



**A SOCIOLOGICAL INVESTIGATION  
INTO THE SOCIALISATION  
PROCESS OF THE FEMALE  
AFRICAN DOMESTIC WORKER IN  
THE DURBAN METRO REGION**

**Submitted in fulfillment of the requirement for the degree of Doctor  
of Philosophy in the Department of Sociology, in the Faculty of  
Humanities at the University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban**

**Name: Mariam Seedat  
Promoter: Dr L-H Stears  
Date: July 2006**

**DECLARATION**

I, Mariam Seedat, declare that this dissertation is my own, unaided work. It is being submitted for the degree of D Phil in the Department of Sociology, University of KwaZulu-Natal, Durban. This dissertation has not been submitted before for any degree or examination at any other university.

Name of Candidate:

MARIAM SEEDAT

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Signed on the

4

day of

OCTOBER

2006



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**DEDICATION**

**For:**

**Everton Football Club**

**My husband Naushaad, my sons Nasser and Ameer Khan.**

**In memory of my late father Mando Seedat and my uncles Shaheen Meer and Sydney Dumaresq.**

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## ABSTRACT

Domestic workers in South Africa have historically endured a great deal of inequalities, as a direct result of their role as woman within the traditional patriarchal family structure and as a result of their socialisation process. This dissertation sets out to understand the socialisation process that young girls undergo within a traditional African family that leads them to domestic employment. The aim is to conduct a sociological analysis of domestic workers. This study seeks to understand the impact of the socialisation process on the African female in society.

**CHAPTER 1****INTRODUCTION****1.1. OVERVIEW**

“In South Africa, gender oppression is institutionalised in the laws as well as the customs and practices of all our people” ANC NEC’s statement of 2 May 1990 ([www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr/1990/](http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr/1990/)).

This institutionalisation of gender oppression has had a far-reaching impact on the lives of the black African<sup>1</sup> woman (Bowles, 1983:13). The institutionalisation of gender oppression is evident in the socialisation process that the female black African girl child undergoes in her childhood home. The African woman has been subject to oppression because of the colour of her skin. She has been subject to exploitation because of her lack of skills. She has been marginalised because of her poor socio-economic status. She has been a victim of the class structure of the modern capitalist state because of apartheid. She has been oppressed because she is a woman. She has been denied an education. She has been a victim of a gender biased socialisation process. These are the woman of this study.

1. In the context of this document, the term ‘African’ means black African unless otherwise specified.

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To negate issues of race, class, gender, patriarchy, education and socio-economics as a prelude to socialisation, would be a grave injustice to this study. This study uses the issues of race, class, gender and patriarchy to build a case for the gender biased socialisation process that female African domestic workers undergo as children.

Evelyn Molefe was born and brought up in Mafikeng in the then, Western Transvaal. Her father raised cattle and her mother worked around the house. She left school in the middle of standard four, the sixth year of schooling. Her parents could not afford to send all the children to school and her father did not believe that girls needed an education (This is a phrase that we will see recurring throughout this study).

“Well what could I do with so little education and I had to earn some money because my family were so poor. All I could do was domestic work to earn some money” (Barret, 1980: 27-28).

Evelyn Molefe had three children in Mafikeng who were being taken care of by her mother and an old uncle. She earned R50 a month and sent most of it home.

“It is a very big struggle for me because I don’t have a husband so there is no one to help me with money and I want my children to finish school and get good jobs” (Barret, 1980: 28-30).



Evelyn Molefe starts work at 7:00am and finishes at about 6:00pm, after the family she works for finishes supper. She does not get much time off during the day.

“I stop to drink a cup of tea in the morning for five minutes. I don’t eat any breakfast.

After I finish cleaning up at 1:00pm I cook my food and eat lunch. I must be back inside the house at 1:30pm to wash the lunch dishes. I eat supper after I knock off” (Barret,

1980: 32).

This 1985 study might seem dated. However, it is relevant and real to domestic work in 2006 in the Durban Metro Region and South Africa at large. Very little has changed for the female African woman and their reasons for engaging in domestic work. This study focuses on what prompts the female African girl child to eventually become domestic workers. This study looks at socialisation in detail. The most important part of Evelyn’s story is that because she was a girl child, education was deemed unimportant for her by her father. Education is not high on a list of priorities for the female African girl child. It is assumed that she will marry and be taken care of by the husband’s family. Expending resources on a female child’s education is considered wasteful.

## 1.2. INTRODUCTION

The case of Evelyn Molefe is not simply the life story of a domestic worker. It captures the attitude of the father (patriarch) in the family towards the female African girl child. It is used to introduce the socialisation process of the African girl child who is now employed as a domestic worker in the Durban Metro Region. Although the preceding provides us with the attitude of a father in one case we will see similar attitudes emerging throughout the study, in the interviews that were conducted with the twenty domestic workers from the Durban Metro Region.

Despite the fact that the preceding case is representative of an African female domestic worker in the then, Transvaal, it holds true for the domestic workers in this study. The elements of, the components in and the ideological base portrayed by the father of Evelyn Molefe holds true for other domestic workers in this study.

The case above clearly describes the attitude of the patriarch in the family towards the female child in the household. Escape from this patriarchal family system seems impossible for a young girl; she is bound by the rules, regulations, norms and expectations of the family unit into which she is born. It is this family unit that is responsible for the socialisation process of the female African girl child. This study embarks on a process of unravelling issues around socialisation and factors that influence and impact on socialisation patterns. This study will attempt to draw strong correlations between socialisation and domestic work.

Although the case of Evelyn Molefe, provided us with an example of a domestic worker, the father's attitude and the reasons for engaging in domestic work, a myriad of other questions are raised, in order to elicit an understanding of why the female African girl child becomes a domestic worker. The following questions need to be answered,

- Why is domestic work largely occupied by African woman?
- Is there a link between socialisation and domestic work? (Within the context of the African woman and her socialisation process).
- Does socialisation play an important role in the occupational choice made by African woman?

Attempting to find answers to the above questions provided the impetus for this study.

### 1.3 METHODOLOGY

In a study of this nature, qualitative methodology provides a valuable source for retrieving information. Through the use of a qualitative methodology the end result of investigating the socialisation process of domestic workers is achieved.

Interviews are conducted with twenty domestic workers in the Durban Metro Region. Both close and open-ended questions are used. Close-ended questions are utilised for

collecting factual information. The bulk of the interviews include stories from domestic workers' lived experiences. These stories are prompted by the use of open-ended questions. "Although qualitative interviews are more focused, deeper and more detailed than normal discussions, they follow the rules of ordinary conversation" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 122).

This study relies extensively on qualitative methodology in order to gather information on the socialisation process of the female African domestic workers.

"Whom you choose to interview should match how you have defined the subject of your research.... All people that you choose to interview should satisfy three requirements. They should be knowledgeable about the cultural arena or the situation or experience being studied, they should be willing to talk and when people in the arena have different perspectives, the interviewees should represent the range of points of view" (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 65-66).

The participants were selected based on the criteria highlighted above. All domestic workers were able to recollect their life experiences in the homes of their parents/caregivers/guardians. The participants were also able to recollect their childhood years in detail. Once the selection had been made, the participants were given a choice. All domestic workers willing to participate in the study were selected. The researcher tried as much as possible to include domestic workers of all ages and backgrounds. This allowed for a more composite picture of domestic work and socialisation.

Taking a cue from Rubin & Rubin (1995) it was necessary that the researcher speak to several domestic workers. The lines of communication with domestic workers were open well before the inception of this study. While preparing the scholarship review and other chapters for this study, every opportunity was used to talk to domestic workers.

The researcher was guided by Rubin & Rubin's (1995) three principles:

1. knowledgeable,
2. willingness, and
3. different perspectives.

The researcher decided to utilise judgement sampling relying exclusively on her own judgment. Judgment based on conversations and interactions that she had with the domestic workers for a year preceding the interviews.

“In purposive or judgement sampling the investigator does not necessarily have a quota to fill from within various strata... the advantage of purposive sampling is that the researcher can use her research skill and prior knowledge to choose respondents” (Bailey, 1987: 94).

According to Barret (1985: 34) domestic workers are migrant workers from the rural areas with poor educational backgrounds. When they arrive in the cities they have no

place to stay, so live-in domestic work is their only option. This provides them with both employment and a place to live.

Delport (1995: 4) defines a domestic worker as an "...employee who wholly or mainly performs waged domestic labour in the household of the employer."

Maseko (1991) argues that domestic service is a remnant of the colonial era and has become part of the Zimbabwean lifestyle, a luxury that the middle class is not prepared to sacrifice. Zimbabwean middle class will continue employing domestic workers as long as their labour is available at cheap rates. These are some of the definitions that have been sourced for domestic workers.

The scholarship review chapter proposes a working definition of domestic workers within the context of this study.

The objective reality of the primary caregiver/ significant other, within the context of the female African girl child, are imposed upon her from the time that she is born and she is socialised to adopt the value system that is presented to her. In accepting or internalising the values of the significant other the girl child is accepted into the family unit within which she is born.

Socialisation is a tool used to initiate a new member into the family and community into which he/she is born. Within this family unit and in society at large her occupational role is pre-determined by the way that she is treated and the values that she will be taught

through both primary and secondary socialisation imposed on her by her primary caregivers/significant others.

When the girl child is born she learns from the moment that she is born. She is taught to behave, act, respond, talk, play, interact and be in a particular way. She does what she is taught, because she knows no other way than the way that she has been taught. It is at this very early stage of socialisation that she learns life lessons that help in gender differentiation roles. It is this role and differentiation that will be the focus of this study when investigating socialisation of the female African girl child.

Scholars have presented several reasons why the African woman engages in domestic work. They have posited the ideas of education and training, poor socio-economic status, gender, race and class. These are however, not the only factors that will shape her occupational role/choice. Elements such as socio-economic status, gender socialisation, education, patriarchy, access to resources and other factors will all contribute toward the occupational choice that she will make. Her situation might force her into an occupational role that she does not choose willingly.

This study however, claims that socialisation is one of the key factors that pushes female African woman into the occupational role of domestic worker without negating the reasons provided by other scholars as important contributing factors to the occupational choice.

### **1.3.1 The Participants**

The participants in the study will be relaying their stories from a lived experience and these are taken at face value in order to strengthen the case of the domestic workers being put forward. The researcher has never played a part or shared in the experience of their lives in the rural areas of KwaZulu - Natal; it became her task to tell their stories. In relaying their stories and experiences verbatim it does not allow for falsification of the data.

It is the stories in this study that brings strength and volume to the voices of the domestic workers that were part of this study.

### **1.4 THE RESEARCH**

In addressing the research there were many questions left unanswered;

- How/why do domestic workers arrive in their occupational role?
- Why do they choose domestic work?
- What was their home life like?
- What was the objective reality of the primary caregivers/significant others?



- Why is domestic work so common among African females?
- What was the socialisation process like?
- Who were the role models for these young girls while growing up?

These are among several key questions that were posed to domestic workers in the interview process. Attempting to find answers to these questions provided a motivation for this present study on socialisation and domestic work. At the start of this chapter the overall methodological approach was qualified.

This chapter introduced the socialisation process of domestic workers by providing a general overview on origin, prevalence and terminology. The relevance and research problem follows.

## **1.5 RELEVANCE**

Gender issues are always the last to be addressed. As a result of this, women continue to be the most exploited and under researched group of people in society. In South Africa, we find ourselves in a unique situation. With the advent of a democracy alongside one of the most liberal constitutions in the world, issues of gender can be brought to the fore with equal vigour and importance. The redrafting of the constitution in 1994 and the

passing of new and amended bills has seen a parliament open to change and a people striving toward equality and change for all the people of a democratic South Africa.

Domestic workers are an integral part of South African society. They have been responsible for the rearing of our country's leaders. They are the honorary mothers that the privileged in South Africa have come to depend upon. They are an indispensable part of working mothers' lives. Their relevance within a South African society is crucial. It is against this backdrop that domestic workers and their socialisation process are being investigated.

To neglect the monopolisation of an occupational group by one gender and race that is so highly exploited and disregarded would be contrary to the ideals of a new democracy. It is within the context of a fledgling democracy in South Africa and a redress of racial imbalances in society, that female African domestic workers and their socialisation process is investigated.

### 1.5.1 The Research Problem

Before embarking on this study it will be instructive to delineate the research problem.

This study seeks to:

- Investigate the socialisation patterns of the African girl children who become domestic workers.
- Understand how patterns of socialisation have impacted on the current occupational role of domestic workers.
- Establish a link between the socialisation of the African girl child and domestic work as an occupational choice.

In light of the above objectives, this study is largely exploratory and descriptive in nature. It is evidently an unexplored research area. There is a wealth of knowledge around domestic workers within South Africa and abroad. However, literature on socialisation and domestic work is virtually non-existent, both locally and internationally.

### 1.5.2 Aims and Objectives

The aims and the objectives of this research are:

- To present a detailed sociological investigation of domestic workers and their socialisation processes.
- To analyse theory on the socialisation process at both a primary and secondary level.
- To establish a link between socialisation and domestic work among the female African.

The first and second objective of this study will be achieved through an extensive review of literature, theory on domestic work and socialisation. Empirical data form the backdrop of the third objective. Data will be obtained through the following methods:

- Domestic workers already engaged with (These domestic workers will in turn introduce other domestic workers).
- Data will be obtained from twenty domestic workers.

### **1.5.3 Rationale**

The rationale for this study is that it will be extremely important to interpret and analyse the evidence objectively. Noting that there is a lack of studies on the socialisation processes of domestic workers, it is of utmost importance to record as much detail as possible. The catalogue of knowledge will be able to inform issues around domestic work and gender. Before outlining this study it is necessary to capture the delimitations.

### **1.5.4 Delimitations**

It will be extremely difficult to trace the original primary caregivers/ significant others or agents of socialisation responsible for primary and secondary socialisation in the lives of the twenty domestic workers being interviewed. Thus, this study will not be able to portray the perspective of the agents of socialisation nor the views of parents/caregivers/guardians that have raised children who ended up in the occupational role of domestic worker.

This study will rely exclusively on domestic workers who will relay their stories about their lives and socialisation patterns. This will be done on a one-to-one basis with the researcher and the domestic worker. In addition, group discussions will be conducted with groups of domestic workers.

## 1.6 ORGANISATION

- Chapter 2 investigates, in depth, domestic work and socialisation by analysing various types and definitions of domestic work and socialisation. This chapter provides a working definition for this particular study. It also documents studies conducted on domestic workers locally, nationally and internationally.
- Chapter 3 analyses and interprets sociological theory in relation to domestic work and socialisation. This chapter focuses on Peter Berger and Thomas Luckmann's (1991) social construction of reality. This theory is used to establish a link between the socialisation process of African girl children and domestic work.
- Chapter 4 provides an overview of the methodology that has been adopted for this qualitative study. This chapter details experiences during the fieldwork phase.
- Chapter 5 includes a presentation and analysis of data obtained from the study that was conducted in the Durban Metro Region.
- Chapter 6 provides an overall summation of the research and recommendations for further academic studies.

## 1.7 SUMMARY

This chapter provided the foundation for the entire study by setting the scene and presenting the aims and objectives of this particular study, which in turn provided the impetus for the identification of a specific area. The entire study will therefore be an attempt at understanding patterns of socialisation and the link between domestic work and socialisation of the female African girl child. It is instructive at this point to provide a detailed scholarship review on domestic work and socialisation.

**CHAPTER 2****SCHOLARSHIP REVIEW**

“The institution of African domestic labour socialises whites into the dominant ideological order of race and exposes domestic workers to its most humiliating practices”

Cock in ([www.roape.org/cgi-bin/show](http://www.roape.org/cgi-bin/show)).

**2.1. INTRODUCTION**

According to Lipton (1988: 27) women are the poorest of the poor and their deprivation is passed on to their children. The scholarship review questions the legitimacy of this statement. Is this deprivation passed on through the process of socialisation? This study seeks to draw linkages between domestic work as an occupational sector (a group of women all working as domestic workers) and socialisation (learnt behaviour) in South Africa. These components will become visible in the type of socialisation process that the girl child is subject to in the homes of their primary caregivers/ significant others.

Flora Monamodi's parents died when she was a baby and she went to live with her grandmother in Taung in the Northern Cape. When she finished standard two, she left school.



"I wanted to become a nurse but you can't do that with so little education. The only thing that I could do was housework. I looked for work around Taung but there was no work so I came to Johannesburg. I didn't know anyone here so I had nowhere to stay.' I walked around every day looking for a job and in the night I slept anywhere. The good thing about this job is that you get somewhere to stay" (Barret, 1985: 28).

Like Flora Manomodi, a domestic worker, millions of other female African women find themselves in the same or similar positions in South Africa. It is estimated that there are 4 000 000 domestic workers in South Africa. Of the 4 000 000 domestic workers, 89 % are female and African (Meer, 1998: 34). The only skill that they enter the job market with is that of home maintenance. Domestic work as an occupational sector in South Africa is a reflection of both apartheid policies and socialisation that discriminated against African women in terms of employment opportunities. These women became victims of socialisation, patriarchy and apartheid laws. Young girls are subject to the rules and regulations of the family and community into which they are born and, as a result, become victim to a patriarchal ideological base of socialisation.

## 2.2. CHALLENGES

Van Onselen (1982: 66) attributes the lack of interest in domestic workers to two important factors.

- (i) Domestic work does not produce a commodity of value, it serves people and as a result they have escaped the eye of the researcher both on a quantitative and qualitative level.
- (ii) Secondly, they work in isolation in individual households and are difficult to access for research purposes.

Mc Bride (1976: 88) concurs that domestic work is an under-researched area, because it has been traditionally defined as women's work. It was ignored because it was seen as an extension of a women's natural role and not an occupation of value. ] \*

Cock (1984: 3) observed that only a small number of studies have been conducted on domestic workers in South Africa. She is of the opinion that much more research is needed on the topic of domestic workers. Since her study (*Maids and Madams* - 1984) there has been a growing number of academic writing on the topic of domestic workers, both in the social sciences and the legal sector, none of which have focused on the socialisation process of domestic workers. ]

There has recently been a greater interest in domestic workers as an occupational group in South Africa. The April 1997 special issue of the South African Labour Bulletin "*The Death of SADWU the birth of a new organisation*" shows a great deal of transformation, containing articles about domestic workers in South Africa. Government Gazette publications between 2001 and 2003 focused on the wage structures of domestic workers. *Agenda*, a South African based gender journal, also indicates an increase in the interest of the domestic workers sector.

Indications that researchers are beginning to question the inadequacy of concepts and research on domestic workers, is prevalent. Advances in research are being made to address theories and methodologies on domestic workers in a new way (Rowbatham, 1986: 22).

The existing research on domestic workers has been based on;

- the exploitation of domestic workers;
- legal studies on domestic workers;
- the plight of domestic workers;
- the rights of domestic workers;

- violence against domestic workers;
- women's work;
- trade unionism among domestic workers;
- domestic workers globally; and
- case studies conducted on domestic workers.

One of the biggest challenges facing researchers in the field of domestic work is the limited pool of literature on domestic workers. As a result, some of the studies that have been used to compile the preceding scholarship review are dated. It is however, important to include these studies in spite of the dates that they were conducted. Although this body of work forms an important base for beginning to conceptualise the socialisation process of domestic workers, much research is still needed in order to understand the socialisation processes that domestic workers undergo in other regions of South Africa and globally.

The ANC Women's League (1993) highlights the challenges that African women faced from the inception of the Bantu women's league in 1918. The struggle continues for the African women and the challenges that they face have far reaching impacts for the generations that will follow.

### 2.3. THE SOCIALISATION PROCESS

In an attempt to address the research needs, this study will focus on the socialisation experiences of the female African domestic worker, as a girl child, to whenever possible, encourage participants to describe their lived childhood experiences. It will provide important data in understanding the socialisation process that the domestic workers undergo during the primary and secondary years of their lives. The value of this research lies with the stories and experiences of the domestic workers themselves. It attempts to give a detailed account of the socialisation processes that these women undergo before they arrive in the role of domestic worker within the urban centre.

Theories of socialisation by Berger & Luckmann (1991) are used in order to substantiate the thesis that domestic workers end up in their occupational role as a result of the socialisation process that they undergo as girl children within the home of their parents/caregivers/guardians. This theoretical framework on socialisation will be discussed in detail in the theoretical framework chapter of this study. What follows is not a critique of the socialisation process of female African domestic workers, but an understanding of socialisation as it manifests in the lives of domestic workers.

### 2.3.1 The Argument

The argument that this study promotes is that African women are socialised in a patriarchal environment that leads them to arrive in the role of domestic worker in the households of middle class families in general. The argument advanced is tentative and exploratory. It offers a broad overview. Much more detailed research is needed to fill in the outlines. There are four components to the argument.

- (i) African women employed as domestic workers in the Durban Metro Region (KwaZulu-Natal) are subject to a gender bias socialisation process that leads them to arrive in the occupational role of domestic worker.
- (ii) African women suffer a double oppression, they are victims of a patriarchal socialisation and, once integrated into mainstream society, they fall victim to the urban concept of patriarchy within the broader South African society.
- (iii) They are also victims of racial inequalities, such as the migrant labour system, class and poverty within the South African context.
- (iv) African women remain a vulnerable group as a result of their socialisation experiences due to a convergence between socialisation and domestic work.

## 2.4 PREVIEW

The issue of domestic work and the socialisation of the female African girl child has not been tackled directly by academics or researchers. To illustrate this, a brief overview of topics and issues covered both nationally and internationally, is provided. It is important that the issue of domestic work and socialisation is addressed to create new knowledge.

The accumulated scholarship in the social sciences, humanities, gender studies and law include the following elements;

- definitions of domestic workers;
- definitions of socialisation;
- different theories, models and hypotheses in the field of domestic work research;
- measuring instruments (questionnaires) that have been developed to measure domestic workers within the South African context, located within a qualitative methodological framework; and
- studies (both local and international) that have been conducted on domestic workers form the major part of the research (Mouton, 2001: 87).

The scholarship is limited in that it has not;

- pinpointed the childhood experiences and/or socialisation patterns of domestic workers within the South African context or any other context;
- offered in-depth explanations of domestic workers' arrival in their occupational role; and
- explained the impact and results of their socialisation process within a particular society.

By not including the socialisation process that domestic workers underwent prior to their arrival in the occupational role of domestic worker, scholars have been unable to capitalise on opportunities that contribute to new theoretical understandings of domestic workers.

Sources that have been consulted for the purpose of this scholarship review include an internet search, sabinet search, newspaper articles, popular magazines, journal articles, books, academic studies, conference papers (both published and unpublished), television documentaries and interviews with academics and domestic workers in the field. These sources will be elaborated on later in the study.



### 2.4.1 Defining Domestic Workers

South African researcher Delpont (1995: 4) defines a domestic worker as an “employee who wholly or mainly performs waged domestic labour in the household of the employer.”

Maseko (1991) argues that domestic service is a remnant of the colonial era and has become part of the Zimbabwean lifestyle, a luxury that the middle class is not prepared to sacrifice. The Zimbabwean middle class will continue employing domestic workers as long as their labour is available at cheap rates. Maseko (1991: 30) claims that,

“...the domestic worker may be a girl child who dropped out of school, an unmarried mother who could not fit into the marriage institution, the wife of a poor man or a divorcee or widow who failed to get refuge in the patriarchal system...”

Patil (1999) in ([www.saxakali.com/saxakali-publications/mosess.htm](http://www.saxakali.com/saxakali-publications/mosess.htm)) defines the job of a domestic worker as an age-old tradition. All civilisations as we know them were built on the backbone of domestic labour. These domestic labourers were enslaved, indentured or captured.

Lerner (1999) in ([www.saxakali.com/saxakali-publications/htm](http://www.saxakali.com/saxakali-publications/htm)) argues that the exploitation of domestic workers is believed to have contributed toward class formation

and stratification, which continues to prevail in contemporary society. As societies began to evolve a hierarchy of domestic workers began to develop, these included

“...nannies, housewife, maid, cook, baby sitter, cleaning lady and domestic worker”  
([www.saxakali.com/saxakali-publications/htm](http://www.saxakali.com/saxakali-publications/htm)).

A domestic worker is one who occupies herself exclusively with the personal needs of an employer's family in such a way that this occupation establishes a relationship of personal dependence on the employer (Mc Bride, 1976: 11).

The Basic Conditions of Employment Act 137, defines a domestic worker as;

“an employee charged wholly or mainly with the performance of domestic work on dwelling premises. Gardeners, chauffeurs and persons caring for children, the aged, the sick and the frail are specifically included under this definition” (Act 137 of 1993: 1).

According to Dalla Costa (1999: 19), traditionally domestic service has been the main source of economic activity for women in Brazil. Additions to categories such as cooks, nannies and cleaners, three new categories have come to play an important part in the domestic service sector in Brazil. These categories are based on time of work, type of work and place of residence. He further notes that;

“...the fixed resident, who sleeps on the employer's property, the permanent external worker, who sleeps in her own home, is working fewer hours on the job than the resident, the daily worker, whose work-hours and tasks are more defined and limited. The external workers include both the permanent workers, who work five or six days a week in the same home, and the daily rate workers are contracted for their services from day to day” (Dalla Costa, 1999: 119-120).

In developed countries, such as Canada and the United States, male domestic workers tend to be highly skilled and specialised in the service they provide. The levels of specialisation include domestic workers being employed as a cook, chauffeur, gardener and areas of specialisation along these lines. Female domestic workers are confined to unskilled jobs such as cleaner, washer etc (Mies, 1986: 23-24).

For the purpose of this research a domestic worker will be defined as a female live-in employee who is totally occupied with unskilled labour that ensures the well being of her employer and the family of the employer.

## **2.5 ENTERING DOMESTIC SERVICE**

Du Bois (1990: 34) stresses that it is poor economic and political conditions that lead women to jobs in the domestic services sector, which are, in most cases, marginal jobs. When unemployment levels for males are high, it is not uncommon to see them employed as domestic workers in Africa and South East Asia. When employment levels for men

increase they leave the low paid domestic sector and enter employment with higher pay. This leaves the sector open for women.

According to Meer (1991: 22) women are key workers and producers in a traditional African society. Men are key accumulators and controllers of capital. The key holders of wealth are men, ultimately providing them with a sense of power and control over the women in a traditional African society. When capital, in the form of livestock, was replaced with a currency in African society, the roles of both men and women evolved and African families with age-old cultures and traditions became disjointed. Men began converging on the market place, no longer as accumulators of capital, but as drawers of wage packets in exchange for labour (Meer, 1991: 56).

With apartheid policies and British and Afrikaner domination in South Africa under white administration, Africans began to lose their land and the home arena for women began undergoing dramatic changes. Women began losing their role as workers with no fields to till and housework slowly lost its significance (Meer, 1991: 56). With the shift in labour practises there was a clear change in gender role dynamics. Men left home to go into the labour market and returned with wage packets. Women were dependent on the handouts from their male counterparts, making them more dependant on men and completely subordinated to them (Meer, 1991: 31). Men and later women were absent from home for long periods of time only returning for short periods with small amounts of money that could not sustain the rural households. The rural areas were clearly under-resourced with little left for women to sustain their families (Meer, 1991: 31).

The survival of families was now on the shoulders of the women left behind in rural areas. This forced women into the labour market into low or unskilled labour. Apartheid wage packets for domestic workers were poor and women were forced to accept the little that they earned. They entered the labour market at its lowest rungs as cleaners, office assistants and makers of tea, carriers of mail, domestic workers and messengers.

They also entered the household of many white madams as domestic workers, nannies, cooks, child minders, babysitters and significant others. Domestic work remains the hardest work with the longest hours and the poorest pay (Meer, 1991: 45). Domestic work subjects women to further oppression and increases their load, even though it enables women to gain some income to cater for the family and gain a sense of economic independence. The domestic service sector serves as a means of entering into the urban labour force for rural migrants.

The establishment of homelands during the apartheid era were characterised by poverty, overcrowding, poor services and poor access to new markets. These factors pushed women to urban areas to work as domestics in order to earn a living (Barret, 1985: 123). Due to the poor living conditions in rural areas, women are forced to leave children behind with surrogate caregivers in order to make a living, support their families and improve living conditions for their children (Cock 1984: 222).

According to Van Onselen (1982) in the late 1800s and early 1900s men dominated domestic work. The "*African peril*" was defined as the instances of child harassment and

sexual assaults on white women. This led to the incorporation of women into domestic work in the Witwatersrand.

The "*African peril*" saw more and more male domestics being replaced with female domestic workers in an attempt to allay fears of sexual assault. Van Onselen (1982: 13-17) also points out that it was at this time that African men were needed on the mines and women from the rural areas began to move to the urban centres in search of employment. These women filled the gap left behind by male domestic workers.

According to Lemon (1991: 13-16) historically, Africans have always entered white households as domestic workers. Due to Africans not being able to purchase property, domestic workers were housed in domestic quarters on the property of their employers. In the early 1980s there was a shift away from multiple domestic workers to one domestic worker. It is only the continued reliance on African women as child minders that have ensured the perpetual presence of African women in white or middle class suburbs.

### 2.5.1 Why Domestic Work?

“...domestic service is often the only way out of poverty for African women and not a career anyone chooses willingly” (The Natal Witness, Pietermaritzburg, 16 August 2002: 1-3).

In an attempt to address the question of why women enter domestic work, several interpretations and explanations were put forward. Domestic work is clearly a strategy of survival for poor, unskilled African women from rural areas (Cock, 1988: 313). Domestic workers have been an inherent part of life for South Africa's middle class families for generations (Cock, 1984: 1). They constitute one of the largest sectors of paid employment for African women (Cock, 1984: 3).

Black (1983: 78) argues that in Glasgow, women that had not been previously employed, due to economic dependence on their spouses, entered domestic labour when economic dependence came to an end. These women often included widows or unmarried women. The labour they provided was cheaply available because of the low status assigned to domestic chores.

Pallis (1983: 56) explains that women in the Antilles are exposed to super exploitation and oppression as a result of the prevailing economic order of capitalism. Women constitute a large reserve of unskilled labour and as a result of high rates of unemployment they are forced to enter domestic work at very low rates.

Nash (1986: 33) reveals that women in general, find themselves presented with poor opportunities in the world of work as a result of their lack of competitiveness compared to their male counterparts. It is as a direct result of this that they find themselves situated at the lowest rung of the occupational ladder i.e. domestic work or cheap unskilled labour.

Hyndley's (1989: 220) study reflects that domestic service was the main source of employment for women well into the twentieth century due to the unskilled nature of the work. The author highlights the low status of housework and as such draws a link with low paid domestic labour performed by women.

Aslanbeigui's (1994: 5) study on women workers in Chile highlights that women are drawn into domestic labour as a result of poor living conditions and economic necessity. This occupation, in particular, is considered a form of underemployment as a result of the poor pay received.

Grau's (1997: 29) study on domestic workers in Latin America reflects that in 1979 half of all female workers in the urban centre were employed as domestic workers. Domestic workers are drawn from poor unskilled female women that have moved from rural to urban areas in search of employment.



