Learning is about reorganisation of experiences in order to make sense of the environment. Internal processes take

place internally and the learning activity is controlled by the individual (Merriam & Caffarella 1991:129). The purpose in education is to teach the brain to perform its functions efficiently and effectively.

The emancipatory theory of Freire (see 3.3 and 4.5.6.1) and the transformative theory of Mezirow developed from the cognitive thinking, although both were influenced by the humanistic (see 4.5.3) and social (4.5.4) learning approaches as well. Some of the outcomes of Unit Standards of the learnership implemented in the DWSDP particularly focused on problem-solving. Domestic workers had to replace one food dish, for example, with another in the menu whilst ensuring that the nutritional balance of the menu was not disturbed (Domestic Services Chamber 2004e: 20).

4.5.3 The humanist learning approach

Humanists approach learning from the perspective of the almost infinite potential that people have for growth. People are inherently good and they strive to achieve a better life. People are regarded as holistic and self-directing. Behaviour is the consequence of human choice and, therefore, people are free to act and control their own destiny (Knowles 1989: 47; Merriam & Brockett 1997: 40; Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 131). The learners themselves need to assess and identify their learning needs (Orem 2000: 443). The purpose of education is to guide and facilitate this potential of learners to develop to the fullest. Individual development, in turn, then contributes to humanity in general.

Maslov categorises the needs of people in three levels. The lowest level in his hierarchy consists of the needs such as hunger and thirst. Once these needs are attended to, security and protection can be attended to. The needs of belonging and love and self-esteem follow and, finally, the highest level, the need for self-actualisation must be attended to. Motivation to learn is intrinsic and evolves from the learner (Merriam & Caffarella 1991:132; Tennant 2000: 90; Brockett & Hiemstra 1993: 125). The goal of learning is self-actualisation and the learner and the educator must strive for that.

Rogers (1983: 5) places the focus on the role of the experience of the learner in his / her learning and strongly advocates the learner-centred approach in education and training. According to Rogers, the whole person (cognitive and affective) is involved in the learning activity. The experience of expanding knowledge and understanding happens internally. Learning has a pervasive impact as it affects how the person behaves and influences the attitudes, even the personality, of the learner. The learner determines best if his / her needs are met and if knowledge will substitute ignorance in the learner's life. The learner takes responsibility for the evaluation of his / her learning and as learning happens meaning is part and parcel of the whole experience (Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 133; Rogers 1983: 20).

The contribution of the humanist theorists Maslov and Rogers are useful for the educational and learning activities typical of a community development project of the nature of the DWSDP. The project needs to be people-centred and aimed at meeting the needs of the people within a participatory educational environment. Learners take ownership of the learning processes. The outcomes of the empowerment of the individual should result into the lives of other participants and the community being affected and enriched as well.

4.5.4 The social learning approach

Social theory assumes that people learn from observing other people within a social setting (Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 134; Knowles 1990: 95). The original approach was that people observe others, imitate and reinforce what has been observed. These ideas were based on behaviourism. Bandura introduced a more cognitive approach to social learning by stating that people do observe, but do not necessarily imitate what they observe. People further regulate their own behaviour to some extent as they visualise consequences that are self-generated (Bandura 1976: 392). In this process, adult learning has a reciprocal character as people influence their environment and, in turn, their environment influences their behaviour.

Hergenhahn (1988: 327) uses the term “observational learning” and, influenced by the humanistic approach, explains that learning happens in four phases: the learner pays attention, memorises what is observed, repeats or rehearses what has been observed and memorised and, finally, the learner acts on the information when motivated to. Teaching through modelling is based on the social learning approach. During the rehearsal phase learners observe their own behaviour and make a comparison with their cognitive representation of the model observed.

Knowles (1989: 94) emphasises that although social learning implicates learning through external stimuli and reinforcement, self-control processes are present as well. Individuals can regulate their own behaviour by selecting well-defined objectives that incorporate actions that enhance the attainment of desired outcomes.

It can be concluded from the discussion that the social learning approach has important relevance to adult learning. Firstly, the learner and the learning environment in which the learner operates are important. Secondly, learning can be controlled externally, but learning can be internally motivated as well. These aspects have important implications for the explanation of how adult learners learn. When defining adult education, not only the overt behaviour, cognitive processes or the personality of the adult need to be considered, but the interaction of all these factors. Finally, the social learning approach relies on elements of the behaviourist, the cognitive and the humanistic approaches.

This notion is important for this study that aims to establish how learning happened in the DWSDP and the environment that was created for learning. One of the methods used to enhance and support the learning of the domestic workers was mentoring. The social environment in which mentoring happens is a determining aspect for successful implementation. It contributes to a holistic approach to ensure that the learning needs of individual learners are met in the process of empowerment.

4.5.5 The constructivist approach

Constructivism represents the most recent views on adult learning (Gravett 2001: 17). According to Merriam & Brockett (1997: 46) and Nesbit, Leach & Foley (2004: 81), constructivism does not represent a single unified theory on its own, but is a group of perspectives that are related to one another. They are “united in their underlying view of the world” (Candy 1991: 254). Influences of the behaviouristic, cognitive, humanistic and social learning thinking are present in the different constructivist views (Nesbitt et al. 2004: 81).

The different constructivist views are divided into the radical, social, social-cultural, emancipatory approaches. These perspectives all are based on the idea that learning is a process of constructing meaning or knowledge (Gravett 2001: 18). Constructivists are of the opinion that the whole is greater than the total of the parts. People are confronted with an abundance of stimuli, they organise them into cognitive frameworks that assist them in making sense of the world (Nesbitt et al. 2004: 81).

Constructivists argue that when learning of new information has to happen, the learner understands and learns the new information through a pre-existing cognitive structure. This structure is the already existing knowledge framework based on previous experiences. All new learning and construction of new meaning is fitted into the existing knowledge framework. The new knowledge is interpreted through this knowledge framework. The existing knowledge framework has an important impact on meaningful learning as well as on the retention of knowledge by the adult (Ausubel 1968: 127; Gravett 2001: 18; Merriam & Brockett 1997: 46; Mezirow 2000: 5).

The radical assumption of constructivism is that people develop knowledge and understanding as individuals and that learning is an internal cognitive process. The social constructivist approach regards learning as mainly social, because people learn through interactions with others. Knowledge is constructed when individuals engage socially in talk activity about shared problems or tasks. Making meaning happens in dialogue when persons are in conversation. Learning happens in a

process when individuals “are introduced to a culture by a more skilled person” (Candy 1991: 275; Driver, Asoko, Leach, Mortimer & Scott 1994: 7).

The assumption is that adults learn when they are actively constructing meaning or knowledge, because learning is not a process of banking or the learner being filled by the educator with information. Transformation of understanding happens whilst the learner inter-reacts with the environment (Gravett 2001: 18; Freire 1996: 53; Driver, et al. 1994: 6; Pratt & Nesbit 2004: 121). Language is an important tool in the learning process as well (Gravett 2001: 20). The role of the individual cannot be ignored when determining adult learning. The learner actively inquires and acts with individuality when doing a task; actions that co-inside with the adult learning notion of self-direction (see 4.5.8).

According to Nesbitt et al. (2004: 81), the relationship between the learning context (the way in which the knowledge is presented to the learners) and the learning strategy (the way the learners learn) is important. Learners either can learn through reception learning, when they absorb what is transferred by the educator, or through discovery learning, when learners build up inductively their own understanding. Either can be meaningful or rote. Meaningful learning implicates that learners connect new knowledge to existing cognitive frameworks (Gravett 2001: 17). Rote meaning implicates memorisation, and information can soon be forgotten. The quality of learning depends on how the knowledge is presented to the learner and what learning strategies are followed by the learners (Nesbit et al. 2004: 81).

This notion of the importance of the relationship of how knowledge is presented and what learning strategies are followed, is the underlying idea of andragogy that focuses on the practice of creating a conducive learning environment for adult learning (see 4.5.7).

The constructivist learning approach is applicable to the DWSDP. The domestic workers entered literacy and skills learning environments with their own life and work experiences reflected in already constructed knowledge frameworks. The employers of the domestic workers, facilitators, mentors and staff of the NGO,

Basadi Pele Foundation (BPF), were exposed to learning opportunities in this community development project as well. They, in turn, represented their own individual constructed knowledge frameworks. The study aims to establish if and how the different learners developed knowledge and meaning according to the assumptions of the constructivist learning approach.

4.5.6 The contribution of Freire and Mezirow to adult learning theory

This study aims to investigate how adults were empowered individually and collaboratively through learning during the implementation of the DWSD community project. The emancipatory idea of education and learning of Freire (see 3.3) provides valuable criteria for such an investigation. The transformational learning theory of Mezirow (see 4.5.6.2) focuses on adult learning particularly and his ideas on how adult learning happens within the individual learner serve as important guidelines for the facilitation of adult teaching and learning in a community project of an educational nature.

4.5.6.1 The contribution of Freire

It can be concluded from the above discussion that the education and learning theory of Freire (see 3.3) mirrors the constructivist approach. He also introduced the idea of emancipatory education and learning. His notion of critical consciousness gained through problem-posing during dialogue with others that results into “praxis” (critical reflection + action) that could bring about internal individual change or social change, links with social constructivist thinking, but also highlights critical thinking in adult education.

His idea that development of the curriculum and content of learning materials in participation with learners by utilising the generative themes of the learners themselves, reminds of the notion that learning happens when new information is linked with already existing knowledge and meaning constructs. Askov (2004: 121), in agreement with Freire, emphasises the value of the assumption that knowledge is socially constructed for non-formal educational programmes like where teachers and learners learn collaboratively.

Whilst it is accepted that not all critical thinking leads to transformation, teachers can practice critical thinking teaching in literacy skills training through questioning and answering, a process that can encourage transfer from classroom to the learners' daily lives.

4.5.6.2 The contribution of Mezirow

Mezirow uses constructivism as the point of departure for his transformational learning theory which focuses specifically on learning in adulthood. He based his theory on empirical study of the change in perspective or frame of reference experienced by a group of women returning to school after an extensive break in their lives (Taylor 2000: 285; Gravett 2001: 23). His transformational learning theory focuses on personal transformation, compared to Freire's theory, that is, within a larger framework of radical social change as personal empowerment and social transformation cannot be separated from one another (see 3.3). Freire's idea of consciousness-raising and empowerment provided an important underlying framework for Mezirow's transformational learning theory. The concept of discourse as developed by Mezirow resembles the concept of dialogue as formulated and applied by Freire (Merriam & Caffarella 1999: 324).

The value of the transformational learning theory of Mezirow is that he analysed the role of inner meaning and mental constructs to define how adults learn (Merriam & Caffarella 1999: 326). According to Mezirow (1991: 62) the frames of reference or meaning structures of adult learners that were constructed during learning as a psycho-cultural process of meaning-making, form or determine the limits of the meaning-making process. Meaning structures consist of two dimensions. They are:

- meaning perspectives and
- meaning schemes (see figure 1).

Meaning perspectives are described by Mezirow (1991: 62) as mostly "pre-rational and unarticulated presuppositions". Meaning perspectives could include

prejudices and stereotypes that present a distorted view of reality. Meaning perspectives can prevent a person from getting involved in new meaning-making. Meaning schemes consist of our specific points of view, knowledge, beliefs, value judgements and feeling involved in making an interpretation (Mezirow 1991: 44).

Meaning schemes and meaning perspectives are interconnected as meaning schemes are the concrete manifestations of meaning perspectives. Meaning schemes translate the general expectations of the meaning perspective into a specific one that guides action that follows (Mezirow 1991:44). In practical terms, a person could accommodate negative racial and sexual stereotypes (meaning perspective) that manifest as a belief (meaning scheme) that results into another person being avoided because of his or her race or sex.

Influenced by the communicative theory of Habermas (Collins 1996: 94; Connelly 1998: 94), Mezirow identifies two domains of learning. They are:

- communicative learning and
- instrumental learning (see figure 1).

Communicative learning can give more information on *how to understand* something and instrumental learning on *how to do* something. Communicative learning is about understanding what other people communicate about values, intentions, feelings, moral decisions, social and political concepts. Instrumental learning is about learning to control or manipulate the environment through task-orientated problem-solving. Adult learning is intentional and during learning adults focus on cause-and-effect knowledge. Adult learning has an intentional character and the results of actions are followed up (Gravett 2001: 24 & 32; Mezirow 2000: 8-9; see figure 1).

Mezirow (2000: 141) states that transformative learning is the most important type of learning by adults, but it does not mean that all learning by adults has a transformative character. For transformative learning to happen, critical reflection is essential. Critical reflection is an appraisal of what is reflected on. Should the appraisal focus on an assumption or presupposition (critical reflection on

assumptions—CRA), transformation or change in an existing frame of reference may happen (Gravett 2001: 24; Mezirow 1998: 91). Critical reflection is a useful tool to identify, uncover and challenge power dynamics and relationships. In adult education, power situations always are present (Brookfield 2000: 127).

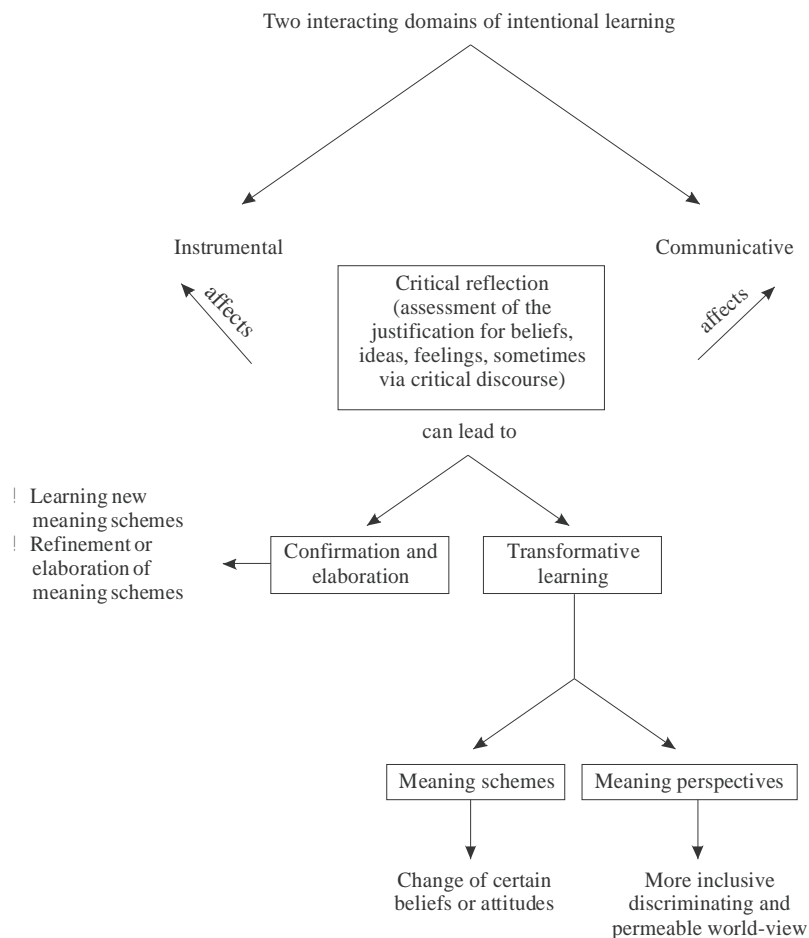
Not all critical reflection results into transformative learning (Mezirow 1991: 44; Brookfield 2000: 142). Mezirow provides the following examples of non-transformative and transformative learning to support his argument:

- At times during learning existing meaning schemes are elaborated, added on, changed or integrated with an already existing meaning scheme. This process is non-transformative learning.
- During learning a new learning scheme is formed when learning a group of beliefs, feelings, judgements, attitudes and knowledge. The learning is non-transformative.
- When the adult reflects on assumptions, meaning schemes can be transformed. Learning implicates a change in certain beliefs or attitudes and is regarded as transformative learning.
- When an adult is confronted with an experience not suitable for or in conflict with a learner's meaning perspectives, the following could happen: The experience is either rejected or the meaning perspective is transformed (Mezirow 1991: 44; Brookfield 2000: 142). When a meaning perspective is transformed, a complex process could be caused (Taylor 2000: 285). The adult learner could have a disparate experience whilst doing a critical reappraisal of previous assumptions and prepositions. This incongruent experience (disorienting dilemma)⁴⁷ then results into transformation of a meaning perspective and learning is regarded as transformative (Gravett 2001: 24).

Gravett (2001: 5) argues that perspective transformation brings about development in adulthood that enables the person to enhance a world-view that is more inclusive, differentiating and open to other viewpoints.

⁴⁷A disorienting dilemma is an experience of trauma, e.g. getting divorced or loosing a child through death.

Figure 1: Learning by adults as described by Mezirow



Source: Gravett 2001: 25

Within the instrumental domain, Mezirow (1998: 193) distinguishes “objective reframing” and critical self-reflection on assumptions (CSRA) that implicates “subjective reframing”. Subjective reframing would be the result of critical reflection on one’s own assumptions. When objective reframing happens, critical reflection on the assumptions of other people has taken place (Brookfield 2000: 132 -133; Mezirow 1998: 193; Taylor 2000: 29).

Mezirow introduces the notion of (rational) discourse essential for transformative learning to happen. Discourse as explained by Mezirow is a type of dialogue (it reminds of Freire’s dialogue) in which reasons are provided and evaluated, and evidence for and against rivalling views is investigated (Gravett 2001: 26).

Through discourse critical reflection is activated to enhance and develop transformative learning. Discourse also may be a way an individual learner uses to gain insight in dealing with a disorienting dilemma (Mezirow: 1998: 196; Taylor 2000: 289). Through discourse a learner can also look at the validity of insights with other people that are regarded as experts and most knowledgeable.

According to Taylor (2000: 306), discourse does not have a rational character only. The relationship with others is important as well to assure the transformative process and is described as “relational knowing.” In an environment where individuals trust one another, questions can be asked and information freely shared with one another and understanding reached mutually and in consent (Taylor 2000: 308).