### 2.5.2 Domestic Work Is Women's Work

The housework in traditional subsistence societies, particularly African societies, was clearly the role and responsibility of women. This is defined as “largely women’s work” (Meer, 1991: 34). In South Africa, domestic work is predominantly an African female responsibility (Cock, 1984: 70). Domestic workers are driven into their occupational roles in order to support their dependants and, in the process, find themselves neglecting their own families (Cock, 1980: 85).

According to Bernstein (1985: 47) the domestic sphere is defined as the natural place for a woman. Despite occupations outside the home, women are still largely responsible for domestic chores within their own homes in a patriarchal society, so they are trained with the knowledge and skills to execute these tasks.

Harris (1981: 15) provides a historical overview of women's work. The author states that the type of work that women engage in, varies according to their social class and status in a particular society. It is both for biological and social reasons that women have been excluded from paid labour for the larger part of their working lives. Harris asserts that,

“...the lady was defined in reference to her father or husband, dependence was assured.” It is evident that it was not deemed necessary for a woman to engage in paid labour (Harris, 1981: 23).

Wilson's (1981: 2) main argument is that domestic service and sweating could be defined as extensions of women's homemaking activities. Domestic workers are drawn largely from poor immigrants, which are among the poorest wage earners in Canada. According to Safilios & Rothschild (1974: 55) the tasks of cooking, washing and cleaning have been historically considered as women's work. She mentions that men feel less masculine when they engage in household chores. The low status that is allocated to domestic work is linked largely to the unpaid nature of work in their own homes. Women have traditionally executed household chores in exchange for economic support from their male counterparts.

Kanhere's (1987: 77-79) study reveals that the belief that domestic work is feminine work was so deeply ingrained in the mindset of both men and women that it is rigorously followed and very rarely violated. Domestic work is seen as an extension of a woman's household responsibility (Roberts, 1995: 114). This is a direct result of the clear delineation between roles assigned to men and those assigned to women within the private sphere.

O Connell (1994) states that it is mainly women who engage in domestic work and it has a very low status assigned to it. The division of labour between men and women can vary from society to society, however domestic work is primarily the women's responsibility.

"...some women vigorously defend their roles, as the household is the realm in which they exercise considerable authority and expertise. Young boys and men are discouraged from taking on domestic tasks or jobs" (O Connell, 1994: 47).

Men are trained from infancy within the family unit to depend on women for basic needs of food and comfort. This can be attributed to socialisation and the stages that children undergo. According to Delport (1995: 252-253) within the local environment, female-headed households are poorer than male-headed households as a direct result of employment opportunities between the genders and pay disparities between men and women are continually widening (Delport, 1995: 37). This emanates from the premise that men are responsible for supporting the household, while women are traditionally regarded as secondary breadwinners within the traditional family.

### **2.5.3 Exploitation**

Grant (1997: 61) argues that the continued vulnerability of women in the domestic sector has layers of colonial and racial oppression to blame. Unions and the law have still to protect domestic workers against some of the most exploitative labour practices in the workplace of the home.

Cock's 1984 study on the politics of exploitation is one of the most important studies on domestic workers in South Africa. Its appeal lies not only with academics but also with a larger audience base the world over. Her study is an infusion of both academic writings

as well as experiences of domestic workers that make for interesting reading and appeals to a wider audience. Her study is broad, yet comprehensive at the same time. There are three major components to her study.

A total of 225 interviews were conducted providing an insight into the lives of domestic workers in the Eastern Cape (Cock, 1984: 6). Domestic workers are situated at the convergence of three lines along race, class and sex (Cock, 1984: 1). They are subject to extreme exploitation and are denied favourable working conditions. According to Cock (1984), lack of educational opportunities, influx control and alternative employment options for African women trap them in domestic work (Cock, 1984: 13).

Domestic workers perceived themselves as slaves. Two arguments frequently used by employers to justify the low wage that was paid to domestic workers, include the lack of skills of the domestic worker and the payment in kind received from the employer. This included accommodation and food that the employer provides for the domestic worker (Cock, 1984: 31). In her theoretical analysis (Cock, 1984: 15-16) draws on sociology in which she states,

"... the individual can only be understood in terms of her location in a social context." She states that Marxism helps to address the "problem of mystification and avoid the limitations of both idealism and empiricism" (Cock, 1984: 10).

She focuses on the means of production and theories of labour. Some of the theorists that guide her research in addition to Marx include Rubin (1975) and Poulantzas (1973).

Theories that focus on domestic workers are sensitive to the triple oppression of race, class and gender. Cock 1984's theoretical approach does reflect one element of similarity to the study.

African women are the primary unit of analysis in the study, yet race is also an important component and needs to be recognised. With the majority of domestic workers in South Africa being black African women, it makes sense to adopt these units of analyses. In addition to this a theoretical framework more suitable to the study, has been formulated.

Cock's 1984 methodology included a combination of methods. Her initial step was a search of historical sources that were available at a local library in the Eastern Cape. She then went on to engage in participant observation in the homework setting. An analysis of existing research and literature on domestic workers followed. A random sample survey was also used (Cock, 1984: 17). The most effective procedure was the use of semi-structured interview questionnaires. She states that this method allows for a great deal of spontaneity from the respondent, while at the same time allowing for comparison from one respondent to the next. To avoid forced responses, she kept some of the questions open-ended (Cock, 1984: 17-18). Although she utilised a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methodology it is evident that the majority of her research was based on a quantitative approach. Cock's research methods were deliberately varied and combined several methods to ensure the highest level of accuracy in her study.

In a study on the *law and disadvantaged, exploited workers*, with a special focus on South African domestic workers, Samela (1993: 22-24) reviews different legal perspectives and legislation concerning the exploitation of domestic workers. He argues that domestic workers, along with farm workers, were always excluded from the process of negotiation, alienating them and excluding them from the Basic Conditions of Employment Act. His research highlights racial segregation laws and the role that it played in subjugating domestic workers within South Africa. He emphasises that the racial laws have contributed largely to the degeneration of family life and family values within the African South African community. Findings from the Samela (1993) report showed that 14% of the women worked as domestic workers because they enjoyed it as an occupation. Lack of other opportunities seemed to be another reason provided by the participants in the study. For example, 34% of the respondents said it was easier to find work as a domestic worker than in other occupational fields, and 37%, felt they had inadequate skills for other types of work (Samela, 1993: 13-27). It appears that most domestic workers do not have a choice with regard to their occupational role. His methodology was a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods, he utilised the law extensively and focused on the legal framework in South Africa.

Mc Neil (1989: 32) examines the obstacles that prevent domestic work being challenged as an occupation with low status and poor pay. Her study is in line with feminist research methodology. The study makes use of qualitative methods;

"with the purpose of gaining more understanding of the individual women...rather than a statistical analysis of domestic workers." In her research the case study method was used "...whereby a selection of experiences, conditions, views and approaches of domestic workers are arrived at" (Mc Neil, 1989: 85).

Her research methodology bears a great deal of similarity to the methodology that will be adopted for this research. The interview schedule that she constructed included both open-ended and close-ended questions. Her key argument is that domestic work can only be challenged and altered as a political issue when broader issues of exploitation are addressed. The key issues are power, privilege and the status of domestic workers together with the legal system that binds them to conditions of exploitation, subordination and subjugation.

According to Patil (1999) in ([www.saxali.com](http://www.saxali.com)) domestic workers still remain the most disadvantaged group of workers even when they migrate for jobs in other countries. They work under difficult conditions and their status does not change. They are paid below the minimum wage (\$ 100 or less per month), become victims of practices like human trafficking, limited to mobility and interacting with other people. They are exposed to psychological, sexual and physical abuse ([www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)).

In a study by Altkind (1995: 12) the author examines *the plight of female migrant workers*. Women all over the world are victims of human trafficking by organised syndicates. They are driven by a desire to embark on a career and escape grinding

poverty. The author portrays how women are exploited and trapped into domestic labour. They find themselves in a foreign country with little or no help to escape the situation that they are in. They are often drawn into domestic labour under false pretences.

The *Human Rights Watch Report* (1995: 274-306) highlights the plight of domestic workers in Kuwait, making reference to the origin of the problems and the patterns of abuse inflicted on domestic workers. One of the key sections of the report focuses on the illegal employment practises that domestic workers engage in as a result of poor living conditions. The report also highlights that most women workers are likely to be abused within the work environment because of their gender, class and immigration status. They are also victims because of a combination of the above factors.

Kedijana (1990:39) provides an analysis of violence against domestic workers within the South African context. Family violence is now being extended and beginning to affect the domestic worker that is employed by the family. Not only are domestic workers victims of violence and verbal abuse, they also fall victim to sexual abuse by both male and female employers.

In a study by Friguglietti (1989: 23) the research findings reflect that domestic workers are incapable of exercising assertive behaviour as a result of their cultural background and the remnants of domination that existed over them. As a result women continue to be exploited and subjugated. Duncan (1977: 88-92) refers to the suffrage of African workers within the apartheid era. The author discussed why levels of exploitation continue to rise



among African workers. African workers cannot afford to lose their jobs as this will result in their families starving. It is out of economic necessity that the impoverished African worker cannot risk losing his/her job by demanding better pay and working conditions.

Whisson and Weil's (1971: 32) Cape Town based study on domestic workers presented a compilation of quantitative findings on wage levels, hours of work and wage increases. The study began to unpack the concept of domestic work in relation to race. The problem area in this study was that domestic workers were not interviewed. The study was limited in that it only presented the viewpoint of the employer with assumptions being made about domestic workers who left their employ (Whisson & Weil, 1971: 56).

## **2.6 LOCAL STUDIES**

In a legal study on domestic workers in South Africa, Delport (1995: 3) examines the legal rules, which regulate the relationship between the domestic worker and the employer. She also carefully constructs an analysis of domestic workers and their legal position in countries like Zimbabwe, Swaziland and Tanzania. She examines the domestic worker at the convergence of three lines along which inequality is generated and perpetuated. These include gender, race and class. The author argues that domestic workers, in essence, are a socially isolated and fragmented workforce. As a result this impedes their unionisation. She further sets out to extrapolate on domestic service within a social and historical process, thereby offering a comprehensive understanding of the

sector. The author's discussion on the household as a production unit, results in the finding of an emergent conflict between the higher wage earner and the domestic worker. Her study is a clear indication that there can be no hope for effective legislative reform in the domestic service sector unless large socio-economic obstacles can be overcome.

Gaitskell's (1990) research looks at domestic work as the duty of a Christian woman. She explores this ideology as part of missionary instruction. She utilises a qualitative methodological approach and focuses on theory of religion and production (Gaitskell, 1990: 78). Her theoretical analysis of domestic work reflects how race, class and gender are inextricably linked. She claims that domestic work has a particular class and race component in it (Gaitskell, 1990: 33). This by the fact that the job is labour intensive and relatively unskilled. The gender component is evident by the fact that it is performed largely by women the world over.

Preston-Whyte (1969: 76) analyses the working life, social ties and interpersonal relationships of African women/ migrant labourers in the domestic service sector in the Durban Metro Region. Her study unravels the personal lives of domestic workers, their leisure time activities, formal associations and income. Preston-Whyte's study provides a detailed analysis of domestic workers employed in white households. Although the study is dated, it provides a useful introduction to the plight of domestic workers at the height of the apartheid era (Preston- Whyte, 1969: 76). Her 1969 study is important for its urban and rural analysis. Urbanisation presented African women with great challenges, such as the pass law campaigns. They were restricted from finding employment in the urban

centre based on the passes that they were required to apply for and carry at all times. The author continues to extrapolate on this while scholars such as Van Onselen (1982), Boddington (1983) and Cock (1984), pay much less attention to the rural past of domestic workers (Preston Whyte, 1969: 39-45).

Her research reflects both quantitative and qualitative methods. Preston-Whyte's (1969) study utilised a variety of research methods. The method utilised in the fieldwork was a combination of interviews and participant observation. These were supplemented with group discussions. She also administered questionnaires to both employer and employee.

Boddington's (1983: 17) study utilises a historical materialist approach. Class is the primary unit of analysis for understanding domestic work. She rejects the use of patriarchy in any analysis of domestic work. Domestic workers need to align themselves based on class as opposed to gender. Domestic service is an example of class oppression and not women's oppression (1983: 7-13). Boddington's theoretical arguments are not convincing enough that her exclusion of gender from her theoretical analysis is justified. Domestic work, although once dominated by men, is now exclusively the domain of the African female (Schreiner, 1975:45).

## 2.7 INTERNATIONAL STUDIES

Romero's (2002) qualitative study *Maid in the USA*, on female Chicana/Mexicana domestic workers utilises extensive oral life histories. Her sample constitutes twenty-five domestic workers residing in Colorado, in the United States of America. She provides a theoretical framework upon which the lives of the domestic workers can be interpreted. The focus is on a social-structural and Marxist analysis of domestic work in an advanced capitalist society. She provides a thorough socio-historical and theoretical analysis of the historical development and transformations over the time of unpaid domestic work by women within the context of family relations (Garcia, 1994 in [www.findarticles.com](http://www.findarticles.com)).

She argues that "domestic service accentuates the contradictions of race and class in feminism, with privileged women of one class using the labour of other women to escape aspects of sexism" (Romero, 2002:15). Fuelled by an ideology of racial prejudice which was consistently reinforced by educational segregation Romero argues that this relationship is shaped by a racial hierarchy in which employers place domestic women of colour in a subordinate status.

Turner (1998: 18-19) study looks at women and work. In her study she focuses on Poland, France, USA, Sweden and China. The objective of the study was to draw attention to the plight of women's poor working conditions and status in the above mentioned countries as domestic workers. Brah (2002: 14-16) deals with the question of the re-emergence of the domestic worker in Europe. The study seeks to explain the

establishment of an informal labour market in the private sector. It also attempts to raise relevant questions for gender studies. He provides a detailed analysis of contemporary feminist theory. Butler (1916) documented information on domestic service and inquiry by the Women's Industrial Council in the United Kingdom. The study details aspects of domestic employment. These include the personal aspect, wage, organisation and employer and employee relations in the early 1900s. This was reflective of quantitative study with the use of surveys. The theory was grounded in work and production.

In Oakley's (1985: 34) American publication on *women's work*, she examines the history and nature of housework as an unpaid occupation. She provides a critical analysis of housework and women's roles within society and the family unit. Her study is useful in contextualising the historical role of women's labour. Katzman's (1981: 12-16) study on domestic workers in the United States looks at the influences of status, race, ethnicity and sex as more salient features in domestic work. Her study looks at immigrant and black domestic workers' conditions. Migrant domestic workers, especially the live-in migrant workers, are a group of workers that are oppressed in the United States of America. They are involved in the traditionally designated jobs (private sphere), that is accorded less government recognition. Their work as caregivers and housekeepers reflect the undervalued nature of women's work in society. They face isolation due to their lack of experience in understanding local laws, culture and customs. They lack communication with their families and their status depends on employment visas. They are forced to withstand the harsh conditions as they fear losing their jobs and/or their immigration status. Stone (1999) in (<http://www.hrw.org/reports/usaid>) points out that the labour

...ect migrant domestic workers. They are exposed to different forms of  
 ..., including physical and sexual abuse.

Jones' (1995: 19) study looks at women who were brought to America as slaves. She locates women's work within two distinct spheres; these include slaves and wage earners. Her study seeks to unravel changes in patterns of African women's work as slaves and wage earners (domestic workers) from 1830 to the present time. Palmer (1989) looks at American women (1989: 34) and examines the cultural norms that lead women to take on tasks of domestic labour while delegating demeaning tasks to domestic workers, who were women of colour. Palmer (1989) questions why women look to new technology and domestic workers, to meet the cultural demands placed on them to be the "perfect housewife" as opposed to drawing on help from their husbands. Despite the entry of women into the workforce outside the home, women continue to bare sole responsibility for housework and childcare.

Rowbotham (1986: 70) explains that post WWII in the United States, saw women returning to the home from paid employment and men returning to paid employment, thereby replacing women in paid employment. This created rising tensions between men and women at several social and economic levels. Women were forced to return to their pre-war occupations and domestic roles. This resulted in the strengthening of women's politicisation and a keen interest in the women's movement the world over Nelson (1999) in ([www.colorado.edu/communications/media-discourses/](http://www.colorado.edu/communications/media-discourses/) paper).

Oakley's (1985) study on the sociology of housework in Great Britain was the first of its kind. Prior to her study, the sociology of housework had been largely neglected in its academic form. The three main conclusions of her study reflect that the working hours of housewives were considerably long. In addition, the large majority of her participants in the study were dissatisfied with housework. Finally she states;

“...that the oft-attributed discontent of the working class women was nothing but a tendentious myth.” (Oakley, 1985: viii)

## **2.8 LEGALITY**

Bassons (1993) Cape Town study provides a legal spectrum of employing domestic workers. The author includes important issues such as the appointment of domestic workers, terms of employment, wage, working hours, leave, dismissal, legal action, safety in the home and trade unionism. The author also includes important service contract documentation required when employing a domestic worker. His study was reflective of a document study, utilising a qualitative approach. In a 1973 South African study by Gordon (1973: 22) the author contextualises the cultural background of the domestic worker. The handbook provides a guide for employers of domestic workers. The book is important in building important and equitable working relationships between the employer and employee. Her study was reflective of a document study. The publication took the form of an information handbook to which employers could refer to, ensuring equitable treatment of their domestic workers.

### 2.8.1 Trade Unions and Other Movements

Martens (1994: 66) highlight the government's position and attitude in Brazil towards the unions as a major hindrance to the success of domestic workers. Movements that aim at making domestic workers recognised face challenges. Activists in Brazil were arrested while trying to forward the workers' needs. This implies that the government gives less or no recognition to the role and conditions of domestic workers. According to Martens (1994: 28) domestic workers are considered as a group of employees though the nature of their employment limits their level of communication like other workers. Various countries have come up with ideas for forming trade unions for domestic workers. In instances where unions for domestic workers have recruited women, such as the Namibian Domestic Workers Union, (70% women), they have given women power, an identity as workers, have challenged the male dominance and gained equality (Martens, 1994: 99). Though young domestic workers view the job with the prevailing economic conditions (Martens, 1994: 67) the unions have paved the way for obtaining rights such as the right to organise, maternity leave, minimum wages, pension and a period of time for job termination.

The ATABAL Collective in Mexico, geared by the feminist movement aimed at fighting for the social recognition of the value of domestic service and social and political rights of domestic workers, is another. The movement raised domestic workers' awareness of the need to defend their rights and interests and was done through support and training programmes (Martens, 1994: 132). Through the unions, it has been noted that domestic



work has a gender dimension and women are the majority in the domestic service. Out of 60,000 persons in domestic service registered by the unions, only 2 % were men. Though it offers women an opportunity to enter into the labour market, it does not prepare them for future prospects and they remain rooted in unemployment and poverty. Some women lack knowledge of the existing trade unions while others do not know the role and the function of the trade unions (Martens et al, 1994: 112).

In an article by Nyman (1997), the author examines the closure of the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU) and looks at alternate ways of organising domestic workers. SADWU was faced with difficult challenges at the outset, because domestic workers were not covered by basic labour legislation (Corbett, 1988:121). SADWU was responsible for dealing with all cases on an individual basis. Over the years many cases were resolved by SADWU by appealing to the humanity of employers of domestic workers in South Africa. The union also played a pivotal role in bringing the plight of domestic workers to the fore and to the attention of the then, department of manpower. SADWU's paid up membership was on a continual decline and as a result ultimately lead to the collapse of the union servicing domestic workers (Nyman, 1997: 34). The efforts of SADWU culminated in a march on Saturday the 9 March 1990. It was a first for domestic workers organising and collectively addressing exploitation in the sector. The domestic workers targeted the Mayfair, Fordsburgh and Brixton areas in Johannesburg. They marched displaying their demands on placards. These included "a minimum wage of R 400 per month, a 46 hour working week, the right to receive visitors in our rooms, decent accommodation, extension of the Basic Conditions of Employment Act and

Labour Relations Act to cover domestic workers, decent maternity UIF and pension benefits” (Kgositsile, 1990).

There was a varied response from employers to the demonstration. While some employers were sympathetic to the plight of the domestic workers, others chanted racial slogans in response to the demands made by domestic workers (De Villiers, 1995:16).

O Connell (1994) looks at La Casa Hogar de la Trabajadora Domestica, a civil association set up by three domestic workers who identified a need to bring all domestic workers in Mexico under one banner. The organisation was the first of its kind in Mexico. The aim of the organisation was to improve women’s working conditions and make them aware of their rights as workers. A study of 75 domestic workers was conducted over a number of years. Domestic work was not ranked as an occupational role of choice for any of the participants in the study (O Connell, 1994: 1-16). Filipino migrant domestic workers formed the Interactive Forum Theatre Workshops.

Madrone (1994) in ([www.madrone.com/Home-ed/hs28.htm](http://www.madrone.com/Home-ed/hs28.htm)).

This created a platform for women to identify the oppressive practices they were exposed to and the possible solutions to the problems. Through the theatre forum, women were able to gain skills, especially assertive skills, that improved their ability to negotiate with the employers (<http://www.iwa.org/News/AthensNews.htm>).

Cosentino's (1982: 17) study is an exploration of performing arts and culture in the Mende Village on the "domeisia", the defiant maid. The portrayals represent the relationship between the defiant maid and the stubborn farmer. Cosentino draws on both structuralism and communication theory to challenge the ideology that traditional societies are "close societies". His literary piece epitomises the struggle between the oppressors and the oppressed in the form of the maid and the farmer (Cosentino, 1982: 13-17).

Craik's (1988: 18) play is a depiction of the relationship between maid and madam in the upper crust of European society. The play also depicts the hardship that the domestic worker undergoes as a result of her occupational role.

### **2.8.2 Education**

Pietila (1990: 1-17) points out in her study conducted in London that traditionally, within the household, women are supplementary earners. They lack bargaining power and present themselves in the form of cheap labour. The paramount issue related to the poor salaries is lack of education and training. Women, as a result, are forced to enter into domestic labour.

In an article by Budlender (1997: 37) the author critically reviews public spending as it affects and reaches the poorest African majority, African women. Her study reflects that 50% of employed African women were working in elementary or unskilled occupations,

such as cleaning, garbage collection and farm work in Africa. This is reflective of the non-investment of capital in African women from historically disadvantaged areas. Women find that they are faced with few opportunities and resort to selling the only skills that they possess. These skills find employment in the domestic sector as domestic workers (Meer, 1998: 38). Domestic workers remain a vulnerable occupational group in the labour market, being forced to work under harsh conditions because they lack alternative career choices. They are less recognised, lack understanding and knowledge of their rights because of the high rates of illiteracy among them (Moen, 1981: 65-68). They emerge from a pool of poor, illiterate women the world over (Roberts, 1983: 17).

Women who engage in domestic work find themselves lacking in skills, which prevent them from entering the formal sector (Cock, 1984: 313). Domestic work is considered a main form of employment for African women, who have poor levels of education (Mies, 1986: 98). Many domestic workers originate from families that could not afford to educate their children as a result of apartheid's poor wage structures for African people, more especially the wage structure for African women.

Racial segregation is a key factor as to why African people are poorly educated in South Africa. According to Verwoed, the then Minister of Native Affairs in South Africa, Bantu education was designed to ensure the inferiority of the African person.

“I will reform education so that the native will be taught from childhood that equality with Europeans is not for them. What is the use of teaching a Bantu child mathematics when he cannot use it in practise” (Samela, 1993: 3).

According to Harris (1981:15-17), schools excluded women from advanced academic study, as this was deemed unnecessary for the women’s role in society at large.

A poor educational background disadvantaged women and they rarely found jobs in a regulated sector and they resorted to employment in the informal sector. Even though women can be found in regulated sectors, their jobs are clearly prescribed by their gender. Women are engaged in low paid employment, poverty is highest amongst female-headed households. This is a global phenomenon.

However, within this context we seek to explain the situation of the female African domestic worker. The continued economic strength of men is reinforced through employment opportunities and further education for men. Women continue to be disadvantaged, based on their limited education, training and skills. This results in the perpetuation of their low economic status within broader society ([www.saxakali.com/saxakali-Publications/moses.htm](http://www.saxakali.com/saxakali-Publications/moses.htm)). It is against this backdrop and under these very difficult conditions that the female African domestic worker is located.

Education is deemed more important for boys than it is for girls. Within the traditional patriarchal system it is believed that the boy will take care of his ageing parents while the

girl will be married and move to enrich the lives of her husband's family (Du Bois, 1990: 80).

In Cambodia, research has shown that child domestic workers (girls) have a higher rate of illiteracy compared to boys. Families choose to send boys to school while girls are channelled into domestic work ([www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5/](http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5/)).

In Pakistan, while boys are sent to school, girls are kept at home in preparation for marriage from the early age of 12 ([www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5/girl.child-e.html](http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5/girl.child-e.html)). Domestic work is one of the few sources of employment for women with little or no formal education in Mexico. The flexibility of low paid domestic work allows women to enter and leave the sector based on family responsibilities. This is largely due to the high demand for domestic workers in Mexico (O Connell, 1994: 56).

Evelyn Molefe was forced to leave school in the middle of standard four. Her father believed that it was not necessary for girls to receive an education. The study reveals that several women were interviewed, all relaying a similar story about an incomplete education and a lack of skills. Domestic work, in the opinion of those interviewed, was the only option available to them (Barret, 1985: 56-57).

In an article, De Villiers (1995: 33-39), general secretary of SADWU, highlights how she spent her life juggling the demands of her commitment to the struggle and her home life. She was born in Grabouw in the Western Cape and was one of nine children. Her father's

motivation to educate his children resulted in the family moving to Hawston. It was in Hawston that she attended the Anglican missionary school. She successfully completed standard six but as a result of poor financial resources she was forced to secure employment in Cape Town. She was employed as a domestic worker.

According to Barret (1985: 89), African women found themselves poorly educated. Male father figures did not deem education necessary for young girls. As a result, African women were forced to enter the job market as domestic workers due to poor levels of education and lack of skills outside the domestic arena. They saw themselves as trained in the household (socialisation) and, as such, executing the tasks of a domestic worker was one of the few options available to these women. Domestic workers come from poor rural families that have not had equal educational opportunities in South Africa. It is as a result of this that African women are forced to enter domestic labour, out of financial necessity and poverty citing domestic work as a skill or area of training received within the childhood household (Robertson & Berger, 1986: 76).

### **2.8.3 Patriarchy**

According to O Connell (1994: 113-114), patriarchy emanates from the division of labour within the basic unit of the family and is extended into broader society. This patriarchal process confines women to the domestic arena and frees male counterparts in various ways. They are freed to go out and seek paid employment, in addition to leisure activities. The economic power that is gained as a result of the paid employment frees them from

the daily drudgery of household maintenance and childcare. The lack of economic power of the woman within the household ensures that she is further subjugated and remains powerless within the relationship and confined to the household (Burman & Reynolds, 1986:45).

There are two aspects to women's domination; one is the objective fact of their domination and the other, their subjective experience of that domination (Meer, 1991: 12). The historic notion that women were seen under the guardianship of their fathers and later on in life guardianship was handed over to their husbands or sons is still prevalent. In the event of the death of the husband, in a traditional African patriarchal society such as South Africa, the eldest son takes on the role as head of the household irrespective of his age (Meer, 1991: 14).

Throughout history, women have been defined within the context of patriarchal roles as mothers, wives, daughters and sisters. Women are only seen through their traditional patriarchal maternal role. In order to end the present patriarchal tyranny within the family, it is argued that it is necessary to reintroduce democracy and equity for women (Turok, 1986: 88). Due to the patriarchal nature of society, women reinforce a patriarchal ideology among their off-spring. The patriarchal relations ingrained within the family institution and the conflict within the family's gender relations, is usually attributed to the influence of external forces undermining the sanctified family unit (Beal, 1982: 45).



Through the social networks, which bond them together and provide assistance in fulfilling their responsibility for the social reproduction of the household, women are able to organise around issues relating to their daily practical needs. (Malos, 1980: 34).

However, by drawing upon the traditional family structure as the basis for their struggles, domestic workers face the danger of fostering an "intensely conservative ideology" that serves to consolidate the patriarchal nature of gender relations within the family gender regime (Bazzilli, 1991: 165).

Due to patriarchal practices in African rural families, girls are taught responsibilities from a young age, such as caring for the home. They are also assigned domestic chores, which are often the responsibility of the female in the home. These chores ultimately confine them to the domestic arena, an arena reserved exclusively for women in the rural areas within a traditional setting, not only in South Africa but the world over (Mc Neil, 1989: 104).

Grant's (1997: 18) study on the profile of domestic workers in South Africa reflects that 89% of domestic workers in South Africa are black African women. The study adopted a triangulation method of both qualitative and quantitative methodology. The domination of patriarchy within the traditional family unit, allocated men and women very specific gender roles. These roles prepare men and women for the broader role that they will fulfil in society at large. Traditionally women are prepared for homemaking and child rearing while men are prepared to enter the labour market. Women, more often than not in patriarchal societies, are forced to carry the burden of holding the family unit together. Their

lives are structured and geared towards the family unit and, as such, they are not geared, skilled or trained to be employed in order to obtain an income (Beinart & Bundy, 1987:78).

Hallissy's (1993: 10-19) study contextualises women's traditional and cultural roles in society. In so doing, he portrays the women's eternal linkage to men from birth to death. Women are born into families and under the guardianship of fathers until marriage when they fall under the guardianship of their husbands. This patriarchal ideology is prevalent even in the most progressive of societies. This is evident with the father or a male figure walking the bride down the aisle and handing her over to the groom. This is symbolic of the handing over of guardianship. Cock (1984: 78) reinforces the powerlessness of the domestic worker within a patriarchal society. The relationship between the domestic worker and the employer is relatively paternalistic; it generates a sense of power over the employee by the employer. This further confines the worker to a position of dependence and powerlessness. Domestic work is a reflection of the patriarchal society that exemplifies the social construction of gender roles, based on physical and reproductive roles and an unequal division of labour in society. Domestic workers represent the segment of workers that are marginalised and oppressed in the labour market (Preston-Whyte, 1969: 107).

## 2.9 THE DIVISION OF LABOUR

Due to the failure of both the state and capital in Africa to intervene in the process through which the African labour force is reproduced (Cock et al, 1986: 68), the work involved in child rearing is usually done without pay by women in the household.

Children are drawn into the division of labour and are usually allocated tasks along lines of gender. The burdens of domestic labour have thus tended to confine women to the domestic sphere where they have been described as being excluded from socially productive work. This immediately enters into the "domestic labour debate" concerning the value of domestic labour and thus is conceptualised as either productive or unproductive labour (Gordon, 1973: 34).

Societal dynamics within the economic sphere have undergone substantial change in the last five decades. It now becomes essential for most women to enter the labour force (Aslanbeigui, 1994: 46).

Raju (1993: 96) explains that the existing socio-cultural constraints place restrictions on women's participation in economic activities outside the family home in South East Asia.

Lalthapersad (2001: 27) examines job segregation within the South African labour market. She supports the argument that gender segregation occurs in all societies and at all levels within societies. This is evident in the allocation of jobs to the different genders

in society. In compliance with traditional roles in society, boys and girls are assigned different tasks (African perspective, 1979:66).