Mezirow was criticised for emphasising the individual and internal nature of transformative learning, whilst providing little guidance on how it manifests in the community (Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 255). In the spirit of discourse Mezirow was criticised by Belenky (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 72) for not attending to the realities of adult learners’ lives, in particular women, that affect their learning like negative early education experiences, low level of education or inability to articulate or question their own or others’ assumptions. Consequently, marginalised women are excluded from the experience of transformative learning the Mezirow way (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 73).

Belenky (2000: 72) argues that when immature and marginalised persons are exposed to reflective dialogue, it enables them and their educators to understand the meaning of their experiences and the kind of society they come from. Belenky, using Mezirow’s transformational learning theory as framework, divides women’s perspective on learning in five categories (Belenky, Clinchy, BMcV, Goldberger & Tarule 1996: 100; Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 192).

Firstly, women are the Silenced. These women often come from violent environments where words are used as weapons and not as a way of transferring knowledge to and from people. The Silenced are passive and often feel incompetent in learning situations (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 87; Merriam &

Caffarella 1991: 192). Secondly, women are Received Knowers. These women can and do understand things when they are explained. They listen to those who know, but they do not know that they can generate ideas themselves. They depend on others for knowledge and direction. Many Received Knowers have been taught it is immoral to question authority. Thirdly, women are Subjective Knowers. These learners distrust words and language. They regard ideas so unique and personal that once transferred through words and language, they are distorted. Such learners have difficulty to understand the notion of critical thinking and reflective dialogue. Intuition has more value than logical thinking and in this sense they might develop a voice (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 87; Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 192).

Women are also Procedural Knowers. Women apply objective procedures to obtain and communicate knowledge. Learning can happen here as separate knowing, when the aim is to reach consensus about the best judgement with the available information. Learning can also happen as connected knowing in this category. In this instance, the more learners disagree with another person, the harder they try to understand the other person's thinking. Tools like empathy, imagination and storytelling are used to understand the other person's thinking. They approach things holistically (Belenky et al. 2000:100). Lastly, women are also Constructed Knowers. These learners regard themselves as constructors of knowledge. They use the strategies of the five categories selectively. Procedural Knowers and Constructed Knowers experience transformative learning (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 87).

The categorisation of women's perspective of learning by Belenky serves as a useful guideline for this study, investigating the nature of the learning processes that focus on the empowerment of adult women who, representing marginalised to less-marginalised communities, are individually and collaboratively exposed to learning opportunities.

Notwithstanding the critique on Mezirow's idea of transformative learning, it can be concluded that Mezirow's transformational learning theory assists training providers and educators in particular in understanding the significant impact that

existing meaning frameworks of adult learners have on the creation of learning as well as the delimitation of their learning. In agreement with Merriam & Caffarella (1991: 261), Mezirow's contribution is accepted as a "charter" of andragogy (see 4.5.7) emphasising the educator's role as the enhancing factor to enable the adult learner to achieve self-direction (see 4.5.8).

Adult women of different ages, races, ethnic groups, levels of education and communities participated in the learning opportunities provided by the DWSDP. They joined this community project accompanied by their own individual frames of reference. It was unavoidable that their meaning perspectives and meaning schemes reflected the racial past and socio-political inequalities of South Africa. For more than a year domestic workers, employers, facilitators, mentors, assessors and administrative staff worked closely together. Different power relations typical of education situations, as explained by Freire (see 3.3; Brookfield 2000: 127) and Mezirow (2000: 28) also were present in this educational project and is an important substance of a learning environment that contributes to the process of transformative learning.

Typical of a non-formative education conducted by a NGO training provider, a learning environment could have been created that encouraged discussion, group work, questioning, sharing information, problem-solving, mutual support and trust. Such a learning environment is important for transformative learning to happen. This study aims to investigate if the transformative adult learning contributed to the empowerment of the women.

Finally, from the discussion of the emancipatory learning theory of Freire and the transformational learning theory of Mezirow, the important contributions to adult learning can be noted. In concurrence with Merriam & Caffarella (1991: 205) it can be stated that Freire's consciousness-raising and Mezirow's perspective transformation are "defining characteristics" of learning in adulthood.

In concluding the discussion on different learning theories, it can be noted in agreement with Knowles (1990: 10) that learning described as a theory, in a sense is an "elusive phenomenon" and that learning could be used to describe a product,

a process or a function. The application of a combination of learning theories in the practical learning situation is the most effective for adult learning according to Knowles (1989: 47). Combined application allows for the principle of adaptiveness that is important for community development (see 3.2.5.3). This study aims to establish if and how the DWSDP implementation was adapted within the learning environment to meet the different learning needs of the beneficiaries.

Learning theories assist with the understanding of learning by learners, but the understanding on how to achieve effective learning by the adult learner and the role of the educator in these processes is equally important. The ideas of andragogy as a practical way to enhance adult education and learning are useful for this study that focuses on empowerment through skills development and training.

4.5.7 Knowles' andragogy model and its implications for adult learning and education

4.5.7.1 Defining andragogy

Malcolm Knowles is regarded as the father of the conceptualisation of andragogy (Darkenwald & Merriam 1982: 47; Gravett 2001:65; Merriam & Brockett 1997: 85; Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 25; Sork & Newman 2004: 97). In 1970, he published his first book on andragogy, namely *The modern practice of adult education: andragogy versus pedagogy*. At that stage he regarded pedagogy and andragogy as dichotomous: pedagogy focusing on the teaching of children and andragogy on the teaching of adults (Darkenwald & Merriam 1982: 14; Gravett 2001: 65). Knowles (1990: 57) defines andragogy as a group of assumptions that determines the art and science of helping adults learn. Andragogy forms a contrast with pedagogy that is the “art and science of teaching children” (Slaughter & Associates 1991: 2).

Through discussions with educators of children and young people and educators of basic skills, Knowles realised that pedagogy needs to be used in some adult educational situations. The revised issue of his book (1980) was subtitled *From*

pedagogy to andragogy” (Knowles 1984: 7). According to Brookfield (1994: 90) Knowles then introduced andragogy as “another” model of assumptions about learners to be used in tandem with the assumptions of the pedagogical model. The two models were not in opposition to one another, but regarded as two ends and a realistic assumption about the learners is then fitted in a particular situation (Gravett 2001: 65). Brookfield (1994: 91) and Merriam & Brockett (1997: 135) emphasise that this model of andragogy is not a theory of adult learning, but a set of assumptions and methods about the process of helping adults learn.

Andragogy is based on six assumptions about adult learning (Brockett & Hiemstra 1991: 29; Darkenwald & Merriam 1982; Knowles 1990: 57). Firstly, *adults need to know the reasons for learning something* before they embark on the learning. Knowles (1980: 81) explains that Freire’s idea of consciousness-raising (see 3.3 and 4.5.6.1) contributed to this assumption. Adults further have a *self-concept* of taking responsibility for their own decisions and lives. This means that mature adults’ self-concepts move from a situation of dependency towards self-direction (see 4.5.8). Adults also bring to the educational activity an *accumulating amount of experience* that impact on their learning. Negative experiences can cause the development of mental habits, biases and presumptions that close the minds of learners to fresh ideas and new perceptions.

This assumption reminds of the role of meaning perspectives in the transformational learning theory of Mezirow (see 4.5.6.2). Different to children, *adults also become less subject-orientated as they mature and become more problem-centred*. Adults want to learn to perform tasks or to solve problems of life. Adults further develop a *readiness to learn* those things they need to know and which enable them to cope with real life situations. Lastly, *internal motivators* such as job-satisfaction, self-esteem and quality of life *are more important* for adult learners than external motivators such as promotion and higher salaries (Brockett & Hiemstra 1991: 21; Gravett 2001: 65; Knowles 1990: 58-59).

4.5.7.2 Implications of andragogy for adult teaching practice

From the foregoing it can be noted that andragogy has important implications for adult teaching practice and, consequently, for the educational activities implemented during the DWSDP as it provides practical guidelines for training providers and facilitators in particular to enable them to enhance effective learning by adults. Brookfield (1994: 105) argues that an atmosphere of adulthood needs to be fostered in the learning situation that will assist learners to transform from dependent learners to self-directed learners (see 4.5.8). A positive physical and psychological environment must be created to enhance learning, therefore facilitators need to be supportive of learners by not judging and threatening learners, but accepting them regardless of their abilities and empathising with the problems and concerns of learners (Knowles 1984: 16).

Working in peer groups guided by the facilitator strengthens the learning process. Facilitators that act with openness and authenticity provide positive examples for learners to identify with. Learners must experience pleasure whilst learning because learners meet their full potential by experiencing learning as gratifying (Knowles 1984:17).

Learners at all times must feel respected and accepted (Gravett 2001: 45; Knowles 1984: 17). Learning must be a human experience to learners and therefore they must be treated as human beings. When lighting and ventilation are of good quality and chairs are comfortable, learners will feel they are treated like human beings. Seating organised in circles encourage mutual trust and create a caring atmosphere conducive to learning (Brookfield 1994: 105).

The notion that the experience of adult learners is of great importance is specifically applicable in a project of the nature of the DWSDP that focus on the education and training of the undereducated. Knowles (1984: 10) states that all the uneducated learner can bring to the learning environment is their experience. Facilitators need to understand that adults derive their self-identity from their life experiences. It will be of value to establish if the educational environment created for domestic workers during the DWSDP supported and applied this important assumption of andragogy to the benefit of the adult learners.

Adult learners learn extensively from one another's different experiences and therefore teaching methods such as group discussions, simulation practices, field work and problem-solving exercises are effective for adult learning (Freire 1996: 65; Shor & Freire 1987: 30). Adult learners often represent different ages and consequently different experiences and individualisation in education techniques is important. The method of the learning contract serves this purpose well (Knowles 1984: 10).

Adults reach readiness for learning through experiences when progressing from one development stage to another. Changes in their lives such as the birth of a child, the death of a loved one or losing a job, create readiness for learning. Readiness can also be encouraged by exposure to an effective role model. Developing a career plan assists the learner to identify gaps between his/her current situation and potential one in future, resulting in an urge to fill the gaps through learning (Knowles 1984: 11). An evaluation of the impact of the mentoring service of the DWSDP will provide information on how the readiness and the life-experience of learners were used to the benefit of their empowerment.

The adult learner gets involved in learning activities to be able to perform tasks, to solve problems and to make a difference to his/her living conditions. The implication for adult education is that curricula need to be developed based on the life experience and needs of the learners. Opportunity for mutual planning must be created by the educator (Brookfield 1994: 102). It is important that learners understand the relevance of the learning experience to their life situations, work and problems. Learners are more committed to learning activities to which they contributed in the planning and designing phase (Brookfield 1994: 102).

Educators must create opportunities for the learners to identify their learning needs. Knowles (1984: 124) indicates that certain administrative matters could limit this option, but educators should, within these obstacles, encourage learners to get clarity about their own needs. Self-assessment tools can assist learners to achieve this goal. When needs are identified, learners will be able to formulate

learning objectives for themselves and to revisit the competencies they envisaged (Brookfield 1994: 102).

The andragogy model of Knowles has been criticised by Brookfield (1994: 97) for overemphasis on the needs of the learners. He states that facilitators have a professional responsibility not to take learners needs as sole criteria for curriculum and program design. At times, facilitators also need to supply learners with disconcerting information and realities about their individual lives and the social set-up in which they experience life. However, he cautions that the needs of learners cannot be ignored totally as it is good education practice to build curricula, methods and criteria for evaluation exactly on the expressed need of learners. Learners' needs and facilitators' priorities need to interact when adult learning is facilitated in a balanced transactional relationship.

Pratt (1993: 21) stated that andragogy failed to provide clarity on the understanding of the process of learning. According to Merriam & Brockett (1997: 250), the focus of andragogy on the individual learner results in little contribution to collaborative learning that is so important for effective adult learning. Brookfield (1994: 113) argues the contrary. He finds synergy between the assumptions of community development and andragogy. In both community development and andragogy it is assumed that adults learn best when they are in groups. Adults then experience success in learning when they achieve control over their own and social environments, resulting in the ability to create proactively their individual and social spheres. The focus of the learner on learning activities is then caused by the learner's perceptions of own relevance and not by external stimuli.

It can be concluded, notwithstanding the criticism on the model of andragogy, that the ideas of andragogy are applicable to the DWSDP that aims to empower adult learners through education and training and can provide valuable guidelines to achieve effective adult learning. The balanced approach of Brookfield (see above) regarding the role of the needs of learners in the learning situation is supported as it enhances the idea of partnership between the learner and the facilitator which is necessary for successful adult learning. The similarities identified by Brookfield

(1994: 113) between the assumptions of andragogy and those of community development are of importance for this study on empowerment of people in a community project focused on skills development and training.

Andragogy can be regarded as a technology of adult learning as it enables the teacher as a facilitator to support the learners to become self-directed learners (see 4.5.8), which can be regarded as the aim of andragogy and successful adult education and learning.

4.5.8 Adult learning and self-directedness

According to Merriam & Brockett (1997: 138) the idea of self-directed learning as adults take control of their learning, existed in the days of the Romans and Greeks. Historical persons like Socrates, Ceasar and Descartes demonstrated self-directed learning in their lives.

Brookfield states that self-directedness is normally described according to external and observable learning activities and behaviours rather than an internal mental condition or process (Brookfield 1994: 40). He emphasises the social context in which such learning takes place (Brookfield 1995: 61).

Knowles (1990: 133-135) describes self-directedness as a systematic process during which persons design self-directed learning activities. During this process the individual learners accept responsibility for identifying their learning needs and formulating their own learning goals. They identify the human and material resources for their own learning. They select and implement learning strategies that support their goals and evaluate the learning outcomes they achieve as well.

The Personal Responsibility Orientation model of Brockett and Hiemstra (1991: 29) describes self-direction in two dimensions, namely “self-directed learning” which is the same as Knowles’ definition above and “learner self-direction”. The latter term focuses on the internal characteristics of the person who takes primary responsibility for own learning. The PRO model, in concurrence with Brookfield

(1995: 61), recognises the importance of social context in self-directed learning (Merriam & Brockett 197: 139).

Another approach is that of Candy who investigated self-directed learning from a constructivist sociological angle. According to Candy (1991: 19) it is important to distinguish between self-directedness as a goal or as a process or activity. Comparing the work of many authors, Candy (1991: 7-8) comes to the following conclusion about different approaches:

- self-direction is regarded as a method of organising instruction. Learning materials and documents are developed to enhance self-directed learning experiences.
- self-direction is more of a characteristic of learners than a method of teaching. It might even be a quality that is present with learners in different degrees. This means that educators can, at the request of the learners, develop learning materials and experiences that improve their ability to be self-directing.

Candy (1991:8) states that it is not problematic when an author uses the same term for self-directedness as a goal or a process (the context usually brings clarity to the meaning). It becomes problematic when people just accept that taking part in an activity of self-directed learning automatically will result in the development of self-directedness. Candy (1991:18) divides self-direction into two domains. Firstly, the learner control domain when the learner takes primary ownership of the learning and the controlling role of the teacher is small. Secondly, the autodidaxy domain where the teacher is absent and the learner may not even realise that learning occurs.

The relationship between self-directed learning and lifelong learning (see 4.3.4) is described by Candy (1991: 15) as a “reciprocal” one. On the one hand, self-directed learning is one of the common ways that adults use to learn through life. It is a way adults supplement for, or even at times substitute for, learning obtained in formal settings. On the other hand, lifelong learning tends, as one of its main

aims, to equip people with the skills and abilities necessary to continue their self-education further than the end of formal schooling (Candy 1991:15).

Merriam and Caffarella (1999: 290) state that depending on the different philosophical stances of authors, three goals of self-directed learning can be identified. Firstly, self-directed learning seeks the development of the ability of learners to be self-directed in their learning. Knowles (1989: 47) endorses this idea based on the humanistic approach (see 4.5.3) that personal growth is the aim of adult learning. Secondly, self-directed learning nurtures transformational learning as the essence of self-directed learning. Mezirow and Brookfield support this goal as the most complete form of self-directed learning occurs when the adult learner in his/her search for meaning combines process with reflection (Brookfield 1994: 38; Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 261). Thirdly, self-directed learning wants to promote emancipatory learning and social action as a central part of self-directed learning. Freire is a supporter of this approach (see 3.3) that wants learners to investigate socio-political assumptions present in the learning situation and use collective action to bring about social change.

In conclusion, it can be noted that understanding self-directedness as process of adult learning or as a characteristic of adult learners is important when educating adult learners. Self-direction and andragogy cannot be separated from one another as self-direction flows from education and training the andragogian way. Self-directed learning is applicable to this study, focusing as it is on the empowerment of people through learning and on achieving full personal growth within a community development project.

The DWSDP aimed to develop a culture of lifelong learning amongst domestic workers, learners had to be sensitised for different career paths such as Early Childhood Development, Hospitality and Cleaning Industry Services opened up by the skills training for them (SETA 2003: 6). This project had the potential to enhance the self-directedness ability of the learners to enable them to share in the achievement of these objectives. This study aims at investigating self-directedness as a contributing aspect in the empowerment of these adult learners.

4.6 Conclusion

In this chapter it was shown that the term “adult” has different meanings, depending on the angle it was approached from or the applicable social aspects. Understanding the different characteristics of adult learners within their social contexts is important for training providers and educators to meet the needs of different adult learners.

Clarity about the relationship and the difference between adult learning and adult education assists to define the roles of the learner and the educator in the learning situation. Education is about the educator creating the stimuli and activities that affect change within the learner and learning is all about the learner that changes during implementation of education. Notwithstanding the differences, the relationship is that of a partnership, typical of the relationship between learner and educator when effective learning occurs.

It was noted further that adult education activities can be divided into formal, informal and non-formal education. Within the boundaries of non-formal education adult basic education such as skills and literacy programmes can be classified and are regarded as supplementing formal education.

Lifelong learning or education emphasises the achievement of the full potential of personality. It could happen through formal, informal or non-formal ways of education. In South Africa, it is closely linked with OBE that focuses on the achievement of outcomes by the learner and the teacher acting as the facilitator in the process. Popular education reflects the partnership between learner and facilitator, but focuses on adult learning that brings about social change.