“Young girls are usually responsible for housework and the care of younger siblings when their mother’s work. The allocation of financial resources may also discriminate against girls. They are less likely to be educated. This division of labour in the family invariably affects the occupational choices of women and their income potential” (Lalthapersad, 2001: 12).

Black African women find themselves in an even more difficult situation in that they have the added responsibility of taking care of the elderly. It is as a result of these tasks and expectations of women that they have to choose jobs that will comply with their allocated tasks. Low paying jobs are often characterised by weak unionisation. This, in turn, provides a higher likelihood of women transmitting their deprivation to the children (Lalthapersad, 2001: 31). Lalthapersad (2001: 38-39) states that not all women are unable to sell their labour freely. Unlike men, women are burdened with domestic chores in the home, as well as child rearing. This in turn negatively affects their standing in the job market. The expectation within society at large, that it is still the women’s responsibility to rear children and take care of the home emanates from an age-old patriarchal ideology. Such notions further subjugate women and results in their exploitation levels increasing. Lalthapersad (2001: 66) states that there are limitations in gender and job segregation. She refers to the strong influence that gender has on the labour market, which becomes evident in distinct job allocations to both men and women. These are based on societal

norms and values. Clarke (1974: 48-50) focuses on the economics of masters and domestic workers. The law of supply and demand works in favour of those people in society who possess economic resources. They take advantage of the surplus labour and this result in the exploitation of excess labour.

“In rural communities whose main concern was the provision of food, shelter, clothing and a simple way of life, the domestic worker shared some of the goods of the family and were looked after in a paternalistic manner” (Clarke, 1974: 7).

Clarke adopted a quantitative approach, while his theoretical focus was on production and labour.

In a qualitative study conducted by the Institute for Black Research (IBR) on the urban poor, results from interviews showed that it was more difficult for women to find gainful employment than it was for men. The Durban survey indicates that 69% of the women interviewed held that the man needed jobs more than women did, thereby reinforcing patriarchy (Meer, 1991: 34).

Patil (1999) in ([www.saxakali.com/saxakali-publications/mosess.htm](http://www.saxakali.com/saxakali-publications/mosess.htm)) states that, “There is a strong link between the development of patriarchy and domestic work related to the social construction of gender roles.” The linkages created between patriarchy and domestic work is pivotal to understanding the occupational roles of female Africans.

One of the most fundamental sites of struggles within the family gender regime concerns the division of labour and the process of socialisation. The division of tasks is usually informed by a gender division that defines certain kinds of work as being domestic, unpaid and usually women's work and other type of work outside the home that is paid is usually men's work (Connell, 1987: 122). The structure of the family unit within a pre-capitalist society was based upon a network of extended kinship relations linked by marriage. The extended family was the basic unit of both production and reproduction in which relations were structured according to a hierarchical division along lines of age and gender (Adepoju, 1997: 54-56).

It is important to note that domestic labour is an integral part of the capitalist mode of production in that it produces values necessary for the production and reproduction of labour power (Cock, 1980: 13). Moreover, although domestic labour itself is not commoditised, its value is realised through the exchange of the labour power it produces and reproduces. The recognition of women's labour, within the domestic sphere as being productive, has profound implications for the strategy of women's liberation. It redirects our attention to the patriarchal oppression of the gender order in the home. The gender division of labour has placed the burden of reproduction upon women but it has provided women with an opportunity to increase their power within the gender regime (Lemon, 1991; 49-56). With the advent of the capitalist mode of production, the productive capacity of pre-capitalist modes of production was continually undermined and the extended family unit was brought under siege (Adepoju, 1997: 57).

Mies (1986) explains that cheap or non-wage labour, of which women are victims, is the basis for exploitation within a capitalist economic order. It is within a capitalist economic system that labour becomes cheaper to increase profits and as such women are the greatest victims of this prevalent economic order (Mies, 1986: 17-19).

## 2.10 SOCIALISATION

According to Berger & Luckmann (1991: 149), the individual is not born a member of a society; the individual is born with a predisposition to sociality and becomes a member of society through the socialisation process that she is subject to. Berger & Luckmann's (1991) theoretical approach to socialisation will be dealt with in great detail in the theory chapter of this study. However, in using Berger & Luckmann's (1991) definition of socialisation, no study is complete without the inclusion of other definitions presented by a variety of theorists. Primary socialisation,

“involves society imprinting on the infant and child, thinking, language, perceptions, moral standards, attitudes, aspirations and roles such as man or women" (Kanhere, 1987: 77).

Socialisation is instrumental in reinforcing gender stereotypes within the child or infant. It is through the engagement of primary socialisation that our gender perceptions are developed and our attitudes toward the opposite sex are formed (Kanhere, 1987: 77).

Secondary socialisation “is said to be a lifelong continuation and adaptation of the primary process. It also involves the “internalization of institutional sub worlds” (Kerckhoff, 1972: 103). Secondary socialisation however, is critical to this study because it involves the acquisition of knowledge that is specific to roles rooted in the division of labour (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 158). This will be elaborated on in the analysis section of the study. It is at that juncture that correlations between the research and the scholarship review can be undertaken. Socialisation as a concept, varies from one culture to the next. An example of cultural socialisation is applicable to a society that places value of obedience and conformity (Kanhere, 1987: 56). Every individual, within our global network, man, women or child is born into a specific social culture, class and social environment. These elements all contribute toward the socialisation process that we as individuals undergo from birth to death (Kanhere, 1987: 54).

It is a process whereby people learn and internalise behaviour that is expected of them from society at large. Examples would be how to behave in a place of worship, how to behave as a women and how to behave as a young man (Friguglietti, 1989: 17). In order for society to function with a sense of order, a set of rules needs to be adhered to and followed diligently by all members of the family, group, community, school, institution and society at large. This is achieved through the process of socialisation (Gaitskell, 1982: 74).

Socialisation is a term given to the way people behave in a particular place at a particular time. To do that which is expected of us is to be properly and effectively socialised and



integrated into mainstream society (Gutkind, NA: 71). Socialisation can be deliberate and non-deliberate (O'Brien, 1984: 122). It is deliberate when people are told what to do and how to act. It is non-deliberate when people pick up habits, ideas or values through watching people in their daily activities. According to (Kanhere, 1987: 14-18), socialisation patterns are learnt mainly from other people within the multifaceted areas in society that we are exposed to. Interaction is one of the key learning tools of socialisation. As we watch and interact with other people our behaviour changes or is adapted accordingly. Ideas, attitudes and habits are adopted and developed during the socialisation process.

According to (Berger & Luckmann 1991, 16-18), agents of socialisation are groups or institutions that contribute toward the socialisation process. External socialisation agents outside the home such as school, place of worship and recreational/day-care centres are also becoming increasingly important within a changing society. For the purpose of this research, socialisation will be defined as a process wherein people adopt certain values and learn specific behaviour in relation to the division of labour in society. This learning process will, in turn, ultimately place individuals within specific occupational roles within the broader society in their working lives. This analysis will draw heavily on the theoretical explanations offered by Berger & Luckmann (1991) in their analysis of socialisation. They address socialisation by looking at the social construction of reality.

Children are drawn into the division of labour and are usually allocated tasks along lines of gender. The burdens of domestic labour have thus tended to confine girls/women to the

domestic or private sphere where they have been described as being excluded from socially and economically productive work (Maseko, 1991: 78). Young girls are being socialised and taught their roles that they will be later expected to perform as adults. In an interview by Lawson (1985: 33) a domestic worker stated;

“I did a long apprenticeship for my job. I cooked from when I was a little girl. I did my first dinner at home when I was eight years old. My mother taught me everything. It should be seen as an apprenticeship. Cooking is a skilled job.”

Because domestic work is lowly paid it is often taken on by women that have no other skills or employment opportunities. The conclusion arrived at is that it is women, largely from rural areas, that are in desperate need of wages and housing, that engage in live-in domestic work.

Cock (1980) in ([www.roape.org/cgi-bin/show/2105.html](http://www.roape.org/cgi-bin/show/2105.html)), states that African women domestics are thrown into a situation of dependency by their employers. The author also argues that female employers of domestic workers are dependent on the ‘patriarchal structures of capital’. Cock (1980) begins to explain trends in the reproduction of domestic labour within a capitalist economy, particularly that of South Africa. The racial division of the apartheid regime is further reinforced in the maid and madam relationship, the maid is exploited based on her gender and socialised into a submissive role of domestic worker once she has become employed by her madam. The maid is subject to the whims of her madam, while the madam is subject to the whims of the male head of

the household. This is when the maid becomes subject to western or urban versions of patriarchy. It is always more prestigious for a woman to give birth to a son than it is for her to give birth to a daughter (O'Connell, 1994: 74).

“In a culture that idolises sons and dreads the birth of a daughter, to be born female comes perilously close to being born less than human. The girl child is caught in a web of cultural practises and prejudices that divest her of her individuality and mould her into a submissive self-sacrificing daughter and wife” (O'Connell, 1994: 76).

Girl children are especially vulnerable and impressionable and they are taught certain values and rules within the family and these are learnt, practised, internalised and perpetuated in the broader society. An important component is that this process begins within the household that children come from ([www.thefamily.org/ dossier/ state me](http://www.thefamily.org/dossier/state%20me)).

### **2.10.1 Family Socialisation**

The family has always been identified as the main socialisation agent (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 16-18). It is the first point of contact for the newborn child. It is through the family that young people learn how to interact in broader society (O'Connell, 1994: 40). According to O'Connell (1994: 98), within the family unit into which children are born, they learn the values and cultural norms that apply to both maleness and femaleness in their particular community and society. What they have learnt in the family

unit helps them to relate to people outside the family. Harris (1981: 133) regarded the family unit as the cornerstone of society. It forms the cornerstone for socialisation patterns that will be learnt and internalised and thereby copied by children within the specific environment. Similar to our ancestors, we are socialised within the family unit, irrespective of the form that socialisation might take. The process of socialisation that we all undergo is based on a system of norms, values and acceptable behavioural patterns, transmitted from one generation to the next (Kerckhoff, 1972: 24).

The principal socialising agent in the life of a child is the family. It is through interaction with the family that children learn habits, such as eating, hygiene and general beliefs. They learn about religious concepts and god. Most importantly they learn from the family what it means to be male or female (Bell, 2000:11).

According to Kanhere (1987: 89-102), within traditional families or joint families, the socialisation of boys and girls, child beliefs and practices, were organised on the basis of place, status and roles expected of men and women in the family and society. The paternal joint family system confined the women's role to the domestic arena. Women were allocated a lower status compared to their male counterparts. The practice of sex segregation is an inherent part of daily life. Men were responsible for providing and protecting the family and hence men and women were trained differently based on their roles within the family and in society (Kanhere, 1987: 90).

The roles allocated along gender lines are responsible for gearing both men and women for their place in society when they become key economic contributors. These role allocations train men and women in separate spheres and women are clearly disadvantaged from an early phase of training and development.

The method of socialisation adopted by the African family, which is portrayed as desirable, is considered by feminists to be socially, economically and spiritually negative. Experiences that will ultimately be damaging to the African girl child as she later enters the labour force. The African patriarchal family would do well in evaluating the success of positive gender equal socialisation, particularly with the collapse of apartheid and separate development and the evolution of women's roles in society (Aslanbeigui, 1994: 46).

The changing components within the, once traditional, African family structure and the long lasting impact of the migrant labour system have left women with no choice but to leave the under-resourced rural areas in order to ensure the survival of their children (Hay, 1995: 68). The breakdown of the African family serves neither the interests of capital, nor those interests vested in the gender relations within the family. While a growing number of African women have rejected the patriarchal family, many women have turned to the family structure as a source of security and unit of social organisation (Aslanbeigui, 1994: 67-69).

## 2.11 GENDER AND SOCIALISATION

Women and men have been socialised differently, with more importance being placed on men than on women. This has further impacted on the behaviour of the two in the family and in society at large (Berger, 1986: 16). These relations are reproduced at both an institutional and ideological level. The two levels neatly converge in the process of socialisation. Within the family, "girls are socialised to be obedient to men, respect them and prepare food for them", for the "husband is regarded as the head of the family" and the wife "treated as a minor" (O Connell, 1994: 88). Rotheram (1987: 98), notes the way children are dressed (boys in blue and girls in pink), the different treatments accorded to girls and boys, develop them differently. Boys develop assertive skills and become strong because of the roles and activities they are exposed to, such as sports, masculine toys they play with etc. and girls take up sensitive and submissive positions following the roles they play and the kind of games they engage in. It can be assumed that the stereotypical socialisation practices during childhood reflect in the roles and duties of the domestic workers in society (Rotheram, 1987: 98-103). These are reflected in the job description of the domestic worker. The job largely entails home care, the same responsibility that young girls are given in their childhood homes.

Traditional roles assigned to girls within the family are very clear. Young girls remain confined to the domestic arena. From a very young age they are forced to execute domestic tasks despite protest. Boys are assigned tasks that reflect their manly strength

and as such the division is clearly visible (Du Bois, 1990: 80). The girl child is gravely disadvantaged based on her gender.

“She is disadvantaged and as soon as she is born, she is discriminated against in feeding, attention, clothing and care. It has been noted that mothers give more and more frequently, breastfeeding and pay more attention to male infants. In the same vein, fathers are more interested in their male children; give more food and more attention to them. The family is ready to spend more money on male children, for clothes, schooling, health care and nutrition than on the female children”

(O'Connell, 1994: 76).

Women are the main socialising agents because of the amount of time that they spend with their children. It is their responsibility to preserve and pass on cultural norms from one generation to the next (O Connell, 1994: 40).

The process of socialisation is relative to individual families, cultures and communities in society. Both sex and gender are instrumental in the allocation of roles, status and power within all societies (Kanhere, 1987: 72). Socialisation defines our roles in accordance with our status later on in life. This could be aptly applied to the participants in this study. Kanhere (1987) identifies a strong link between socialisation and gender. The key challenge is the different socialisation patterns adopted for boys and girls within an African culture. If boys and girls are socialised with different values, standards, principles and expectations surely a gender bias over one will exist in the socialisation process.

Boys and girls will be reared differently with different expectations thereby clearly making different choices for their life path ([www.socorl.niu.edu/forest/socialisation.htm](http://www.socorl.niu.edu/forest/socialisation.htm)).

Cultural norms regarding gender roles, child socialisation and state policies are considered as some of the factors that shape children's career choices as domestic workers at an early age ([www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5/girl.child-e.html](http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5/girl.child-e.html)). Women are geared toward traditional female careers while males are geared toward traditional male careers. Women are streamlined in their career choices and engage in careers that have historically been defined as women's work within a patriarchal environment. This immediately places them at a disadvantage based on the income that they will receive. In a developed country (like Canada) gender socialisation shapes and limits the lives of girls, especially their education and career choices. Girls are exposed to stereotypical gender images that shape their thinking and behaviour from a very early age. For example, images of women that display submissiveness and obedience are portrayed to students (<http://www.pressroom.com/domestic.htm>).

Gender specific roles and responsibilities are taught to boys and girls at a very young age. When a young girl shows a love for sport and behaves in a carefree manner, she is labelled as a tomboy and looked at as different. When a young boy explores his feminine side, he is considered a sissy. The division between boy and girl, and man and women is clear and children are taught from a young age not to cross these lines. The gender role in the socialisation of children in different institutions, especially the family, impacts greatly on development (<http://www.pressroom.com/domestic.htm>). The concept of gender refers



to relations between men and women, that is, the way we divide society's members up into two (or more) biologically-distinguished sexes and allocate to them different social roles" (Brah, 2002: 22). The concept of gender seems to be the most universally shared in terms of the unbalanced differentiation of the roles of men and women - all societies, African, American, Asian and European, draw on their traditions for behaviours and norms to justify inequality between men and women (Moser, 1993: 38). For the purpose of this study, gender consists of correcting norms, which perpetuate inequality and injustice between men and women ([www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5](http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5)).

## 2.12 CONCLUSION

This research on domestic workers draws on insights from a variety of theoretical frameworks located in different disciplines. Each theoretical framework is unique in that it tries to describe and explain the framework of poverty, race, class, gender, violence and law. Cock (1984), Delport (1995) and Mc Neil (1989) make reference to the convergence of race, class and gender. In so doing, Marxism is expanded and extrapolated on in their theoretical framework. Cock (1984) focuses on an economic analysis, alluding to theories of production. Boddington (1983) focuses on a class analysis. Gaitskell (1982) extrapolates on Marxist feminism and radical feminism.

All of the above three academics state that race as a means of oppression must be included in any theoretical analysis in order to understand and contextualise domestic work (Mc Neil, 1989: 53).

Although the methodology of the above studies reviewed was useful in gaining insight into research on domestic workers, it is only studies that have adopted the qualitative approach that are useful to the current research. Preston-Whyte's (1969) study, although dated, is useful because of the use of life histories. Her experiences and limitations have provided valuable insight for this study. An interesting component of her study was involving her participants by asking them to record their life histories. This will be a useful research tool in understanding the socialisation process of domestic workers. The methodology and theoretical framework of all the studies provide a useful insight into domestic workers in South Africa. However, the most useful methodology has been similar to the one adopted by Cock (1984), Mc Neil (1989) and Preston-Whyte (1969). Their studies reflect one common denominator: the black African women.

The theoretical framework of the above scholars however, has not been directly relevant to the theoretical framework adopted for this study on the socialisation process of domestic workers, although Cock's (1984: 16) study does have a small amount of relevance to this study in dealing with race and labour. Components from their studies will prove useful in the fieldwork. Research by several other authors reviewed in this research, dealt with domestic workers in South Africa and abroad. Conference papers and journal articles were also dealt with extensively to illustrate the constraints and socio-economic status of women who engage in domestic work globally. To this end, reasons for engaging in the sector were highlighted.

The authors have not traced the process that these domestic workers undergo prior to their arrival in the occupational role of domestic workers. The above review does provide reasons as to why they are domestic workers. These include poverty, race, socio-economic reasons, class, apartheid, patriarchy, slavery, lack of education, training and skills.

Theories of labour, production, class, gender and race emerged very strongly in all of the above studies. These theoretical backgrounds have provided a useful framework in locating domestic workers within the South African context. In not yet offering explanations of the processes that girl children and later women undergo, academics have not yet fully explored the topic on domestic workers within a global society. In order to fully understand the domestic workers' sector as a whole, these gaps need to be filled. This is important in arriving at a holistic understanding of the occupational group entitled "domestic workers". The topics around domestic workers are vast and these need to be explored in detail, to be able to obtain a composite picture of the sector. The topics covered include the constraints of domestic workers, the legal rights of domestic workers and life histories. None of the studies reviewed related directly to the socialisation process that domestic workers undergo in their childhood homes that lead them to domestic work.

Issues of gender, patriarchy, class and race, have been dealt with extensively by researchers in the field. According to the researcher exhaustive scholarship review of approximately two hundred sources, little direct evidence on the socialisation process of

domestic workers in South Africa and abroad has been found. Some of the key conclusions that can be drawn from the scholarship review are;

- Domestic workers are largely represented by women who are poor, migrant labourers living in conditions of poverty, widows, divorced women, unmarried women, and women with poor educational backgrounds or a combination of the above factors.
- Women pass on their deprivation to their children.
- Women that engage in domestic labour are the most vulnerable and financially exploited sector in any society.
- Domestic work is considered an extension of women's household chores and, as a result, has low status and poor pay.
- Domestic work is considered women's work.
- Domestic work is allocated based on gender divisions within the family. This is inextricably linked to the process of socialisation.
- Women engage in domestic work to escape conditions of poverty and to sustain their families.

- Domestic workers are not protected by legislation in countries around the world.
- Men engage in domestic labour when there are no other employment opportunities available.
- When employment opportunities arrive, this sector is left open for women to enter. This is a common occurrence in developing countries.

While mentioning the above conclusions that have been drawn from the scholarship review, it is important to make mention of the linkages to this research. Research has indicated that domestic work is assigned largely to women in societies globally. The mere fact that the linkage between domestic work and poor women has been established, bears testimony to the fact that socialisation must have a pivotal role to play in this process. It is upon this premise and through extensive fieldwork that the process of supporting the claim that African women arrive in their occupational role as domestic workers as a result of the socialisation process that they undergo, is embarked on. This includes both primary and secondary socialisation.

The existing knowledge that is available on domestic work, forms an important basis for this study. However, this study will demonstrate how factors such as class, culture, gender, race and patriarchy impact on the socialisation process of young girls in the Durban Metro Region. Once this socialisation process is understood and explained in detail in the theory section of this study, it will become evident that a strong correlation

exists between socialisation and the overwhelming phases of African women in the domestic occupational category.

Factors that lead African women to domestic work is known but it is important to contextualise these factors in order to understand why it is exclusively or largely African women that exercise the option of domestic work in the Durban Metro Region.

This chapter has introduced the scholarship on both domestic workers and socialization. It is a collection of academic scholarship linked to current research. Understanding and reviewing the literature that has been collected, will make an important contribution.

It is instructive at this point to provide a theoretical framework for this study on socialisation.

## **THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK**

“The bourgeoisie revolution dichotomised society into the non-productive private sector, to which woman were confined and the public sector which men entered” (Meer, 1991: 43).

### **3.1. INTRODUCTION**

Over the past few years, domestic workers have become a frequent subject of discussion and concern with media coverage, campaigns amongst unions, woman's movements, human rights organisations and domestic workers. Employers, activists, academics and domestic workers have become highly critical of the nature and exploitation of domestic workers (Lalthapersad, 2001: 17). Their views, nevertheless, coalesce in that they regard domestic workers as one of the most vulnerable occupational sectors to enter, with the lowest pay and the longest hours of work (Lipton, 1988: 34).

There is nothing problematic about domestic work, except one group of people based on race, class and gender, largely occupies it. “Domestic work by its nature, in a patriarchal society, is severely undervalued because it has traditionally been treated as woman’s unpaid work in marriage” (Budlender, 1997: 62).

It is the combination of being undervalued, a woman subject to patriarchal ideologies, that subjugates women into a position of powerlessness. According to Cock (1984: 314), “domestic workers are trapped in a situation of work; they suffer under conditions of subjugation, patriarchy, inferiority and immobility”. These conditions force women into the role of domestic worker thereby further subjugating them.

This chapter seeks to explore sociological theory, the social construction of reality of Berger & Luckmann (1991), on socialisation and its processes. The theoretical framework selected for this study, attempts to explain how female African woman arrive in the occupational role of domestic worker for families in the Durban Metro Region. Using sociological theory that centres on socialisation and its processes, offers a theoretical basis for this analysis. Although this study is theoretically informed, the primary objective is to identify, describe and understand the process that domestic workers undergo from the time that they are children to the point of adulthood.

### **3.2. KEY THEORISTS**

The key theorists that are utilised in this study are Berger & Luckmann (1991); they are the key interpretative theorists, among others, in this study. It is also important to include an analysis of other theorists that support the main theoretical framework of this study on domestic work and socialisation. In selecting these theorists, cognisance of their contributions and the relevance of their theories to this study were taken into account. Academics in the past have linked domestic work within the realm of patriarchy.



However, to date, there has been no study or analysis of socialisation and domestic work exclusively. What follows is not a critique of socialisation and domestic work per se but primarily an understanding of socialisation as it manifests itself in the form of an occupational role of domestic work.

The theoretical framework explores theories put forward by Thomas (1923), Cooley (1922), Mead (1967) and Merton (1961). Thomas's ([www.thefamily.org](http://www.thefamily.org)) definition of the situation, Cooley's looking-glass self (1930), Mead's *the Mind, Self and Society* (1968) and Merton's (1961) self-fulfilling prophecy are included in the theoretical review that follows. Even though Merton is a functionalist, the self-fulfilling prophecy is being used for this study because of its relevance to the situation of domestic workers. There are strong links between Merton's self-fulfilling prophecy and Thomas's (1923) definition of the situation. By referring to the above theorists, their relevance to this study will be indicated.

### **3.2.1 South African Theoretical Analysis**

As revealed in the scholarship review of this study, South African academics have definite views regarding domestic workers, especially as described and theorised from the perspective of race, class and gender. All of these theories draw on each of these aspects of oppression to different extents. This study draws on issues of race, class and gender in direct relation to socialisation. Boddington (1983), Cock (1984) and Gaitskell (1982) stress that race, as a form of oppression, must be included in any theoretical analysis in

order to adequately understand the nature of domestic work within a racially divided society. This is mentioned in the study because domestic workers that are under investigation are exclusively African women from indigent backgrounds. However, it does not form a major part of the study. South African society will be focused on to a large extent.

Explaining socialisation and occupational outcomes, has been an intellectual challenge for many academics, underlying which are conflicting theoretical, ideological and ontological interests. None of the theoretical approaches, largely humanism and functionalism, has had the singular privilege of bringing the debate to a close, however convincing they seemed in their prime. The dilemma still remains unsolved and the search continues. This study is part of the ongoing effort to understand domestic workers within the South African context. This study however, is pioneering work in that it is the first of a kind to look at domestic work in direct relation to socialisation. As a point of departure into theorising about socialisation, it is important at this stage to underscore the importance of theory. Turner (1998: 41) recommends that sociology uses its theoretical principles to explain how society works in order to close the schism between theory and practice. Fundamentally, it is a given fact than any academic study has to include a theoretical component in order to obtain an understanding of the subject. Theory is the backbone for validating academic studies; the presence of relevant theory in any study is reflective of the effectiveness and usefulness of the study.

### 3.2.2 Interpretative Theory

After careful consideration, interpretative theory will help to understand and explain the various components and research questions of this study. Interpretative theorists are drawn together by their common focus on the social construction of meaning in social interactions (Blumer, 1969: 19). For them "reality is not fixed but it is insofar as it dictates human behaviour and beliefs, negotiated in an immediate setting and depends upon the context" (Garfinkel, 1967: 45). So too, the reality of the African girl child is not fixed, it changes (secondary socialisation) when she enters the occupational role of domestic worker. For interpretative theorists "the best way to understand human behaviour is to examine real-world situations using qualitative or descriptive rather than experimental methods of inquiry" ([www.bc.edu/~evansec/curriculum](http://www.bc.edu/~evansec/curriculum)). This will be explored in detail in the methodology chapter of this study.

Macro sociologists argue that interpretative sociology fails to explain the structural constraints on individuals ([www.csf.edu.com](http://www.csf.edu.com)). However, one cannot study the individual within the context of everyday life while negating structural constraints (Ritzer, 1992:19). This would be an impossible task for any researcher. Interpretative theories include phenomenology, symbolic interactionism and ethnomethodology (Bernard & Petras, 1987:77). Phenomenological sociology and ethnomethodology, akin to symbolic interactionism, draw on the everyday world (Charon, 1995:20). In order to fully understand interpretative theory, it is important to expand on the following:

### 3.2.3 Phenomenology

“A phenomenological study can be robust in indicating the presence of factors and their effects on individual cases, but must be tentative in suggesting their extent in relation to the population from which participants or cases were drawn” (Husserl, 1970: 101).

Epistemologically, this approach places importance on the personal perspective of the participants. This approach assists with “...gaining insights into people's motivations and actions and cutting through the clutter of ‘taken for granted’ assumptions and conventional wisdom” (Husserl, 1970: 75). This is achieved through retrieving qualitative data through case studies, observations and group discussions. This, in turn, is presented from the perspective of the participants in the study. This approach falls within the ambient of interpretative sociology and has been adopted for the study (Glaser & Strauss, 1967:69). This will be expanded upon in the methodology chapter.

A phenomenological sociologist studies the social meaning of knowledge and what understanding various kinds of knowledge signifies (Blumer, 1969: 20). As such, the concern is with what meanings are constructed. In this study it is the question “what meanings are constructed?” that needs to be answered in order to understand the socialisation process of domestic workers. The objective of the phenomenological approach is to highlight the specific, to identify phenomena in the way in which they are perceived by people in a situation. It is largely concerned with the perspective of the

individuals under study. Any phenomenological study aims to describe and emanates from a hypothesis-free starting line (Denzin, 1990:110). This study is useful in addressing experiences from the perspective of the individual. This approach can be applied to deliberately selected samples. This study utilises judgemental sampling, which is reflective of a deliberately selected sample. It can only meet with success if the lived experiences of domestic workers are told from their individual perspectives.

One of the challenges of a phenomenological study is the generation of notes, tape recordings and other data to be analysed. The analysis can be messy, because they do not necessarily all fall into neat categories, themes or boxes. Despite this challenge in this study it is important to collect as much information about the participants as possible. This is the only way to fully understand the socialisation process that these domestic workers had undergone as girl children in the home of their parents/caregivers/guardians. There has been a modest increase of the study of phenomenological sociology. A large part of phenomenological sociology is influenced by ideas of social constructionism of Berger & Luckmann (1991) who were in turn inspired by Schutz's (1970) ideas.

#### **3.2.4 Alfred Schutz**

Alfred Schutz's (1970) approach to sociology, which he referred to as an empirical science of the person with an emphasis on the sociological theory, is based on a methodological understanding about the possibility of being able to achieve scientific knowledge about people, the context within which meaning is created and action is based.

Schutz (1970: 36) developed an interpretative approach which has its roots in Husserl's (1970) phenomenology. Schutz's (1970) contribution to sociology, both in terms of his own writings and the influence he has had on others, are exemplified by Berger & Luckmann (1991), Garfinkel (1967) and Habermas (1984). Schutz (1970) and his followers' perspectives in relation to sociology's methodological foundations takes up two theory of science issues.

The first issue revolves around the relationship between the theoretical development that Schutz (1970: 88) undertakes through a phenomenological approach to analysing the reality of everyday life and interpretive sociology's foundations. A detailed analysis of the reality of everyday life of the domestic workers is conducted. The second issue revolves around the relationship between Schutz (1970: 33) and his followers' approach and the methodological foundations of sociology. This study adheres to the methodological foundations of Berger & Luckmann (1991), which contextualises this study and creates a strong link between qualitative methodology and interpretative theory.

### **3.2.5 Symbolic Interactionism**

“Symbolic interactionism links the construction of meaning to the roles that individuals and social structures play in creating meaning. The concern is with how meanings are made” (Blumer, 1969: 21). Individuals communicate meaning by using symbols, words, gestures, artefacts, signs, or concepts that stand for something else. Individuals give

messages to each other when they interact through the use of the above mentioned means of communication. This allows individuals to perceive each other in specific ways. What people begin to think about each other is based on their perceptions of each other. It is this perception that people have of each other that is important in understanding the occupational choices made by African woman.

### **3.2.6 Ethnomethodology**

Ethnomethodology is the study of the ways in which people make sense of their social world, the study of everyday life. The ethno - methodologist seeks to study the way in which people construct or reconstruct their social reality. This study seeks to understand the way in which the African girl child constructs her life as a domestic worker and makes it her social reality (Blumer, 1969: 20). Meaning is constructed through the social interaction of people within the particular setting or groups of people that are being studied.

### **3.2.7 Self-fulfilling Prophecy**

According to Thomas (1923: 29), "People live up to the expectations others have of them. If expected to lead or expected to fail, it becomes real in its consequences." One of the functionalists relevant to this study is Merton (1961). According to Merton (1961: 699), the self-fulfilling prophecy is a "phenomenon that occurs when a false definition of the situation evokes a new behaviour which makes the original false conception come true."