An examination of the behaviourist, cognitive, humanist and social learning theories highlights the influence of these theories on the constructivist approach about adult education learning, the emancipatory learning theory of Freire and the transformational learning theory of Mezirow. All these theories are applicable to adult learning and education that demand adaptiveness in order to meet the learning needs of different adult learners. It was noted that marginalised women,

when exposed to gender sensitive learning experiences and environments over a period, have their specific ways of learning that could result in high levels of incremental learning.

It has been noted that the model of andragogy has important implications for adult education practice as it focuses on methods of meeting the needs of individual learners based on certain assumptions about adult learners. It was concluded that the ultimate aim of andragogy is the enhancement of self-directedness that accommodates full personal growth, transformational and emancipatory learning.

Finally, it can be mentioned that when empowerment of people within a community development project focuses on skills development and training, learning happens individually and collaboratively within a learning environment that nurtures successful adult learning. This is what chapter five aims to establish of the DWSDP.

CHAPTER FIVE

EMPOWERMENT OF DOMESTIC WORKERS THROUGH SKILLS DEVELOPMENT

5.1 Introduction

In the previous chapter it was explained that effective learning by adult learners happens when a partnership between educator or facilitator and the learner exists. Non-formal education opportunities benefit previously marginalised adult learners in particular as they gain access to lifelong learning notwithstanding their educational backlog. Adult learners need to be approached from a holistic angle to accommodate different learning processes that result in optimal individual and collaborative learning. The learning needs of adult women, who have been exposed to inequalities, are best met in environments conducive to learning that are gender sensitive, value adult women's life knowledge and nurture respect and acceptance.

The purpose of this chapter is to:

- Explain the background to the development and evolution of the Domestic Workers Skills Project (DWSDP).
- Give an account of the capacity building opportunities and activities that accompanied the empowerment of the domestic workers and other participants.
- Use the DWSDP as a case study to investigate and to evaluate skills development of domestic workers in the community development environment of the Basadi Pele Foundation (BPF) NGO.

This chapter focuses on the implementation of the DWSDP at BPF (see 1.7), a NGO based in the community of Kagiso Extension 12 in Krugersdorp, Gauteng and one of the training providers contracted to assist with the skills development of domestic workers for the DWSDP. An explanation of how the project came about and evolved nationally is important for understanding the factors that affected and directed the implementation of the project aimed at empowering domestic workers within the community development set-up of Basadi Pele Foundation.

5.2 Background to the Domestic Workers Skills Development Project

5.2.1 Domestic Workers Skills Development Project 11(C) (Project 11C)

The South African Domestic Workers Union voiced their concern for skills development and a lack of career opportunities in 1998 (see 1.1.2.3 and 2.3.3). As explained in 1.2.5 and 2.6.2.2, the enactment of the Skills Development Act (SDA) and the Skills Development Levies Act (SDLA) against the background of the New Constitution played a determining role to ensure that domestic workers, for the first time in South African history, gained access to skills development and training, focusing on establishing a Domestic Services Industry in particular (Gordon-Brown 2002: 21).

Perceived stakeholders were invited to form a Project Steering Committee in 1999. Under the auspices of the Department of Labour and the National Training Board (later the National Skills Authority⁴⁸) the project was named the Domestic Workers' Skills Development Project 11(C) (Gordon-Brown 2000: 2). Basadi Pele Foundation was invited to join the Project Steering Committee of Project 11(C).

5.2.2 Statutory contexts of the DWSDP

The funding (R117 million over a period of three years⁴⁹) by the National Skills Fund (NSF) for the DWSDP was allocated to respond to the following background set by government policy and strategies. The first context was the National Skills Development Strategy (NSDS) 2001- 2005, the Human Resource Development Strategy for South Africa and the Social Cluster Priorities and Plan of Action 2001- 2002 (Wetsch 2005a: 3). The Department of Labour at that stage regarded domestic workers as one of its key strategic objectives. The next context was the South African Qualification Authority (SAQA) Act and the Skills Development Act (SDA). The key indicators of the NSDS 2001-2005 could be met by the project, namely equity targets (an almost 100% black female

⁴⁸ The National Skills Authority advises the Minister of Labour, *inter alia*, on national skills development policy and strategies as well as allocation of subsidies from the National Skills Fund.

⁴⁹ At the conclusion of the project the cost was R 115 762 597 and the period covered May 2002 to 31 March 2005 (Wetsch 2005a: 3).

beneficiary group), developing a culture of lifelong learning (see 2.6.2.1 and 4.3.4), skills development for sustainable livelihoods (NSF funding applied and maintaining a placement rate of more than 80%) and assisting new entrants into employment (20% of the NQF Level 1 learners were unemployed and part-time employed domestic workers could be assisted to find more employment days) (Wetsch 2005a: 3).

The objectives of the Human Resource Development Strategy for South Africa could be met as well. The focus was on literacy skills and ABET and the development of unit standards on Child Care with the objective of improving the foundations of human development (Wetsch 2005a: 4). The learning programmes were designed to meet the needs of the domestic workers and employers indicated by the Community Agency for Social Enquiry (CASE) research and, therefore, improved the supply of high quality skills responsive to societal and economic needs (Gordon-Brown 2002: 12) Increasing employer participation in lifelong learning could be achieved by including Small, Medium Enterprise (SME) skills and securing the involvement of employers through the contribution of Local Administrators⁵⁰ and Contact Center⁵¹ contributions (Wetsch 2005a: 4).

The project plan of the DWSDP (Services SETA 2003a: 25) responded to the Social Cluster Priorities & Plan of Action 2001-2002 regarding the matter of emerging and re-emerging diseases in South Africa (Wetsch 2005a: 4). The aim was to include Frail Care and Ancillary Care unit standards in the Domestic Qualification. The aim was not achieved due to delays at SAQA to register the unit standards (Wetsch 2005a: 4).

5.2.3 The CASE research report

⁵⁰ Local Administrators were appointed per province and they assisted with the recruitment of domestic workers for the project.

⁵¹ Contact Centers were responsible for liaison with regional project offices, training providers and local administrators and the marketing of the project. The Contact Centers were established in Gauteng, Kwazulu-Natal, the Western Cape and the Eastern Cape.

The absence of information about the competency levels of domestic workers and the needs of employers, resulted in research undertaken by the Project Steering Committee, financed by the German Development Co-operation (GTZ) and conducted by CASE (Gordon-Brown 2002: 11). The data collection took place during the last quarter of 2000. The research included a survey of both domestic workers and employers and focused on the socio-economic and demographic realities of South African domestic workers (Wetsch 2005a: 3). Three thousand households were selected nationally for the research with the expectation that 1 000 employers and 1 000 employers would respond. The fieldwork results consisted of responses from 982 domestic workers and 416 employers (Gordon-Brown 2002: 17).

The report outlined the skills development needs from the perspective of both the employer and domestic worker (South Africa 2001: 1). The education levels of the domestic workers varied between having no formal education to some having passed grade 12 (South Africa 2001: 31). The results also showed that more than half of the domestic workers have little or no literacy skills in the language used at work (South Africa 2001: 31). The implication was that any skills programme for domestic workers would have to be flexible to accommodate the ranging educational needs of learners. Such a programme would have to include Cooking, Household Management, Child and Frail Care skills but also basic Literacy skills, in English in particular (South Africa 2001: 32). The CASE report further indicated less willingness among employers to pay for their employees' training than domestic workers' willingness to pay for their own training if they could achieve a certificate through the course (South Africa 2001: 32).

Employers felt that payment for work must not depend on the contents of a certificate, but rather on proven ability in the work situation. The CASE research also highlighted the employment conditions of domestic workers that needed to be addressed through the necessary legislation and skills development. The average salary for domestic workers was R31.00 per day (Wetsch 2005a: 13). Of the domestic workers, 85% had no written contract with their employers (Wetsch 2005a: 14). Having a contract impacted positively on the payment of domestic workers. Fifty five per cent were never paid for overtime. The average domestic

worker worked 5 days per week. Younger domestic workers and domestic workers who worked for one employer worked six to seven days per week (South Africa 2001: 15).

The findings of the CASE study resulted in reaction by Department of Labour (DOL) through the Sectoral Determination 7: Domestic Workers Section (see 2.5.3) and the skills development of the 1.5 million domestic workers as a national priority through the National Skills Authority (NSA) (Wetsch 2005a: 5). The responsibility to drive this initiative was allocated to the SSETA by DOL and the NSA (Gordon-Brown 2002: 21).

5.2.4 The impact of statutory regulations on the DWSDP qualification

The DWSDP was now firmly brought into the context of the Skills Development Act (SDA) and the South African Qualifications (SAQA) Act. This resulted in perhaps the most informal “industry”⁵², domestic services, being brought into an area controlled by systems and processes designed for formal industry. This situation demanded that the domestic workers’ training had to happen against a formal qualification and unit standards registered on the National Qualifications Framework (NQF) (see 2.6.2.2 and 4.3.4) and all learning programmes, training providers, assessors⁵³, mentors⁵⁴ and facilitators had to be accredited by the Education Training Quality Authority⁵⁵ (ETQA) of the responsible SETA, in this instance the SSETA. (Wetsch 2005a:5).

When the project was originally planned in 2000, it was accepted that the Hospitality and Cleaning industries could provide adequate training for domestic workers and employers would be willing to give domestic workers time off for

⁵² The domestic workers services could not develop into a proper industry as employers of domestic workers were not paying levies for their employees and the majority were not members of employers’ organisations. According to Witbooi (2006), the membership of domestic workers of employees’ organisations also was under-represented.

⁵³ An assessor assesses the competency of learners against the outcomes and assessment criteria of the applicable unit standard/s.

⁵⁴ A mentor assists the learner to achieve a qualification by guiding the learner to reach outcomes, identifying learning problems, developing suitable interventions and helping to understand unit standards and the training process.

⁵⁵ The ETQA is responsible for quality assurance of training provided by training providers accredited by the ETQA of a specific SETA.

training. The first reality was that the majority of unit standards of the Standards Generating Bodies (SGBs)⁵⁶ were unsuitable for domestic workers (Wetsch 2005a: 5; Knoblauch 2005b: 3-4). According to SAQA regulations, if 60% of the outcomes of a unit standard are applicable to a particular skill, a separate unit standard would not be developed. A learner, however, needed to demonstrate a 100% competence against a unit standard to acquire the applicable credit/credits and this ruling was not taken into account. Another complicating factor was that these unit standards resided in the areas of different ETQA's that at that point were in different stages of development. The status quo regarding the Domestic Services Qualification demanded urgent and in-depth attention and changes that emerged into a learning opportunity for BPF (see 5.4.3.4).

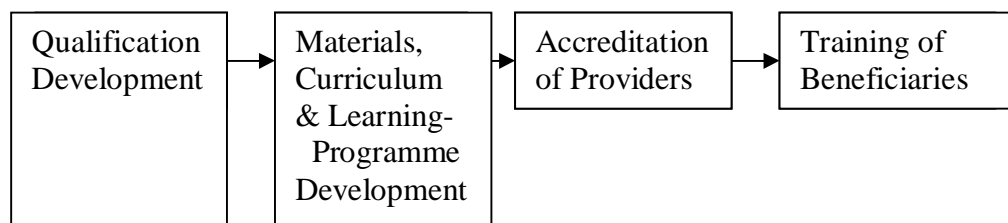
5.2.5 The impact of unrealistic assumptions of the first project plan on the delivery of the DWSDP project

An assumption of the original project plan of 2000 was that there were sufficient training facilities and capacitated training providers for effective project implementation. This was not the situation. The project plan ultimately had to be redesigned to accommodate the building of the training delivery system and meeting the deliverables. The project had a time frame of three years and was now confronted with a major challenge. The budget originally designed for the training of only 12500, now had to achieve that outcome, but also had to cover the entire capacity building initiative as well. This impacted on the timeframe of the project too. The capacity building process took two years and the time left for actual training of the domestic workers had to occur in one year (Wetsch 2005a: 5).

This resulted in a process during which four activities that normally follow in sequence happened simultaneously (see figure 2), namely, firstly qualification development, secondly materials, curriculum and learning programme development, thirdly the accreditation of providers and lastly the training of the domestic workers (Wetsch 2005a: 7).

⁵⁶ The SGB is a body of subject matter experts and representatives of employers and employees of an industry charged with the responsibility to develop unit standards and qualifications for the particular industry.

Figure 2: Normal process for skills development training delivery



Resource: Wetsch 2005a: 7.

Another assumption of the first project plan was that employers would give their domestic workers time off to attend training and provide access to mentors and assessors to conduct worksite activities with domestic workers. The reality was that employers were willing to give domestic workers one day off per week for training. Owing to safety and security reasons, access into the homes of employees for mentors and assessors was impossible. The three month short courses were scaled down to three days, learners attending classes one day a week. This attendance pattern was applied in the implementation of the learnership as well (Wetsch 2005a: 7).

Due to some inexplicable bureaucratic break-down, the transfer of the NSF funding to the SSETA to embark on the initial implementation phases of the DWSDP was delayed for six months. The expectation of DOL was unchanged as far as the implementation period for the project was concerned. This situation placed enormous pressure on the project to achieve the deliverables and affected the implementation of the project not only nationally, but right down to community level at BPF where the learning needs of the domestic workers needed to be met through skills training. This situation highlights the important role of bureaucracy in development projects as the enabler that also needs to be adaptive in its approach (Botes & Van Rensburg 2000: 43; Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 36). People-centered community development with regard to the role of government implies a bottom-up decision-making process with the focus constantly on the needs of the people.

5.2.6 The objectives of the DWSDP and unavoidable changes

To achieve the deliverables, the initial project plan, approved by the NSA, was subjected to two requests for changes to the NSF. The first one was in July 2003 and the second one in March 2005 (Wetsch 2005a: 7). A comparison between the objectives of the initial project plan and that of the change requests demonstrates the extent of the impact of the external forces discussed above on the implementation of the project and other participants.

The four objectives that remained unchanged were the conducting of the 1000 RPL assessments (see 5.4.3.1), the 3000 assessments of competence, the one qualification that needed to be developed and the establishment of one Domestic Services Chamber Board. The training of the skills programmes beneficiary target changed from 10750 to 15000 beneficiaries⁵⁷. The target of the learnership changed from 1750 to 2428 beneficiaries. Five learning programmes had to be developed that were not envisaged by the initial project plan. Sixteen training providers needed to be capacitated to deliver the training of the domestic workers as well as 300 mentors and 100 assessors. All the training materials for the skills programmes and the learnership had to be developed (Wetsch 2005a: 7). The changes in some objectives focused mainly on the quantitative aspects of the development project. The challenge for the Domestic Chamber and Basadi Pele Foundation was to balance the quantitative demand with the qualitative aspects of development in this project that aimed to meet the skills development needs of domestic workers (see 3.4; Karl 1995: 1).

5.2.7 Project Management of the DWSDP

⁵⁷Meike Wetsch was the Chamber Manager appointed by the SSETA. The positions of Chamber Manager and Project Manager were combined and an internal Project Manager appointed (Wetsch 2005a:10).

The SSETA contracted an in-house Chamber Manager⁵⁷ and a Project Team to run the project. The shift in the project aims from initially implementing the training for domestic workers only to the establishment and capacity building of a training delivery system first of all and then producing the training deliverables, demanded a review of the project budget and resulted in the appointment of a relatively smaller staff contingent for the Project Team than originally planned. This situation impacted on the project delivery as the Project Team was involved in a constant battle to deliver according the prescribed time schedule (Wetsch 2005a: 10).

In line with GAD and WED thinking (see 3.4.3 and 3.4.4), a positive forthcoming event was that with the exception of two members, the Project Financial Controller assisted by a Clerk of the SSETA finance department and the Mentor Specialist, all members of the Project Team were women. The other members of the Project Team were the Project Manager (mentioned above), a Project Administrator, one Regional Representative per province namely Gauteng, the Western Cape, Kwazulu-Natal and the Eastern Cape (the roll-out of the DWSDP occurred in these four provinces), the Chamber Secretary, the Assessment and Systems Co-ordinator, the Educational Specialist⁵⁸ and Materials Developer⁵⁹.

The mainstreaming of women in the DWSDP at bureaucracy level (Domestic Chamber) ensured that the project could be approached from a gender sensitive angle and, consequently, from a more holistic perspective that focuses on the multi-faceted character of the role of women in development (Visvanathan 1997: 66; Young 1997: 51). The presence of gender sensitive male members in the Project Team right through the project's life-span supported the idea of Freire (see 3.3; hooks 1996: 153) that men are potential partners of women in their joint struggle against gender inequalities.

⁵⁸ Dr. Annamarie Knoblauch was appointed as Educational Specialist and was based at the Domestic Services Chamber offices in Port Elizabeth.

⁵⁹ Andriesa Bruggeman was appointed as the Materials Developer and was based at the Domestic Services Chamber offices in Port Elizabeth.

The Project Team was located in Port Elizabeth away from the SSETA Head Office. According to the Project Manager (Wetsch 2005b)⁶⁰ this location assisted the Project Team to focus on project delivery unaffected by ordinary SSETA activities. NSF projects respond directly to the DOL and SSETA simultaneously, as NSF projects structurally differ substantially from standard SSETA operations (Wetsch 2005b:10).

The financial administration of the project to a large extent was the responsibility of the Chamber Financial Officer (CFO) based at the SSETA Head Office in Johannesburg. The Financial Controller at the SSETA took up the role of a bookkeeper. A Clerk of Works was employed in Port Elizabeth to verify invoices and stock (Wetsch 2005b: 12).

The DWSDP was subjected to a series of structural changes due to the unrealistic assumptions of the original project plan of 2000 (see 5.2.4). The firmly fixed and stable financial administration system of the SSETA had to respond speedily to an activity-based budget that demanded costing, cash flow and control of expenses conducted differently for learnership projects (Wetsch 2005a: 12). This situation caused major delays in transfer of funding that impacted on the implementation of the project from Domestic Services Chamber level down to community development level at BPF where the actual training happened and the learning needs of the domestic workers had to be addressed.

5.2.8 Role of the Domestic Services Chamber Board (Chamber Board)

The Chamber Board⁶¹ was located in a key governance position as it was accountable to the SSETA Council⁶² for the implementation of the DWSDP. The role of the Chamber Board was envisaged to be one of governance and oversight and to report on project progress and impact to the SSETA Council (see figure 3). The Chamber Board further had to co-operate with functional Standing

⁶⁰ Interview with the Chamber Manager (Project Manager), Meike Wetsch, at the offices of the Domestic Services Chamber in Port Elizabeth on 21 July 2005.

⁶¹ The Domestic Services Chamber Board represented the domestic services “industry”.

⁶² Services SETA Council is the governing body of the SETA representing the different industry chambers incorporated by the SSETA.

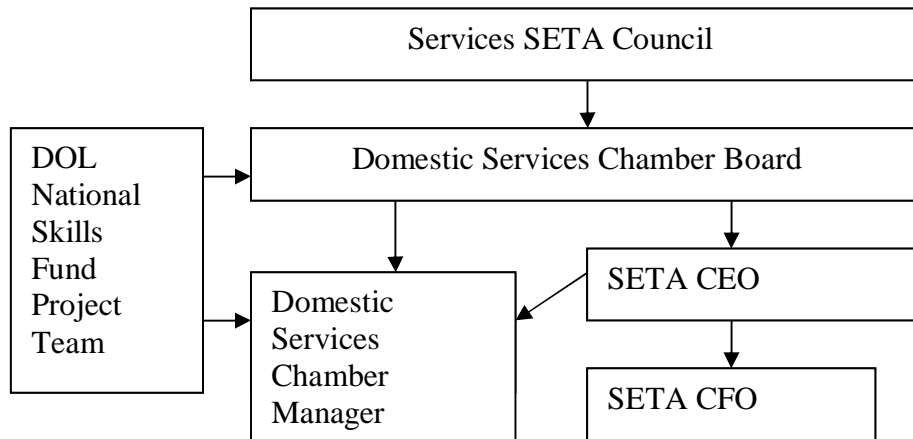
Committees to facilitate effective co-ordination between the project and the core functions of the SSETA.

The members of the interim board represented NGOs (that included training providers), an employers' organisation and domestic workers' unions and an employed domestic worker not affiliated with a union. The presence of a non-unionised, employed domestic worker was an effort to ensure bottom-up participation by all the domestic workers in domestic services as participants and beneficiaries in the DWSDP. Basadi Pele Foundation represented the NGO training providers on the interim board.⁶³ All members of the Chamber Board were women.

The permanent board consisted mainly of female representatives of domestic worker unions, the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) and the Black Domestic Workers Union (see 2.4.1) and an employers' organisation (the South African Homemakers Organisation) as legally required for SETA chambers (South Africa 1998b: 11).

⁶³ Basadi Pele Foundation had no membership of the permanent Chamber Board. BPF was contracted as training provider for the DWSDP when the permanent Chamber Board was instituted and participation in the activities of the permanent Chamber Board would have resulted in a conflict of interests.

Figure 3: The envisaged oversight reporting lines for the permanent Domestic Services Chamber Board



Resource: Wetsch 2005a:14

The Chamber Board had difficulty to conduct their governance and oversight functions. The structure of a NSF strategic project demands in-depth stakeholder consultation before the project plan is submitted. This would be the stage where the input of employers and employees could be a most valuable contribution (Wetsch 2005a:15). Due to the pilot nature and the disrupted implementation process of the DWSDP, such consultation process did not happen. In the next phase of the project the NSF, as the owner of the project, conducted the financial decision-making and the SSETA was responsible for implementation.

The opportunity for the Chamber Board to contribute after the project approval diminished and, consequently, also the contribution of women themselves at this level. This negative situation for the Chamber Board members links with the WED idea that women are the “key” to their empowerment through their own development (Taylor & Conradie 1997: 2) that contributes to sustainable, holistic, people driven and people centered development approaches.

This change in the envisaged role of the Chamber Board confirms the notion of Freire that the gender struggle can be attributed to political reasons rather than that of gender insensitivity (see 3. 3; Freire & Macedo 1996: 175). A mostly female

governance body was partly paralysed by bureaucratic structures that did not really result in the advancement of gender equality in power situations. A further aspect that impacted on the contribution of the Chamber Board was that reviewing and advising on the financial aspects of management of a project of this scale, demanded in-depth capacity of the Board members and a well-informed governance structure regarding project implementation (Wetsch 2005a: 15).

The value of the Chamber Board was that members could provide guidance on the needs of employers and domestic workers, who were mainly women, and ensure that these needs remained the main focus of the project. The Chamber Board (like the Project Team) extended and strengthened the power base of women and ensured that women had a voice at some levels of power in the development project. On the other hand, the diminished scope for contribution (as explained above) by the domestic workers' unions and the one employers' organisation represented on the Chamber Board tainted the bottom-up participation potential of the very same project.

It was, however, an achievement that this Domestic Services Chamber Board was the first (and only) formalised and collected forum that represented employers and organised labour for domestic workers, an industry of 1.5 million domestic workers (Wetsch 2005a: 32).

5.3 Background of Basadi Pele Foundation (BPF)

The Basadi Pele Foundation (BPF) NGO was identified as one of the two NGOs nationally (the other training provider was Berchzicht Training Center in Stellenbosch, Western Cape) to assist with the training of domestic workers. BPF had been involved in the training of unemployed women in domestic skills for some years⁶⁴ and already was a well-established NGO located in Kagiso, a previously marginalised area. The Basadi Pele Foundation Training Center was well-equipped for training in Domestic Services, Hospitality, Child Care, Early Childhood Development and Sewing and had been providing training in these

⁶⁴ Basadi Pele Foundation was established in 1993.

skills for some years already. Experienced and passionate administrative and facilitators' staff, representative of all communities, rendered training and development services to unemployed and unskilled persons who were primarily women.

BPF had developed a positive working relationship with DOL for training provision to unemployed persons and was in the process of applying for accreditation from the ETDP- SETA. BPF co-operated with the council of the Mogale City Municipality in providing training services to community development projects funded by DOL. BPF had a funding partnership with Project Peoples' Foundation, a NGO of New York, USA, to empower unemployed women of the surrounding communities to run entrepreneurial initiatives in clothing production. Corporate business supported BPF for a development initiative to train practitioners in Early Childhood Development for marginalised crèches and home based centers.

The Lesedi Community Crèche, a joint venture of BPF, Department of Health (DOH) and Department of Education (DOE), was accommodated in the training center of BPF. BPF was a NGO extremely well positioned, structured and connected to become a participant in the DWSD initiative within a community development set-up (Allwood 1992: 57; De Beer 1997: 23; MacRobert 1992: 69).

To provide effective skills development training for domestic workers in a project funded by the NSF and implemented under the auspices of the SSETA, demanded a high level of capacity, detailed and in-depth. Based on the CASE research results, the economic and social needs of domestic workers needed to be met through skills development (South Africa 2001: 31 & 32). Notwithstanding the positive qualities of BPF to enhance skills development at community level, it did not have the full capacity to meet the learning needs of learners in a NQF related skills development project. This situation resulted in a learning experience for BPF and supports the notion that community development initiatives that focus on the needs of the people, culminate in a process of collaborative learning that implies that all participants learn through the empowerment process (Freire 1999: 91).

5.4 Capacity building of BPF to meet the needs of the domestic workers

5.4.1 The Providers' Assistance Programme of the Domestic Services

Chamber

The Domestic Services Chamber established the Providers' Assistance Programme to address the need for capacity development of training providers to meet the requirements of the ETQA for skills development provision (Knoblauch 2005a : 1). The Providers' Assistance Programme aimed to build the capacity of training providers to comply with ETQA requirements, but also to deliver the training to the numbers of domestic workers expected by the project and to facilitate the development of outcomes-based learning materials (Knoblauch 2005a: 1).

5.4.2 Obtaining accreditation status with the Services SETA

Supported by NSF funding, the new capacity-building approach of the Domestic Services Chamber for the project and the expertise of the staff of the Domestic Services Chamber, the first aim for BPF was to gain accreditation by the ETQA of the SSETA. This capacity-building exercise demonstrated the valuable contribution of external assistance by government (Swanepoel 1997: 7) to a community project in a working partnership that reflected a bottom- up approach, mutual trust (Freire 1993: 70 & 71), joint ownership, an absence of the dependency syndrome (see 3.2.2) and an urgency to create an environment to meet the learning needs of the beneficiaries through collective action (Davids 2005: 22).

The Quality Management Policy Manual developed jointly provided a framework and a guideline for BPF to ensure quality skills training that resulted in a major learning empowerment opportunity for BPF as an organisation. Most importantly it contributed to an environment for the domestic workers that were conducive to learning. BPF was now capacitated to focus on quality management, strategic management, registration and accreditation, health and safety matters, learner entry guidance and support, learning programme development, delivery and evaluation, assessment management, worksite management, staff selection,

appraisal and development, administration and communication management, resource management, management system review and the implementation of a HIV/AIDS policy and procedure (Basadi Pele Foundation. 2002).⁶⁵

5.4.3 Development of the human resources of BPF

5.4.3.1 Capacity-building of assessors and the Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL) exercise at BPF

Basadi Pele Foundation further gained from the Providers' Assistance Programme through the assessor (see 5.4.1) development initiative. Domestic workers had to be assessed for competency against the applicable unit standards, both in the short skills and learnership programmes, by qualified assessors registered with the SSETA. The facilitators of BPF all benefited from the assessor capacity-building initiative of the Domestic Services Chamber in November 2002. The demand by the bureaucracy that the 1000 learners, targeted nationally by the project plan for Recognition of Prior Learning (RPL), had to be submitted to assessment before the end of 2002, placed tremendous pressure on the project implementation nationally and at BPF. The idea was that these domestic workers would then be future learners in the project. At that stage, candidate assessors had already attended a three day training workshop and were still only in the process of finalising their portfolio's. As a result, candidate assessors lacked practical experience and at this stage were not fully qualified yet.

This perceived hiccup turned into a valuable learning opportunity for BPF. The complex of Basadi Pele Foundation was utilised as an assessment center and qualified moderators of the SSETA assisted and guided candidate assessors in the assessment of domestic workers. The learner assessors could now accumulate valuable practical assessment experience that enabled them to achieve competency in the assessment unit standard⁶⁶. An average of 20 employed domestic workers who had completed a minimum educational level of grade 10 were to be assessed per day for Recognition of Prior (RPL) learning against the

⁶⁵ The Basadi Pele Foundation Quality Management Policy and Procedure Manual provided the guidelines for effective quality assurance within the organisation.

⁶⁶ Unit Standard No.7978. Title: Plan and conduct assessment of learning outcomes. Level 5 (15 credits).

literacy and numeracy fundamentals of the GETC⁶⁷ Domestic Services at NQF level 1 Qualification over a period of 6 to 7 days.

BPF also was exposed to an opportunity to organise and conduct practically assessment activities that contributed extensively to the creation of an environment for the domestic workers that was conducive to learning when they joined the learnership training afterwards. The assessment training sensitised the facilitators and administrative staff to the learning needs of the domestic workers (Knowles 1990:57). In the process of meeting the learning needs of the domestic workers, collaborative learning (see 3.2.5.3) happened and everybody participating in the development project learned. Another opportunity for assessment training in 2004 half-way through the project not only provided learning opportunities for facilitators, but unemployed domestic workers who were in training at BPF and who were progressing well and were in the process of being capacitated as assistant-facilitators at BPF, had the opportunity to attend assessment training as well (see 5.6).

The time pressure placed on the RPL exercise in November 2002 and the accessibility of the BPF Training Center opened up an opportunity for corrupt practices by opportunists. Leaders in the community recruited candidates who were not employed domestic workers for the RPL exercise in return for payment promised by those who could, in turn, benefit financially from the numbers assessed. The domestic workers assessed were going to be awarded a certificate of competence in the applicable numeracy and literacy unit standards. Unemployed and unskilled persons in the area regarded this as an opportunity to gain access to a certificate to assist them to find work. The RPL exercise was briefly discontinued to rectify the situation.

This incident demonstrated the elements of dependency that exist when the poor and unemployed are exploited to the detriment of a community development project and of the people whose needs should be met in the empowerment process (see 3.2.2).

⁶⁷ General Education and Training Certificate.

5.4.3.2 Capacity-building of facilitators

The outcomes-based educational framework was a new concept for some of the facilitators of BPF. A number of training sessions were conducted by the staff of the Providers' Assistance Programme Team for facilitators which, once again, opened up an unforeseen collaborative learning opportunity in the process of meeting the needs of the learners. Facilitators were sensitised to the special learning needs of domestic workers and capacitated to create a learning environment for learners to reach their full potential as adult learners (see 4.5.3). BPF organised additional in-house capacity-building workshops for facilitators to enhance the learning needs of the domestic workers as specifically identified in the community development environment of BPF.

5.4.3.3 Capacity-building of mentors

In line with ETQA requirements for learnership facilitation, the development of mentors was then introduced at BPF (see 5.2.4). All facilitators of BPF were exposed to this learning experience. Collaborative learning escalated in the organisation as unemployed domestic workers who were progressing well in the learnership were invited to attend mentor training as well. Ten domestic worker learners who had the necessary formal education benefited from this learning experience. These learners reported on the transformative learning they experienced through the process of consciousness-raising during the mentor training that resulted in action from their side that effected social change (see 5.6).⁶⁸

5.4.3.4 The Development of the Domestic Services Qualification, the contribution of the Standard Generating Body (SGB)⁶⁹ and the exposure of Basadi Pele Foundation (BPF) to learning

⁶⁸ Domestic workers shared this information during a focus group discussion at BPF on 20 November 2004.

⁶⁹ The Hygiene and Cleaning Standard Generating Body of the SSETA.

It was indicated (see 5.2.4) that the original assumption by Project 11(C) regarding the applicability of the Hospitality and Cleaning unit standards of these two industries on the training of domestic workers was not a workable one. The idea was to include domestic skills as an elective ⁷⁰ in the National Certificate in Hygiene and Cleaning NQF Level 1 (Knoblauch 2005b: 1). The SGB constituted by the Cleaning industry was tasked to compile the qualification. BPF was invited to be part of this initiative. The Project Manager⁷¹ for the DWSDP at BPF joined the SGB.

According to the envisaged aims of the outcome of the qualification, it had to raise the self-esteem, personal growth, employment prospects and income of domestic workers through the skills training (South Africa 2006: 1). Career paths had to be opened up for domestic workers in their current positions, but also in Commercial Cleaning, Hospitality, Frail Care, Early Childhood Development and even in starting up their own businesses. The status of domestic work needed to be raised and its contribution to the country's economy highlighted. The training of domestic workers had to improve domestic work in the work place and other services in the homes of the domestic workers themselves and of their communities. The training was expected to increase employment opportunities for unemployed and new entrants into the labour market (Services SETA 2003a: 9-10).

The existing National Certificate in Domestic Service NQF Level 1 was a conglomeration of Hospitality Cleaning and ABET unit standards.⁷² The SGB soon realised that unit standards for Cleaning and Food preparation in hotels and Cleaning in shopping centers were not applicable to the work place environment of domestic workers. SAQA was then requested to change the brief of the SGB statutory to allow for the development of a separate qualification for domestic workers. This process took one year and put excessive strain on the project.

⁷⁰ An elective is a unit standard that is part of a NQF qualification under the category of Electives. The other two categories are Fundamentals and Cores. Learners can select from the Electives unit standards that can make up the full qualification. The Fundamentals and Cores of a qualification generally are compulsory.

⁷¹ The Project Manager was Tersia Wessels, the Managing Director of BPF.

⁷² Interview with Andriessa Bruggeman, the Materials Developer at the Domestic Services Chamber in Port Elizabeth on 21 July 2005.

The generic ABET literacy and numeracy unit standards for NQF Level 1 did not address the needs of domestic workers who wanted to compile shopping lists, read a payslip or understand her work contract. The 60/40 rule of SAQA complicated the situation even more (see 5.2.5; Knoblauch 2005b: 1). The qualification was registered by SAQA in February 2005, one month before the closure of the project. An administrative error allocated 141 credits to the qualification instead of 121. This caused further pressure on the project as the requirement for competency at NQF Level 1 is 120 credits. These experiences again highlight the importance of a supportive role by bureaucracy and the disturbing effect on community development projects the absence of such an approach has (Botes & Van Rensburg 2000: 43).

The entire qualification was reviewed during the period the registration was pending. A Sub-SGB was then given the task to develop Cooking, Child Care, Pet Care, Cleaning, Home Care and Frail Care unit standards for domestic workers specifically. Designers of these unit standards were experts in these fields and training providers already involved in the training of domestic workers and in touch with the needs of the domestic workers. The Project Manager of BPF, a facilitator and two assessors of the organisation who were experts in Cooking and Child Care, were requested to develop some of the Cooking and all the Child Care unit standards. This initiative was an effort by the Domestic Services Chamber to include generative ideas of the learners themselves, though in an indirect manner, into the qualification of the domestic workers (see 3.3; Shor & Freire 1987: 10).

The involvement of BPF in this process was a learning experience that capacitated the human resources of the organisation to meet the learning needs of the learners. First, BPF developed insight in the intricacies of co-operation with bureaucracy in a development project. The impact of power situations on the project could be observed and analysed. Second, valuable experience also was gained in the design of unit standards and in the development of a qualification according to SAQA regulations.

5.4.3.5 The development of the training materials for the DWSDP

In 5.2.4 the incapacity of training providers for project delivery and the lack of applicable learning materials were mentioned (Knoblauch 2005a: 5). The NQF demands outcomes-based training methods to prepare learners adequately for assessment. According to Bruggeman (2005b), facilitators previously qualified did not necessarily understand OBE training. This deficiency demanded that learning materials had to be developed while the qualification was evolving and the learners experienced learning needs caused by a high presence of illiteracy that had not been anticipated (Knoblauch 2005a: 5).