This is akin to Thomas's (1923) definition of the situation. The Pygmalion effect we see reflected in George Bernard Shaw's play *Pygmalion* is an illustration of how Professor Higgins insists that he can change a flower girl into a lady or a duchess. He succeeds by teaching her the right behaviours, ways to talk and dress. The difference, he says, is how she is treated, which will result in how she behaves (Thomas, 1923: 61).

Consciously and sub-consciously we tip people, to what our expectations of them are. We tip them with a simple gesture like the flaring of the nostrils, hand gestures and body language. People, whether domestic worker or president, pick up on these cues and act accordingly (Merton et al, 1961, 694). Akin to the flower girl being transformed into a duchess, an African woman may become a domestic worker because she is African. The domestic worker is also a woman and subjugated within a patriarchal society. The African woman is economically disadvantaged with poor access to training, education, high levels of unemployment and a host of other factors, based on the experience of apartheid. If the white, Indian or coloured woman in South Africa had been faced with a similar fate to that of an African woman, this study would be about them. Circumstances, history, apartheid, race, class, gender and patriarchy have all created this role for African woman. If African woman are expected to be domestic workers they will succumb to the role of domestic worker for survival. If they are given the tools and the support and expected to become nurses, doctors or accountants they will fulfil each of these prophecies accordingly.



Being an African woman, if you are expected to become a domestic worker, a doctor, or an accountant these will emerge. In collecting the empirical data for this study the notion of the self-fulfilling prophecy will be explored.

### 3.2.8 Charles Cooley

Akin to Mead (1967), Cooley's (1922) theory on the development of the self, divides the self into three phases. The first phase is the manner in which we perceive the way in which our behaviour appears to those around us. The second phase is the way in which we perceive other people's judgement about the way in which we behave. Finally, as individuals, we evaluate and interpret our behaviour based on the response to others around us (Cooley, 1922: 118).

Cooley (1922) theorised that people's awareness of themselves and their sense of self reflects what they believe others think of them. This concept was defined as the looking-glass self. The social reference takes the form of how one's self, that is any idea one appropriates, appears in a particular mind and the kind of feeling one has is determined by the attitude toward this attributed to that other mind (Cooley, 1902:180). A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking-glass self ("to each a looking-glass") (Cooley, 1930: 112). If the number of African woman that engage in domestic work continues to rise at the current rate, the fate of the African girl child that has no access to education, training and economic resources is doomed. Domestic workers in middle class households in the Durban Metro Region are commonplace. Domestic workers are also

highly disposable because of the large number of domestic workers that are unemployed. Many African women have no other options but domestic work. They are already seen as a first option for domestic work because they can be employed at low rates despite the implementation of minimum wage in South Africa. If female African woman see themselves as domestic workers, others will see them as domestic workers and they will become domestic workers.

A self-perception of this sort seems to have three principal elements;

- the imagination of our appearance to the other person;
- the imagination of a judgement of that appearance; and
- some sort of self-feeling, such as pride or mortification  
(Cooley in Manford, 1964: 66).

Proponents of the looking-glass self emphasise the importance of other people's attitudes toward the behaviour of an individual. If an African woman is seen as a domestic worker by others she will see herself as a domestic worker. Cooley (1922) emphasises that we see ourselves the way others perceive us according to societal constructs. He refers to this as the looking-glass. According to Cooley (1922: 67), the social reference takes the form of a somewhat definite imagination of how one's self appears in a particular mind and the kind of self-feeling one has is determined by the

attitude attributed to that other mind. A social self of this sort might be called the reflected or looking-glass self.

“I am not who you think that I am. I am who I think that you think that I am” (Cooley, 1922: 78). Cooley's looking-glass self refers to the image we have of others' response to us, people's consciousness is firmly embedded and shaped in the course of social interaction. If you think I am capable of nothing else but domestic work, the person becomes a domestic worker. Berger & Luckmann (1991: 78) believe that we construct our own reality and in constructing this reality we take lessons from those before us. This everyday reality teaches individuals how to behave, how to read people and a host of other things. It could also be that this reality and construction could teach us how to see ourselves and others around us. This is the looking-glass self introduced to us by Cooley (1922).

### 3.2.9 Mead

No phenomenological study utilising interpretative theory, as it has come to be known in recent years, is complete without the evaluation of the work of George Herbert Mead (1967). Mead (1967) and Berger & Luckmann (1991) fall under the umbrella of symbolic interactionism. According to Mead (1968 : 33-34), “The behaviour of an individual can be understood only in terms of the behaviour of the whole social group of which she is a member. Since her individual acts are involved in larger, social acts which go beyond herself and which implicate the other members of that group.” The community from

which domestic workers come has had an impact on choices and decisions that they make in their lives. They will be influenced by the norms, values and socialisation process that they undergo in the community from which they emerge. (Hamilton, 1993:9-12)

### 3.3 THE DEFINITION OF THE SITUATION

"If a person defines a situation as real it becomes real in its consequences" (Thomas, 1923: 13). Thomas (1923) is associated with the re-conceptualisation of the definition of the situation. The human individual exists in a social situation and responds to that situation. The situation has a particular character, but this character does not completely determine the response of the individual - there seem to be alternative courses of action. In this case, if the African woman that becomes a domestic worker exists within a social situation and responds accordingly, the situation is important. If it is socially acceptable that an African woman conforms to the gender bias norms of a traditional patriarchal family structure, the African woman will largely be confined within the realm of the domestic arena. It is this situation that restricts her from entering the formal, financially viable sector.

If a situation is defined as real it becomes real in its consequences and it is this precise definition that will be explored in the empirical component of the study. If it is believed that African woman will be domestic workers this belief becomes real. If African woman conform to the status quo and continue to engage in domestic work, they will continue to be defined largely as domestic workers. They however, are also responsible for defining

their own situation. If they teach and socialise their children into the role of domestic worker, their children will continue to be domestic workers. The status of domestic worker in South Africa is applied largely to African woman. If the number of African woman entering domestic work continue to increase, escaping domestic work for African woman as a stereotype will become very difficult. If all that we see of domestic workers is that they are African and woman, this is how they will be perceived both by themselves and by people around them. If this situation is defined as African woman are domestic workers' this situation becomes real in its consequences.

If primary socialisation involves emotional dependency on the significant other, this is of critical importance. The child sees the world through the eyes of the significant other. The objective reality of the primary significant other becomes the objective reality of the child. This can be a very critical point in determining what is expected from the child by the parents/guardians/caregivers. The child learns and accepts the reality of her primary significant other and this reality is taken as her own. This reality might not be a true reflection of reality of broader society.

The objective reality might be a reality that perpetuates certain values, morals and beliefs that influence people to live in a particular way and make particular decisions. The decision to enter the occupational role of domestic worker could be a result of the objective reality imposed on the child during primary socialisation. If the girl child is expected not to have an education, be married into a family and taken care of by her husband, this is precisely what the girl child will do. After all, these are the norms of the

society to which she belongs. The individual must select a course of action and act accordingly, but the course of action she selects is dictated by the situation (Thomas, 1923: 133). The definition of the situation associated with Thomas (1923) determines status and roles relevant to social situations. The situation is "the determination of which status and roles are relevant in a social situation" (Thomas, 1923: 78). Preliminary to any self-determined act of behaviour there is always a stage of examination and deliberation, which we may call the definition of the situation. Not only concrete acts are dependent on the definition of the situation, but also a whole life policy and the personality of the individual follow from a series of such definitions.

The life policy and the personality of the African woman help define the situation that creates an environment that makes domestic work attractive. This whole life policy can be related to the process of socialisation. The socialisation that the girl child goes through in her lifetime helps mould her personality and it is along with the community that she defines the situation for both herself and other girl children that eventually occupy the role of domestic worker. The relevance of Berger & Luckmann's (1991) analysis can be understood by this ordered reality that prescribes domestic work for the African woman. Although this reality can change for domestic workers, they comply with the norms and accept their occupational role. This is accepted as their social reality. The central argument pursued by Berger & Luckmann (1991), is that the social world as the cultural product of consciousness, processes such actions. The social world within which the girl child is brought up is defined and created by her primary significant other and by others

later on. If this is defined and prescribed, it could easily be associated or linked to the self-fulfilling prophecy.

### 3.4 THE SELF

The self consists of two parts, the I and the me. The internalised demands of society and the individual's awareness of these demands are portrayed (Goff, 1980:123). The individual's response to the social world is active, she decides what she will do in the light of the attitudes of others and her conduct is not mechanically determined by such attitudes (Ellsworth, 1938: 400). There are, it would appear, two phases of the self, "that phase which reflects the attitude of the generalised other (me) and that phase which responds to the attitude of the generalised other (I)" (Mead, 1968: 89). If society expects female African woman to engage in domestic work, there will always be opportunities for female Africans to engage in domestic work. If the family or community to which the child belongs has an expectation that the child will work as a domestic worker, this will materialise. Her response to the social world becomes active.

Mead (1968) distinguishes between the 'I' and the 'me'. The me is the social self and the I is a response to the me (Mead, 1968: 178). Although the I is not an object of immediate experience, it is in a sense, knowable (Ellsworth, 1936: 911). The I is stored in memory; but in the memory image, the I is no longer a pure subject, but "a subject that is now an object of observation" (Hanson, 1987: 142). The I and the me of the child are different and separate (Petra, 1968: 18). The I is in the memory bank of the girl child while the me

responds socially. However the I passes the correct information so the me knows how to respond. The I and me are the components of the consciousness that allow the African woman to engage in domestic work and follow through because of that which was imprinted on their minds during primary socialisation.

### **3.4.1 The Development of the Self**

The development of the self depends on the ability to participate in role playing in which people imagine themselves in the role or the position of another person (Mead, 1968: 72). The self is not present at birth but develops as a result of the socialisation processes that individuals undergo (Strauss, 1959:19). Other individuals play a key role in the development of the self. If the self is not present at birth and develops alongside socialisation, all actors involved in the socialisation process of the girl child contribute to the development of the self (Meltzer, 1972:14). The primary significant other, family, community, elders, teachers and other prominent people involved in the life of the girl child during primary socialisation, play an important role. Mead's (1967) account of the social emergence of the self is developed further through three forms of activity which include language, play and the game. These three forms of "symbolic interaction" are the major paradigms in Mead's (1967, 84-98) theory of socialisation and are the basic social processes that allow for objectification of the self.

Mead "believed people are multiple selves, acting differently with different people in various social situations" (Miller, 1943:3). There are even aspects of the self which are



only present when alone. The continuity between those 'selves' is reflective of the unity of social processes generally" (<http://don.ratcliff.net>) .Female African woman do not necessarily want to be domestic workers. They might have, at different points in their lives, decided to explore other occupational roles. Due to limitations they have been forced to stay in the occupational role of domestic worker.

Through the self the child develops both concepts of self-awareness and self-consciousness (Corti, 1973:18). The child begins to know herself in relation to society, family, gender, race and class (Mead, 1968: 117). As this social development takes place, the child is starting to come into increasing contact with children and adults outside of the immediate family environment and it starts to recognize different types of relationships (Mead, 1968: 99). Mead's conceptualisation of socialisation or learnt behaviour is critical at this juncture in understanding the stages of development that the child undergoes. It is also important in contextualising the different stages that the girl children underwent before arriving in the role of domestic workers.

### **3.4.2 Role Taking**

Mead's (1968: 13) concept of role taking holds that infants and young children develop as social beings by imitating the actions of those around them. Mead (1968) explains that role taking occurs in three very distinct stages, all of which are linked to an age. The first stage, which is between the age of birth and two years, is the imitation stage.

Between the ages of two and four years the child goes through the play stage (Natanson, 1956:22).

The last stage is the game stage, which is further divided into three areas; early adulthood, middle age and old age (Mead, 1968: 49-51). All of the three stages highlighted by Mead (1968) are important, these are critical development stages in the life of the child and the influence that the child has at each stage of her life is important. The influences can impact on each other either positively or negatively. It is these very influences that can provide clues and answers for this study. In initial role playing a child starts to see itself through the eyes of other people.

In the role of the other, the child starts to see herself as the child believes other people might see her. Children begin to develop as social beings, recognizing who they are in relation to other people, through the act of imitation (Sebald, 1992:87). This involves imitating the behaviour of other people around them as the child develops.

Experimentation becomes an important part of their development and the learning process on a holistic level (Mead, 1968: 23).

### **3.4.3 Play**

As the child begins to interact with other children/people, the process of play becomes increasingly important, essentially because it is important for the child to learn how to adapt to the behavioural responses of others on an equal footing. This leads to an even

more structured phase in the child's socialisation process, as she learns how to respond to the behaviour of others by adopting roles or imitating those that she comes into contact with (Mead, 1968: 124-126). The child begins to witness other African women around her and begins to copy the way that they behave and engage in the things that these women engage in. She develops games that imitate the roles of mothers, sisters and aunts. These games impact on socialisation and it is through these games that these young girls learn certain behaviour

"In play, the child takes the role of another and acts as though she was the other" (e.g., mother, doctor, nurse, domestic worker, etc). This form of role-playing involves a single role at a time (Mead, 1967: 69). The game involves a more complex form of role-playing than that involved in play. When conducting the empirical study the play stage in the life of the African girl child will be explored. In the game, the individual is required to internalise not merely the character of a single and specific other, but the roles of all others that are involved with her in the game. It is at the game stage that the me is formed (Mead, 1967: 134). What goes on in the game stage goes on in the life of the child all the time. She is continually taking the attitudes of those about her, especially the roles of those who, in some sense, control her and on whom she depends (Dahernhof, 1968:13). It goes over from the play into the game in a real sense. She has to play the game (Mead, 1967: 160). It is at the game stage that the person has the ability to take on the role of another person. This is the stage at which one can identify the role models that are visible in the person's life at the game stage (Mead, 1967: 88). It could be at this stage in the life

of the girl child that the only role models that she sees around her are women. The woman that she sees could be women that take care of and maintain the home (Delphy, 1984:110). Other women could be women who engage in domestic work. The domestic worker or other female role models could be someone that the girl child would like to emulate.

### **3.5 BERGER & LUCKMANN (1991)**

Sociological theory is complex and needs to be carefully traced in order to fully understand the validity of the theoretical framework to this study. Upon inception of the study, a number of theoretical frameworks and sociological schools of thought were explored. After careful revision of sociological theory that embodies patterns of socialisation, it became increasingly clear that Berger & Luckmann's (1991) social construction of reality was best suited for this study on socialisation and domestic work. According to Berger & Luckmann (1991: 149), "since society exists as both objective and subjective reality, any adequate theoretical understanding of it must comprehend both these aspects." As sociologists we take the reality of everyday life as the object of our analysis. In taking the life of the African female domestic worker as the object of analysis for this study, the reality of everyday life of the domestic worker under study, will be understood. In trying to understand her everyday reality, it is important that her childhood socialisation process be understood. In understanding the socialisation process the occupational choice is explained.

The social construction of reality associated with Berger & Luckmann (1991: 12), states that we create and define our own reality based on the socialisation processes that we have undergone, at a primary level. We continue to undergo secondary socialisation throughout our lives. If we are taught and internalise certain values through the process of primary socialisation, these values will stay with us throughout our lives. However, secondary socialisation can change/impact on and alter our beliefs/decisions and perceptions about the world and choices that we make as adults. These values and lessons can influence and impact on the decisions that one makes in life. Primary and secondary socialisations are very important components of the girl child's development and as such, needs to be carefully analysed.

Hitherto, the literature alluded to the above theoretical references to explain the socialisation process of the African girl child. The emphasis is on the importance of the process of socialisation, an approach such as this will not provide all the answers. However, by focusing on the social construction of reality a special explanatory value is provided. Berger & Luckmann (1991) embarked on a process that begins with an analysis at the individual level with the reality of everyday life, the common sense world. This study attempts to follow the same process in trying to provide a sociological analysis of socialisation and domestic work.

The main epistemological concepts of Berger & Luckmann (1991), as theoretical navigators of this study are introduced and operationalised. Berger & Luckmann (1991) extend the concerns of phenomenological sociology to social structures and social

institutions. They integrate the individual and societal levels, moving beyond the foundations of Schutz's (1970) theoretical input and draw linkages with Mead's (1967) social psychology and complement both Mead (1968) and Schutz's (1970) writings. This is done with the writings of Marx (in Weber, 1962) and Durkheim (in Jones, 1986) on society and culture. Berger & Luckmann (1991) integrate Weber's (1962) social action with Durkheim's social facts as "external realities" (Jones, 1986: 388-389). All of these are briefly introduced in this chapter in order to place Berger & Luckmann (2001) within a theoretical fold.

### **3.5.1 Durkheim, Marxism & Weber**

Durkheim and Merton (in Jones 1986: 145) can be labelled as functionalists;

“The first and most fundamental rule is to consider social facts as things. To consider social facts as things would enable the researcher to make assumptions and draw conclusions about the group under study.”

When the empirical study on domestic workers begins, it will be important to consider the social facts in detail before drawing any conclusions.

Unlike other theorists Weber does not necessarily fall into a particular school of thought. Weber (1962: 32) reinforces that "...the object of cognition is the subjective meaning complex of action." This subjective meaning that Weber (1962) refers to, is taught to individuals by significant others. This subjective meaning of cognition of the domestic worker is the area under investigation in this study. Similar to Berger & Luckmann (1991), Weber's subjective meaning is that which is imparted to the child by the primary significant other. This will help identify the type of socialisation that the African girl child underwent in the home of the parent. In this study on the African girl child and domestic workers, the primary caregiver plays an important role in the life of the child. It is also possible that the primary care giver and or role model influences the occupational choice made by African woman. Marxists are widely criticised for their focus on the white middle class.

"Marx did not explain the rise of capitalism on the basis of consciousness, the personality structure, the drive to power or the intentions of capitalists. Just as it is not possible to reduce the rise of capitalism to micro foundations, gender inequality cannot be reduced to the intentions or the behaviour of individual men"

(Stichter, 1996: 29).

Gender inequality however, can be linked to a society as a whole. (Bozzoli, 1983) Elements such as patriarchy and socialisation play an important role in gender inequality in society at large (Charman, 1991:17). If socialisation has gender bias, with economic disadvantages for women, gender inequality becomes very real in all areas. Marxists

point out that interpretative sociology neglects structural inequalities in society and its impact upon the self. However, if we look to Berger & Luckmann (1991) we will witness the focus on the self. Berger & Luckmann (1991) refer and discuss in detail the objective reality and subjective reality in reference to the self.

The social construction of reality involving the family and socialisation (as a journey to the occupational route of domestic work) is a human product. Ongoing human production is produced by men/women in the course of their ongoing externalisation process. Social order is not biologically given or derived from any biological data in its empirical manifestations. Reality is socially constructed and the sociology of knowledge analyses the process in which this occurs. Reality is a phenomenon that we cannot wish away. Knowledge, as a certainty, is real and possesses certain characteristics (Berger & Luckmann (1991: 51-55). This reality is derived from knowledge which is socially constructed and maintained by domestic workers is the area of concern in this study.

### **3.5.2 The Sociology of Knowledge**

The primary concern with the social construction of reality is with everyday knowledge. What Berger & Luckmann (1991) mean by knowledge, is what the domestic worker takes to be real about the world in which she lives, works and occupies.



"... the sociology of knowledge must first of all concern itself with what people know as reality in their everyday, non or pre-theoretical lives. In other words, common sense knowledge rather than ideas must be the central focus for the sociology of knowledge. It is precisely this knowledge that constitutes the fabric of meanings without which no society could exist" (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 14).

Berger & Luckmann (1991) are concerned with designing a theory that helps us understand how we, as possessors of knowledge, come to establish a reality. Their objective is to understand how a sense of reality is constructed and maintained. Reality is taken to be valid, legitimate and real by those that inhabit it. It is the individual that needs to be understood in order to understand how this reality is created for the domestic worker.

"people's phenomenological tendency to view subjective processes as objective realities. People tend to apprehend everyday life as an ordered reality; that is, social reality seems to the actor to be independent of the actor's apprehension of it... we take the reality of everyday life for granted; although we could question it, we suspend the ability in order to live comfortably with it"

(Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 38-42).

It is this taken for granted reality that is of grave concern in this study. Female African woman have come to accept their role as domestic workers and it is this acceptance that is problematic. Berger & Luckmann (1991: 152-155), identify four different levels of

understanding or knowledge. These levels are important in understanding the way in which reality exists or is formed. These levels influence the formation of everyday life.

- Linguistic: our vocabulary allows us to name things. By allocating names we must grant its claim to exist.
- Theoretical propositions: this includes myths, stories and anecdotal evidence used to justify social events or relations.
- Explicit theories are linked to organisational contexts.
- Symbolic universes: tie together different institutional environments to explain the interrelations.

Language, myth, gender bias and/or anticipatory socialisation and the outside world influence us as individuals. These institutions, that the child comes into contact with shapes her view of the world and allows her to perceive things in a particular way. This is different for doctors, kings and domestic workers. We perceive and internalise things the way that we are taught to internalise them. In learning to communicate in a particular way and manner with different people, we ultimately submit to a particular position. In the case of the domestic worker, if African woman are labelled as domestic workers they have a right or a claim to be domestic workers. The explicit theory, in the case of domestic workers in this study, centres on socialisation. Issues of patriarchy, gender and

apartheid all culminate in an explanation of the arrival of the female African into the role of domestic worker. Historically, African woman have engaged in domestic work, and this could be used to justify the continued entry of African woman into the occupational role of domestic worker.

Linguistic expression and/or language are very important in the process of socialisation and occupational outcomes in this case. Language, as we have seen, is communication through significant symbols and it is through significant communication that the individual is able to take the attitudes of others toward her (Mead, 1967: 18). When a self does appear it always involves an experience of another. With the act of talking, the individual takes the role of the other, i.e. responds to her own gestures in terms of the symbolised attitudes of others. Language is learnt through several stages of socialisation and impacts on the process of socialisation. Language allows the girl child to engage with people in the family, community and society at large to adopt values and learn about belonging to a society. Language plays a critical role in the objectification of the self and the identification of the individual within the context of the family and community.

With the ability to talk, the child is able to reflect on situations and may challenge the objective reality of those in authority. The child is starting to reflect, internalise and make her own decisions. She now begins to question things around her. The child begins to negotiate from an individual perspective. The common sense of reality is the outcome of a negotiation process wherein reality is produced and reproduced (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 154). The individual might at this point be able to make decisions without the

influence of others. The decision that is made will be influenced by the process of primary socialisation that the child has undergone.

The sociology of knowledge seeks to understand the subjective and objective reality of specific societies. No two societies will have the same reality. As such, reality is divided into the following two categories;

- Subjective, beliefs about the world; and
- objective reality, the rest of the real world, or that that cannot be wished away.

Subjective reality includes beliefs about the world while objective reality includes the rest of the world, that which cannot be wished away. The individual is a member of a family, and families are objectively real and exist, but are socially constructed and maintained. The subjective beliefs about the world for the African woman could be that African women who work in the city find employment as domestic workers and live with their employers, are well paid and taken care of. Their belief about domestic work could be very glamorous. Their subjective belief could also be that if they do not have the necessary skills, all that they will be capable of is housework and domestic work.

Subjective reality can differ from society to society and community to community. It is the way in which a particular group of people or an individual formulates her beliefs about the world. The subjective beliefs of the domestic worker will be understood

through her lived experiences that she will share in the interview process. Knowledge and families or institutions of which a family is a part of are a structure for the production of knowledge. Examples of this knowledge production are emotions and gender. The objective reality of families and communities are maintained and, as such, the conformity levels in these societies are high. As such, women will confine themselves to roles that they have witnessed historically and one of these roles is that of a domestic worker in the urban centre. Not only is it domestic work in the urban centre it is also domestic work largely for African women. The challenge lies in trying to discover how subjective meanings become objective things. Subjective meanings are realities about our world, i.e. the world that individual groupings of people live in. Objective things include the rest of the world, those things that cannot be wished away. These things become part of what a society, family, community or institution is and is ingrained within these institutions. That is how subjective meanings become objective things.

The objective reality could be that we, as employers, expect our domestic workers to be black African women. We cannot associate women of other races being employed as domestic workers. Those that cannot be wished away include the fact that millions of African women are employed as domestic workers all over South Africa. Black African women can be employed at a cheaper rate than women of other races. African women are more willing to engage in domestic work. Berger & Luckmann (1991: 52), discover how human actors construct their own world and how their products come to appear as things and why this social world seems real to people. Berger & Luckmann (1991) emphasise the dual nature of social life, individual consciousness and social structures are

interlinked. The relationship between the individual and society is understood in terms of an ongoing process of socialisation.

If we are socialised in a racially divided society and the only African woman that we come into contact with is our domestic worker we come to believe that all African women are domestic workers. If all girl children witness their mothers, sisters and aunts engage in domestic work they will be socialised into engaging in domestic work. The relationship between the individual and society is understood within this very unique context and the process of socialisation that goes with it. This can also be linked to either the self-fulfilling prophecy or the definition of the situation. Individuals are part of families, which in turn are part of communities, religious groupings, states, countries and, as such, they conform to the norms of the different elements listed. This conformity provides individuals with a sense of belonging and purpose and as such the reality of everyday life is both accepted and taken for granted. It is this taken for granted reality that propels African girl children into the role of domestic worker.

African women, when seeking employment, find themselves with little or no skills, and find employment as domestic workers. Other domestic workers who help them secure employment or recommend them to families in search of domestic workers guide them. They take this as their ordered reality. They accept this ordered reality and go through their lives working as domestic workers. Although these women could challenge the status quo and explore other employment opportunities, they conform to the role of domestic workers.

### 3.6 THE THREE MOMENTS

According to Berger & Luckmann (1991: 149), social reality is constructed through a dialectical process involving three moments.

- Externalisation: our conceptions of social reality are given tangible form, externalised in our performances, rituals and possessions.
- Objectification: these conceptions of reality are given objective status in our lives; we begin to accept things that we have constructed as immutable parts of our reality.
- Internalisation: the objectivated constructions of past action are internalised through socialisation and become separated from the processes that created them.

Moments	Processes
Society is a human product	Externalisation, habitualisation, typification, sedimentation
Society is an objective reality	Objectivation, institutionalisation, legitimation (in various stages) reification (opposing processes like de-institutionalisation)
Man is a social product	Internalisation, socialisation (in various stages) producing finally, a taken for granted symmetry

The preceding table has been adapted from Berger & Luckmann (1991: 23-33).

### **3.6.1 Society as a Human Product**

Human beings fall into habitual ways of living, acting and behaving. When we relate to others as human beings we relate to them as ideal types. Interaction takes place on the basis of a mutual typification process. We identify characteristics and qualities in others that are similar to our own. Sedimentation occurs when we selectively perceive and store information according to its relevance to us as the individual ([www.arasite.org](http://www.arasite.org)). It becomes evident what is relevant for interaction with certain people and we learn to ignore the rest of their characteristics. The characteristics of an African woman are largely ignored and she is focused upon exclusively as a domestic worker in the home of her employer. Human beings create recipes for living within the social world that they have created. These include routine ways of continuing within our social world ([www.arasite.org](http://www.arasite.org)). It is this social world of the female African girl child that is important in understanding the processes of typification and sedimentation.

### **3.6.2 Society as Objective Reality**

Legitimation is connected with the control of ideas and even pre-determined, some times, by social structures. African girl children witness large numbers of women from their families and communities engaging in domestic work, this becomes fixed and natural for them. After values, norms and a way of life are created within our varied



societies, this way of life is internalised. It becomes part of our consciousness.

Internalisation is accomplished through socialisation at various stages. Individuals interact with agents of socialisation from the moment that they are born. As such, humans can be classified as a social product.

### **3.6.3 Human as a Social Product**

"Berger & Luckmann (1991), ask us to imagine being stranded on a desert island for a long period. At first we would preserve our existing way of life, but eventually we might decide to change, maybe live in polygamous marriages or let children be raised by their uncles. We would be able to remember when and how we decided to change things, but for the generation of children born on the island, those arrangements would soon come to appear as natural, fixed..." ([www.arasite.org](http://www.arasite.org)).

By the same token, when dealing with the socialisation process of domestic workers that come from rural areas, we can imagine growing up in a society where domestic work is an arena reserved exclusively for women. Young girls see women engaging in domestic work as an occupation. It soon appears to become natural and fixed.

## **3.7 PROCESSES**

The process includes three specific areas: externalisation, objectification and internalisation.

### **3.7.1 Externalisation**

The externalisation process for domestic workers involves working long hours, entering the employment sector on its lowest rung, taking care of the needs of the employer, while the family of the domestic worker is taken care of by a surrogate care-giver (if the resources are available). Externalisation, the actual reality and living out the reality will emerge in the form of the occupational choice made by the African girl child who will be employed as a domestic worker.

### **3.7.2 Objectification**

The objectification of the domestic worker is the reality that she has constructed for herself as a result of engaging in domestic work. The hours that she works, the distance from her family, the money that she earns and all the realities that have become a part of her life as domestic worker. Objectification is influenced largely by internalisation of values obtained from the significant other and the community in which the woman live. This could include role models, which will be important in the lives of domestic workers in this study.



### 3.7.3 Internalisation

Internalisation is the reason that the African woman has arrived in the role that she is occupying today. She has internalised and been socialised into accepting the behaviour, role models and influences that have steered her into the role of domestic worker because of both circumstances and socialisation. Internalisation focuses largely on socialisation. An individual is not born a member of society; an individual is born with a predisposition to sociality and eventually becomes a member of society. In the life of every individual there is a temporal sequence of occurrences. The beginning point of this process is internalisation, the immediate apprehension or interpretation of an objective event as expressing meaning, that is, as a manifestation of another's subjective process which thereby becomes subjectively meaningful (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 150). The subjectivity of the other person is objectively available in the form of an expression or action and becomes meaningful to the first person. Internalisation is an understanding for fellow members of society and understanding of the world as a social reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 150).

This process begins with the individual "taking over" the world in which other people already co-exist. The world becomes part of one's existence. Situations are defined in relation to other people. There continues to be a mutual identification between oneself and other people, we begin to participate in each other's lives. Once this degree of internalisation is achieved, the individual becomes a member of society. The ontogenetic process by which this is brought about is socialisation

(Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 150). The African girl child begins to take over the world in which her mom, aunt, sisters and grandmother occupy. The world then becomes part of her existence. Her situation is defined in relation to her family and community. The process of mutual identification takes place, the role is internalised and the African girl child becomes a member of the society.

Internalisation only takes place once identification has taken place; the child takes on the roles and the attitudes of the significant other and makes them her own. Through this identification process with the significant other, the individual is able to identify. The girl child can identify with a female role model that could be a domestic worker. If this role model is not a domestic worker she could be responsible for domestic work in the home. The self is an identity that is reflective. The self reflects the identity that is first given to the individual by the significant other. The individual not only takes on the roles and attitudes of others, but also takes on their world. A name implies an identity within a social location. An identity assigns one a place in a social world.

### **3.8 CONTEXTUALISING PRIMARY SOCIALISATION**

In any attempt to theorise about the concept of socialisation, it is important to have a holistic view of the definitions provided by academics and scholars in the field.

Socialisation has gained popularity as an analytical tool in human behaviour and organisation at both micro and macro levels. The paradigm particularly makes its mark as an explanatory model. From a purview of existing scholarship, it is noticed that few

academics allude directly to issues of socialisation as a trajectory in their explanation of the lives of domestic workers. Although there is a dearth of theorising around the subject of socialisation from global perspectives in both first and third world countries, linkages between domestic workers and socialisation have not been explored in South Africa and other parts of the world.

This study considers early childhood socialisation (primary socialisation) on three dimensions, i.e. How does the structural position of parents/caregivers/guardians (class, race, gender) affect the;

- child's experiences;
- family structure ( gender roles); and
- schooling expectations of the girl child.

The above factors affect the self-concept (primary socialisation) and the occupational roles (secondary socialisation) that African women currently engage in as domestic workers. For Berger & Luckmann (1991), primary and secondary socialisation, play a critical role in society. All of the preceding three factors are instrumental in the occupational role that the African girl child will ultimately occupy later on in her life.

The concept, process or term socialisation is not new. From its early recognition in 1900 when Mead (1967) highlighted its significance in human behaviour, it has become a buzz word across disciplines, in workplaces and in both formal and informal institutions. Notwithstanding this, the term has developed and is practised in different ways by different people, reflecting diversity at social, economic and political levels in all societies (Mead, 1967: 98). It is important at this juncture to create a definition for this study on primary socialisation. Berger & Luckmann (1991: 150), define primary socialisation as the comprehensive and consistent induction of an individual into the objective world of a society or a sector of it. Primary socialisation is the first type of socialisation that any individual undergoes during their childhood; it is as a result of primary socialisation that the child becomes a member of society (Berger & Luckmann 1991: 150).

When Berger & Luckmann (1991), explore society as a subjective reality, they draw attention to the processes of socialisation, which help human beings internalise objective reality. These processes of socialisation are made possible for human beings because we have the capacity to change or adapt environments to our own purposes. These purposes, according to Berger & Luckmann (1991), are not pre-determined or fixed instinctual structures, they are socially constructed. Human beings inhabit a natural and a social world. The freedom of human nature allows for the diversity and creation of cultures, which human beings produce themselves. It is the hierarchy of domestic worker and madam created through the processes of apartheid, primary and secondary socialisation

that is absorbed by the African girl child, which may later encourage her to engage in domestic work.

"While it is possible to say that man has a nature, it is more significant to say that man constructs his own nature, or more simply, that man produces himself" (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 67).

We as human beings, more so as individuals, are responsible for constructing our own reality. Our life path, choices and experiences shape and determine the reality that we construct for ourselves. Human beings are born with a predisposition to sociality. Through interaction with people the reality that has been created by the group into which you are born is internalised. Through this process humans internalise a personal and social identity of a particular role model. The acquisition of a personal and social identity in any given society is described in terms of both primary and secondary socialisation. If young African girl children see the role of women as homemakers in the domestic arena they will internalise this reality shared by the people around them.

Socialisation can be linked to a process that all individuals undergo in order to become part of a society; it involves life long learning. It involves and requires contact and communication with other people. Primary socialisation is the most significant socialisation that all people undergo. All socialisation that follows (secondary socialisation) this has to resemble it. Every person is born into an objective world with a significant other that takes responsibility for primary socialisation. The significant other

is responsible for primary socialisation that is imposed upon the child. Primary socialisation involves far more than cognitive learning. The learning process is charged with emotion, which helps facilitate learning (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 150). It is this emotion that needs to be understood in order to understand the occupational choices made by the female African. The emotion that is felt by the child is learnt from the significant other. If the significant other has taught the child to behave and respond in a particular manner this learnt behaviour will be adopted when an occupational choice is made. The emotion and the action are inter-related. According to (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 89), primary socialisation relies on emotional dependency in relation to the child who is totally dependent on the significant other. This significant other imposes his/her own sense of reality on the child. Initially the child will see this reality as the only reality because she has no point of comparison.

"The child identifies with the significant others (parent /guardian/caregiver) in a variety of emotional ways... The child takes on the significant others' roles and attitudes, which the child internalises and makes them his own. By this identification with significant others the child becomes capable of identifying himself/herself, of acquiring a subjectively coherent and plausible identity" (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 151-152).

In the case of the female African domestic worker the scenario is the same. The girl child identifies with her significant other. The emotional attachment begins to grow, at this point the girl child begins to take on the role of the significant other. It is from this point



that a definition of the self begins, and an identity begins to form for the girl child. The girl child will emulate and copy those around her. Primary socialisation is;

"The process by which an individual acquires the knowledge appropriate to a given society" (Palmer, 1989: 373).

It is important for individuals to function within the rules and norms of the society and community from which they emerge. It is these rules that the girl children come to learn and understand. They function within the parameters of these rules. According to Roberts (1995: 732), primary socialisation is a process during which people adopt/learn or acquire knowledge, values, language, social skills and sensitivity. The central element in the primary socialisation process of human beings is the development and transformation of personality. The development of personality is characterised by individual and collective membership in a community.

"The significant others in the individual's life are the principal agents for the maintenance of his subjective reality... wife, children and secretary solemnly affirm each day that one is a man of importance, or a hopeless failure, maiden aunts, cooks and elevator operators lend varying degrees of support to this" ( Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 170).

Role models as well as significant others all have a profound impact on the objective reality of a person irrespective of her occupational role. People maintain and support the

reality that domestic workers have created. The role of the domestic worker is accepted as being real. According to Berger & Luckmann (1991: 151), a lower class child absorbs the lower class perspective on the social world. If what Berger & Luckmann (1991) say about the lower class child is true, domestic workers whose parents before them have engaged in domestic work will be easier understood.

To summarise, socialisation is the continuous and constant induction of an individual into a society and or community. It involves learning to conform to the norms, respect the values and adhere to the rules of the community, family or group to which the individual belongs. It is through the process of socialisation that the child learns what it means to be either male or female. In this case it may be the process of learning to become a domestic worker.

### **3.8.1 Socialisation within a South African Context**

Societies differ and South African society is unique because of the system of apartheid prior to 1994. The system of separateness resulted in the isolation of the African people in rural areas. African people lived completely separate from people of other races. They were confined to homelands that had inadequate facilities. The employment opportunities in these areas were limited and, as such, unemployment levels were high. Men, for example, were forced to leave the rural areas and work on the mines far away from their homes. This system came to be known as the migrant labour system and separated families for long periods of time. The separation of husbands from wives and fathers

from children lead to the degeneration of the traditional African family. With the absence of large numbers of men from the homelands in the rural areas family patterns began to change. The rural areas still remained under resourced. With the continual depletion of resources women were pushed from the rural homelands to the urban centres to make a living and support their families. Children were left behind with surrogate caregivers. This altered the traditional family system thereby altering the socialisation process. The primary socialisation process in South African society is therefore unique and in analysing the process the uniqueness needs to be carefully understood. It is this uniqueness of race, class and gender that need to be carefully analysed during the research process.

### **3.9 GENDER BIAS**

If the rules for boys and girls are different and the society in which they live has different expectations for girls and boys the children will be socialised with these rules and expectations. If the girl child is expected to take care of the home while her male counterpart is attending school, the girl child will come to believe that it is the role of the woman to take care of the home. If boys are encouraged to complete their schooling and further their education, while girls are discouraged from doing the same, gender bias is evident. Not only is it evident but it immediately places the girl child at a disadvantage and into a life of poverty. It is the lack of education, incomplete schooling and lack of further education that forces female African women into the role of domestic workers.

Both primary and secondary socialisation can be deemed as a process of learning culture, norms, values and roles. This learning process helps a person becomes an active participant in society. It provides a way for culture and norms to pass from one generation to the next. This is how society maintains culture, tradition and norms. We learn what is acceptable if we conform or learn of the repercussions if we challenge societal norms. We learn the attitudes, values and actions appropriate to individuals as members of a particular socio-economic and political society. As such, it is a process through which we learn expectations that people in our community or society have of us. This is one of the ways in which domestic workers can be reproduced. Mothers and grandmothers have historically taken the role of domestic worker and as such the African girl child becomes a domestic worker.

### **3.9.1 Primary Socialisation**

This study defines primary socialisation as a learning process wherein the girl child learns acceptable norms, values and behaviours in order to become part of the community into which she is born. This learning process is a pivotal part of the socialisation process. The girl child learns expectations that society has of her. It is these expectations that will play a role in her determining and establishing her identity. It is through primary socialisation that the African girl child witnesses the gender inequality that exists between the girl and the boy. It is at this point that she realises that the expectations for boys and girls are different. The African girl child might, over time, witness her mom, grandmother, sister

or even aunt engage in domestic work and refer to her work in a positive light. The young child is impressionable and might aspire to occupying the same role.

### 3.9.2 Secondary Socialisation

Secondary socialisation is any thing else that an adult learns that inducts her into new sectors of the objective world of society (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 150). The induction into the role of domestic worker happens when the African woman becomes employed and she has to learn new values, morals and codes of conduct in order to fit into the world of her employer. The role of the domestic worker needs to be understood in order for the African woman to meet the requirement of her job. She has to learn the way that the family she is employed by does things. She needs to understand what is expected of her and how she is expected to behave. The induction process teaches her what is acceptable and what is not. Secondary socialisation is associated with the internalisation of a specialised sub- world of knowledge, the sub-world of the domestic worker. The knowledge required to be a domestic worker needs to be internalised by the African woman in order for her to fit the role of domestic worker. There is a strong cognitive component and identification with being a domestic worker.

"...the sub-worlds acquired during secondary socialisation may be learned instrumentally or at a psychological distance from the knowledge which is learnt"  
(Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 156).

The knowledge that is learnt is transmitted through the process of socialisation. The girl child knows domestic workers that are part of her family or community. She identifies with an individual woman or a group of women. This becomes her role model. She aspires to the role that is occupied by her role model. She learns from her role model and emulates her. This sub-world is internalised and when the girl child later makes a decision to enter domestic work this knowledge comes into play. The African girl child witnesses other domestic workers, she learns from them and internalises the things that other women engage in.

The difference in the depth between the sense of self that the person encapsulated during primary and secondary socialisation, make it viable to consider the sub worlds of secondary socialisation "as more detachable than the base world learned during primary socialisation" ([www.scr.com](http://www.scr.com)). Socialisation will affect the choice that is made by the girl child especially when she has had limited exposure to role models as in the case with girl children who later engage in domestic work. To summarise, secondary socialisation is a process wherein we are exposed to different institutions outside the community from which we were socialised in. It is as a result of secondary socialisation that we learn to behave in environments outside of the norms of our community or social setting.

Anticipatory socialisation bears a great deal of affinity to this study. Female African girl children are taught from a very early age that the role of the woman is confined to the maintenance of the household and the family. The young child is rehearsing for this role from the moment that she can relate to other people. Later on in life when she is faced

with a situation of unemployment she finds herself selling one of the few skills that she has. Berger & Luckmann (1991), take their cue from Merton (1961) in their reference to anticipatory socialisation. Merton (1961) helps provide some backdrop in viewing the anticipatory learning and socialisation experiences of beginning principles when he describes them as a pattern of behaviour in which people begin to learn and conform to the norms, values and attitudes of a group they wish to join.

Anticipatory socialisation is said to be a rehearsal. It is a rehearsal for a situation, which will soon be part of you. Culture and communities, families and societies run smoothly if individuals know what to expect. We need to learn socially acceptable behaviour. We learn the behaviour before we get there. Examples of learnt behaviour include a little girl helping her mother with chores, a little boy pretending to shave. Interpretative sociologists are concerned with what people do and who they are. What they become is products of what their past experiences have led them to expect is proper behaviour (Blumer, 1969: 21). If it is considered proper and acceptable to be a domestic worker then female African girl children will rehearse for the role of domestic worker.

Anticipatory socialisation has a great impact on gender specific role allocation in the childhood home, such as expectations that parents have of male and female children both as children and later on in life (Kanhere, 1987: 227). Anticipatory socialisation is the process of learning how to perform a role attached to a status that we do not yet occupy (Palmer, 1989: 371). It involves preconceived notions about the job. Friends, relatives and employees can provide sources of information for the job. Recruiters could provide a rosy view of the job (Jablin, 1982: 256). This could be some of the ways in which the

African girl children are enticed into a life of domestic work. In the case of domestic workers that will be interviewed for this study and whose mother or grandmother before them were domestic workers, anticipatory socialisation has to be carefully understood and analysed. If the situation of her being a domestic worker is expected and defined for her she will come to occupy that role, based on societal expectations. This is also known as anticipatory socialisation.

### **3.9.3 Re-socialisation**

According to Berger & Luckmann (1991: 182),

“In re-socialisation the past is reinterpreted to conform to the present reality, with the tendency to retroject into the past various elements that were subjectively unavailable at the time.”

The African woman arrives at the home of her employer and has to adjust and alter her behaviour in order to conform to the role of domestic worker in a specific social context. This process of re-socialisation is important because it helps the domestic worker adapt to her occupational role. Re-socialisation can be problematic if the African woman does not ease into the process. This could threaten her job.

The concept of re-socialisation is a process of learning a specific set of new attitudes, values and behaviours different from those in one's previous background and



experiences (<http://research2.csci>). When the African woman arrives in the urban area from the rural area she has to make adjustments to living in the city and becoming a domestic worker in a new environment. The African woman has to begin to unlearn previous orientations and learn new ones to suit her role as domestic worker. She has to learn to latch on to new behaviours that are defined by the new situation. The ease of re-socialisation depends on the following:

- the amount of control the individual is under;
- the ability to shed previous statuses;
- to deny worthiness of old self;
- the degree of group pressure; and
- the degree of individual participation in the process (Palmer, 1989: 222).

The domestic worker re-socialises herself as a means of survival. If re-socialisation does not occur she risks losing her job.

### 3.10 CONCLUSION

Human behaviour and socialisation processes defined and conceptualised by Cooley (1930), Mead (1968), Merton (1961), Thomas (1923) and Berger & Luckmann (1991) provide useful background information for the theoretical model that has been selected for this study. These sociological theorists identify and describe both patterns and processes of socialisation and reflect on situational insights that are important when addressing and defining socialisation. Interpretative theorists view different categories as places where meaning is constructed through social interaction of people within the setting. In any theoretical analysis on the socialisation process of the African girl children who ultimately arrives in the occupational role of domestic worker, the concern of how gender and socialisation interrelate to create a specific character of the domestic worker in South Africa is very real at this point.

Berger & Luckmann (1991) have solidified the emergent dynamics through the incorporation of theoretical studies. They reinforce, through their theoretical writings, the reality of a socialisation process. The nature of domestic work is unskilled and labour intensive. It also clearly has a gender, race and class character, mainly because African woman in South Africa perform it. Once one begins to consider the dynamic relationships between gender, race and socialisation, it is necessary to link these categories in a manner which avoids a stereotype that all African woman from rural areas that come from indigent backgrounds, will arrive in the occupational role of domestic worker. It is

important to note that poor access to education, and poor training results in high levels of illiteracy. This leaves some African women with very few occupational choices.

The emphasis of the theoretical analysis is on the process and impact of socialisation as set out by theorists Berger & Luckmann. (1991). Consequently, an African girl child becomes a domestic worker as a result of gender-biased socialisation, internalisation and patriarchal expectations that she will be a domestic worker, if she sees herself ending up as a domestic worker. If we take into account Berger & Luckmann's (1991) theory of socialisation and in the social construction of reality it becomes clear how socialisation impacts on the ultimate occupational choice of the African girl child. In sum, the issue is that men and women have different roles allocated to them at an early point in their lives relayed to them through the process of socialisation. Their experiences do not share a common basis and it is for this reason the position of African women in domestic work can be understood within this theoretical framework. For the position of female African domestic workers to be theorised, their specific socialisation patterns as girl children must be understood and given due consideration and analyses.

### **3.11 SUMMARY**

Having discussed the theory of socialisation and its manifestation within society it can be noted that socialisation is a process that the African girl child undergoes to arrive in the occupational role of domestic worker in the Durban Metro Region. Socialisation is a mechanism in that it socialises women for a specific social role within the home. Women

in rural patriarchal environments find themselves compelled to perpetuate a continuation of the male dominated patriarchal socialisation process by ensuring that their daughters become part of the society to which they belong. Having theorised about the socialisation process it would be interesting to note whether this process results in the female African arriving in the occupational sector of domestic work. At this point the methodological orientation of this study is explored in the following chapter.

**CHAPTER 4****METHODOLOGICAL ORIENTATION**

“Throughout the interview you should work to encourage your conversational partner to be open and frank, as well as to provide answers in depth. To do so, you show that you understand the factual content of what is being said and empathize with the emotional undertones. This is most important early in the interview as it sets the tone for the entire discussion” (Rubin & Rubin 1995: 131).

**4.1. INTRODUCTION**

Despite extensive scholarship review, very little has been written specifically on domestic work and socialisation. This study is unique for this reason and this uniqueness will be explored and further analysed once the interviews have been completed. It is for this reason, within the current backdrop in South Africa, that a study on socialisation and domestic work is not only important but necessary. It is necessary to understand the reason why so many African women engage in domestic work. No academic study can be complete without the use of a theoretical framework and this study uses Berger & Luckmann’s (1991) social construction of reality as the main source (other theorists have also been investigated and explored).

Falling within interpretative theory, also known as symbolic interactionism, the theory and scholarship review are useful tools in conducting this study. It is through the use of selected theory from the extensive scholarship review and carefully planned methodology, that the study is conducted.

Before providing a methodological orientation for this study, it would be useful to establish the synergy between the theories of this study with the selected methodological framework. Both the theoretical framework and the scholarship review have indicated that interpretative sociology and qualitative methodology are compatible and a combination of these methods will help explain why so many African women come to Durban from rural areas to engage in domestic work. This study will help create new knowledge in a field that has been extensively explored. The interviews that are used include mainly open-ended questions. These are the tools that will help achieve the goals of this study. The point of the study has arrived where it is necessary to understand:

- The socialisation process that these domestic workers underwent as children in the homes of their parents/caregivers/guardians.
- To what extent did the socialisation process that they underwent impact on them choosing domestic work as an occupation?
- Why do so many African women from rural areas engage in domestic work?

- Purpose of study.

This chapter focuses on the methodological framework that has been employed to conduct this study on socialisation and domestic work. The qualitative framework that has been adopted for this study will extract the necessary and relevant information from the twenty domestic workers that are participating in this study.

“Research design tells you what types of information you want to collect and from whom” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 93).

(A theoretical framework and a methodological map are critical to any study.) Studies on domestic workers have been presented by Cock (1984), Preston-Whyte (1969) and other academics both local and international. In this study, the concept of socialisation is used to show how the lives of the female African girl children are different, whereby gender, race and socialisation influence their occupational choice.

#### 4.1.1 Background to the Study

(This study relies extensively on qualitative methodology in order to gather information on the socialisation process of the female African domestic workers.)

“Whom you choose to interview should match how you have defined the subject of your research.... All people that you choose to interview should satisfy three requirements. They should be knowledgeable about the cultural arena or the situation or experience being studied, they should be willing to talk; and when people in the arena have different perspectives, the interviewees should represent the range of points of view” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 65-66).

(The participants that were selected for the study were selected based on the criteria highlighted above. All domestic workers were able to recollect their life experiences in the homes of their parents/caregivers/guardians. The participants were able to recollect their childhood years in detail. All domestic workers that were willing to talk were selected. The researcher tried as much as possible to include domestic workers of all ages and backgrounds. Taking a cue from Rubin & Rubin (1995) it was necessary for this particular study to speak to several domestic workers. The lines of communication with domestic workers were open well before the inception of this study. While preparing the scholarship review and other chapters for this study, every opportunity was used to talk to domestic workers.

*Selection of participants*  
*purpose of research thing in ethnography + people were chosen as what went along*

“ In purposive or judgement sampling the investigator does not necessarily have a quota to fill from within various strata... the advantage of purposive sampling is that the researcher can use her research skill and prior knowledge to choose respondents” (Bailey, 1978: 94).



This research emanated from a conversation with a domestic worker that was employed by the researcher in a full time capacity. She had employed Tryphina Sibongile Nzuza for six years and realised that she [the researcher] did not know her life story. Her only child, who was of school going age, lived with us. She began telling me the story of her 58 years over a series of weeks, which gave me the idea for this research. She also began making reference to other domestic workers that she had befriended over the years and about their stories. She was a link and began inviting the researcher to talk to her friends who willingly shared their stories with her at a very informal level. These women had a wealth of information to offer. The information on offer would not only be useful in a study but within a broader societal context for gender specialists and domestic workers themselves. It was decided that a study on domestic workers and socialisation patterns was desperately needed and necessary. Based on continual interaction with these women, the judgement of the researcher was used to select the sample for this study.

#### 4.2 OBJECTIVE

Like most researchers, the objective of selecting the methodological orientation is to ensure that the overarching objectives of the study are met. The major objective is to understand the socialisation process of the female African girl child that becomes a domestic worker, generate new knowledge about socialisation and the domestic worker and create new theory on socialisation relevant to the field of domestic workers within a South African context.

These objectives include;

- A detailed understanding, explanation and description of domestic workers.
- A detailed understanding, explanation and description of the social environment in which domestic workers grew up.
- Understand, describe and explain their childhood experiences in the home of her parents/guardian/caregiver.
- Conduct a sociological investigation into the socialisation process that the African girl children underwent in the home of her parent/guardian/caregiver.
- Understand and explain the reasons for their occupational choice as domestic worker.

These objectives will be achieved by employing the most appropriate methodological procedure.

### 4.3 PURPOSE

“Researchers ask about culture to learn how the rules within a group guide the choices that people make” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 168).

The choice of concern in this study is the one made by the African woman in deciding to engage in domestic work. It is important to obtain detailed information from the twenty (20) participants for the exact reasons that made them enter domestic work. This is one of the critical questions that should be answered upon completion of this study.

The purpose of this study would be to gain insight into the subjective socialisation processes that twenty (20) female African domestic workers underwent as girl children in the homes of their parents/guardians/caregivers. The end result is to establish a link between socialisation processes in the rural areas and domestic work in the urban centre.

### 4.4 THE RESEARCH PROBLEM

“Ordinary events are important not only to participants, but to those who want to learn about problems” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 169).

These events play an important role in this research. These events, when understood and analysed, can offer solutions and recommendations to the problems (Alvesson & Skildberg, 2000:65). The main function of domestic workers confines women in this

sector to the domestic arena. They have been trained in this sphere of the household thereby becoming confident in their abilities within this sphere. Socialisation plays a key role in the choice and options that woman exercise when entering the labour force. In any study that is being conducted on domestic workers and the approach used to gain entry into their world, a brief insight into domestic workers' characteristics, can simplify problems. This would provide a means to a better understanding of their occupation in general (Babbie, 2004, 19).

- They are women who are victims of unfair political, racial, gender, social and economic circumstances within a South African context (Cock, 1980: 45).
- They engage in employment as domestics out of the need to survive and make a living (Connell, 1987: 65).
- They satisfy their basic needs in the employer's home, where they sleep, eat and work (Boddington, 1983: 37).
- They develop social and economic abilities, which allow them to survive under harsh circumstances (Cock, 1980: 171).

The above selections of characteristics were drawn from studies conducted by South African academics. The unique nature of South African society requires characteristics highlighted by South African academics on South African domestic workers.

African women, as a category who largely occupies the domestic work sector, have clearly been a victim of apartheid and have had to suffer severe consequences. These consequences are explored by South African academics. This study looks at these elements to understand their linkages to socialisation. Several other characteristics that have been listed are explored in the scholarship review section of this study. The common factor is that these women were victims of political, economic, social and political oppression. As such, the experiences and socio-economic situations that they face are similar. It is these similarities that the above researchers have drawn on. Cock (1980) has also, to some degree, drawn on socialisation when she refers to the development of social and economic abilities.

#### 4.5 RATIONALE

Conducting a sociological investigation into the socialisation process of the female African domestic worker is a challenging task. In rising to the challenge, careful consideration needs to go into the rationale of the study. Key extracts have been selected in order to support the research that is being conducted. Domestic workers originate in poor rural families that have not had many educational opportunities. As a result of the poor educational opportunities African women are forced to engage in domestic labour (Cock, 1984: 13). Cock (1984) reinforces the powerlessness of the domestic worker within a patriarchal society. The domination of patriarchy within the traditional family unit allocated men and women to very specific roles. The relationship between the domestic worker and the employer is relatively paternalistic. This relationship may

generate a sense of power over the employee by the employer. This further confines the worker to a position of dependence and powerlessness. This will be explored in the data analysis chapter. All of these academic contributions highlight and reflect the subjugation, exploitation and powerlessness of the domestic worker.

## **4.6 INVESTIGATION AREA**

Durban is located on the East Coast of South Africa. The choice of this area was made based on accessibility, since the studies are being conducted at the University of KwaZulu-Natal in Durban. Durban is located at the centre of large tracts of rural areas thereby attracting people from surrounding rural areas in search of employment. A composite picture of domestic workers and their socialisation process will be obtained by engaging domestic workers from the Durban Metro Region. This end will be achieved through the methodological orientation.

### **4.6.1 Methodological Orientation**

The methodological approach selected for this study has to be compatible with the theoretical framework that has already been selected. In addition to its compatibility to the theoretical framework it has to have components that can help obtain the relevant information from the participants. Keeping these two very important factors in mind it was decided that a qualitative approach is best suited for this study. Qualitative methodology and interpretative theory are widely used and have proved to be highly

compatible in several academic studies that have been reviewed in an earlier chapter. In any attempt to address the above research needs, the researcher will, whenever possible, encourage participants to describe their childhood experiences (Bailey, 1978:88). The objective of this will be to obtain first-hand knowledge from the participants. This is referred to as “methodological empathy”. It is not necessary to agree with the perspective in order to understand it (Mouton, 2001: 193). This is important when talking to domestic workers, keeping this in mind will ensure that the information is accurate. According to Neuman (2003: 75), the researcher needs to remain completely emotionally detached from the respondents; the researcher also needs to remain neutral at all times.

“...and objective as he or she measures aspects of social life, examines evidence, and replicates the research of others” (Neuman, 2003: 75).

There are two basic types of empathy: cognitive empathy and emotional empathy (Bologh, 1992:24). The first refers primarily to taking the perspective of another person, whereas the second refers primarily to emotional responses to another person that either are similar to those the other person is experiencing (parallel empathy) or are a reaction to the emotional experiences of the other person (reactive empathy) (Cicurel,1967:93).

“The evolving conceptualisation of empathy as a complex and interpersonal process suggests that the inconclusiveness and apparent contradictions of research to date might be substantially clarified by considering data from a multidimensional

perspective. Attention to the conceptual bases underlying diverse measurement approaches is key to understanding the data produced” (Gorden, 1969).

Notwithstanding the limitations of their paradigms and models for this study, the debates and knowledge accumulated in other disciplines can inform a broad range of inquiry relevant to socialisation and domestic work. According to Rubin & Rubin (1995: 6-7), qualitative methodology is unique and has three distinguishing factors that separate it from other methodological orientations in the social science field.

“Qualitative interviews are modifications or extensions of ordinary conversation, with important distinctions. Qualitative interviewers are more interested in the understanding, knowledge and insights of the interviewees than in categorizing people or events in terms of academic theories. The content of the interview, as well as the flow and choice of topics, changes to match what the individual interviewee knows and feels” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 6).

The nature of this sociological investigation requires detailed information from the participants in the study. It is for the above reasons that a qualitative orientation is best suited for this study.



#### 4.6.2 Methodological Approaches

Research design

This study is guided by Preston–Whyte’s (1969) research conducted on domestic workers. Her study provides useful information on the methodological approach that is most effective when conducting studies on domestic workers. Akin to this study she utilises a qualitative approach in her study. However, her approach is not exclusively qualitative. Cock’s (1984) study, also utilises a combination of methods. However, both researchers rely largely on qualitative methodology. From a review of their methodological approaches, a qualitative approach with the use of interviews was selected for this study on domestic-workers-and-socialisation.

ethnography  
because

#### 4.6.3 Types of Interviews

According to Neuman (2003: 392), in life story interviews researchers ask open-ended questions to capture how the person understands her past. According to Atkinson in (Hycener, 1985: 393) the research is conducted by;

- Interviews

- preparing a summary of each tape;
- making a verbatim transcription;
- reviewing and editing;

- cross checking the information with the interviewee; and
- preparing a commentary on major themes.

Interviews were conducted with each of the participants in the study to be able to obtain a clear picture of their lives as children and later on as adults, the focus very specifically on socialisation patterns in their lives.

(A combination of the interviews and life history was selected in order to best retrieve the information from the domestic workers being interviewed. The researcher decided that using one exclusively will not achieve the end result. Although life histories are prompted by about five to six open-ended questions, this method was not appropriate for the domestic workers. Domestic workers were guided by the questions that were being posed to them. There were very specific areas that needed to be addressed and these questions could not be addressed through a life history exclusively. The interview method included, looking at different stages in the life of the domestic worker from girl child, to teenager, to adult, to domestic worker.

#### 4.6.3.1 Focus Group Interviews

According to Babbie (2004: 291), focus groups are generally used by researchers utilising a qualitative framework for their study. In this process 10-12 participants are involved.

① Focus Information was conducted & supported with interviews with some employees, work-station managers at one region

These participants are asked to sit in a circle.

“The researcher would then manage the focus group interview by going around in the circle, ensuring that everyone speaks and ending up with the individual responses of all the members of the group” (Babbie , 2004: 292).

Another way of utilising focus groups is to retrieve information from them that you would not normally retrieve under any other circumstances. This is how the focus groups will be utilised in this study.

“It is the shaping and reshaping of opinion that we are after. We may know what each individual thinks, but once we put several individuals together in a group, we are confronted with a completely new set of data” (Babbie, 2004: 292).

According to David Morgan in Babbie (2004: 292);

- The comparative advantage of focus group interviews is to observe interaction on a topic.
- Group discussions provide direct evidence about similarities and differences in the participant’s opinions and experiences as opposed to reaching conclusions from individual interviews.

There are both advantages and disadvantages to using focus groups. Often methodologists such as Babbie (2004), Rubin & Rubin (1995) and Mouton (2001) point to the lack of time and control in a focus group versus an interview. This is overcome because this study uses both an interview schedule as well as the focus group discussions. According to Neuman (2003: 396), there are both advantages and limitations to focus groups. The advantages are that the neutral settings allow people to express their opinions and ideas freely. The open expression among members of marginalized social groups is encouraged. People tend to feel empowered. Participants may query one another and explain their answers to each other (Kessler & Mc Kenna, 1978:117).

The limitations on the other hand are that “attitudes become more extreme after group discussions. Only a few areas can be fully explored in a focus group session. Focus group participants tend to produce fewer ideas than they do in individual interviews.

Researchers cannot reconcile the differences that arise between individual only and focus group context responses” (Neuman, 2003: 396). The focus group interviews will bring twenty (20) domestic workers together to discuss their shared impression of the topic under study. According to Rubin & Rubin (1995: 28), this might present some challenges. People might not want to divulge information about themselves in front of others and therefore will not necessarily disclose accurate information. According to Rubin & Rubin (1995: 28), life histories and focus group interviews, among other methods, can be included within two broad categories of qualitative interviewing, namely cultural and topical.