The process of development of the learning materials reflected the intention of the DWSDP to build capacity. The learning materials had to address a variety of needs. The Materials Development Team based at the Domestic Services Chamber had the challenge to develop learning materials for learners who were culturally diverse, multilingual, disadvantaged by a high level of illiteracy and low self-esteem (Knoblauch 2005a: 6). The learning materials had to provide for adult learning methodologies that enhanced adult learning and, simultaneously, build the self-esteem of learners. Learners had to take ownership of the learning materials in the learning process (Davids 2005: 20; Rogers 1983: 20). At the same time, the learning materials had to guide facilitators and capacitate them for the OBE way of teaching adults. The learning materials further had to support assessors, evidence gatherers⁷³, mentors and moderators in their contribution to the implementation of the learning processes (Knoblauch 2005a: 6).

An important contribution to the improvement of the learning materials was the research done by the Language Center of Stellenbosch University (at the request of the Domestic Services Chamber) on the potential of the learning materials to meet the needs of learners who previously were marginalised, mostly illiterate and dependent on learning through a third language, namely English. The difficulty of specific English words and the content of some manuals were mentioned by the learners. Learners and facilitators mentioned the lack of time to cover the vast

⁷³ Evidence gatherers are qualified to assist assessors with collecting evidence of competency of learners in outcomes. The assessor makes the final judgment on the competency of the learner.

amount of content of the learning materials (Language Center of Stellenbosch University 2005: 96). According to Bruggeman (2005b), learners expressed great appreciation for the richness in colour of the layout of the learning materials. This contribution of the learners allowed for a balanced approach in the education of these adult women. Inputs of the adult learners, facilitators and education experts were combined for the benefit of the adult learners (see 4.5.7.2; Brookfield 1994: 97) in a transactional relationship.

Focus groups (10 learners per group) of learners at four different training providers gave their input regarding the learning materials they were exposed to. A focus group at BPF contributed to the process as well. A facilitator of BPF facilitated the discussion in the first language of the learners. This process contributed to the bottom-up approach in popular education where learners give input regarding learning materials to be used in their training (Knowles 1989: 39). This process indicated that the knowledge of the adult learner was respected (Knowles 1984: 10). The result was that learners felt valued participants of the learning process and took ownership of and were proud of the learning materials they used.⁷⁴

Female subject specialists who were employers of domestic workers assisted, *inter alia*, with the development of the learning materials and ensured a gender sensitive approach in addressing the needs of employers and employees. Subject specialists of BPF were participants in the development of two of four Child Care learner's and facilitator's manuals undertaken in conjunction with the Materials Developer of the Domestic Workers Chamber. This, again, was an empowering learning experience for the organisation and capacitated BPF to develop learning materials in other learning fields in future. Once again collaborative learning happened in the process of addressing the needs of the beneficiaries within a community development environment (Merriam & Brockett 1997: 249).

5.4.3.6 Capacity-building of BPF as organisation and business to enhance sustainability of the DWSDP

⁷⁴ Feedback from learners in a focus group on 14 July 2004.

As already stated above, the lack of capacitated training providers resulted in a major capacity building drive by the DWSDP benefiting BPF. One of the aims of the DWSDP was to enhance the sustainability of the training providers. This situation could contribute also then to the sustainability of the DWSDP should the project be repeated in future (see 3.2.4). All project managers and assistant-project managers had the opportunity to attend an ISO 9000 workshop facilitated by Chamber Manager. ISO 9000 refers to quality management and the focus was quality services to the domestic workers, ensuring the sustainability of the DWSDP through the sustainability of the training provider participants.

Monthly report meetings of all training providers with the Chamber Manager and core staff members of the Domestic Services Chamber served as an instrument to monitor implementation of the project per province. At these meetings training providers could share ideas about progress and hiccups experienced in the implementation of the project. The two major points of concern were the time constraints caused by the unavailability of learning materials and the delayed payment of training providers for their services (see 5.2.5). This reflected the importance, once again, of the role of bureaucracy in the advancement of development programmes.

Monthly implementation reports had to be submitted to the Domestic Services Chamber that “forced”⁷⁵ BPF as an NGO, dependent on the contribution of voluntary workers and sponsors, to review the organisation from a business angle. Financial objectives from a business perspective, development of human resources, learner performance objectives, key contractual terms, key criteria for internal evaluation, communication with the Domestic Services Chamber, customer satisfaction management strategies, continual improvement and cost savings, how to use the opportunity to increase current competitive advantage in the market place, had to be monitored constantly and reports submitted monthly (Basadi Pele Foundation 2004c: 1-27).

⁷⁵ Feedback by Isabel Grobler, Assistant- Project Manager of BPF, during an interview on 20 June 2005.

The Project Manager and Assistant-Project Manager of BPF involved in this activity experienced the particular exposure as a tremendous opportunity for growth for the organisation, but also for individual growth. One of the positive outcomes for BPF was that the organisation had finances available to carry the costs during the delays of financial transfers by the SSETA. After closure of DWSDP, BPF embarked on a major capacity-building drive of staff members in IT and ABET training skills, assessment and moderation. Expanding training services at BPF ensured increased training contacts from government departments and corporate business. The empowerment of the organisation occurred through the learning of individuals in the process of achieving the objectives of the development project. These experiences link with the idea of community development that people use their own potential and the environment to meet their own and others' needs. In this process everybody is learning together and social learning happens (Davids 2005: 20).

5.5 The implementation of the DWSDP by Basadi Pele Foundation

5.5.1 Provision of skills programmes

BPF started with the training of the skills programmes Cleaning, Cooking, Hygiene and Life skills in April 2003. A total of 72 domestic workers participated. The learners had to be employed domestic workers and identity document carrying citizens of South Africa. The programmes individually covered three days of training and one day for summative⁷⁶ assessment. Feedback on these skills programmes indicated that the Cooking programme was preferred by the domestic workers⁷⁷ and the Cleaning by the employers.⁷⁸ The challenge for the project was to meet the needs of both domestic workers and employers.

The ruling by DOL that a domestic worker only could enrol for one programme complicated the situation and again placed the focus on the one-sidedness of the quantitative approach in development that did not allow for adaptiveness to meet

⁷⁶ Summative assessment is assessment conducted at the completion of a unit standard, a module, skills or training programme.

⁷⁷ Feedback questionnaires completed by learners after training confirmed their preference for Cooking skills.

⁷⁸ Numerous phone calls to the offices of BPF by employers confirmed their preference for Cleaning skills for their employees.

the learning needs of the domestic workers. This approach supported the material aspect of development and not the human needs of the domestic workers who felt that competency in a range of skills could assist them to gain better employment (see 3.2.3). The number of domestic workers trained in the DWSDP was important for meeting the aims of the project from a NSF and DOL point of view, whilst the needs of domestic workers and employers were less important.

It was, however, possible for domestic workers who attended skills programme training to enrol for the learnership in April 2004. Domestic workers unable to attend training at least once a week during the learnership for a year period of at least ten to eleven months, could not derive any further benefit from the DWSDP as they could not take part in more than one skills programme. It also prevented domestic workers from accumulating some credits through more than one skills programme to achieve the full qualification in Domestic Services in future. The idea of the NQF that learners should have access to lifelong learning was thwarted in the process, at least as far as the DWSDP was concerned.

The second batch of skills programmes training was conducted from August 2003 to February 2005. The skills programmes were reworked by the Domestic Services Chamber, based on the feedback from domestic workers, employers and training providers. A Laundry programme was added. New Cooking and Cleaning modules were developed and more unit standards added to the qualification. Life skills and hygiene were integrated into Cooking, Cleaning and Laundry programmes (Knoblauch 2005c: 1).

BPF trained 97 domestic workers in Laundry, 553 in Cooking and 87 in Cleaning during the second batch of skills programmes. These numbers clearly indicated the preference of domestic workers for the Cooking skills as mentioned above. BPF extended the training period for the Cooking programme to a total of five days to ensure that learners achieve full competency in the unit standards in an effort to accommodate the learning needs of the learners. The potential for adaptiveness of NGOs made this change possible.

5.5.2 The implementation of the learnership: the GETC Certificate in Domestic Service NQF level 1

5.5.2.1 Establishing the infrastructure for the training of the domestic workers

BPF commenced with the learnership training at the BPF training center in Kagiso, Krugersdorp and at the training center of the Metropolitan Evangelical Services (MES) in Braamfontein, Johannesburg. A total of 123 learners enrolled in Kagiso and 46 in Braamfontein. Of these, 20% were unemployed learners in response to the key indicator of the NSDS to assist new entrants into employment (see 5.2.2). BPF expanded its geographical training scope to Braamfontein, Johannesburg, due to the lack of training providers in Gauteng. Learners attended training one full day per week for the period April 2004 to the end of February 2005. Training sessions were conducted from Monday to Saturday. Many domestic workers could not attend training during the week due to other obligations or circumstances.⁷⁹ To accommodate the needs of these learners, BPF extended training to Saturdays as well.

Facilitators from the community of Kagiso⁸⁰, trained and empowered by BPF over years and employed as facilitators in Hospitality, ABET and ECD training at BPF, also were exposed to the new learning opportunities that arose owing to the expansion of training provision in an effort to meet the training and learning needs of the domestic workers.

⁷⁹ Focus group discussions with domestic workers on 29 May 2004 disclosed the following reasons for attending training on Saturdays: the women were employed by up to three different employers on different days during the week and could only attend on Saturdays; their employers was working full time and needed domestic work services every day; the employer refused to give permission to attend training; the employer worked full day and the domestic worker looked after the baby / children.

⁸⁰ Eunice Mthombeni is a member of the community of Kagiso Extension 12. Her house is close to the BPF Training Center. As an unemployed person, she provided voluntary assistance at BPF. Her potential as facilitator was soon evident. She was trained at BPF in a number of courses. She worked as an assistant-trainer for Hospitality Education and Development. She was contracted for the DWSDP as a part-time facilitator by BPF. She attended the OBE training, qualified as a mentor and assessor. She is currently enrolled for a moderation course through the SSETA and is fully employed by BPF.

5.5.2.2 Creating an environment conducive to adult learning

Different informative meetings were arranged with domestic workers together with their employers at the BPF Training Center and private homes in the neighbourhoods of Krugersdorp during the day and the evenings to ensure that domestic workers and employers were equipped with the necessary information regarding the project. The learnership contracts were signed by domestic workers and employers, the content of the learning materials and the training schedule was discussed. Ample discussion was accommodated to ensure clarity with both learner and employer. This activity responded to one of the assumptions of andragogy that adult learners need to know the reasons for learning before they embark on learning (see 4.5.7; Knowles 1980:81).

An interesting phenomenon was that some employers revealed meaning perspectives (see 4.5.6.2) regarding employment contracts based on the assumption that a working contract gives access to the DOL in the employer-employee relationship which they regarded as private and personal. This meaning perspective was reflected in a meaning scheme that resulted in a refusal by some employers not only to provide copies of working contracts with their employees, but even to supply their ID numbers.

This matter was raised at briefing meetings with employers. The aims of the Sectoral Determination 7: Domestic Worker Section were explained and discussed. The opportunity for questions and dialogue was utilised thoroughly. Within a positive and empathetic environment where all participants were inspired by the envisaged outcomes of the DWSDP of the empowerment of domestic workers through newly mastered skills and the improvement of the quality of work in the work place, employers could reflect critically on their assumptions and meaning schemes could be transformed. It must be noted that the beliefs and attitudes of not all employers were changed, a result that proved that not all critical thinking leads to transformative learning (Mezirow 1991: 44; Brookfield 2000: 142).

The employers and domestic workers were provided with directions on how to reach the training venue and special notice boards were erected in the vicinity of center directing visitors to the center. Transport by taxi or train made the center extremely accessible and for many learners from the surrounding communities the training venue was within walking distance.

The first training day included an induction session when learners were informed about the logistics at the training center. The project management members, administrative staff, facilitators, assistant- facilitators, assessors and mentors were introduced and their different roles explained. The daily training schedule was discussed again. The learners were taken on a guided tour through the center to observe the different facilities. Refreshments were provided on every training day during breaks and learners brought their own lunch boxes. On Cooking skills training days, the learners enjoyed the food they had prepared during training.

Learners did not expect to be provided with all meals at the training center. However, through careful observation of the learners by BPF staff it became evident that some of the learners arrived at the center without having had any food in the morning, in particular those who were unemployed and had travelled far. Special arrangements were made to provide food for these learners. This arrangement responds to Maslov's theory of the three levels of people's needs that indicates the need for self-actualisation is only addressed if the lowest levels of needs have been met (see 4.5.3). When the transfer of the stipends by DOL for the unemployed learners was delayed for at least two months initially, BPF provided loans to all the unemployed learners for transport until the transfer went through.

Each learner received an A4 size denim bag (the logo of BPF and the SSETA were embroidered on the bags) and the necessary learning manuals and stationery for the training. BPF contracted Tshepo Creations, an entrepreneurial sewing group based at BPF, to produce the bags. It turned out to be a welcome income-generating activity for these women in their emerging sewing business. This notion concurs with the idea that other participants learn and benefit simultaneously in the process of meeting the needs of the beneficiaries (Kotze & Kellerman 1997: 36; Swanepoel 1997: 9). Learners used the bags proudly in

public, keen to be associated with a project that for some learners provided the first opportunity for personal growth through skills training.⁸¹ Their self-esteem was boosted and they accepted ownership of the project (Davids 2005: 20; Rogers 1983: 20).

The administrative staff of BPF made a special effort to learn the names of the domestic workers and their employers as soon as possible. They welcomed every learner by name at arrival on training days. While learners signed the attendance register at the reception, they created an opportunity for conversation⁸². An environment of trust, support and respect was created that supported the learning of these adult learners (Gravett 2001: 45; Freire 1993: 71-72; Knowles 1984: 17). Absentees were followed-up immediately telephonically and arrangements were made to accommodate learners on another day. Learners were approached with empathy and assisted to overcome the barriers that could impact negatively on their learning.

Some of the learners were in need of care services for their small children. The Lesedi Community Crèche, a facility of the BPF Training Center, provided these children with a safe and secure environment while their mothers attended training in the training section (see 2.3.6.5).

5.5.2.3 Facilitation in the classroom and its impact on the learning of adult learners

The aim was to create an atmosphere of adulthood in the facilitation venues (Brookfield 1994: 105). A maximum of 15 learners were accommodated per group, which allowed enough physical and psychological space for every learner. Desks and tables of learners were arranged in a circle. Learners could face one another. The facilitator occupied one of the places in the circle. This arrangement of furniture diminished the typical, paternalistic formal education set-up (Merriam & Caffarella 1999: 324). Sufficient light, air and space were allowed for.

⁸¹ Feedback gained from learners during a focus group discussion on 14 July 2004.

⁸² Feedback from Ditsego Phoku and Rita Grobler of the human resource department of BPF during a staff meeting on 11 May 2004.

Facilitators and learners addressed one another by their first names. Learners were given peace of mind in that mobile phones were allowed in classes to enable family to contact them in cases of emergency; in addition, those learners who were recipients of various government grants, e.g. child care and foster care grants, were accommodated by adapting their training schedules.

This arrangement contributed to eliminating the teacher-learner power relationship that impacts negatively on adult learning and results in the learner being the object and the facilitator the subject. Learners and facilitators had name tags clearly attached. Learners were treated like mature human beings (Knowles 1984:17). A positive physical and psychological learning environment was created where learners felt supported, were not judged, were respected and accepted regardless of their literacy status or educational status quo.⁸³

5.5.2.4 Training methods used by facilitators to enhance holistic adult learning

The OBE training approach demands that learners must be able to demonstrate the skills they learned in a practical way when they have completed the training. This approach further requires that learners must prove that they understand and have the knowledge required to perform their skills (Bruggeman 2005a: 4). It was also important that the training provided responded to the Critical Crossfield Outcomes (CCFOs)⁸⁴ of every unit standard (Basadi Pele Foundation 2004b: 42). To achieve

⁸³ Interview with Eunice Tema, one of the learners in Braamfontein, on 19 August 2006, Kagiso, Krugersdorp. She was a qualified teacher, but unemployed. She enrolled for the learnership in 2004, hoping that it could open up employment avenues for her. BPF employed her as an assistant-facilitator and translator while she was attending training in domestic services.

⁸⁴ CCFOs (Critical Crossfield Outcomes):

- Identify and solve problems in which response displays that responsible decisions, using critical and creative thinking, have been made.
- Work effectively with others as a member of a group, organisation or community.
- Organise and manage oneself and one's activities responsibly and effectively.
- Collect, analyse, organise and critically evaluate information.
- Communicate effectively by using mathematical and/or language skills in the modes of oral/ and/ or written presentations.
- Use science and technology effectively and critically, showing responsibility towards the environment and health of others.
- Demonstrate an understanding of the world as a set of related systems by recognising that problem-solving contexts do not exist in isolation.
- Participating as a responsible citizen in the life of local, national and global communities.

competence in these skills demanded facilitation skills that enhanced holistic learning by learners (see 4.5.4).

A range of training methods were used to achieve these outcomes. Discussions, debates, questioning, rhymes and songs, role-play, story-telling, peer assessments and extra worksheets and exercises were all ways through which to eliminate the notion of education as a banking process (Freire 1996: 53). The hand-washing routine (see 4.5.1) in the Life skills programme (Domestic Services Chamber 2004d: 25) was learnt through the creation of a rap song that the learners clapped and danced.⁸⁵ Learning was consolidated while having fun and normally tedious hand-washing activities were effectively memorised through the contingency of reinforcement (Merriam & Caffarella 1991: 126).

In Child Care training, learners had to arrange different pictures of the steps of the appropriate sterilising method in the correct order (Domestic Services Chamber 2004b: 30-31). Adult learning happened through problem-solving (Knowles 1989: 129). Learners also had to role-play a conversation between the domestic worker and the employer about a salary increase. The whole person, cognitive and affective, was involved in the learning activity (Rogers 1983: 5). Domestic workers worked in groups in the Cooking training and learnt also by watching the other learners and as individuals selected action that would assist them in reaching the desired outcomes (Knowles 1991: 94).

Discussions allowed for dialogue that encouraged critical thinking that in some instances resulted into action and change in behaviour that had a social impact. Dialogue / discourse between facilitators and domestic workers on the one hand and discussion among domestic workers in a class situation about the benefits of an employment contract for domestic workers and their employers, demonstrate such a learning process. In this situation learners brought with them pre-existing cognitive structures regarding working contracts (see 4.5.5). Some learners

Source: Alignments of learning materials with Unit Standards of the skills programmes and learning programmes of the learnership (BPF 2004a; SAQA 2005).

⁸⁵ Observation of the implementation of the actual lesson in the hall of BPF Training Center and interview with the facilitator, Julia Lira, 3 August 2004.

regarded an employment contract as a threat, because it would bind them to certain rules that support already existing exploitation by the employer⁸⁶.

This skewed assumption presented a meaning perspective regarding working contracts that manifested in a meaning scheme of refusal to sign an employment contract with their employers (Gravett 2001: 18; Mezirow 2000: 5). Reflection and discourse in a situation of trust and empathy, sharing of knowledge and learning from one another's life experiences assisted some of the learners to experience transformative understanding and learning. The facilitator present had a very special rapport with these adult learners. The discussion was conducted in the first language of the learners. The outcome of the discourse was that learners understood the mutual benefits of a working contract and some afterwards submitted copies of newly completed contracts⁸⁷ at the office. This incidence of transformative learning responds to the idea of Freire that true education aims to convince and that politics aim to win (Da Silva & McLaren 1996: 39).

5.5.2.5 The enhancement of women's ways of knowing

During a discussion with a focus group of 5 facilitators they shared their observations and experiences of these previously marginalised women's perspectives on learning against the framework of the transformational learning theory (see 4.5.6.2; Belenky, et al. 2000:100).

It was possible for facilitators to identify the learners who were the "Silenced" learners, who felt incompetent, did not take part in discussions and mostly were passive in the learning situation (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 87). These women were mostly illiterate and the learners with a low self-esteem. The category of the "Received Knowers" was well-represented amongst the learners. It was evident from their practical work and formative assessments that they understood what was explained. However, they did not generate ideas themselves. They did not query information and did not take any initiative in learning activities such as

⁸⁶ This informal discussion in a focus group of domestic workers took place on 29 May 2004 and was facilitated by a facilitator. Communication was conducted in the first language of the domestic workers to ensure access and participation for all the learners in the discussion.

⁸⁷ Copies of employment contracts are available at BPF's administrative office.

role-play or simulation. Facilitators speculated that the exposure to traditional formal education could have established a learning pattern which they themselves did not query.⁸⁸

It was more difficult to identify the “Subjective Knowers” as they did not always participate in discussions. Some learners, they speculated, were recognisable in the Saturday group of young learners whose attendance was not satisfactory. They were non-co-operative at occasions during the training sessions, absent from training occasionally and voiced their unhappiness when all could not be considered for the attendance award. These learners were unable to take part in critical thinking or reflective dialogue (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 87). In the category of the “Procedural Knowers”, the facilitators felt that the tendency of the “Separate Knowers” (the first subcategory) who play the “doubting game”⁸⁹ could have harmed those learners with a low self-esteem. A critical reflection situation could have been turned into a competitive mode, placing learners with a lack of self-confidence on an unequal playing field not supportive of transformational learning. The “Connected Knowers” (the second sub-category) played the “believing game”.⁹⁰ These learners showed empathy with the thinking of others and would not make a judgement or come to a conclusion without trying to understand why the other person takes up a different position in the discussion. Facilitators agreed that connected knowing needs to be encouraged in a learning situation of immature, silenced or marginalised learners like most of the domestic workers (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 89). Separate knowing happening in a symmetrical situation combined with connected knowing could assist people who have been treated unjustly to question authority, rule and regulations and to take action to bring about change in their own lives (Freire 1998:41).

⁸⁸ Input from facilitators during focus group discussions with facilitators, multicultural and involved with the skills programme and learnership training in 2003, 2004 and 2005 on 26 August 2006.

⁸⁹ The doubting game is played by learners who do not take everything for granted people say and they look for flaws in the reasoning of others. They will reach consensus with the other people during discourse with the best information available at that point of time (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 86 & 87).

⁹⁰ The believing game is played by the learners who look for strengths in other peoples’ arguments and they try to enter the other persons’ perspective to understand his / her reasoning. They see and feel with the other person (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 87).

It was evident, according to the facilitators, that some learners over the period of the learnership eliminated the “control of silence” themselves and in doing so freed themselves from the “control of monologue” by the facilitator⁹¹ (Blackburn 2000: 4; Freire 1976: iv). The facilitators argued that the learning environment and the content of the courses provided opportunity for learners and facilitators for critical thinking, but the tight schedule caused by bureaucratic red-tape and unpredictability in many instances absorbed the opportunity for reflection on assumptions, critical thinking and rational discourse⁹² to enhance transformative learning.

They further reached consensus that facilitators of immature and marginalised learners, female in particular, need to be capacitated and sensitised to identify the different ways of knowing presented by adult female learners in a group. By asking the appropriate questions and creating the correct mode for the different categories of “Knowers”, facilitators could guide adult learners incrementally over a period to achieve transformative learning. Facilitators then will be able to use methods in facilitation that will assist the learners in making the transition from dependent to self-directed learners (see 4.5.8; Knowles 1989: 83). The achievement of CCFOs, so important in OBE, then could be attained more successfully in the learning of every individual adult learner. The facilitators concurred that such an approach in facilitation will, indeed, culminate in a situation of facilitators and learners learning with and from one another.

5.5.2.6 The illiteracy factor and efforts to enhance adult learning

The illiteracy of many of the domestic workers revealed a number of important matters about the learning of illiterate and marginalised adult learners, in this

⁹¹ Virginia Rengqwa initially did not take part in any discussions or did not initiate any activities in the training sessions. She was shy and demonstrated a low self-esteem. She achieved an incremental level of learning through the learnership period. She graduated as one of the top achievers, able to take part in critical dialogue and revealing empathy with the thinking and ideas of other learners and facilitators. Resources: The Portfolio of Evidence of Virginia Rengqwa, formative, summative, peer and group assessment records; feedback from facilitators and employer.

⁹² Feedback received in discussions with facilitators’ focus groups. They felt that the delay in the provision of the learning materials put enormous pressure on the learners as the end of the training period approached and a number of learning programmes still needed to be completed.

instance adult female learners. In a focus group discussion with facilitators it was reported that the illiterate learners had the assumption that they could get no recognition for any competence if they were found to be incompetent in the literacy and numeracy outcomes and that they would “fail”. The meaning and aim of the NQF, OBE and lifelong learning was discussed with them, but only when they achieved competency in skills of Cleaning and Cooking through assessment of their practical work and oral answering of written questions in their first language, assisted by scribes, did they accept the notion of recognition of achieved competence. This phenomenon demonstrated the impact of already created constructs and life experiences gained through their initial exposure to formal education, on the learning of adults (Gravett 2001: 18; Mezirow 2000: 5).

Literate learners who mostly were from a younger generation experienced the illiterates, mostly older learners, as barriers to progress in their groups.⁹³ A mother and daughter, both domestic workers, had to be placed in separate classes because the mother, who was illiterate, was oppressed by a feeling of inferiority and could not progress in learning.⁹⁴ Another mother withdrew from the training because she felt too shy to ask for the assistance of her literate daughter who attended the training as well. The daughter ridiculed the mother at home because her mother could not read or write.⁹⁵ The notion that adult learners need to experience respect and acceptance in the learning situation to learn successfully and achieve personal fulfilment is highlighted by this incident.

It was possible to address this problem in the Saturday training groups by accommodating the illiterate learners (older women) and literate (younger women) learners in separate groups. The success of this arrangement was evident in the improved attendance by both the older and younger women.⁹⁶ Understanding the assumption of the adult learners’ self-concept of taking responsibility for their own decisions and lives by the facilitator is important. Provision of a supportive learning environment for adult learners assist them in

⁹³ Feedback from learners during focus group discussion consisting of literate learners only on 29 May 2004.

⁹⁴ The mother discussed this learning barrier with the mentor during a mentoring session. The report is available at the BPF Training Center.

⁹⁵ Feedback from facilitators during a focus group discussion on 14 July 2004.

⁹⁶ The attendance registers of group 7 and 8 of Saturdays are available at BPF Training Center.

progressing from a position of dependency to one closer to self-direction (Knowles 1980:81).

In some instances, learners who had completed grade 12 in formal education felt that they were too knowledgeable compared with the rest of the class and were wasting their time. These learners were submitted to a RPL assessment based on ABET level 4 standard. In most cases these learners did not achieve the competency in ABET level 4 and empathetic facilitators and mentors had to guide them to come to realise their learning deficiency and to encourage them to participate in the literacy and numeracy training (Brookfield 1994: 105).

Some illiterate learners could memorise excellently, were good communicators, did not hesitate to ask other learners about the meaning of words and were supported by the employer in the workplace. These learners camouflaged their illiteracy and initially facilitators did not detect the situation. The self-esteem of the adult learner as internal motivator needs to be respected and enhanced in the learning situation (Brockett & Hiemstra 1991:21). Once their literacy status was discovered, such learners were not confronted, but a general invitation was extended to all learners to consult the assistant-facilitator when they felt it to be necessary, who normally encouraged them to open up about their literacy status. To accommodate the illiterate learners, worksheets and formative assessments were adapted into picture sheets to eliminate reading as far as possible and to enable learners to meet their learning needs (Bruggeman: 2005a: 3; Knowles 1984: 16).

Illiterate learners gradually developed the confidence to participate in discussions. The Child Care module (Domestic Services Chamber 2004c: 60) covering the potty training of toddlers provided ample opportunity for illiterate learners to share their knowledge gained through life (Brockett & Hiemstra 1991: 29; Darkenwald & Merriam 1982: 57; Knowles 1990: 57). The important role of the already existing knowledge framework for the learning of illiterates was evident in the summative assessments of these learners. In their answers these learners often would fall back on previous experiences and exclude newly gained knowledge (Ausubel 1968: 127; Merriam & Brockett 1997: 46).

An interesting phenomenon was that some learners were literate, but were reluctant to take part in reading and writing activities. Facilitators attributed this behaviour to an absence of a culture of reading and writing due to poverty and the continuous struggle for survival. This insight was gained by facilitators during reflective discussions with learners.⁹⁷ The value of reflective dialogue with immature and marginalised persons is demonstrated as this process makes it possible for the learners and the facilitators not only to understand the meaning of their experiences, but also the nature of the communities they come from (Belenky & Stanton 2000: 92).

In the Cleaning module of the skills programme (Domestic Services Chamber 2004a: 20-21) the PH of chemicals was explained extensively. During the focus group discussions with learners about their experiences of the learning materials, learners expressed serious critique on these excessive explanations.⁹⁸ They found the information valuable as far it contributed to their ability to do or to improve their work. This feedback supports the assumptions that adult learners have a readiness to learn those things they need to know to cope with real life situations and that they are less subject orientated as they expect the new information to solve their problems in work or life first of all (Knowles 1990: 57).

5.5.2.7 How illiterate learners were assisted to enhance adult learning

Mentoring made a valuable contribution to enhance adult learning in the project. A full time mentor⁹⁹ was employed in addition to all the facilitators who were qualified mentors as well. Learners had regular one-on-one communication access to mentoring sessions. The mentor could, as subject matter expert, assist learners with learning problems and explain content of the learning material learners needed clarity on. Learners showed special preference for the full time mentor. Learners experienced her as objective because she was not involved as a facilitator and appreciated that she was not a young person. This situation highlights the

⁹⁷ Feedback provided by facilitators during a focus group discussion on 26 August 2006.

⁹⁸ Feedback provided by learners during a focus group discussion on 14 July 2004.

⁹⁹ Ria Strydom was the full-time mentor. She is a retired Mathematics teacher, well-known in the community.

notion that already existing knowledge frameworks have an important impact on the way adults learn (Mezirow 2000: 5).

Personal problems that often are barriers to adult learning were reported and addressed as far as possible in these sessions. The connectedness of BPF as NGO with community structures and services made it possible. Learners could be directed to marriage counsellors, social workers and health services and in an instance the mentor over a period provided transport for a learner who had a serious illness condition and had to be hospitalised. It was evident that adult female learners from marginalised communities were exposed to unique situations of inequality that often impact negatively on their learning. The low drop-out rate¹⁰⁰ of learners at BPF for the learnership is proof of the important contribution of an environment conducive to learning for adults.

Assistant-facilitators were present in all learning groups to assist learners in their first language and also were available after learning sessions. The full-time mentor conducted a pre-assessment with all the learners to enable learners to recapture and do self-assessment before every summative assessment exercise. If learners found themselves to be not ready for summative assessment, the learning gaps were revisited with the assistance of the mentor and/or facilitator to ensure the readiness of learners for the assessment. Scribes were provided for illiterates which enabled them to provide all answers during assessments orally in their first language. The answers were then documented by the scribe in English on the assessment record.

5.6 The impact of the DWSDP on the lives of the learners

The title of the DWSDP indicates that its aim was to develop the skills of domestic workers. Implemented within a community development set-up it was further expected that a process should occur that would be a people-centered, bottom-up experience. It implies that the focus would be on the needs of the people; a learning experience for the people thus empowered that enables them to

¹⁰⁰ The drop-out rate was 8% (daily attendance registers available at BPF Training Center). Drop-out percentages for learnerships can range between 40 and 50% (Wetsch 2005b).

bring about change in their own lives while their actions also benefit the greater community and other participants. It further implies that social learning happens when people learn with and from one another. Social learning has a reciprocal character as the behaviour of the individual is affected by the environment and the environment is, in turn, affected by the behaviour of the learner.

During focus group discussions¹⁰¹ domestic workers reported that they had freed themselves from the shackles of lack of education. For some domestic workers the GETC Qualification in Domestic Services NQF level 1 certificate was the first they had ever received. Domestic workers who previously had no recognition for the skills they had developed over the years had a certificate to provide proof of those skills. Qualified domestic workers have a competitive advantage, their applications for employment now could be supported by certificates that indicate their competency. It is not necessary for qualified domestic workers to be trapped in unsatisfactory and exploitive employment situations.

The skills training capacitated domestic workers with skills to communicate more effectively and they have more self-confidence to negotiate with employers about employment contacts, working conditions and salaries. An employer of a learner reported that he noticed an increased self-pride in the employee's work, job satisfaction and improved self-esteem.¹⁰² The new skills developed for domestic services assisted domestic workers to understand the use of different chemicals and resulted in improved quality of their work.

Domestic workers explained that their exposure to learning materials on waste management sensitised them to the importance of the protection not only of their work environment, but also of the environment at home and in the community. The training enabled them to contribute to a sustainable environment that enhances the health of their families and other community members through consciousness-raising within their communities. One of the domestic workers remarked that she would have appreciated her newly gained knowledge on the

¹⁰¹ Feedback received during focus group discussions with domestic workers on 10 and 11 August 2005.

¹⁰² A letter of appreciation of the employer, dated 24 August 2004, is available at the Basadi Pele Foundation Training Center.

importance of the maintaining of clean hands when her own children had been babies and often suffered from diarrhoea.

In some instances the relationship between the domestic worker and employer gained a new level of appreciation for one another. Some employers showed a keen interest in the progress of the employee whilst in training and developed new perceptions of the work and the status of their employee through a process of collaborative learning. A grandmother of twins remarked on the educational way a qualified domestic worker handled the toddlers. This same domestic worker was one of the 20% unemployed learners who participated in the learnership. Her qualification gave her access to employment as a childminder of the children of an employer who worked full time. She received a good salary and was able to complete her unfinished house in Kagiso Extension 12 by December 2005 already.

Domestic workers reported about improved relationships with their family members. One illiterate domestic worker mentioned the assistance that her son in primary school provided her with on Tuesday evenings in preparation for her training session the next day. Another domestic worker reported that the relationship between husband and wife had been affected positively as had the financial management in the home. Her husband insisted on verifying all purchases with her first, based on her newly gained skills in financial management. Some domestic workers reported that they experienced increased aggression and humiliation by their husbands in their relationship. They ascribed the behaviour of their husbands to the assumption that the development of a wife is a threat to the position of power of the husband. These situations demonstrate the continuing struggle of women to free themselves from gender oppression.

Domestic workers also continued on the route of lifelong learning and demonstrated self-directedness gained through their exposure to the learning processes. One of the illiterate domestic workers who could not achieve competency in all the literacy and numeracy outcomes, embarked on literacy training once a week. Another learner joined night school to complete her formal

education. A domestic worker who joined the project as assistant-facilitator has since registered her own training business.¹⁰³

Domestic workers were in concurrence about the potential of the DWSDP not only to open up new career paths for domestic workers, but also to improve the image of domestic services as an “industry” in South Africa .

5.7 Conclusion

This chapter described how the requests of the Domestic Workers Union for skills training of domestic workers, combined with the new Constitution, legislation enhancing skills development and education in South Africa and the related policies and strategies, provided a background that initiated, but also accommodated, the DWSDP. The CASE research of the Project 11(C) Steering Committee added valuable information that highlighted the need for the development of the skills of domestic workers and the lack of legislation to regulate the employment status quo of domestic workers.

It was noted that the unrealistic assumptions of the qualification for domestic worker’s skills training, the capacity of the training infrastructure and the accessibility of employers, resulted in change requests of the original project plan for the DWSDP within the existing limits of the budget and time frames for implementation. This situation resulted in activities for delivery of training such as qualification development, materials, curriculum and learning programme development, accreditation of training providers and training of the domestic workers, having to happen at the same time. But, more importantly, viewed from a community development angle, the very same situation provided increased opportunity for collaborative learning for all participants, resulting in social learning and change.

¹⁰³ Busisa Lutu joined the project as an assistant-facilitator in 2004. At that point she was enrolled at UNISA for a one year course in ABET training. She was employed as a facilitator for the skills programme training in that same year and trained as mentor. She provided translation assistance to illiterate learners during assessments as well. She registered her own training business. Busi’s Cooking School, in 2005 and is currently being assisted by BPF to gain accreditation. She was invited to join the Board of Directors of BPF in 2006.