#### 4.6.3.2 Cultural interviews

“Cultural interviews focus on the norms, values, understandings and the taken-for-granted rules of behaviour of a group or society” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 28).

Cultural interviews are important for the methodology of this study, because they seek to understand the shared meanings that the members of the group develop. The researcher also seeks to understand the activities of the group and the logic behind the engagement in these activities. The style of questioning as prescribed by Rubin & Rubin (1995: 89) will be of a relaxed nature. A cultural interview involves more active listening than aggressive questioning. “In-depth qualitative interviewing helps explain how and why culture is created, evolves and is maintained” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 3). According to Neuman (2003: 532), cultural context research is seen as a type of comparative research in which the researcher identifies a relatively small number of societies or cultures that represent cultural types. Next the researcher compares the small number of cultures to permit generalisations to other societies of those same types.

#### 4.6.3.3 Topical Interviews

“Topical interviews are more narrowly focused on a particular event or process and are concerned with what happened, when and why” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 28).

Topical interviews seek out explanations and descriptions from the subjects involved in the research process. Topical interviews deal with precisely defined subjects such as the subjects in this study. They trace a process of how a particular decision was made (Lynch & Bogen 1991:272). In relation to this study, the process that is being traced is one that made these women decide to engage in domestic work.

#### 4.6.4 Choosing the Interviewees

Rubin & Rubin (1995) advise researchers that the people who are chosen to be interviewed should match how the subject of the research has been defined. The researcher has to ensure that judgement sampling is used and that the unique nature of the study is taken into account (Measor, 1985:36). The uniqueness of this study lies in the fact that the domestic workers that are being interviewed are African women from historically disadvantaged backgrounds. In addition to this, all participants are women that originate from a very specific sector of South Africa’s African population. All of these factors - socialisation, race, class and gender contributes to the uniqueness of this study.

There are certain prerequisites that interviewees should meet before they are selected.

Interviewees should;

- be knowledgeable about the cultural arena;
- be willing to talk; and
- when people in the arena have different perspectives, the interviewees should represent that point of view (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 66).

According to Babbie (2004: 289-291), it is important that the participants in the study are carefully chosen. The choices that are made will determine the level of success that the study achieves. Babbie agrees that the persons being interviewed for the study must have a lived experience of the topic under study. This is particularly important for a qualitative study. The domestic worker that is being interviewed for a study of this nature needs to have a good understanding of the division of labour as well as how the household from which she originated, was divided. A research subject that is not willing to share her knowledge and experience can serve no purpose in this study (Mehan, 1975:99).

The careful selection of the participants is crucial to this study. In the beginning of any research process almost all people can be helpful. As the research progresses specific knowledge and more detail is needed to fully understand specific themes and areas. In

this study, only African women who have grown up in rural areas and moved to the city to engage in domestic work, are selected to participate in the study.

While clarifying the main criteria, it is also important that the domestic workers being interviewed can remember their childhood in order to provide the information that is critical to this study. This study looks at the socialisation processes that the participants underwent as girl children in the home of their parents/caregivers/ guardians are critical to this study. Without the knowledge of their childhood they cannot be of any assistance in this study. According to Neuman (2003: 210-211), qualitative researchers collect specific cases, events or actions that can deepen understanding and find cases that will enhance what the researchers learn about the processes of social life in a specific context. Judgement sampling selects participants with a specific purpose in mind. It is never known if the cases selected are truly representative. This type of sampling is also used to reach inaccessible groups of people in society (Neuman, 2003: 234).

#### **4.7 THE RESEARCHER**

Objectivity and integrity of the researcher has to be maintained on a continuous basis. According to Mouton (2001), the way in which both objectivity and integrity can be maintained is through the following;



- “Adherence to the highest possible technical standards in their research, teaching and practice.
- Since individual researchers vary in their research modes, skills and experience, they should always indicate the limits of their findings and the methodological constraints that determine the validity of such finding, at the conclusion of a research study.
- In practice or other situations in which scientists are requested to render a professional or expert judgment, they should represent their areas and degrees of expertise accurately and justly.
- In presenting their work, scientists are obliged to always report their findings fully and not to misrepresent their results in any manner. To the best of their ability, researchers should also disclose details of their theories, methods and research designs that might be relevant to interpretations of research findings” (Mouton, 2001: 240).

Adherence to these guidelines ensures that the researcher remains objective in conducting the research. Objectivity and integrity is important in any academic study however, this study will be guided by the principles outlined by Mouton (2001) to ensure accuracy and efficiency in interviews and the analysis of data.

“Some argue that social science must be as objective and unbiased as the natural sciences; others maintain that value-free, objective social science is impossible” (Neuman, 2003: 496).

According to Mannheim (1936) in (Neuman, 2003: 497), social researchers are unique and should adopt a relational position.

“A position apart from any other specific social group, yet in touch with all groups. They should be detached or marginal in society, yet have the connections with all parts of society, even parts that are often overlooked or hidden” (Neuman, 2003: 497-498).

The uniqueness of this study rests with race as a social concept. “It is studied because the members of a culture attach social meaning to racial appearance” (Neuman, 2003: 497). Race is an important component of the study and played an important role in the collection of data and later the analysis. Objectivity within the remnants of an apartheid society was maintained by the researcher. This was achieved with a non-judgemental approach.

According to (Babbie, 2004: 646), objectivity is a general feature in the practice of research. An objective research method ensures the accuracy of the research findings. Although the researcher is fairly fluent in Zulu, there were situations when it became difficult to understand the participants in the study. The reasons for this were

pronunciation, cultural meanings and accent. It was important that the meaning was not lost in translation. This being a very critical part of the study, it was important that the data was not compromised. An interpreter was used in all interviews to translate the responses of the respondents.

The interpreter was a domestic worker and was fluent in both English and Zulu. The interpreter was present at all interviews for ad hoc translation where necessary. The interpreter is Angel Nzuzo, 26 years old, employed as a domestic worker part-time for three years while completing her studies. Using Angel as a translator was deliberate, she was chosen because of her experience working as a domestic worker. The fact that she was an African woman from a rural area who has had similar experiences to other domestic workers in this study was important. She had an existing rapport with the participants in the study. They felt very comfortable talking through her.

According to Mouton (2001: 195), a qualitative approach “has the potential to supplement and reorient our current understanding.” In the case of domestic workers it is the understanding of the socialisation process. “Qualitative interviewers listen to people as they describe how they understand the worlds in which they live and work” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 3). Like Rubin & Rubin (1995) Mouton (2001), and Babbie (2004: 53) agrees with and supports the view that the qualitative research paradigm attempts to “take its departure point as the insider perspective on social action.” The overarching objective is to ensure that the perspective of the subjects, people or group under study is explored and understood from a lived experience.

This aims to provide a detailed description of a number of interviews usually less than fifty participants (Mouton, 2001: 149). A qualitative methodological approach is best suited to understand and explain social phenomena ([www.misq.org/misqd961/isworld/index.html](http://www.misq.org/misqd961/isworld/index.html)).

This approach provided explanations about the socialisation process of domestic workers, thereby presenting a holistic overview (Mouton, 2001: 194).

According to Rubin & Rubin (1995: 19), "Qualitative interviewing encompasses a variety of ways of questioning. The family of qualitative interviews differs in the degree of emphasis on culture, how we interview depends, in part, on what it is we are trying to hear."

In trying to understand the socialisation process of the female African domestic worker it is important that questions evoke responses about socialisation and childhood experiences of the domestic worker being interviewed. The findings need to be drawn from the lived experiences of domestic workers as opposed to what the researcher wants to hear.

#### **4.8 THE PHILOSOPHY**

This study is guided by the work of Berger & Luckmann (1991) and is located within the field of interpretative sociology. Interpretative, positivist and critical researchers all influence and guide qualitative research. The philosophical base is hermeneutics and

phenomenology. This study focuses largely on phenomenology. Hermeneutics deals largely with “the analysis of text in order to understand them” (Mouton, 2001: 167). A philosophical base in phenomenology is understood as;

“A phenomenological study can be robust in indicating the presence of factors and their effects on individual cases, but must be tentative in suggesting their extent in relation to the population from which participants or cases were drawn” (Husserl, 1970: 101).

Attempts are made to understand phenomena through the meanings that people assign them (Oakley, 1985:21).

According to Babbie (2004: 645), “A key feature of phenomenology is its emphasis on the basic differences and analogies between human subjects and natural phenomena”. According to Schutz (1970) one of the key thinkers and supporters of phenomenology, “...the difference between the natural and social sciences is the fact that actors in the social world construct and utilize first-order concepts and self understandings to make sense of their life-worlds” (Babbie, 2004: 645).

This research also supports the view that social reality is produced by people. In addition, the belief that people can affect changes for themselves. In the very specific case of domestic workers in South Africa, their ability is constrained by various forms of social, cultural and political domination.

#### 4.9 TRIANGULATION

According to Spradley (1979: 12) triangulation is when a researcher uses elements of both qualitative and quantitative methodology when conducting research.

“Applied to social research, it means it is better to look at something from several angles than to look at it only one way” (Denzin, 1990: 199).

This study focuses, to a very small degree, on triangulation. This includes the use of quantitative as well as qualitative methodology. Similar to Dodds (1997) in ([www.psych.ucalgary](http://www.psych.ucalgary)), this study uses mainly a qualitative style, with open-ended interviews, followed with a quantitative survey. According to Neuman (2003: 547), triangulation is a term borrowed from surveying that says looking at an object from several different points gives a more accurate view of it. When conducting social research, using a combination of both qualitative and quantitative methods helps obtain a greater understanding of the topic under study. According to Denzin in (Babbie, 2004: 275), “Triangulation, or the use of multiple methods, is a plan of action that will raise sociologists (and other social science researchers) above the personal biases that stem from single methodologies. By combining methods and investigators in the same study, observers can partially overcome the deficiencies that flow from one investigator or method.” Triangulation is seen as the best way to retrieve the most amount of information of the topic under study. This method is a combination of the two main methodological paradigms.

#### 4.10 SAMPLING

According to Mouton (2001: 150), the most common sampling that is utilised in the detailed interview approach is theoretical or judgement sampling. In a historically separate society such as South Africa, domestic workers function in isolation in individual households (Delpont, 1995: 33). Judgemental or purposive sampling is used in this study.

“Sometimes it is appropriate for you to select your sample on the basis of your own knowledge of the population, its elements, and the nature of your research aims: in short, based on your judgement and the purpose of the study” (Babbie, 2004: 166).

This has proven to be the case for this study on domestic workers. The participants that were required for this study needed to meet certain criteria according to the aims and objectives of the study. According to Neuman (2003: 213), purposive or judgemental sampling is used for specific types of research. The participants are selected with a specific purpose in mind.

Purposive sampling is appropriate in three specific categories.

- “ A researcher uses it to select unique cases that are especially informative;
- A researcher may use purposive sampling to select members of a difficult-to-reach, specialized population;
- Another situation for purposive sampling occurs when a researcher wants to identify particular types of cases for in depth investigation” (Neuman, 2003: 213).

This study falls into the second category. The target group of domestic workers is a difficult group to reach. It is impossible to reach all domestic workers and sample randomly from the list. Instead other domestic workers are used to identify a sample of domestic workers.

Participants are selected by human choice rather than at random and the method suffers in that no sampling theory is possible. The researcher makes a decision whether the person will be suitable for the study ([www.umanitoba.ca](http://www.umanitoba.ca)). In this case of judgement sampling, the researcher uses her judgement in selecting the units from the population for study based on the population's parameters. This type of sampling technique is the most appropriate if the population to be studied is difficult to locate or if some members are thought to be more suitable (more knowledgeable, more willing, etc.) than others to interview.



#### 4.11 THE PROCESS

This research process aims to obtain data about and understand the socialisation processes of the twenty (20) selected domestic workers. The primary objective is to understand the processes that has led them to reach the roles that they function in today. There are four data gathering procedures that this study will highlight and utilise in achieving its objectives.

- Intensive open-ended interviews among domestic workers about their socialisation experiences when they were girl children in the home of their parents/guardians/caregivers.
- Data will be collected from a judgement sample of twenty (20) respondents.
- Interviews with the domestic workers about their life history and childhood experiences.
- Four group discussions with domestic workers. Five domestic workers in each group.

This will provide the information that will help answer the critical questions of this study. Interviews and group discussion are critical for this study, because there is no other means to verify the data that will be collected. Group discussion will also prompt

domestic workers to speak freely and spontaneously. Issues that have been overlooked in the one-on-one interview might be brought to the fore in the group discussions.

#### **4.11.1 Intensive Open-ended Interviews**

These will be conducted with each of the twenty selected participants. The interviews will be divided into two sessions. Each session will last approximately two hours. It is hoped that the interview can be completed in this time frame.

#### **4.11.2 Judgement sample**

Approximately fifty domestic workers have been engaged over the last eighteen months. Based on the criteria previously outlined, twenty domestic workers were selected for this study.

#### **4.11.3 Interviews**

This part of the interview, which is conducted at the second meeting, explores the life history and the childhood experiences of the domestic worker.

#### 4.11.4 Group discussions

As the data from domestic workers cannot be verified by referring to any documentation, group discussions will encourage domestic workers to bring issues to the fore that might have been neglected in the interview schedule. This also allows any outstanding questions to be addressed and helps obtain clarity on issues from the participants.

#### 4.12 OBSERVATIONS

Observational research relies heavily on a verbal analysis. This view is interested in a more subjective understanding of the research subjects. The domestic workers in this study are friends or relatives of the domestic worker that is employed by the researcher. She often has the opportunity to interact with them when they visit her home. The challenging part of research is the consolidation of material and the organisation of data.

“A common way of organising the report is to open the presentation with a statement of the problem, explain why it is puzzling and important, and then present what you have learned in ways that solve the puzzle” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 257).

The problem, in this case, is to understand why so many female African women engage in domestic work as opposed to other professions.

Data retrieved is analysed largely in a narrative form. The interpretation of the interviews and the qualitative data from the group discussions involves the use of themes around issues which arose as a direct result of the interviews being conducted. The information is organised into thematic categories depicting the voices of the domestic workers.

Interviews cannot be verified or corroborated in any way. Group discussions are included in the research to help verify and get consensus on the broader issues of socialisation. In an attempt to obtain an understanding of domestic workers and their socialisation patterns, the evidence requires a qualitative methodology. Qualitative methodology provides the necessary tools to extract the appropriate information that is required to obtain an understanding of the area under study.

The distinction between data collection and data analysis is clear. However, in qualitative research the clarity is slightly obscured. The question that is posed will determine the information that the participant volunteers. The interview schedule will be carefully constructed taking this into account. Qualitative researchers are concerned largely with textual and narrative explanations. There are three modes of analysis. These include hermeneutics, semiotics and approaches which focus on narrative and metaphor. This study focuses on the narrative and metaphor.

“There are many kinds of narrative, from oral narrative through to historical narrative. Metaphor is the application of a name or a descriptive term or phrase to an object or action to which it is not literally applicable. Scholars in many disciplines have looked at areas such as metaphor and symbolism in indigenous cultures, oral narrative, narrative and metaphor in different settings”  
([www.misq.org](http://www.misq.org)).

#### **4.13 ANALYSIS**

Data analysis is said to be the most exciting part of research. The ideas and the knowledge come together to form ideas and new conceptual and theoretical insights about the topic under study. All the information is collected and collated in a methodical order. Qualitative analysis requires attention to detail and painstaking effort. The information needs to be organised thematically to tell a story in the case of this study. The thematic structures explore the different life areas of the domestic workers being interviewed.

According to Rubin & Rubin (1995: 226), to embark on the data analysis process all information from all respondents needs to be compartmentalised. This allows for comparison and analysis of the different responses to the same question and helps identify nuances and variations. It allows the researcher to compare and contrast the different categories and unpack connections between themes that run through the study.

“The goal is to integrate the themes and concepts into a theory that offers an accurate, detailed, yet subtle interpretation of your research area” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 227).

This is an important component of the study. Aside from answering the critical questions of the research, one of overarching objectives of the research is to create new knowledge on the subject of domestic workers.

Rubin & Rubin’s (1995: 229) approach to analysing data is that;

- the interviews are read and core ideas and concepts are noted;
- recognition of emotive stories;
- find themes;
- the material is coded to group similar ideas together; and
- it is then established how the themes relate to each other.

Babbie (2004:499) provides a very logical process to data analysis

“One does not begin with a theory, and then prove it. Rather, one begins with an area of study and what is relevant to that area is allowed to emerge” (2004: 499).

There are two essential procedures that are required when data is being analysed or coded. The first step would be to ask questions and the second would be to make comparisons. When the coding process begins, information and data is categorized into segments. These segments will represent different questions that need to be answered in the research process.

Bailey (1987), Rubin & Rubin (1995), Mouton (2001), and Babbie (2004), have offered procedures that can be used in order to analyse the data. Cognisance of their contributions is considered and the method of analysis used in this study is as follows;

- Once the interviews are complete, they will be transcribed into individual files.
- A larger table including all twenty domestic workers details is drawn up.
- A review of all questions and answers is carried-out.
- Thematic headings are created.
- Information is inserted into sections and subsections.

- There is a focus on socialisation and occupational choices.

Once this is achieved, conclusions are made and findings are measured against the literature and theoretical framework.

#### 4.13.1 The Link between Methodology and Theory

Symbolic interactionism or interpretative sociology, as it has come to be known in recent times, is especially relevant to the concerns of sociologists. There are four ideas that can be identified when one thinks of symbolic interactionism;

- Instead of focusing on the individual and her personal characteristics, symbolic interactionism focuses on the nature of social interaction.
- Human action is not only caused by social interaction but also results from interaction within the individual.
- The focus of this perspective is on the present, not the past.
- Symbolic interactionism describes the human being as more unpredictable and active in her world ([www.misq.org](http://www.misq.org)).



Based on this summary of interpretative sociology, it was decided that in order to understand, explain and describe all the elements of the study a qualitative methodology would be most compatible with a theoretical framework that is influenced by symbolic interactionism.

#### **4.14 CONCLUSION**

Bringing any study to a close is critical. However this can only occur if the questions have been answered.

“The data analysis ends when you have found overarching themes and put them in the context of broader theory and answered the question” (Rubin & Rubin, 1995: 256).

Using the methodological framework as a research map the field study will be guided and directed by the information collated in this chapter.

#### **4.15 SUMMARY**

The principles that guide this research are of a qualitative nature. However, in the analysis the integration of quantitative methodology is evident. In the case of studying domestic workers in the Durban area it was decided that the best way to study a group of women such as this would be through a qualitative methodology. It took precedence over

a quantitative study, because a qualitative study provided more detailed information. The primary method selected to gather data in this investigation, is an interview schedule with 143 questions. This method (and combinations) is effective in obtaining the most relevant information possible for this study. What follows in the next chapter is an analysis of the data.

**CHAPTER 5****DATA ANALYSIS AND INTERPRETATION****5.1. INTRODUCTION**

This process was a challenging one and has provided insight into the lives of twenty domestic workers employed in the Durban Metro Region. More specifically, it has provided relevant and pertinent information about the socialisation process of the female African (girl child) who became a domestic worker, currently employed in the urban centre. This chapter will provide a portrayal of the domestic workers contributions to this study. This is followed by a sociological analysis of the information and the rationale supporting this occupational role.

Upon embarking on the process of analysing and interpreting the data that has been collected through interviews and group discussions with twenty domestic workers, several areas, themes and categories were considered. A large amount of information was collected in the interviews and group discussions. The data in this chapter has been analysed in thematic categories under subject headings. When talking about socialisation and domestic work, it is difficult to make the data fit into neat little boxes.

A profile of each domestic worker is provided, detailing similar experiences and grouped responses. Socialisation and explanations for the reasons that these African

women have entered domestic work have been attempted. The lived experiences of the domestic workers when they were girl children in the homes of their parents/guardians/caregivers are analysed in relation to the socialisation processes and patterns. This chapter contextualises the scholarship review and theoretical framework.

## 5.2 QUESTIONS

In essence, girl children are socialised (either knowingly or unknowingly) under the influence of a patriarchal society by the primary care giver. This notion of patriarchy is perpetuated by the agents of socialisation. It is noted that it is female primary caregivers that have perpetuated this patriarchal ideology. The critical questions that guide this study include the following,

- How are girl children (now employed as domestic workers) socialised in the homes of their caregivers / parents/ guardians?
- Why do largely black African women end up in the occupational role of domestic worker?
- Are socialisation patterns different for boys than they are for girls?

The critical questions above have guided the research process and helped achieve the end result. At the outset of this investigation, socialisation was critical in understanding domestic workers in this study. Issues that require clarification are,

- a sociological link between the female African domestic workers and the socialisation processes that they underwent as girl children in the home of their parents/ guardians/ caregivers; and
- from a sociological perspective, the role that the socialisation process has played in the occupational role that the female African women experience.

The data analysis and interpretation is guided by the preceding questions. There are clear overlaps between the broad questions that follow.

### **5.2.1 Methodology**

It is instructive at this point to refer briefly to the methodological approach that this study has utilised. This study relies extensively on qualitative interviews in order to gather information on domestic workers and the socialisation process that they underwent as girl children in the homes of their parents/guardians/caregivers. This has been clearly outlined in the methodology chapter of this study. This chapter focuses on the analysis of the data that was collected through the interviews and group discussions.

According to Rubin & Rubin (1995: 2),

“...qualitative interviewing is more than a set of skills; it is also a philosophy, an approach to learning. One element of this philosophy is that understanding is achieved by encouraging people to describe their worlds in their own terms.”

### 5.2.2 The Process

- Appointments were made with the twenty eight domestic workers.
- Each of them was invited to participate in the study.
- Only twenty-two agreed to participate in the study.
- Two were afraid of their employers and;
- Two requested payment for their participation in the study.
- Each of the remaining twenty domestic workers was met with individually and the interviews were conducted.
- The women were met with in groups.

This process helped access information about the socialisation process of the female African domestic workers.

### **5.2.3 The Interviews**

The interviews were for the most part open-ended. Close-ended questions were also utilised. Their ages, educational status and the number of people in their family, was all revealed through the use of close-ended questions. The interview schedule is very extensive with 147 questions. The questions deal specifically with socialisation and the life of the domestic worker when she was a girl child. Although all questions are not directly related to issues of socialisation, it was important that a composite picture of the lives of the women that engage in domestic work was developed.

### **5.2.4 Group Discussions**

Group discussions were held with groups of five women at a time. The number of domestic workers did not exceed seven in each group discussion. The group discussions required a minimum of three participants. All participants in the group discussion had been previously interviewed individually. The group discussions lasted between one hour and two and a half hours. The group discussions provided verification of the individual interviews that were conducted. The women reinforced cultural practises and socialisation patterns that were discussed in the interviews. Women gained confidence in a group setting and spoke freely. Additional valuable information was received from

the women in the group discussions. The women volunteered information when they were reminded about their childhood by other domestic workers.

Interviews were held with the domestic workers at their places of employment and in parks. The interviews were held mainly on a Thursday afternoon and/or on a Sunday afternoon. These were the best and most convenient times for the domestic workers. Most domestic workers had a Thursday afternoon off. Sunday was generally a day of rest for most domestic workers. Thursday afternoons were set aside for individual interviews while Sunday afternoons were left for group discussions. In the initial stages of the work it was to identify participants for the study based on judgement sampling.

This period served to introduce the study to groups of women employed as domestic workers. The nature of this study meant that domestic workers must have the ability to recollect their childhood very carefully. A great deal of time was spent with informal communication prior to the administration of the interview schedule. The domestic workers themselves were very co-operative and the interviews proved successful for the most part. A great deal of time was spent on them asking about the study and how it could help them. There was great interest on the part of domestic workers on education for their children.



### 5.2.5 The Data

It is vital that the categories of "African", and "women" be recognised as units of analysis when trying to understand the socialisation processes of the domestic workers in this study, when they were girl children. All participants in the study were both women and African. The overwhelming majority of domestic workers in South Africa are African women. A large majority of men that previously engaged in domestic work have moved out of domestic work. Women have been unable to follow suit because of gender constraints and limitations (Robertson & Berger, 1986: 13). Men have moved out of domestic work because better opportunities have been presented to them.

## 5.3 FINDINGS

It was found that the women in this study did not want to see their daughters working as domestic workers, although some of their daughters were already employed as domestic workers. They did not want to perpetuate a cycle. They were keen to break the cycle of poverty, poor education, and lack of training and domestic work as an occupational route.

Domestic workers in this study obtained a very conservative gender biased upbringing.

They were subject to a gender-biased socialisation from the day that they were born.

Their primary caregivers, exclusively women, reinforced patriarchal practices within the

household. By socialising the girl children in this gender biased manner these girl children arrived at the following,

- They had become domestic workers due to the lack of financial support from a male figure (father/husband).
- They were socialised to believe that once an African female marries, she is not required to work. It is her responsibility to take care of the children and the home.
- As a result of this aspect of their socialisation, they are not encouraged to complete their education.
- Education was considered wasted on girl children, because they would marry and move to the home of the husband's family.
- When girl children do not marry they are forced to take care of themselves.
- The absence of a father or husband in their lives leaves them with little choice for access to financial resources.
- They engage in domestic work because they were socialised to take care of the home after marriage.

- If the female African woman does not marry or have a husband to meet her financial needs she often is forced to enter “domestic work”.

The stories documented in this study deal with how women and girls were socialised. The expectations that were placed on them as women are highlighted. Their childhood socialisation is understood and interpreted. The stories relayed by the twenty domestic workers, all reveal poor education, little or no skills, poor opportunities, apartheid, and an ideology of patriarchy, which resulted in the girl children becoming victims of a gender bias socialisation process.

#### **5.4 PROFILES**

The following table provides a brief profile of the twenty domestic workers that were part of the study on the socialisation processes of the female African domestic worker. Each domestic worker is introduced and briefly profiled. The following are the exact responses received from the domestic workers. They have not been edited. These responses were collected in both the individual interviews and group discussions.

TABLE 1 PROFILE OF DOMESTIC WORKERS

Name	Age	Where	How did you	Are you	If no, why not	What were some	What was	Level of
of		are you	acquire the skills to	married		of the values that	your/sisters'	education
Participant		from?	become a domestic			you were taught	responsibility	
			worker?			as a young girl?	in the home?	
Alzina	72	Mahlabath	There was someone	No	I was not	I was told to get	Cooking,	Grade 6
Khumalo		ini	who had a market in		fortunate enough	married.	cleaning and	
			Mahlabathini and she		to find someone		washing	
			had asked me to work		that I would			
			for her. I had learnt		marry.			
			how to become a					
			domestic worker					
			from her.					

Doris Gwala	62	Newhano ver	My friend taught me the skills required for domestic work. She showed me how to look after the children, washing, ironing and cooking. I use to relieve my friend from work during the holidays.	No	I was not fortunate enough, to get married	To get married but I did not get married as it is a gift from God.	Cleaning, making African mats and knitting doilies.	Grade 3
Egnes Mbatha	52	Ulundi	My aunt was a domestic worker and she asked me to help her with the work. I eventually took over her job.	No	I was not fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry.	Girls were just told to get married.	Cooking and cleaning the house.	Grade 5

Eunice Dlamini	48	Umzumbe	I use to visit my mother when she was a domestic worker and she taught me the skills of washing and ironing. Eventually I got my own job as a domestic worker	No	I was not lucky enough to get married.	We were taught the importance of working.	We had to cook, clean and farm the land	
Lynet Ndlela	44	Mtubatub a	My aunt use to work as a domestic worker and when I visited her, the employer had asked me to stay on permanently.	No	I was not fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry.	Girls were taught the value of work.	n/a	Grade 12

Mavis	64	Kwa	I use to clean the	No	I was not	We were taught the	Cleaning and	None
Ngcobo		Ngcolosi	house when I was young, so I learnt this from then. The only thing that I had to learn was the cooking as it was different. My employer taught me how to cook for them.		fortunate enough, to find someone that I would marry.	value of work in order to have a better future.	cooking	
Mphela	55	Mnambith	I use to clean the	No	I was not	We were told to get	we had to cook	None
Nagudulela		i	house when I was young and this is how I learnt the skills of domestic work.		fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry.	married. water from the river.	and collect	

Thobi	26	Port	It was my responsibility to do all the house work when I was young. This is how I learnt domestic work.	No	I was not fortunate enough, to find someone that I would marry.	I was told to get married	Cooking, cleaning the house and farming	Grade 10
Mlambi		Shepstone						
Sellinah Gula	49	Transkei	When we were young we had to clean, cook and do the washing. So this is how I learnt the skills of domestic work.	No	I was not fortunate enough to get married	Girls were taught the value of work.	We had to cook, clean and do the washing of clothes.	Grade 4
Nokulunga	47	Inanda	My mother and sister were domestic workers. When I visited them they taught me the skills.	No	I am divorced	We were taught the value of hard work and the importance of being independent	We had to cook clean and learn African craftwork.	None
Maphumulo								



Sibongile.	59	Nkandla	I always knew how to	No	My husband left.	We were taught to	We had the	Grade 6
T. Nzuza			do these things from			work and be good	responsibilities	
			the time I left school.			children	of cooking,	
							cleaning the	
							house and	
							learning how	
							to farm the	
							land.	
Egnes	64	Eshowe	My sister was a	No	He passed away	I was expected to	We learnt how	Grade 4
Khuzwayo			domestic worker.		in 1976	get married so my	to make Zulu	
			When I visited her, I			parents could	mats.	
			would help her with			collect Ilabola.		
			the cleaning, washing					
			and ironing.					

Sheila	50	Inanda	I use to clean my own	No	My husband	We were taught	We had to	Grade 6
Zama			house and this is how		passed away	dress-making	cook, clean	
			I learnt the skills of				and do the	
			domestic work.				washing.	
Emmah	72	Escort	I learnt this at home	No	My husband has	We were told to get	They had to	Grade 7
Sosibo					left me	married.	cook and	
							clean.	
Ester	54	Entabanku	My neighbour was a	No	My husband left	We were just told	We had to	None
Mnandana		lu	domestic worker.		me.	to get married	cook, learn	
		(Umtala)	One day, she asked				how to farm	
			me to help her and				and clean the	
			she showed the skills.				garden	

Victoria Ngcobo	38	Port Shepstone	I use to clean the house when I was small. I also have worked at a restaurant, were I learnt how to clean up.	No	We have divorced since 1992.	We were told to get married	Grade 7
Bazolile Nzama	27	Harding	My mother was a domestic worker and I use to help her in the holidays. I use to also practise my English at work.	No	My husband took on a second wife and does not support me financially.	We were taught that girls had to work in the home. children, cook, clean, wash and plant vegetables.	Grade 11

Primrose	54	Transkei	I started working in	Yes	We were taught the	We had to	Grade 11
Sabela		(Nwele)	order to relieve my		value of work and	plant fruit and	
			aunty.		to be good.	vegetables and	
						sell them when	
						they were	
						harvested.	
Thandi	36	Ntuzuma	My friend was a	Yes	Singing and		Grade 3
Zulu			domestic worker. I		modelling.		
			started domestic				
			work when I visited				
			my friend, in which I				
			use to help her. After				
			this, I realized that				
			domestic work was				
			my only option as I				
			was uneducated				

Julia Nzuz	58	Nkandla	I did the cleaning and washing at home	Yes	Girls were just told to get married	Cooking, cleaning and farming	Grade 3
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## 5.5 CHILDHOOD

The phases of childhood are important ones, primary socialisation shapes the expectations of the child and forms a value system to which the child adheres to.