The impact of the role of bureaucracy on the implementation of development projects also was demonstrated by the time pressures for implementation of the project caused by the above-mentioned deficiencies in the original project plan, the quantitative approach in some instances, but also the value of gender sensitive structures for development projects.

The background of BPF was explained to highlight the decisive contribution of NGOs in development projects that focus on achieving the learning needs of the people, in this instance, domestic workers, representative of a previously marginalised sector of the community. The capacity-building of the different BPF staff components as facilitators, mentors, assessors and moderators, created through the learning processes brought about by this community development project enhanced the sustainability of the organisation and resulted in the beneficial situation of everybody learning together, with and from one another.

The implementation of the DWSDP at BPF was investigated further as a case study to research adult education and learning within an informal education situation that supports the holistic learning of adult learners. The factor of illiteracy and the learning barriers that marginalised women experienced were described further. The manifestation of meaning perspectives, critical thinking and transformative learning at this level of learning and the contribution of facilitation to enhance the ways women create knowledge, were reflected upon.

Finally, the impact of the DWSDP on the lives of the domestic workers as defined in the research was reported against the framework of community development that aims to meet the needs of the people, through a bottom-up, participative process that results in a learning process of individuals and groups. Effective learning results in consciousness-raising and social changes that manifested in the lives of some domestic workers who gained improved self-esteem, a positive change in employment and improved family relations.

Chapter six will elaborate on the findings of the research and recommendations that could enhance and benefit future skills development community projects of this nature.

CHAPTER SIX

ANALYSIS, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS

6.1 Introduction

In chapter one it is stated that this study aims to establish how skills development of domestic workers happened during the implementation of the DWSDP within a community development framework and to make suggestions through which skills development of domestic workers could be improved in future.

The discussion in chapter three on the concept of community development and the contribution of other development theories to the concept of community development is important in constructing that framework. The current notion of community development was applied to investigate how skills development of domestic workers happened. Community development is people-centred and therefore the people have a voice that is essential for bottom-up participation in community development (Freire 1999).

The people have the right to participate (African National Congress 1994) in the development project and they become the actors in the development process. This means that the people, who are the beneficiaries of the project, take part in decision-making at certain levels of power, implementation, monitoring and evaluation of the community development project. The people share in the benefits of the development project. Embedded in community development lies empowerment, which is the building block of people-centred development. As people actively participate, they are increasingly empowered.

Empowerment implies a learning process and personal growth happens through learning (De Beer & Swanepoel 1998). Not only the individual learns, but of all the people that work together in the project learn. People-centred development is the result of social learning as people learn from and with one another. Through own potential, people bring along change in themselves and in others. This process results in social change and the people create a sustainable environment

for themselves, their families and their communities. Sustainable development cannot be separated from people-centred community development (Cornwell 1996). People work together and all participants benefit from the extensive impact that one person alone cannot achieve.

Community development implies collaborative learning that stems from collaborative action. Collaborative action also includes the involvement of bureaucracy, funding agents and NGOs.

Most importantly, all activities and, therefore, all learning in community development are focused on the needs of the people. Achieving the needs of the people is the driving force in people-centred community development.

In chapter two the historical background of domestic workers highlighted the needs of domestic workers as experienced in the apartheid era and the advancement of the new dispensation. An urgent need existed among domestic workers to have the ability to escape from a life of constant oppression, caused by many factors. Domestic workers historically experienced a lack of education; they were illiterate and could not compete for employment other than domestic work (chapter one and two).

The physical restrictions caused by influx control (chapter two) in the previous dispensation and the legal vacuum that domestic workers were trapped in finally were shed in the new dispensation, but domestic workers still were oppressed by their lack of education and illiteracy, social and family deprivation, a poor self-image, confinement to domestic work only due to a lack of career opportunities and skills in other fields of employment. The presence of gender inequalities still manifested in their daily lives in the form of sexual harassment and violence at work and at home. Domestic workers still were involved in the “double shift” of being a domestic worker and fulfilling the same role at home.

The important contribution of the bureaucracy, agencies and NGOs in community development was discussed in chapter three. During the design, evolution and implementation of DWSDP, different government departments, for example, DOL and DOE, were involved. Institutions facilitating the implementation of the

policies and strategies of the government, namely and NSA, SSETA, DSCB, DWC, SAQA and the NSF (chapter five) played decisive roles in the way the skills development of domestic workers happened in order to meet the needs of the domestic workers as the beneficiaries of the project. Basadi Pele Foundation as NGO did so similarly (chapter five), contributing to and participating in the learning processes and in the way learning happened.

Adult education and learning were investigated in chapter four to ensure understanding of the learning processes that the domestic workers participated in. The meaning of the behaviourist, cognitive, humanistic and social theories of learning and their culmination in constructivist learning theory as presented by Freire (emancipatory learning) and Mezirow (transformatory learning) placed the focus on the holistic learning approach.

The holistic approach again supported the concepts of non-formal education, popular education, ABET, lifelong learning, OBE, andragogy and self-directedness (chapter four), all factors that determined how skills development of domestic workers happened in this project. Certain categories, identifiable with marginalised adult female learners as “knowers”, were highlighted in chapter four and contributed to the investigation of learning processes from a gender sensitive perspective.

The incorporation of gender development thinking in this study (chapter three) was valuable for this study in that it was concerned about gender inequalities that affect the lives of domestic workers as the beneficiary participants. The culmination of the ideas of WAD, WID and GAD in WED theories placed the focus on the inequalities in education specifically that manifest in the illiteracy of women, in this particular instance female domestic workers.

The implementation of the DWSDP and the educational activities taken to fulfil the learning needs of the domestic workers at BPF was explored specifically. As stated above, effective community development indicates a learning process of all involved in the development project that leads to the fulfilling of the needs of the people. This process is social learning when adults reflect on their assumptions

and those of others, and through consciousness-raising take action that changes the lives of individuals and communities.

Against this background, the following discussions and the conclusions made, will ensure the achievement of the primary objective as stated in 1.4:

- The role of bureaucracy in the implementation of the project will be defined and assessed.
- The contribution of the NGO organisation, BPF, will be defined and assessed in the implementation of skills development for domestic workers.
- The gender sensitive quality of the project and its contribution to the skills development of the domestic workers will be determined.
- The learning of the domestic workers and other participants will be explored.
- The impact of the DWSDP on the lives of the domestic workers will be defined.

6.2 Conclusions

6.2.1 The role of bureaucracy in the delivery of skills training of domestic workers

In chapter two the legislation enacted by DOL and DOE that enhanced the needs of the domestic workers, were highlighted. The legal vacuum domestic workers experienced disintegrated due to a range of legislation that was enacted to the benefit of domestic workers. The safety of the employer and employee became a joint responsibility of both parties through the OHS Act of 1993. The combination of the BCEA of 1997, the Sectoral Determination 7 of 2002 and the UIF Act of 2002, addressed the special needs of employers and specifically those of domestic workers. The SDA of 1998 and the SDLA of 1999 opened up the opportunities for domestic workers to education and training in domestic services and made the NSF funding of R17 000 000.00 for the DWSDP a reality. The FET Act of 1998 and the ABET Act 2002 ensured that domestic workers could share in the benefits of lifelong learning.

In chapter three the notion of the BNA that funding by government need to bring economic and social changes for the people, is applicable to the contribution of government to this development project. Sustainable development is possible when cooperation by government at community level exists (see 6.6). The conclusion is reached that bureaucracy created an enabling environment for the skills development of domestic workers as their labour and educational needs could be achieved within the legal framework explained above.

The policies and strategies of government that evolved from these acts responded to the needs of the domestic workers as well (see 5.2.2). The NSDS 2001- 2005 supported the ideas of equity and lifelong learning so important for marginalised women in South Africa. NSF projects envisaged sustainable livelihood that linked with the 80% placement and 20% unemployed learners assisted to find employment. The Human Resources Development strategy highlighted the need of the domestic workers for literacy and ABET.

The Child Care course contributed to the improvement of the foundations of human development. The need for Frail Care and Ancillary Care training that that linked with the Social Cluster priorities and the Plan of Action 2001- 2002, were covered by unit standards in these fields. The registration of the unit standards for these two courses by SAQA were delayed and ultimately affected the access of learners to lifelong learning and career path opportunities. The value of the synergy between the skills development of domestic workers and policies and strategies of government for the development project was illustrated, but simultaneously the inhibiting role of bureaucracy and its affect on achieving the needs of the domestic workers was demonstrated.

Government participation is most effective in community development projects when it resembles a bottom-up character and people have to fight hard for government to participate (Freire 1999). The CASE research (chapter five) illustrated a bottom-up approach. GTZ funded the research, whilst DOL through the Steering Committee of Project 11 (C) implemented the research project. Input was gained directly from domestic workers and employers regarding the need for

skills development of domestic workers. This two-way inter-change approach illustrates the bottom-up co-operative approach of bureaucracy in this project. The preference of domestic workers for cooking skills versus the preference of employers for cleaning skills could be established. Valuable information was gained that directed the content of the NQF Level 1 Qualification of the DWSDP and the content of learning materials.

It also became evident in this project that bureaucracy was not always realistic in planning the project. This approach caused great pressure on the project to meet the needs of the domestic workers. The SAQA requirements of competency at level 3 for literacy and numeracy to gain access to a NQF level I qualification (see 5.5.2.6) was unrealistic, taking into account the 50% illiteracy of domestic workers indicated by the CASE report (Gordon-Brown 2002) and the low quality of education black marginalised women were exposed to during the apartheid era (see 2.3.3.3). The expectation of all the domestic workers gaining competency in ABET level 4 during the implementation of the learnership could not be fulfilled due to these realities.

Unrealistic assumptions of bureaucracy called for changes in the implementation of the project that resulted in pressure to meet the needs of domestic workers. The homes of employers were not accessible to conduct workplace assessment and mentoring as expected from learnership implementation (see 5.2.5). Employers were prepared to give learners off only one day per week to attend training sessions. To meet the needs of the illiterate learners within such a time frame was quite a challenge.

Bureaucracy incorrectly assumed in the first project plan that the Hospitality and Cleaning Industries were capacitated to train domestic workers (see 5.2.5). The unit standards for these industries met the needs of the commercial environment and not the needs of domestic workers. This incorrect assumption of bureaucracy resulted in qualification development, material, curriculum and learning programme development, capacitating of training providers and training of domestic workers happening at the same time. The time frame of the DWSDP could not be extended due to contractual NSF regulations. Less time could be

spent on the training of domestic workers that impacted on meeting their learning needs. The inflexibility of bureaucracy was evident in this incident.

The incorrect assumptions of bureaucracy demanded adaptations to the budget, but the NSF funding was not increased. The inability of bureaucracy to adapt caused the staff component of the Project Team of the Domestic Services Chamber to be reduced (see 5.2.7). This resulted in an over-burdened project team that at times were inaccessible to training providers.

The presence of mainly women in the Project Team of the DWC demonstrated the value of a gender sensitive approach by bureaucracy in the empowerment of women. The assistance provided by a member of the DWC to BPF in the Providers' Assistance Programme (see 5.4.1) was conducted with a view to entering into a partnership and developing accreditation in a bottom-up, consultative manner. An attitude of joint ownership in this effort by the two parties concerned was present and decisions on quality, policy and procedures to be developed focused on the learning needs of previously marginalised women of the domestic services environment.

The inflexibility of bureaucracy and the impact of an unequal power relation in a community project were evident as well. The six months delay in the transfer of NSF funding to the SSETA did not result in expansion of the project time schedule (see 5.2.5). The DOL expected results notwithstanding this delay. The RPL process of 1000 domestic workers then occurred under enormous time pressure, but did not achieve the outcome of proper assessment of prospective participants who were also employed domestic workers (see 5.4.3.1).

In the DWSDP, bureaucracy had difficulty in balancing political expectations with the needs of the domestic workers. Domestic workers were one of the key strategic objectives for DOL (see 5.2.2). The NSF target to train domestic workers in the learnership, for example, changed between 2002 and 2004 from 1750 to 2428 and for short skills from 10750 to 15000 (Wetsch 2005a: 20). This resulted in an increase in the intake of learners which put pressure on training providers to meet the learning needs of the learners effectively. Bureaucracy demonstrated a

quantitative approach to development that put the focus on the number of domestic workers trained without ensuring that the capacity was in place to train such numbers. As noted in 3.4 the quantitative approach is often followed in development projects of women to show, incorrectly, its “gender sensitivity”. Other instances when bureaucracy demonstrated a commitment to enhance the gender aspect of the DWSDP, were discussed more extensively in 6.4.

A further example of the quantitative approach of bureaucracy was evident in the decision by DOL that domestic workers taking part in the short skills programmes of three days, only could attend training in one skill. The aim was to train many domestic workers in one skill. Domestic workers were prevented from achieving competency in at least a number of unit standards in Domestic Services to enable them to achieve the full NQF Level 1 qualification in Domestic Services at a later stage. Lifelong learning as supported by the education and training legislation of the South African government and the NSDS 2001-2005, was pinioned down by this very same ruling. The needs of the domestic workers were not a priority for bureaucracy as is expected in bottom-up community development.

When defining and assessing the role of bureaucracy in the implementation of skills training of domestic workers, the conclusion was reached that bureaucracy played a double-sided role. Bureaucracy played a positive role through the provision of laws regulations, strategies and a gender sensitive approach that enhanced the needs of domestic workers. On the other hand, unrealistic planning and incorrect assumptions by bureaucracy caused barriers that impacted negatively on meeting the needs of domestic workers. When bureaucracy followed the quantitative approach in achieving outcomes, meeting the domestic workers’ needs was sacrificed.

6.2.2 The role of the Basadi Pele Foundation NGO in the implementation of skills training of domestic workers

In chapter three the value of the contribution of NGOs in community development is discussed (Allwood 1992; De Beer 1997; MacRobert 1992). The role of the Basadi Pele Foundation NGO formed a stark contrast to the inflexibility and rigidness of bureaucracy as discussed above. The actions and activities of Basadi Pele Foundation were people-centred as the focus of the organisation was the needs of the domestic workers. A number of characteristics of BPF that are typical of NGOs were revealed during the implementation of the DWSDP that enhanced the satisfaction of the learning needs of domestic workers.

The established relationship of BPF with bureaucracy manifested in many ways in the project and contributed to the implementation of the project (see 5.3 and 5.4). Its participation in committees and teams at various stages in the design and implementation of the DWSDP enhanced an understanding with BPF for the aims of the project that wanted to create skills development and career opportunities for domestic workers in South Africa. Its interim Domestic Services Board involvement, for example, sensitised the organisation for the incompatibility of the domestic services industry with the SDLA.

Membership of the SGB provided an opportunity for the organisation to develop an understanding of the impact of the unrealistic expectation of SAQA for the informal domestic services industry to comply with the same formal system of established formal industries as well as insight into the complicated intricacies of the bureaucratic machine. BPF could assess every change or hiccup in the implementation of the project against already achieved knowledge and constructs. BPF, based on experience with skills development in general and the training of domestic workers in particular (chapter one), had a consultative value for bureaucracy with regard to the training needs of domestic workers.

The characteristic of adaptiveness (see 3.2.5.3) of BPF was partly enhanced by its cooperation over the period mentioned above with bureaucracy. The involvement in the above-mentioned committees and task teams were made possible by voluntary workers who could assist at BPF in Kagiso while staff members attended meetings at the SSETA. When BPF needed to be subjected to the intense Providers' Assistance Programme, it could immediately make members of

management available to cooperate for extended hours without charging extra payment (see 5.4.1). Involvement with Project (11C), the interim Chamber Board, the SGB and sub-SGB by BPF was possible due to its staff capacity, strengthened by voluntary workers, and its focus on the needs of the beneficiaries of the project.

During the implementation of the project training schedules could be innovatively arranged and rearranged to meet the needs of the domestic workers and employers, as the training sessions on Saturdays illustrate (see 5.5.2.1). The training days for the Cooking skills were extended from 3 to 5 days to accommodate the needs of the learners who could not participate in the learnership. When the training period for the learnership was decreased due to the overall capacity building process that had to happen first, BPF adapted training schedules in accordance with the needs of the learners, provided extra classes and made extra assistant-facilitators available for learners who could not keep up with the pace of learning. It became a challenge to balance keeping up with the needs of the learners with handling the external pressures, as feedback of facilitators indicated (see 5.5.2.5).

The ability to conduct activities in a cost-effective way enabled the organisation to meet the needs of the learners more effectively. Delays in transfers of funding by bureaucracy could be carried by BPF without affecting the delivery of training services. The unemployed learners were provided with transport loans by the organisation whilst waiting for subsidies from DOL (see 5.5.2.2). Additional capacitating training sessions for facilitators in OBE was arranged by the organisation free of charge as the DOE made one of its experts available to the organisation.

The connectedness of BPF in the community added to the effective role of the organisation in the implementing of skills development for domestic workers. Informative meetings at churches and women's organisations were arranged easily to market the project. Additional facilitators and administrative staff were recruited in the different communities. The local labour centre of DOL assisted through its database to gain access to unemployed domestic workers and

employers of domestic workers. Local town council members assisted with the recruitment of domestic workers in their electoral wards.

The multi-faceted aspect of the services of BPF contributed to meeting the needs of the learners. The provision of training services in Hospitality, Food Preparation, Domestic Services, Literacy, Entrepreneurial skills and Early Childhood Development over a period of 13 years to unemployed unskilled women mainly, enhanced its capacity to meet the needs of domestic workers in the DWSDP (see 5.3). The community crèche in the training venue provided accommodation to children of domestic workers who attended training. Learners with personal or family problems were put in contact with social workers who already had a working relationship with the organisation.

The geographical location of BPF was beneficial for the achieving of the needs of the learners. Learners were within walking distance from the training center or easily accessible by taxi or train transport. Urban and rural learners could benefit from the project. The location of the premises of BPF in the community also was a hazard to achieve the specific needs of a project as explained by what happened during the RPL exercise of 2002. Persons who did not comply with the criteria for the learnership gained access to RPL and prevented domestic workers who did qualify from benefiting from the RPL process (see 5.4.2).

The people-centredness of BPF in this project was enhanced by its inherent quality of gender sensitivity. In chapter three the value of women in decision-making positions in women's development projects is highlighted. The management and staff component of this NGO consisted of women only. Most employers of domestic workers were women. All actions and activities conducted by these women focused on the learning needs of female domestic workers (only one learner was a male domestic worker).

The overall finding about the role and contribution of a NGO, in this instance BPF, in the implementation of skills development of domestic workers is a positive one. The contribution of this NGO was determined by its experience of working and liaising with bureaucracy as well as providing a range of services in

these very same communities over years. Its ability to come forward with adaptive, innovative and cost-effective action resulted in the effective meeting of the needs of the domestic workers. Although its role was threatened in some instances by its connectedness in the community, this very same connectedness enhanced the organisation's contribution in the project.

6.2.3 The gender sensitive quality of the DWSDP and its contribution to the skills development of the domestic workers

The DWSDP and the skills development of domestic workers that resulted from it, was a prototype of what gender thinking in development (chapter three) expects from development projects that aim to meet the needs of women. In 4.3.4 the concern of Pillay (1998) that marginalised women will have difficulty to access learnerships due to their lack of formal education, was discussed. The DWSDP proved the contrary as it had an almost 100% participation of black women (see 5.2.2).

In chapter one and two the oppression of domestic workers caused by gender inequalities was highlighted. The apartheid policies of productivity and growth led to ecological destruction in the rural areas, intensified inequalities with regard to class, race, culture and gender. These inequalities contributed to an environment for domestic workers that had no economic or social sustainability. Fifty per cent of domestic workers in South Africa are illiterate, they are part of the 600 million illiterate women globally (see 3.4.4.). The DWSDP included literacy training that contributed to achieving the aim of creating a social sustainable environment for the learners, but the literacy needs of not all learners could be met (see 5.5.2.6). Notwithstanding this partial meeting of the literacy needs of learners, the provision of literacy training made an important contribution to the gender-sensitive quality of the project.

In chapter three the participation of women in community development projects in decision-making structures is recommended as it provides marginalised women in particular with influence in development initiatives. Women's participation at this level in the project contributed to the bottom-up approach so important for people-

centred community projects. Women were well-represented in the decision-making structures of the DWSDP and their participation as explained in chapter five enhanced the bottom-up approach of current community development thinking.

The participation of women in the Project Team of the Domestic Services Chamber, combined with the contribution of gender sensitive male members, supported the idea of Freire (see 3.3) that men also have a responsibility to fight for the rights of women. The Task Team of Project 11 (c) benefited from the contribution of men present in a structure with female members being in the majority. The absence of a power relationship also was evident in the definition of a domestic worker designed by the working definition of a domestic worker for the project as the word “male” was included as well (see 2.2.5).

The interim and final Chamber Boards represented the domestic workers’ unions and the employers’ organisation at the Council of the SSETA. Due to delays in bureaucratic operations, the Chamber Board could not contribute fully to the gender issue. When most valued input was needed before the first project plan was developed, the Chamber Board did not exist (see 5.2.8). In the next phase of the project the financial decision-making was conducted by the NSF and delays in transfer of funding impacted on training delivery and the training needs of the domestic workers. The financial considerations of the project in some instances demanded in-depth financial skills from the Chamber Board and members could have benefited from capacity-building activities before and during the implementation of the project to enhance their contribution at this important level.

The transformation of the qualification from an industry to a domestic services focused qualification was attributed to the presence of women in the SGB and the sub-SGB. Unit standards in Cooking, Child Care, Frail Care and Ancillary Care were developed in consultation with employers and domestic workers. These unit standards opened up career paths for domestic workers the original qualification excluded. The development of training materials was the responsibility of female specialists who were employers of domestic workers. The research by the Stellenbosch University depended on the input of female learners and facilitators

(see 5.4.3.5). All these activities linked with Freire's idea of the value of generative ideas of learners in their own learning (see 3.3).

The addition of the Child Care unit standards and programme to the course highlighted the notion in gender thinking of the WAD approach that the productive and reproductive roles of women in society need to be recognised (see 3.4.2). Domestic workers not only nurture their own children, they take care of the children of employers and simultaneously develop the labour force of the country.

The implementation of the project at BPF contributed further to the gender sensitivity quality of the project. Positions at all structure levels of the organisation were occupied by women and the mission of the organisation focused on the development of marginalised women (see 5.3). All persons involved in the implementation of the skills training of domestic workers approached their responsibilities from a gender orientated angle. Learners mentioned that they felt comfortable to participate in discussions in training sessions because they were not oppressed or threatened by power situations, so often present in learning situations in the presence of a male facilitator or male co-learners (see 5.5.2.5).

Activities arranged and circumstances allowed showed consideration for the unique circumstances of female learners. The learners and facilitators agreed on mobile phones being used discretionary during training sessions to ensure that children and family members had access to them when necessary (see 5.5.2.3). Training schedules of learners who were recipients of child or foster care grants once a month were adapted accordingly.

Mentoring services that had to focus on guidance of the learner as far as the learning process in particular was concerned, were expanded to assist these female learners to handle problems unique to women (see 5.5.2.7). The crèche services provided at the BPF Training Centre for the children of the learners, compensated for the problem of family deprivation often experienced by domestic workers (see 2.3.6.1). The inclusion of skills training in waste management in the Life Skills programme linked with the WED notion that women's contribution to the management of the environment is indispensable (see 3.4.4).

From the above discussion the conclusion was reached that the gender sensitive quality of the DWSDP was a major contributing factor to the success of the project. The project allowed for ample participation by women in a learning experience that allowed access to literacy training and contributed to a more sustainable environment for themselves and their families. The women were participating in decision-making and leadership positions supported by men who understood gender issues and their impact on development projects for women. The gender sensitive environment present at BPF Training Centre enhanced the notion of a skills development project for women, by women and through women.

6.2.4 An exploration of the learning processes of domestic workers and other participants

In 3.2.5.3 it is stated that all activities in successful community development are linked to the aim of fulfilling the needs of the people who are the beneficiaries of the development project. The aim of the DWSDP was to empower domestic workers with skills. Empowerment of individuals implicates learning and in the instance of this project, the domestic learners participated in the learning process. The empowerment process of the domestic workers resulted in the participation of and exposure to learning of the other participants as well. Domestic workers, employers of domestic workers, the administrative staff of BPF, the facilitators, mentors and assessors learned with and from one another and social learning happened that resulted in social change in the lives and environment of the domestic workers and other participants (see 5.6). Collaborative learning happened owing to the constant focus of all participants to achieve the aim of the project, namely skills development of domestic workers (see 3.2.5.3).

The principle of people-centeredness typical of true community development, was present in the aspects of lifelong learning (4.3.4), ABET (4.3.3), popular education (4.3.5), non-formal education (4.3.2) and OBE (4.3.4), identifiable in the education and learning processes of adult female learners of this skills development project. Lifelong learning aims to make education and training accessible to all people throughout their lives and the National Certificate in

Domestic Services NQF level 1 provided such opportunities for domestic workers, regardless of their educational status, class, race or gender. The literacy and numeracy skills that formed part of the fundamentals of the qualification and skills necessary to produce domestic services, contained in the cores and electives of the qualification, enhanced ABET as the basic human right of the people (Cornwell & De Beer 2004; 4.33).

The skills programmes as presented in the DWSDP, aimed to meet the learning needs of employed domestic workers in a non-formal learning environment. Popular education in the Freirian sense (4.3.5 and 4.5.6.1), was reflected in this project as domestic workers who were oppressed through illiteracy and a lack of formal education individually and collectively. learned and through critical thinking and action changed their own social circumstances and that of their families' (see 5.6). The OBE methodology followed in the implementation of training of the domestic workers allowed the learners to fulfil their full potential and, consequently, to enhance their self-esteem. The discussion in 5.6 about the impact of the project on the lives of these adult female domestic workers, illustrate these outcomes.

The OBE environment allowed further for holistic learning to happen. Measured against the framework of learning theories discussed in chapter four, the adult learning processes of this learning experience reflected favourably. Learning the repetitive hand washing routine and designing a balanced meal respectively covered behaviouristic (see 4.5.1) and cognitive learning (see 4.5.2). Ensuring that poor learners had food, that they were safe and secure in the learning environment and respected, created the environment for learners to be cognitively and affectively involved in learning and assess and take ownership of their learning as it happened in the self-assessment activities of learners (see 5.5.2.7). The reciprocal character of social learning was experienced in practical cooking classes where modelling was used and learners practiced what they had observed during the session and implemented these skills at work and at home to the benefit of the employer's and their own families. It was evident that adult learning as it happened in the DWSDP had a holistic character.

The notion of holistic learning was enhanced further in constructivist learning typical of adult learners (see 4.5.5). The learning situation of employers (see 5.5.2.2) and learners (see 5.5.2.4) regarding employment contracts illustrated the notion of constructivist learning as represented in the emancipatory learning theory of Freire and the transformative learning theory of Mezirow (see 4.5.6). In separate learning situations employers and domestic workers were participants in dialogical discussions about employment contracts.

Meaning perspectives of employers (employment contracts impeded on personal privacy) and domestic workers (employment contracts aggravated their exploited situation) were changed in some instances through critical thinking and action that resulted in changed meaning schemes. The partnership between employer and employee and the relaxed working environment was proof of social change enhanced by emancipatory or transformatory learning, the most important learning by adults according to Mezirow (2000). Employers and domestic workers were individually and collaboratively empowered through learning and social transformation happened.

The application of the framework of Belenky (see 4.5.6.2) on the knowing of marginalised women to explore and evaluate the learning of the domestic workers contributed to the gender sensitive quality of the project. During discussions with facilitators (see 5.5.2.5) the conclusion was reached that the Silenced, Received Knowers, the Subjective Knowers, Procedural Knowers, divided into Separate and Connected Knowers, were identifiable over the period of learnership implementation. In some instances the evolvement from one category to the other was identifiable in the learning progress of learners. To achieve the transformatory learning with marginalised women demands expertise from female facilitators in female adult learning. The training schedule should allow ample time for critical reflection on assumptions and a situation where all participants learn together.

Collaborative learning is a direct outcome of community development focusing on the needs of the people. The sudden changes at bureaucracy level (see 5.2.5) turned into opportunities for growth. In an effort to achieve the deliverables, BPF as organisation was subjected to the Providers' Assistance Programme to obtain

accreditation status, develop the capacity to provide RPL services to 1000 learner facilitators and was trained in OBE facilitation and in assessment mentoring and moderation (see 5.4.3.1). The empowerment of the organisation was enhanced further by its members' participation in the development of the qualification, unit standards (see 5.4.3.4) and learning materials (see 5.4.3.5) and workshops on business and financial management (see 5.4.3.6). The outcome of the collaborative learning process was the empowerment of all the participants, and BPF in particular. The sustainability of the organisation gained in the learning experienced, reflected in new training contracts gained from government departments and corporate business.

The drop out of 8% and the 80% of learners who achieved 100% competency was proof of the learning successes achieved and, in particular, the meeting of the learning needs of the domestic workers. In 4.5.5 it is stated that the way knowledge is presented to learners is decisive for learning success. The learning environment created for these adult female learners reflected the application of the six assumptions andragogy (see 4.5.7). At informational meetings before the learnership started and at induction sessions at the BPF Training Centre domestic workers were introduced to the aims of the skills training project, the content of the qualification and the benefits to the learners (see 5.5.2.2). Through self-assessment opportunities learners were able to evaluate their own progress and independently accepted responsibility for future development.

The knowledge of learners already accumulated was respected and regarded as a valuable resource as illustrated by the focus groups of learners of the Stellenbosch University's research on the learning materials (see 5.4.3.5). The obstructive contribution of previous learning experiences was evident in the low participation of some literate learners due to previously negative experiences (see 5.5.2.6). The domestic workers' keenness to learn the use of different chemicals illustrated adult learners' concern with learning that assists them to solve problems in life. It also illustrated adult learners' readiness to gain knowledge that enabled them to handle real life situations.

The conclusion reached regarding the learning that happened in the project was that the focus on the learning needs of the domestic workers directed the learning that happened. Individual and collaborative learning resulted in the empowerment of all participants and affecting individuals and the organisation. The elements of lifelong-learning, ABET, non-formal, popular and outcomes-based education contributed to the education and learning environment of the adult female learners. Holistic learning occurred in learning environment conducive to transformative learning of female adult learners, resulting into social change for individuals and the community.

6.2.5 The impact of the DWSDP on the lives of the domestic workers

The conclusion was reached that the people-centred development initiative of the DWSDP lead to the empowerment through the learning skills of the individual beneficiaries, namely the domestic workers in the very first instance, resulting in social change for them (see 5.6). Achieving the qualification in domestic services resulted into improved self-esteem and personal growth for domestic workers. The status of domestic work became more positive, the quality of services to employers improved as domestic workers were more knowledgeable and employment opportunities increased as more career opportunities opened up for them.

Important psychological assets were contributed to the lives of domestic workers. The shackles to free themselves from the lack of education and the oppression of illiteracy were removed for some domestic workers. The learners unsuccessful in achieving competency in literacy could at least develop some degree of functional literacy that enabled them to write their names and sign forms. Others continued their journey on lifelong learning by attending training in literacy after completion of the learnership.

The qualification provided domestic workers with an instrument with which to free themselves from exploitive employer-employee relationships and to take up new employment positions (see 5.6). The dependency on employment circumstances that impeded on their relationship with their families and social

lives could be addressed. Domestic workers could free themselves from gender inequalities in their work environment and in their homes and communities. The DWSDP provided domestic workers with skills to ensure a sustainable financial and social environment for themselves, their families and their communities.

6.3 Recommendations

The DWSDP was the very first skills development project for domestic workers in South Africa. From the discussions and conclusions reached above, valuable lessons can be learnt for future implementation of skills development projects for domestic workers and can be applied more widely to NSF projects for marginalised women in particular.

6.3.1 The GETC Certificate in Domestic Service NQF level 1

- Qualification must be adapted to meet the needs of employers and domestic workers more effectively.
- The current total of 141 credits for the qualification must be changed to 120 credits as regulated for all NQF level 1 qualifications to prevent the overburdening of training providers and learners as experienced with the first implementation of the DWSDP.
- The imported Hospitality and Cleaning unit standards must be removed from the qualification as they were designed for the Hospitality and Hygiene and Cleaning industries and are not compatible with the Domestic Services industry.
- The new Cooking, Cleaning and Child Care unit standards must be incorporated into the qualification to substitute the unit standards not meeting the needs of the Domestic Services industry.
- The Frail Care and Ancillary Care unit standards should be incorporated as electives into the qualification to enhance the needs of domestic workers who are taking care of frail or ill persons (HIV /Aids patients) in the work place.

- An agreement should be arranged with SAQA to speed up the registration of the adapted qualification to prevent a repetition of the delays experienced with the first implementation of the DWSDP.
- SAQA regulations regarding the level of literacy demanded for access to the NQF level 1 qualification need to be revisited. The current expectation of ABET level 3 as knowledge already achieved is unrealistic when taking into account the backlog in formal education of marginalised female black women most frequently represented in the Domestic Services industry in South Africa.

6.3.2 The implementation of the project

- All applicants for the learnership must be subjected to a Recognition of Prior Learning process to enable training providers to establish the competency level of the domestic workers in literacy as well as other skills applicable to domestic services. This information then should be used to meet the learning needs of the learners more effectively.
- Learners who do not demonstrate a ABET level 3 competency should be accommodated in literacy training to assist learners to achieve the required literacy level for the qualification either before entering the learnership or during learnership training.
- Care should be taken by bureaucracy that infrastructure for the implementation is in place to ensure that all funding allocated for the training of the domestic workers is spent accordingly.
- Care should be taken to ensure that funding allocated for the project is transferred by bureaucracy according to the requests of the original project plan in order to prevent the delays in delivery such as was experienced in the first implementation of the DWSDP. Unnecessary pressure was caused for learners already battling with a backlog in formal education.
- The mentoring of learners needs to be prioritised in future skills development projects of domestic workers due to the unique barriers that female marginalised domestic workers experience in achieving their full potential in learning.

- Employers of participants in the learnership must be sensitised to the importance of practical experience for the domestic worker in the work place to enhance the theoretical learning covered in training sessions as well as practical skills.

6.4 Recommendations for further research

- The escalating statistics of HIV/AIDS is affecting domestic services in South Africa (see 2.2.6). Domestic workers increasingly are involved with the care of HIV/AIDS patients. The importance of the inclusion of the Frail Care and Ancillary Care unit standards is highlighted by this phenomenon. The impact of the changing nature of domestic work on the skills necessary for domestic workers in these circumstances need to be researched and the content of the qualification revisited.
- Research needs to be done into the many other options available to employers whose domestic workers are diagnosed with HIV/AIDS, since too many take the easy option of dismissing workers instead of rendering proper support.
- The high presence of child labour in Domestic Services (see 2.2.6) is a disturbing situation. These children, in many instances female children, do not attend school and are exposed to situations of sexual exploitation. The phenomenon needs to be researched and measures developed to counteract this socially unacceptable situation.
- It is a fact that children who come from rural areas to assist with the frail care or HIV/AIDS sufferers under the guise of domestic workers in urban areas fall prey to, among others, child trafficking. There is much scope for further research into this phenomenon (see 2.2.6).
- COSATU's recommendation for a pension scheme for domestic workers (see 2.5.1) that was not adopted as government policy, demands further investigation.
- The plight of domestic workers who are injured in the line of duty without adequate medical cover provision is a recurring theme which needs to be

addressed sooner rather than later and provides scope for research (see 2.4.3.2).

6.5 Conclusion

The design and implementation of the DWSDP was one of the many exiting events in the new dispensation that affected the lives of South Africans who had been less privileged in the previous dispensation. It specifically created hope for domestic workers to uplift their standards of living through skills development. Only a small percentage of the 1, 5 million domestic workers in South Africa could benefit from this empowerment opportunity. The important role of domestic workers in building the human fabric of the South African nation demands the continued and improved implementation of skills development initiatives for domestic workers.

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¹⁰⁴ bell hooks is the pseudonym for Gloria Watkins.

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