Internalisation allows for an understanding of the society to which you belong, this society becomes your objective reality. During the childhood years the child learns what is needed to become part of the family, community and society at large. The objective reality of the primary caregivers becomes the objective reality of the girl child and she accepts this and internalises it. When the domestic worker relays her childhood years, it is a story of her life in a poor African rural area or township of KwaZulu-Natal. A story of a gender biased socialisation process, survival and depleted resources.

Table 1 displays the answers that domestic workers provided when asked about their childhood responsibilities in the home. The responsibilities that were assigned to them were clearly gender biased. It is these skills that they utilise today in their occupational role of domestic worker. Circumstances force choices at very critical points in their lives however; it is the training that they receive during primary socialisation and other factors that guide them in a particular direction. The female African girl child is steered in the direction of domestic worker because,

- She has been socialised to be a housekeeper for her husband's home.
- Girl children are prepared for marriage from a young age.
- The family has expectations that their daughters will marry.
- Girls are expected to marry and be taken care of by their husbands.
- When they are abandoned, unmarried or widowed they are forced to take on financial responsibility for themselves.
- She transfers her skills that she learnt in preparation for marriage to the home of her employer.
- She has no choice; she seeks employment outside her home.
- She is forced to sell the only skills that she possesses.
- She was trained to be a wife.
- With this training she has learnt to take care of the home.

- She moves from unpaid labour in her home or the home of her husband to paid labour in the home of her employer, where she applies her training that she received in her childhood home.
- She was assigned training and skills in her childhood home based on gender and as such she uses these skills as domestic worker.
- Domestic work has been a sector occupied largely by the female African worker.
- They enter this sector because it is considered unskilled labour.
- It is also the lowest rung of the labour market with the lowest pay.
- Domestic work is easily available.
- She is lead to believe that it is a suitable occupation for the female African by other female African women who enter the occupation.
- It is an extension of her household chores into the home of her employer.

Marriage was an important part of the values that they were taught. They were taught skills that would allow them to take care of their own home when they marry. The table



below looks at the similarities of chores that they were trained and those that they are currently performing as domestic workers.

## TABLE 2 SIMILARITIES OF CHORES

Tasks and chores of the African girl child	Tasks and chores of the domestic worker
Cooking, cleaning and washing	Domestic workers are tasked with the responsibility of home care and maintenance. Cooking, cleaning and washing are essential tasks.
Plant fruit and vegetables, farming the land	This is not necessarily a skill used by domestic workers. Domestic workers did refer to maintaining small herb gardens for their employers. Only one domestic worker engaged in light gardening
Take care of younger children, babysitting younger siblings/cousins	Most domestic workers are either currently taking care of children or have raised children of their employers.
Sell fruit and vegetables	This was used to supplement the income of the family and is not common practise for domestic workers that are in full time employ
Collect water from the river	Modern water and sanitation systems in the city centre do not require this.
African craftwork	The domestic workers continue with this as a hobby and use it to make extra money when the need arises.

Clearly all the tasks that were allocated to the girl children were confined to the domestic arena. Domestic work involves four main tasks, these include

- cooking,
  
- cleaning,
  
- washing and ironing and;
  
- in some cases taking care of children or the aged.

When these young girls are faced with an incomplete education, lack of skills and the absence of a male (father/husband) they find themselves in a difficult situation financially. They are forced to seek employment for different reasons. When they try to take stock of the type of skills that they possess, they have no choice but to look to their childhood training and socialisation.

### **5.5.1 Secondary Socialisation**

The African woman is subject to secondary socialisation when she arrives in the home of her employer in the Durban Metro Region. In the home of her parents/guardians/caregivers the domestic worker is subject to the gender biases of her family, culture and community. She is socialised into her role as domestic worker in the

urban centre into the home of her employer. She is now subject to western versions of patriarchy. The gender bias in the home of an urban middle class is a new experience for the domestic worker. She is further subject to the issue of race and class. She needs to understand the way in which the family that she is employed by, lives and functions. This is an important part of her induction into domestic work. She learns to accept her role and place within the context of the family. She learns parameters, boundaries and expectations and learns to function within an environment different to the one that she has emerged from.

Secondary socialisation is anything else that an adult learns that inducts her into new sectors of the objective world of society (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 150). The induction into the role of domestic worker, when the African women becomes employed she has to learn new values, morals and codes of conduct in order to fit into the world of her employer. The induction process teaches her what is acceptable and what is not.

Secondary socialisation is associated with the internalisation of a specialised sub-world of knowledge; the sub-world of a domestic worker.

"...the sub-worlds acquired during secondary socialisation may be learned instrumentally or at a psychological distance from the knowledge which is learnt"  
(Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 156).

If girl children are taught to depend on male figures for financial support, they will not equip themselves with the basic educational foundations that are required to engage in

formal employment. They come to expect marriage and homemaking as their reality. They are, as a result, forced into a life of domestic work when they are no longer supported by a male figure in their homes.

Human beings are born with a predisposition to sociality. Through interaction with people the objective reality that has been created by the group into which you are born is internalised. Through this process humans internalise a personal and social identity of a domestic worker. The acquisition of a personal and social identity in any given society is described in terms of both primary and secondary socialisation.

If young African girl children see the role of women as homemakers in the domestic arena, they will internalise this subjective reality from the people or significant others around them. One of the core lessons that the girl child was taught, was the importance of marriage. When asked who was responsible for raising you and what were you taught, the responses were as follows;

TABLE 3 PRIMARY CAREGIVERS

Name	Who was responsible for raising you, and what were you taught?
Emmah Sosibo	My parents, I was told that I had to get married
Ester Mmandana	My mother, we were told that we had to get married.
Julia Nziza	My mother, we were told that we had to get married.
Thobi Mlambi	My parents, I was told to get married
Egnes Khuzwayo	My parents, we were told that we had to get married.
Mphela	My parents, we were told to get married
Nagudulela	
Alzina Khumalo	My mother, I was told to get married
Victoria Ngcobo	My parents, we were told to get married
Thandi Zulu	My parents wanted me to marry
Doris Gwala	My father was responsible for taking care of the money, my mother was a housewife she took care of us.  I was taught to get married, but I did not get married as it is a gift from god.
Egnes Mbatha	My parents, girls were told to get married
Bazolile Nzama	My grandmother, I was taught craftwork and told to marry
Mavis Ngcobo	My mother, we were taught the value of hard work, in order to have a better future.
Primrose Sabela	My sister, she taught me the value of hard work
Nokulunga	My mother, she taught us the value of work and independence
Maphumulo	
Sellinah Gula	My mother, girls were taught the value of hard work
Eunice Dlamini	My grandmother, we were taught the importance of hard work.
Lynet Ndlela	My mother, girls were taught the value of hard work
Sibongile Nziza	My mother, we were taught to work and be good children.
Shiela Zama	My mother, she taught me dressmaking
Mariam Seedat	

- Twelve (60%) of the respondents were taught the importance of marriage,
- Only (5%) one respondent was taught a skill, she has not had the opportunity to use her skill.
- The remaining seven (35%) were taught the importance of hard work.

According to Berger & Luckmann (1991), primary socialisation relies on emotional dependency in relation to the child who is totally dependent on the caregiver. This caregiver imposes his/her own sense of objective reality on the child. Initially the child will see this reality as the only reality because she has no point of comparison.

"The child identifies with the significant others (parent/ guardian/caregiver) in a variety of emotional ways... The child takes on the significant others' roles and attitudes, which the child internalises and makes them his own. By this identification with significant others the child becomes capable of identifying himself, of acquiring a subjectively coherent and plausible identity"  
(Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 151-152).

### 5.5.2 Gender, Socialisation and Patriarchy

During the course of this study, the type of behaviour, values and responsibilities that the girl children were taught, became clear. The first impression was that the homes that these women emanated from were patriarchal. The male figure in the family was always regarded as the head of the household. The decisions made by the male head had to be adhered to and enforced. Women (in the homes) reinforced this patriarchal ideology. They reinforced gender norms and values that disadvantaged the girl child from the time that they are born. Gender-biased values were taught and these were reinforced by clearly defined female and male chores. It was the mothers, grandmothers and aunts that reinforced this patriarchal mindset among the female African girl child.

Girl children are raised with certain gender-biased beliefs and it is these gender biased beliefs that force them into roles such as the ones that the women in this study occupy. Gender roles are clearly defined, girl and boy children are socialised within the limitations of these clearly defined roles. Girl children roles involved washing, ironing, making grass mats, clay pots, cooking, growing vegetables and light gardening. The boy child, on the other hand, engaged in farming and herding cattle. These were traditional, cultural and or gender defined roles that have been practised from one generation to another. It is a way of life into which the female African girl child is socialised.

The ideology of patriarchy had been internalised by the parents and the agents of socialisation. Gender, socialisation and patriarchal dynamics for the female African girl

child and, later on, the domestic worker are different from western perceptions of gender, socialisation and patriarchy.

Socialisation patterns can determine life choices and life paths that individuals follow. If one is socialised in a specific manner as a direct result of their gender the outcomes will be different for male and female. Boys engage in cattle rearing, while girls engage in house work. Girls are expected to marry and boys are expected to find good jobs. These are not seen as gender biases by the domestic workers themselves. They have been socialised as part of their culture (Zulu), and value system that these roles are clearly defined. Their reality is that a gender differentiation does exist and as such there will be a clear divide between what is male and what is female.

According to Berger & Luckmann (1991), we are not born members of societies, we are born with a predisposition to sociality and as such we learn to become a member of the society to which we belong. We learn that which is appropriate and acceptable. We also learn that which we as members of society need to conform to. Clearly, from the data presented in this chapter, socialisation patterns for the girl child and the boy child are different.

- Expectations and socialisation patterns are different for girls and boys.
- Roles assigned to boys are traditional male roles (herding cattle, etc).



- Roles assigned to girls are traditional and confined to the domestic arena (washing, ironing, cooking, cleaning, etc).
- Boys are considered an investment. They will remain with the family. It is the boy's responsibility to take care of the parents in their old age.
- Girls will marry and take care of their husband's family.
- Girls are poorly educated
- Girls are encouraged to marry.
- Boys are encouraged to seek further education, employment and take care of the family.

According to the lived experiences of the domestic workers, girls are treated well and with a great deal of respect. However, the male figure in the family always has a more important role. This holds true for the father, grandfather, brother, son and boy child. The male figures in the family are always regarded as the head of the household. The girls have been treated in a gender-biased manner all their lives, they have been socialised in this manner while boys have always been favoured over girls. All women that they interact with are treated in a manner in which roles are clearly defined. This is the only type of socialisation process that they have ever experienced. Knowing no

other way of life aside from that which the community in which they live provides for them, they live within the parameters set out for them. If society expects female African women to engage in domestic work, there will always be opportunities for female Africans to engage in domestic work. If the family or community to which the child belongs has an expectation that the child will work as a domestic worker, this will materialise.

Let us look at Victoria Ngcobo's case:

Her father did not want her to study, he expected her to marry and take care of her husband and his home. She followed the norms and married she met all her responsibilities as a wife, however when she was divorced she was faced with a difficult situation. She had to take financial responsibility for herself. The moment she stepped out of the norm she was forced to seek employment.

If the African girl child is taught to believe that she is only capable of taking care of the home and children, she will come to believe this about herself. So when she seeks employment she engages in a job that she feels she is capable of engaging in. She has been trained by her parents all her life. She has been socialised into the role of mother, home maker, cook and cleaner and she uses this to engage in domestic work.

According to Berger & Luckmann (1991: 149), social reality is constructed through a dialectical process involving three moments.

- Externalisation - Victoria's conceptions of social reality are given tangible form, externalised in her performances, rituals and possessions.
- Objectification - these conceptions of reality are given objective status in our lives; Victoria begins to accept things that her father has constructed as an immutable part of her reality. She is expected to take care of her husband when she is married.
- Internalisation - the objectified constructions of her past action are internalised through socialisation and become separated from the processes that created them.

Cooley (1922) theorises that people's awareness of themselves and their sense of self reflects what they believe others think of them. The participants in this study believe that they are viewed as mothers, wives, aunts and homemakers. They begin to fulfil these roles both within the home and the work place. The women are socialised to believe that they need to take care of their husbands after marriage, if their marriage fails or they lose their husband to death, if their husbands abandon them they are at a loss.

They are forced to take care of themselves and fulfil their roles as mothers. They try to ensure that others think that they are capable despite the absence of a male breadwinner.

### 5.5.3 Marriage and Culture

Girls were extremely concerned about marriage from a very young age. They were encouraged to marry. Marriage is considered very important for African female respondents. Eleven (55%) of the respondents in this study state,

“I was not fortunate enough to find someone that would marry me.”

They consider the fact that they have never been married as unfortunate. Due to the fact that they did not marry they were forced to be financially accountable for themselves.

They were all geared into very gender specific roles in the homes of their parents/guardians/caregivers. They were prepared for marriage from a very young age.

They were taught all the roles and responsibilities of a wife, mother and homemaker.

These skills would be useful in the form of domestic work later on in their lives when they become domestic workers, for those that did not marry or divorced. They began constructing their own reality.

There was a group of women which constitute the remaining (45%) nine women whose husbands have abandoned them, died or have been left unable to work. These women are thrust into domestic work to ensure the survival of their families. The absence of a male breadwinner in the family forced the women to go out and engage in paid labour. This paid labour was domestic work. This study indicates that marriage for the female African means that she will be taken care of financially, by the family of her husband. This

financial responsibility falls on to the husband and the family from the moment that the woman is married. They are also taught that once they are married they become the responsibility (financial) of their husband. It is the husband's role to take care of the wife. These are cultural beliefs and practises that the female African girl children are taught and internalise. It is only if they do not marry, when they are faced with abandonment by their husbands, divorce or death of a spouse that they are forced to seek employment. The society in which the girl child is socialised into places great importance on marriage. Girl children are prepared for marriage from a very early age. The table below indicates the expectations that parents/guardians/caregivers have of the girl children.

**TABLE 4 EXPECTATIONS FROM THE GIRL CHILD**

<b>Name of Participant</b>	<b>What were girls expected to do when they grew up?</b>
Alzina Khumalo	Girls were expected to get married.
Egnes Mbatha	Girls were expected to get married.
Emmah Sosibo	Girls were expected to get married
Ester Mnandana	Girls were expected to get married
Julia Nzuzo	Girls were expected to get married.
Sellinah Gula	Girls were expected to get married
Sheila Zama	Girls were expected to get married.
Thandi Zulu	They had to get married.
Victoria Ngcobo	Girls were expected get married.
Thobi Mlambi	Girls were expected to get married.
Mavis Ngcobo	Girls were expected to get married
Mphela Nagudulela	Girls were expected to get married.
Nokulunga	Girls had to get married.
Maphumulo	
Doris Gwala	Girls were expected to get married.
Primrose Sabela	Girls were expected to work and get married.
Bazolile Nzama	The girls had to marry, plant vegetables and do craft work. We had to make clay pots and African mats.
Sibongile. T. Nzuzo	Girls had to cook, clean and complete the Zulu mats. They were taught all these things so that they could marry.
Lynet Ndlela	Girls were expected to work and support their parents

The preceding excerpt from each of the twenty interviews provides documentary evidence that the female African girl child was led to believe that society and her family expected her to marry. In so doing her socialisation was modelled on her impending marriage. She was trained for marriage from childhood. The only exception to the expectation for marriage was Lynet Ndlela. She represents one (5%) of the sample. She also stands out in the study thus far because she is the only participant in the study that has completed her matric. The expectation from her parent was that she would support herself financially. More detailed information on Lynet Ndlela follows. Her story provides an example of the expectations that were placed on the girl child.

Lynet Ndlela aged 44 grew up in a single parent household. Her mother had no education but worked hard at farming to ensure that Lynet completed her schooling. Lynet and her mother did not have the resources to further her education. She was forced to seek employment. She came to the city to seek employment. While in the city she visited her aunt, who worked as a domestic worker. She helped her aunt while waiting to hear about a job. Her aunt's employers offered her a job. She had decided to stay on and work as a domestic worker. The job was easily available. She receives free accommodation. She would save on travel costs. She was afraid that she would not find employment if she did not take the job. She has been working for the family for five years. Lynet obtained the skills while growing up. Lynet feels that her mother has made sacrifices for her. She works as a domestic worker so that she can support her mother financially.

According to Thomas (1923: 13),

“If a person defines a situation as real it becomes real in its consequences.”

For Lynet, her situation was clearly defined from the outset. Her mother and she both worked towards a goal of completing school. This was achieved successfully. Lynet and her mother knew that they did not have the resources for any further education or training. She made a decision based on financial necessity and her obligation to take care of her mother. She defined her situation as real. She defined her occupational role as a domestic worker and therefore like the other women in this study it became real in its consequences.

The reconceptualisation of the definition of the situation is associated with Thomas (1923). The human individual exists in a social situation and responds to that situation. The situation has a particular character, but this character does not completely determine the response of the individual - there seem to be alternative courses of action.

Two (10%) of women found they were divorced/separated or abandoned by their husbands. One (5%) of domestic workers found that their husbands could no longer work due to work related injuries and they had to take on the responsibility of becoming a breadwinner in the family. The remaining seventeen (85%) of the participants had different circumstances but their main reason for engaging in domestic work was their lack of skills in other areas. They had little or no education so were forced into domestic



work. All of these factors can be linked to socialisation. They are part of the socialisation process.

“If society is understood in terms of an ongoing process that is composed of three moments of externalisation, objectification and internalisation” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 149).

The African girl child might over time witness her mom, grandmother, sister or even aunt engage in domestic work and refer to her work in a positive light. The young child is impressionable and might aspire to occupying the same role. The knowledge that is learnt is transmitted through the process of socialisation. The girl child knows domestic workers that are part of her family or community. She identifies with an individual women or a group of women. As she identifies, she internalises their behaviour. The processes of externalisation and objectification follow. This becomes her role model. She aspires to the role that is occupied by her role model. She learns from her role model and emulates her.

Nineteen (95%) percent of the respondents claim that their role models were their mothers. They admired and respected the roles that their mothers played in their lives and within the family. Only one (5%) participant had a male role model. This role model was Nelson Mandela; she admired his commitment and dedication to the struggle against apartheid. This is an important component within the broader scheme of socialisation. If nineteen (95%) of the respondents claim to have female role models, they as females,

mothers, aunts and grandmothers pass on the same socialisation patterns that they have been subject to, to their children. They might reinforce stereotypical gender roles that they were taught. The objective reality of their female role models has become the objective reality of the domestic workers in this study. This is referred to as the social construction of reality (Berger & Luckmann, 1991).

The externalisation process for domestic workers involves working long hours, entering the employment sector at its lowest rung, taking care of the needs of the employer, while the family of the domestic worker is taken care of by a surrogate care-giver if the resources are available. Externalisation, the actual reality and living out of the reality will emerge in the form of the occupational choice made by the African girl child who will be employed as a domestic worker.

The objectification of the domestic worker is the reality that she has constructed for herself as a result of engaging in domestic work. The hours that she works, the distance from her family, the money that she earns, and all the realities that have become a given as part of her life as domestic worker. Objectification is influenced largely by internalisation and obtained from the significant other and the community in which they live. The domestic worker can not escape the reality of the circumstances under which she is raised. The gender dynamics and cultural values and norms of the family into which she was born, have to be adhered to. An individual is not born a member of society; he/she is born with a predisposition to sociality and eventually becomes a member of society.

In the life of every individual there is a temporal sequence of occurrences. These occurrences eventually lead them to a particular place in their lives.

In the case of all twenty domestic workers interviewed for this study this was precisely the case. The domestic workers, when they were girl children, were equipped with skills necessary for marriage and home making. However, they have also been subject to influence based on their personal life experiences and occupational choices and this is still a challenge that these women face.

## **5.6 DOMESTIC WORK**

Apartheid isolated people of colour, Indians, coloured and the African population and forced them to live in isolation from the white population. Apartheid ensured that racial groups remained divided and separated. This division isolated the African population socially and economically. Apartheid ostracised people of colour completely from the political governance of the country. It provided the African population with an inferior education that limited their opportunities. Economic isolation bred poverty and poverty further deprived the African population of access to education. Poor education resulted in poor access to employment. Women, particularly as a result of the patriarchal socialisation process, were forced to enter domestic work. South Africa's political, economic and social dynamics under the apartheid regime had created a market for cheap domestic labour.

When faced with the situation of finding employment, black African women go out and sell the only skill they possess. They have been socialised to believe that the domain of the home is the responsibility of the women and therefore they decide to engage in domestic work. Her occupational choice lends itself to her childhood socialisation and training. Boddington (1983), Cock (1984) and Gaitskell (1990), stress that race as a form of oppression must be included in any theoretical analysis in order to adequately understand the nature of domestic work within a racially divided society.

Race features prominently, within the South African context, when dealing with domestic workers in South Africa. It is an arena that has historically been reserved for African women. It is only through unpacking the socialisation process of the female African domestic worker that academics can begin to start answering specific race related questions within a South African context. Marriage was and continues to be central to the life of the female African child. Preparation for marriage began at a very early age for the girl child. The family and the community place a great deal of emphasis on marriage. When the female African women were faced with the loss of or the absence of a husband in their lifetime they were placed in a difficult situation. When asked why they engaged in domestic work these were the responses received.

**TABLE 5 WHY DID YOU DECIDE TO ENGAGE IN DOMESTIC WORK**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Why did you decide to become a domestic worker?</b>
Emmah Sosibo	When my husband left, I had no option but to become a domestic worker
Ester Mnandana	After my husband left I decided to go to work to support myself
Julia Nzuzo	My husband did not work, I was forced to go out and provide an income for my family
Thobi Mlambi	My father passed away when I was in grade 10 and my sisters chose to pay for my brother to complete his grade 12, they could not afford to send us both to school, I had no choice, I had to leave school and find a job. I became a cashier. I was happy as a cashier but when I lost my job I decided to become a domestic worker. I knew other women that had worked in lovely homes for rich people and they enjoyed their jobs. I knew I could be a domestic worker because I knew everything about taking care of the home. I did not want to stay at home I needed to support my child.
Mavis Ngcobo	I was uneducated and this is why I decided to engage in domestic work. I believed that it was good for my future.
Egnes	I was uneducated
Khuzwayo	
Doris Gwala	I was uneducated
Mphela	I was uneducated
Nagudulela	
Primrose Sabela	I was uneducated
Alzina	I was uneducated
Khumalo	
Victoria	I was uneducated
Ngcobo	
Nokulunga	I was uneducated
Maphumulo	
Egnes Mbatha	I was uneducated and I needed to support my children
Sellinah Gula	I was uneducated and therefore this job is suitable for me.
Mariam Seedat	

- Bazolile Nzama Because I was not educated. Even if I continued to plant vegetables there was not enough income from that either.
- Eunice Dlamini I did not go to school and therefore I had no option but to become a domestic worker. It was not my choice.
- Sibongile I did not have the money to study further and domestic work was my only alternative. Now I use the money to support my daughter and I.
- Nzuza
- Lynet Ndlala I am doing this job in order to support my mother. My mother sacrificed a lot for me and now I support her. She only managed to send me to complete my schooling and this is why I had to become a domestic worker.
- Thandi Zulu It was special for me because I was uneducated, but if you are educated you can do something else.
- Shiela Zama I thought that getting married would be like a jackpot and that is why I did not study. Unfortunately my husband passed away.

Twenty respondents (100%) provided similar reasons (poor skills, education, training, and the absence of husband) as to why they began to engage in domestic work. It is clear that domestic work was not an occupational choice that these women made willingly. All the respondents in this study began to engage in domestic work, because they did not have the skills to enter any other sector of employment.

There are four main issues that feature in this study among all twenty respondents.

- The African woman, who married, later lost her husband as a result of death or divorce, or the domestic worker whose husband could no longer work to support her financially because of health reasons.
- The African woman that never married and was forced to take financial responsibility for herself.
- The African woman who did not have the means to study further.
- The African woman that did not have skills to seek other forms of employment.

The common feature of all four scenarios is that all women in this study engage in domestic work out of financial necessity. Their educational status, socio-economic conditions, marital status and socialisation among other factors such as race, class and gender, has lead them to the path of domestic work. Their reality is that domestic work is

an area that they are skilled in. They have the skills that the job requires. They can go out and sell these skills for financial gain, no matter how small. If the number of African women that engage in domestic work continues to rise at the current rate, the fate of the African girl child that has no access to education, training and economic resources is doomed. Domestic workers in middle class households in the Durban Metro Region are commonplace. Domestic workers are also highly disposable because of the large number of domestic workers that are unemployed. If African women continue to see domestic work as their only option they will have no other options but domestic work. They are already seen as a first option for domestic worker because they can be employed at low rates despite the implementation of a minimum wage in South Africa. It would be incorrect to make the claim that they were being trained to be domestic workers later on in their lives. However it is useful to note that they were being trained in the domestic sphere. They were being trained for marriage.

### **5.6.1 Skills versus Occupational Choice**

The domestic workers in this study were taught a variety of skills in their childhood homes. All of the skills listed in the table below indicate skills that centre on the care and maintenance of the home.

- The girl children learnt to make Zulu mats that had to be used to cover the floor in the home.



- Gardening/farming involved the growing of fruit and vegetables for consumption in the household.
- Clay pots are used to collect water and for bathing and cooking.
- All of the other skills involve basic housekeeping.
- The only exception was Mavis Ngcobo, who learnt to assemble fence from wire.

It would not be premature to assume that because the domestic workers in this study did not have the opportunity to further their training and education they used the skills that they possessed. For the female African women these skills fulfilled the requirements of a domestic worker. Like millions of women before them, the twenty women in this study followed suit and began to engage in domestic work out of financial necessity. The following is a table that indicates the skills that the girl children acquired in the home of their parents/guardians/caregivers.

TABLE 6 SKILLS ACQUIRED

Name of Participant	What skills did you learn in your home?
Alzina Khumalo	I learnt how to make Zulu mats, and gardening skills.
Bazolile Nzama	I learnt how to clean.
Doris Gwala	I learnt how to make African mats and clay pots
Egnes Khuzwayo	I learnt how to make Zulu mats.
Egnes Mbatha	I made clay pots.
Emmah Sosibo	I learnt how to cook and clean.
Ester Mwandana	I learnt how to do the gardening and make Zulu mats
Eunice Dlamini	I had to make clay pots.
Julia Nzuzo	I learnt how to make African mats.
Lynet Ndlela	I learnt how to wash and clean the house
Mavis Ngcobo	I learnt how to make a fence, I also learnt how to make bedspread 's and knitting doilies
Mphela Nagudulela	I learnt how to farm.
Nokulunga Maphumulo	I learnt how to sew and make beaded bed spreads.
Primrose Sabela	I learnt how to farm.
Sellinah Gula	I learnt how to farm the land.
Sheila Zama	I learnt how to farm and sell fruit.
Thandi Zulu	Cooking, washing, cleaning and ironing
Thobi Mlambi	I learnt how to make Zulu mats.
Sibongile. T. Nzuzo	Learnt how to make Zulu mats
Victoria Ngcobo	I learnt how to farm.

If the women has no one to take financial responsibility for herself she knows that she has to take the necessary steps to ensure that her family and in some cases children and husband (for various reasons) are taken care of. In the case of the participants in this study, they have responded by engaging in domestic work.

When engaging the domestic workers in the interviews and the group discussions, similar reasons were found, from all participants, as to the reasons for engaging in domestic work. The reasons largely dealt with financial difficulties, education and skills training (socialisation). The most important reason as to why women began to engage in domestic work, in this study, is the absence of a male breadwinner.

When she chose not to marry she is forced to be financially responsible for herself and as such forced to go out and seek employment. If she is faced with abandonment, death or the disability of her husband she is also forced to go out and seek employment. Domestic work is the only option available to her. She has no other skills that can provide her with an income immediately.

**TABLE 7 REASONS FOR ENGAGING IN DOMESTIC WORK**

<b>Name of Participant</b>	<b>Why did you decide to engage in domestic employment?</b>
Alzina Khumalo	I was uneducated When my father passed away, I could not study. I did not have an option but to become a domestic worker.
Bazolile Nzama	Because I was not educated. Even if I continued to plant vegetables there was not enough income from that either I also do not want my children to be like me so I am working to educate them.
Doris Gwala	I was uneducated I cannot acquire any other job because I am uneducated
Egnes Khuzwayo	I had no alternative but to become a domestic worker as I was uneducated My husband had passed away. I had to start working, to support my family.
Egnes Mbatha	I was uneducated I needed to support my children.
Emmah Sosibo	When my husband left, I had no option but to become a domestic worker as I was uneducated
Ester Mnandana	When my husband left me, I was responsible for supporting my family. I do not like working in a team and I am uneducated. Therefore, I had to engage in domestic employment. One cannot depend on planting vegetables as things have changed now.
Eunice Dlamini	I did not go to school and therefore I had no option but to become a domestic worker. It was not my choice. I did not have the opportunity of going to school
Iulia Nzuzo	My husband did not work I needed to support my children
Mariam Seedat	

- Lynet Ndlela I am doing this job in order to support my mother. My mother sacrificed a lot for me and now I have to support her. She only managed to send me to complete my schooling and this is why I had to become a domestic worker I did not get to complete my further studies
- Mavis Ngcobo I like the fact that it's not a temporary job. There is no contract and you can work for however long you like.  
I was uneducated and this is why I decided to engage in domestic work. I believed that it was good for my future
- Mphela Nagudulela I was uneducated  
I needed to support my family when my father passed away and this is why I had to find employment as a domestic worker.
- Nokulunga Maphumulo I was uneducated  
I am doing domestic work in order for my children to achieve their goals. However, I had no option but to become a domestic worker as I am uneducated
- Primrose Sabela I was uneducated.
- Sellinah Gula I am not educated and therefore this job is suitable for me.
- Sheila Zama I needed to support my family.  
I am uneducated and domestic work was my only option.
- Thandi Zulu It was special for me because I was uneducated, but if you are educated you can do something else
- Thobi Mlambi I did not want to stay at home and I needed to support my child.  
I decided to engage in domestic employment as I was not educated
- Sibongile. T. Nzuzo I did not have the money to study further and domestic work was my only alternative. Now I use the money to support my daughter and I.
- Victoria Ngcobo I was uneducated  
Also, my contract with the restaurant had come to an end and I needed to have another job
- Mariam Seedat

Domestic work is not an occupational field that African women enter willingly. They are forced into domestic labour for all the reasons highlighted in the table above.

Circumstances in their lives resulted in them choosing the occupational role of domestic worker.

If one is to espouse on sociological theory purported by Cooley (1930) we could note that the self is divided into three phases.

- The first phase is the way in which African girl children understand their behaviour as it appears to those around them. This could be the primary caregivers, fathers, teachers and other important members of their family and community.
- The second component of Cooley's (1930) theory on the development of the self is the way in which the female African girl child understands other people's judgement of them or of their behaviour. To expand on this if they are seen as wives, mothers and homemakers, they will behave in this manner.
- Finally Cooley (1930) notes that like other members of any society the female African girl child "...will evaluate and interpret her behaviour based on the response to others around her" (Cooley, 1930: 118).

### 5.6.2 Socio-economic Factors

According to Makhosikazi in Barret (1980), Maseko (1991), Delpont (1995) and other academics that were included in the scholarship review chapter of this study, it has been established that domestic workers in this study, have arrived in their occupational role as a result of the socialisation process that they have undergone as girl children in the homes of their parents/guardians/caregivers. Socio-economic conditions feature strongly among the domestic workers that participated in this study.

Let us look at the case of Alzina Khumalo aged 72. She has never been married. Like the other women in this study she feels that it was her misfortune. She believes that if she had the opportunity to marry, her husband would have taken care of her financially. She would not be forced to work as a domestic worker. Due to the death of her father Alzina was not afforded the opportunity to complete her schooling. She successfully completed her grade 6. Once she completed her grade 6 she began helping her mother at home. She needed to supplement the income that her mother brought in from tobacco farming. She obtained a job as a helper at the local market in Mahlabatini to help the family make ends meet. Alzina learnt how to sell the skills that she already possessed. Alzina was faced with financial limitations that prevented her from completing her schooling. Her poor educational status immediately limited her career opportunities and her earning potential. Her lack of funds would not allow her access to skills. It is at this point that Alzina was subject to the process of externalisation.

She followed the path that hundreds of other female African women with poor educational opportunities had taken before her. She began working as a domestic worker. She created her own social reality through the process of objectification.

Alzina's case was chosen because it is similar to other domestic workers that participated in this study. It is similar to the domestic workers that were forced to leave school prematurely. There were also those domestic workers that did not have the opportunity to attend school at all because of financial reasons.

In the case of Lynet Ndlela she did not have the opportunity to obtain any further training and or education after completing high school due to financial constraints. Others fall into the same situation. Lynet Ndlela was the only domestic worker that had successfully completed her matric.

The following table is an indication of the level of education attained by each of the domestic workers in this study. Only one (5%) participant in this study managed to complete high school. Despite this, she was not afforded the opportunity for further training and education. This resulted in her engaging in domestic work.



**TABLE 8 LEVEL OF EDUCATION**

<b>Name of Participant</b>	<b>Level of education</b>
Mavis Ngcobo	None
Mphela Nagudulela	None
Eunice Dlamini	None
Ester Mmandana	None
Nokulunga Maphumulo	None
Doris Gwala	Grade 3
Thandi Zulu	Grade 3
Julia Nzuzo	Grade 3
Egnes Khuzwayo	Grade 4
Sellinah Gula	Grade 4
Egnes Mbatha	Grade 5
Sibongile. T. Nzuzo	Grade 6
Alzina Khumalo	Grade 6
Sheila Zama	Grade 6
Emmah Sosibo	Grade 7
Victoria Ngcobo	Grade 7
Thobi Mlambi	Grade 10
Bazotile Nzama	Grade 11
Primrose Sabela	Grade 11
Lynet Ndlela	Grade 12

To address the data in the preceding table the key interpretative theorists used are Berger & Luckmann (1991). If we look very carefully at the social construction of reality, in relation to the process of socialisation and the domestic workers in this study, we can identify three integral moments that are part of the process of socialisation.

These women are, to date, subject to the remnants of the apartheid regime. Apartheid created an opportunity for unskilled African women. The young girls at this stage begin to understand the roles and responsibilities that are expected of them. They internalise the roles and responsibilities of women around them, this will be an indicator of their future. All of these components form part of both the moment of internalisation and the process of socialisation. The girl children realise the constraints that the domain within which they exist present to them and they accept this as a “taken for granted symmetry” (Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 23-33). This is the case with the girl children that have not completed their schooling, for obvious financial limitations mentioned earlier.

According to the respondents, education was never as important for girl children as it was for boy children. Boy children were always encouraged to study further while girl children were very limited in their educational options. In addition, financial constraints restricted these girl children from completing their schooling. Limited resources focussed on educating the boy children first. It is been said that it is the boy children that would take care of the parents while the girl children will take care of her parents in law. Girl children were hopeful about marriage and looked forward to having a husband that would take care of their financial needs. They all came from relatively poor families. All domestic workers

in this study have a poor educational background. The highest level of education attained was a matric. However this is not a generalisation of all domestic workers in South Africa or of domestic workers in the Durban Metro Region. Not one domestic worker in this study received a post matric qualification. Had any of the domestic workers attained a post matric qualifications they would not be employed as domestic workers.

Educational status also lends itself largely to access to financial resources. This prevented all nineteen (95%) domestic workers from completing high school and one (5%) domestic worker from furthering her studies. Five of the twenty respondents (25%) had no formal education at all. Three (15%) of the respondents completed grades between one and three that is a junior primary level. The remaining domestic workers six (30%) managed to complete grades four and six which is senior primary. Five (25%) of the sample made it to high school, while only one (5%) respondent completed her matric. One of the first conclusions is that African women in this study are poorly educated and/or lacking in skills and engage in domestic work.

### 5.6.3 The Children

"If a person defines a situation as real it becomes real in its consequences"

(Thomas, 1923: 13).

The value system for the domestic workers' children in this study has not been altered.

Although a large number of participants believe that both boys and girls should be treated equally, they impose the very notions and values that were imposed on them as girl children. The women believe that notions of gender bias are still prevalent among domestic workers. When asked about their children, the responses were as follows.

TABLE 9 GIRL CHILDREN OF THE DOMESTIC WORKERS

Name of Participant	Educationa l status of daughter/s	Occupation of daughter/s	How much do they earn?	Do you think that boys and girls should be treated the same?	Why/why not?	Do you think that you treat your sons and daughters the same way?	If yes, why?	If no, why not?	Do you think it is better to have sons rather than daughters?	Why?
Alzina Khumalo	High-school	She is a teacher.	I do not know.	Yes	But they must learn to behave and respect people.	Yes	Because they are good and communicate with one another.		Both	I like sons and daughters.

Bazolile	Grade 3.	One is in grade	Yes.	Girls were	Yes.	I do not believe	Daughters.	They will
Nzama		3 and the other		not		that education is		not forget
		is still too		allowed to		designed for		their
		young for		work and		males only.		parents.
		school.		study.		Education is for		
				They were		everybody no		
				just		matter who you		
				expected		are. Everyone		
				to get		needs a better		
				married.		future.		

Doris	Both	My older	My	Yes.	They	Yes.	I give my	Both.	They all
Gwala	daughters	daughter plants	older		should all		children the		need to be
	completed	sugar cane and	daughter		take care		opportunity to		loved and to
	grade 11.	the other is a	earns		of		become		have a better
		domestic	R600 a		themselve		whatever they		life
		worker.	month		s and stay		want		
			and the		away from				
			other		each other				
			earns		until				
			R950		marriage				
			per						
			month.						

Egnes Khuzwayo	Primary school	She is working as a domestic worker.	R50 per day	Yes	They should all have the same responsibi lities, like cooking, cleaning and washing.	Yes	They need to have equal opportunities to know what life is like.	Same	They are gifts from God.
Egnes Mbatha	High-school	Unemployed		Yes	They all need equal opportunit ies. They must go to school, church, etc	Yes	I like both of them.	Both	There are only sexual differences between them. Other than that they are the same.



Emmah	Primary	My daughters	Yes	They	Yes	Both need love	I like all	I like all
Sosibo	school	are not		should all		and respect	children,	children,
		working but		respect			whether they are	whether they
		they are		and take			boys or girls.	are boys or
		married.		care of				girls
				themselve				
				s				

Ester	Yes	Things have	Yes	Because girls	Daughters	Boys usually
Mnandana		changed		and boys have		take care of
		now. Boys		the same		their wives
		and girls can		opportunities.		
		share their		There is no		
		duties and		difference		
		have the		between them.		
		same				
		opportunitie				
		s like				
		educating				
		themselves				
		and working				
		for their				
		money.				

Eunice Dlamini	My second daughter is in high-school, my third daughter is in primary school and my last born child is in pre-school	My first daughter is unemployed	No	Boys and girls do not have the same rules. Like boys can spend the entire day in the bush while girls have to stay at home.	No	Girls and boys have different responsibilities. Girls have to cook and clean while boys have to herd the cattle on the farm.	Both	There is no difference between them.
Julia Nzuzwa	High-school	Three of my daughters are completing Matric.	Yes		Yes	I like giving them a lot of love.	Daughters	Boys do not respect

Lynet				Yes.	Both of	Yes	They should		
Ndlela					them need to		learn all		
					be strong.		responsibilities		
Mavis	Primary	They are	R1000	No	Because	No	Because	Both	Sometimes
Ngcobo	school	domestic	per		girls have		have		boys can
		workers.	month.		different		different		give you a
					responsibiliti		things to do		hard time
					es compared		as compared		and so can
					to boys. For		to boys.		girls.
					example		They do get		Sometimes
					girls cannot		the same		boys are not
					herd the		amount of		responsible
					cattle and		love, though.		for
					milk the				supporting
					cows				you.

Mphela Nagudulela		Yes		Yes	I give them the same treatment as it is fair to do so.	Both	
Nokulunga Maphumulo	My daughter is in high- school.	Yes	Everyone should have the responsibi lity to do the washing, ironing and cooking.	Yes	They need the same knowledge	Both	Both children will support and respect their parents, whether it's a boy or girl

Primrose	Tertiary –	Civil		Yes	The only	Yes	There is no	Same	There is no
Sabela	Mangosuthu	engineering			difference		difference		difference
	Technikon.				between is		between them.		between
					their				them.
					sexuality.				
					We all				
					need to				
					respect				
					one				
					another				
Sellinah	High-school	She is working	R30 per	Yes		Yes.	All children need	Both	All children
Gula		as a domestic	day.				a better life.		are
		worker					They need to be		important as
							treated equally.		they are
									gifts from
									God.

Sheila Zama	High-school	They are schooling.	One of my daughter s is working and she is in catering.	Yes	Yes	Same
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Thandi Zulu	Grade 7	Schooling	Yes.	Because everyone deserves a better life. Everyone should have a chance to study.	Yes.	I do not like the way my parents treated me	Both are fine.	They all deserve a better life and they need to be loved. I am a domestic worker because I did not get enough love.
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Thobi	Pre-school	Yes	They also	Yes	I would like both	Both	There is no
Mlambi			need to		of them.		difference
			share the				between
			responsibi				them, except
			lities of a				sexual
			girl. For				differences.
			example,				
			both				
			should				
			help do				
			the				
			cooking,				
			washing				
			and				
			cleaning				
			of the				
			house.				

Sibongile T. Nzuz	My daughter is still in high school.	Schooling.	No. They should be treated differently.	Because they are different	I only have a daughter. However, if I had a son I would treat him differently to that of a daughter.	Boys and girls grow differently. They learn different things	Daughters	Sons do not listen to their parents and there is no respect.
Victoria Ngcobo	High-school scholar	She is a	No	They have different duties.	No	Boys and girls have different duties to carry out. For example, boys cannot make Zulu mats.	Both	You never know who will have respect or support you when you are older.

The twenty participants in the study were asked about their children. I will focus particularly on their daughters.

- Three (15%) of the domestic workers in this study do not have girl children.
- The remaining 17 (85%) participants all have girl children, a total of 34 among them.
- Two (10%) of the domestic workers' daughters have attained tertiary level education; one is a teacher and the other an engineer.
- Alzina Khumalo's daughter is a teacher. Alzina only studied as far as grade six, and was forced to leave school due to financial constraints.

There is no correlation between Alzina's parents' educational level which is none, Alzina's educational level (grade 6) and her daughter's educational level, which is grade 12. Her daughter was fortunate to complete her schooling and received a job as a teacher. She did not receive any further training and or education to become a teacher

Primrose Sabela's daughter is a civil engineer. Primrose completed grade eleven and was also forced to leave school prematurely due to financial constraints.

Primrose's mother had no education while her father completed grade 7. Primrose completed grade 11. There is no direct link between the educational qualifications of the domestic workers' parents, themselves and their girl children.

However in both cases the domestic workers reported that their daughters were not prepared to be domestic workers like their mothers. They were determined to do something different. It is very possible that the combined effort of both the mothers and daughters resulted in these girls achieving professional success.

Evidently in the group discussion, Primrose and Alzina wish that they could have had the opportunity to complete their schooling. They were both very determined to give their children a better life. Primrose has made it her life ambition to ensure that her children secure good jobs. Her son is in the security sector, while her youngest son has been left permanently disabled after a car accident. She is proud of her daughter's achievements. Alzina also has three children, two sons and a daughter. One of her sons works in the hardware industry while the other is unemployed.

- Seventeen of the girl children are still in school.
- Six (30%) of the domestic workers daughters are currently employed as domestic workers.
- One (5%) domestic workers' daughter does not work and the marriage was cited as the reason for this. She has three daughters.
- Two (10%) domestic workers' daughters are unemployed.
- Two (10%) are employed, one in the catering field and the other in farming.

If one has to try and draw a relationship between the educational status of the domestic worker and her girl child's educational qualifications then the table would present itself in the following manner,

TABLE 10

## EDUCATIONAL STATUSES ACROSS THREE GENERATIONS

Name	Educational status of parents	Educational status of domestic worker	Educational status of girl child
Sibongile	No schooling	Grade 6	Still schooling
Triyphina			
Nzuza			
Thobi Mlabi	No schooling.	Grade 10	Still schooling
Thandhi Zulu	No schooling	Grade 3	Still schooling
Shiela Zama	My mother went to College she was a teacher My father completed standard 4	Grade 6	Still schooling (4) None (1)
Sellinah Gula	No schooling	Grade 4	Grade 6
Primrose	Mother had no education	Grade 11	Grade 12
Sabela	Father had a standard 5		Engineering Degree
Lynet Ndlala	No schooling	Grade 12	N/A
Eunice	No schooling	None	Still schooling (3)
Dlamini			None (1)
Ester	No schooling	None	None
Mnandana			
Emmah	No schooling	Grade 7	Primary school
Sosibo			
Egnes Mbatha	No schooling	Grade 5	Grade 11

Mariam Seedat

Egnes	No schooling	Grade 4	Grade 3
Khuzwayo			
Doris Gwala	No schooling	Grade 3	Grade 11
Bazolile	Mother completed grade 4	Grade 11	Still schooling
Nzama	Father completed grade 2		
Alzina	No schooling	Grade 6	Grade 12 (trained to become a teacher)
Khumalo			
Mavis	No schooling	None	Primary school
Ngcobo			
Mphela	No schooling	None	N/A
Nagudulela			
Victoria	My father had no education at all. My mother completed standard 8, she worked as a teacher.	Grade 7	Still schooling
Ngcobo			
Nokulunga	No schooling	None	Still schooling
Maphumulo			
Julia Nzuzza	No schooling	Grade 3	Still schooling (3) Grade 10 (2)

The table above provides no evidence of any educational correlation across the three generations of grandmother, mother and daughter. According to the participants in this study, their parents were a very disadvantaged group of people. They lived as a racially disadvantaged people in a country governed by apartheid laws. The parents of domestic workers were marginalised politically, socially and economically. Their opportunities were limited because of their

economic isolation and marginalisation. They lived in South Africa at a time when “apartheid” (separate development) was the order of the day.

The table below provides an educational synopsis of the parents/guardians/caregivers of the domestic workers in this study.



TABLE 11

## EDUCATIONAL STATUS OF PARENTS/GUARDIANS/CAREGIVERS

Name	Educational status of parents/ caregivers/guardians	Educational status of domestic worker
Sibongile Tryphina Nzuz	No schooling  Both Tryphinas' parents did not have the opportunity to go to school. Her father passed away when she was eight years old. Her mother was forced to take care of the family. She farmed vegetables, made clay pots and Zulu mats.	Grade 6
Thobi Mlabi	No schooling.	Grade 10
Thandhi Zulu	No schooling	Grade 3
Shiela Zama	My mother went to College she was a teacher  My father completed standard 4	Grade 6
Sellinah Gula	No schooling	Grade 4
Primrose Sabela	Mother had no education  Father had a standard 5 royal education.	Grade 11
Lynet Ndlela	No schooling	Grade 12
Eunice Dlamini	No schooling	None
Ester Mnandana	No schooling	None
Emmah Sosibo	No schooling	Grade 7
Egnes Mbatha	No schooling	Grade 5
Egnes Khuzwayo	No schooling	Grade 4
Mariam Seedat		

Doris Gwala	No schooling	Grade 3
Bazolile Nzama	Mother completed grade 4 Father completed grade 2	Grade 11
Alzina Khumalo	No schooling	Grade 6
Mavis Ngcobo	No schooling	None
Mphela Nagudulela	No schooling	None
Victoria Ngcobo	My father had no education at all. My mother completed 8, she worked as a teacher.	Grade 7
Nokulunga Maphumulo	No schooling	None
Julia Nzuzo	No schooling	Grade 3

One of the most common factor that emerge about the parents/guardians/caregivers is that 16 (80%) of the respondent's parents had no basic education. The parents of 17 (85%) of the domestic workers did not have access to a basic education. Ten (50%) of the respondents had one parent with some education and the remaining 2 (10%), both parents had some education. Of the respondents 5 (25%) of them and their parents had no schooling at all. Socio-economic constraints have been cited as a factor in all cases.

Parents did not have the resources to send their children to school. The children (boys and girls) were expected to stay at home and help with the chores. The girls helped with household chores while the boys helped with farming. The boys were trained by a male caregiver, while the girl child was trained by a female caregiver in her roles and responsibilities.

Mariam Seedat

#### **5.6.4 Socialisation of the Girl Child**

During the course of the interviews with the domestic workers, the issue of their girl children came to the fore. Domestic workers in general were very keen to see their daughters attain higher levels of education than they had achieved. This however, was and is not always possible due to financial constraints. Domestic workers do not earn large sums of money. The average income earned by domestic workers in this study is R 871.00 per month. The highest earner earned R1500.00 per month. The lowest earner earned R 220.00 per month. As a result of the poor income of these domestic workers, they had very little money to save at the end of each month. This resulted in them not having sufficient resources to educate their girl children once they had completed school. In some cases domestic workers did not have the resources to allow their children to complete high school. The table below draws on educational qualifications and income of the domestic workers.

**TABLE 12 INCOMES VERSUS EDUCATION**

<b>Name</b>	<b>Income</b>	<b>Education</b>
Sibongile Tryphina Nzuz	R900	Grade 6
Thobi Mlabi	R900	Grade 10
Thandhi Zulu	R950	Grade 3
Shiela Zama	R900	Grade 6
Sellinah Gula	R220	Grade 4
Primrose Sabela	R1300	Grade 11
Lynet Ndlela	R700	Grade 12
Eunice Dlamini	R800	None
Ester Mnandana	R950	None
Emmah Sosibo	R900	Grade 7
Egnes Mbatha	R900	Grade 5
Egnes Khuzwayo	R1500	Grade 4
Doris Gwala	R700	Grade 3
Bazolile Nzama	R650	Grade 11
Alzina Khumalo	R700	Grade 6
Mavis Ngcobo	R1200	None
Mphela Nagudulela	R600	None
Victoria Ngcobo	R700	Grade 7
Nokulunga Maphumulo	R800	None
Julia Nzuz	R1100	Grade 3

The table above provides an overview of the income and educational level of each domestic worker that participated in this study. The salary that is allocated to the domestic workers in each of the above cases is at the discretion of the employers.

#### **5.6.5 Education & Training**

The girl children of the domestic workers had clearly obtained higher levels of education than their mothers. However their opportunities were limited once they have to further their training and education. Financial constraints remain a critical issue.

TABLE 13 EDUCATION OF MOTHERS AND DAUGHTERS

Name of Participant	Mothers' educational status?	What level of education did you complete?	Educational status of daughter/s?	Occupational role of your daughters?
Alzina Khumalo	None	Grade 6	Matric Grade 12	She is a teacher.
Bazolile Nzama	Grade 4	Grade 11	Grade 3.	
Doris Gwala	None	Grade 3	Grade 11.	My older daughter plants sugar cane and the other is a domestic worker.
Egnes Khuzwayo	None	Grade 4	Grade 3	She is working as a domestic worker.
Egnes Mbattha	None	Grade 5	Matric	Unemployed
Emmah Sosibo	None	Grade 7	Grade 3	My daughters are not working but they are married.
Ester Mwandana	None	None	None	Unemployed

Eunice Dlamini	None	None	Grade 11	Unemployed
			Grade 3	
			Pre-school	
Julia Nzuzza	None	Grade 3	Matric	Three of my daughters are completing Matric.
Lynet Ndlela	None	Grade 12	None	
Mavis Ngcobo	None	None	Grade 3	They are domestic workers.
Mphela	None	None	None	
Nagudulela				
Nokulunga	Non	Grade 1	Grade 11	
Maphumulo				
Primrose Sabela	None	Grade 11	Tertiary -	Civil engineering
			Mangosuthu	
			Technikon.	
Sellinah Gula	None	Grade 4	Grade 10	She is working as a domestic worker
Sheila Zama	Teachers College	Grade 6	Grade 11	They are schooling.
Thandi Zulu	None	Grade 3	Grade 7	Schooling
Thobi Mlambi	None	Grade 10	Pre-school	

Sibongile. T.	None	Grade 6	Grade 10	Schooling
Nzuza				
Victoria Ngcobo	Teachers College	Grade 7	Grade 10	Schooling



All the girl children of the domestic workers in this study are socialised with the same gender biased values and norms as their mothers were socialised with however, the importance of an education has been the focus. Their mothers who have become domestic workers encourage their daughters to obtain a matric certificate at the very least. Due to financial constraints these young girls are forced to work as domestic workers in order to raise money for further education and training. For the domestic workers it is easy for them to find part time work for their daughters as domestic workers. Generally the daughters fill in for the mothers when they are sick. Domestic workers cannot afford to lose their pay packets due to illness. Annual leave for domestic workers in this study is taken over the Christmas and New Year period. The daughters of the domestic workers are on school holidays at the time. Often domestic workers place their daughters in their positions while they are on leave.

The negative impact of this summer job is that the girl children of domestic workers are being socialised into the position of domestic worker without even realising it. Berger & Luckmann (1991) take their cue from Merton (1961), in their reference to anticipatory socialisation. Merton (1961) helps provide some backdrop in viewing the anticipatory learning and socialisation experiences of beginning principles when he describes them as a pattern of behaviour in which people begin to learn and conform to the norms, values and attitudes of a group they wish to join.

Anticipatory socialisation has a great impact on gender specific role allocation in the childhood home, such as expectations that parents have of male and female children both

as children and later on in life (Kanhere, 1987: 227). Friends, relatives and employees can provide sources of information for the job. Recruiters could provide a rosy view of the job (Jablin, 1982: 256). This could be some of the ways in which the African girl children are enticed into a life of domestic work.

## 5.7 CONCLUSION

This study on domestic workers has focussed very specifically on the socialisation process of the female African girl child currently employed as a domestic worker. It shows an affinity toward the female African women and gender is very specific.

“...men and women may inhabit considerably different social worlds in a society”  
(Berger & Luckmann, 1991: 186).

The issues of gender, race and class cannot be excluded from any study on domestic workers in South Africa considering that it is largely African women that engage in domestic work. Historically and traditionally, men have always earned more than women. Gender roles and dynamics need to have far reaching changes and implications at the lower levels of the employment sector. It is critical that the value of the girl child is both enhanced and respected in order to ensure of shift for the of the female African girl child, not only from occupational roles (such as domestic work) but from other entry level positions that are highly exploitable.

This chapter has provided an analysis of the lives of twenty domestic workers employed in the Durban Metro Region. It has looked at socialisation, gender, occupational choices and outcomes of the female African girl child. Socialisation has clearly played a very critical role in the life of the female African domestic worker. She is a product of her family, environment, community, society and most importantly she is what she was expected to be.

## **5.8 SUMMARY**

For the twenty domestic workers that have been analysed in this study socialisation has played a critical role in them arriving in the occupational role of domestic worker.

Domestic work has been the end result of a journey that they have taken. During the course of the journey they have been subject to elements of gender, race, class and they become victim of the apartheid system that located them within the realms of a poor socio - economic situation.

**CHAPTER 6****SUMMARY, CONCLUSIONS AND RECOMMENDATIONS****6.1. INTRODUCTION**

If I was taught to sew I would sew. If I was taught traditional medicine I would be a sangoma. If I was taught to drive I would be a driver. If I was taught to fish I could be a fisherman....”

“When I got married, I thought I hit the jackpot. I was not worried about my studies. My husband was going to take care of me. When he was no longer around I had to be a domestic worker.”

The above quotations from participants in this study cannot contextualize this study more appropriately. African women have engaged in domestic work because they were taught, socialised, trained and expected to engage in domestic work from the time that they were girl children in the homes of their parents/guardians/caregivers. Once they were married they were expected to maintain the marital home. They prepared themselves for marriage from the time they were born. Girl children were expected to grow up and get married. It would be the responsibility of the husband to take care of her once she is married. Once women are married they are not expected to work. It is only with the absence of a father and or husband that the girl child is forced to go out and work.

## 6.2. SUMMARY

Although this study on the socialisation process of female African domestic workers is new within the South African context, domestic workers have been a subject of intense discussion, debate and discourse from 1916 with a publication by Butler entitled *Domestic Service*. Among the studies by Butler (1916) and Preston-Whyte (1969) there have been a series of other studies that have been conducted on domestic workers, both locally and internationally. These can be found in the scholarship review section of this study.

Until the inception of this study, socialisation has not been exclusively incorporated into any study conducted on domestic workers both locally and internationally. Neither has it formed the key component of any study investigating domestic workers within the South African context.

There are interesting observations that have been overlooked in the past. Reasons that preceding scholars and academics have cited for the female African women engaging in domestic work in an urban centre can be traced back to components of socialisation.

Socialisation is learnt behavior; we are not born knowing a certain set of rules. However, we are born with a pre-disposition to sociality. Rules, behavior and norms are taught to us as children. We learn from those around us and copy their behavior. The girl child learns from the perspective of the primary significant other. The objective reality of the significant other becomes the objective reality of the girl child. The girl child is socialized from the day that she is born and socialisation is a lifelong process. Different stages of socialisation such as secondary and anticipatory socialisation also form the broader part of the process.

The marginalization of the African women both within the family and the workplace has resulted in women engaging in low paying entry level jobs such as domestic work. They are concentrated in domestic labor. This is one of the lowest paying jobs both in South Africa and internationally. Traditional family structures within this study are dominated by a patriarchal ideology thereby subjecting girl children to a gender biased socialisation process.

Despite mothers, grandmothers and aunts being primary significant others, children are socialized according to the norms, values and rules of the community and society to which they belong. Therefore if the society is patriarchal in nature the socialisation methods that are adopted will be derivative from the patriarchal values and ideologies that are imparted to the girl child.

Domestic work in South Africa has always been so easy to access and employment in this sector is widely available. When the African woman is forced to make a living she accesses domestic work because of her training in her childhood home. Most domestic workers that are employed by middle class families in the Durban Metro Region have left behind families in the rural areas. Their family structure has been disrupted and they have left their children behind with surrogate significant others. If these women are lucky they see their children twice a year for short periods of time. The money that they earn can barely sustain their family unit and as such their children are subject to very harsh conditions in the rural areas under the guardianship of surrogate care givers.

Various reasons have been propounded as to why female Africans end up in the occupational role of domestic worker and these justifications have held true for several decades. Apartheid, gender, poverty, poor levels of education, patriarchy and socio-economic conditions have all been highlighted as reasons for African women arriving in the occupational role of domestic worker.

In addition to the above reasons women are victim to a gender bias socialisation and a racially biased socialisation process that African women subjugated to both as women and quite simply put by one of the participants in the study ,

“I can clean so I make money from cleaning. If I could do something else I would make money from that too.”

No matter how the data before us is analyzed, we cannot escape that African women are steered into domestic work as a result of socialisation that is gender bias. If the socialisation was gender neutral we would see an equal number of African men engaging in domestic work.

### **6.3. THEORETICAL CONCLUSIONS**

Theories on socialisation by Berger & Luckmann (1991), Blumer (1969), Thomas (1923), Merton (1961), Mead (1934) and other key theorists that have been explored in the theoretical framework of this study has helped to enhance an understanding on the issue of domestic work and socialisation processes.

Socio-economic conditions coupled with socialisation processes lend itself to a deeper understanding of the female African domestic worker in the Durban Metro Region.

According to Thomas (1923:29-35) people in general live up to the expectations that other people have of them. In so doing the female African girl child understands from a very early age that she is expected to marry. She is also socialised to believe that once she is married she is taken care of by her husband and his family.



Grounded in this belief from a very early age in her life, she begins to prepare herself for the prospect of marriage. In so doing her family makes decisions in the interest of her impending marriage. When she does not marry, divorces, loses her husband to death, desertion or her husband loses the ability to take care of her financially as a result of an injury/accident or disability she is faced with a new reality. This reality then involves her taking financial responsibility for herself.

Berger & Luckmann (1991) in their social construction of reality state that we create and define our own reality. In so doing the female African girl child who becomes a domestic worker, is not adequately prepared for placing herself in the formal economy. Her reality is that she was socialised into the role of mother/wife/housekeeper and as such this reality no longer exists. When the preceding reality is no more, she is faced with a situation wherein she has no male breadwinner that can help support her financially. She creates her own reality, her skills that she obtained in the household is extended into the home of her employer. She sells her skills in the occupational role of domestic worker. This is her new reality that she has constructed due to situational constraints.

Cooley (1930) theorizes that people's awareness of themselves and their sense of self are clearly reflected in what others think of them. As a female African woman without a husband she is expected to take on financial responsibility for her family. Entering domestic work is not a choice that she makes willingly. She is forced into domestic work because it is one of the few places that she can sell the skills that she is seen to possess by herself and others around her.

It is not uncommon for domestic workers in families to recommend other African women for domestic employment. Mead (1967) maintains that it is not uncommon that the behaviour of an individual can only be understood in terms of the whole social group of which she is a member. Domestic work in South Africa has been dominated by female African women and as such they have always emanated from families in the rural African communities.

A theoretical framework that has been detailed in the theoretical chapter of this study is a consolidation of the theoretical perspectives on socialisation.

#### **6.4. RECOMMENDATIONS**

If changes in South Africa geared specifically toward female African domestic workers are to move against the current order, substantial socio-economic, political and age-old ideological obstacles need to be challenged and addressed. As this particular study is an exploratory study into the socialisation process of the African girl child in South Africa, there are several components that need to be addressed.

A major study for further research is the increasing numbers of African women that continue to engage in domestic work despite the advent of a democracy in South Africa in 1994.

It has also been noted that 89% of domestic workers represent African women; figures for domestic workers from other race groups represent a small percentage. This would prove to be an important component of the research process in obtaining a composite picture and reasons why women of other races engage in domestic work. Are there any links to the socialisation process that they are subject to?

It is recommended that the government, donors and private agencies make funding available for research in the field. African women are a large proportion of the South African population, attention and resources need to be allocated for their development and advancement within a democratic South Africa. The commission of gender equality needs to play a bigger role in shaping the future of the girl child through education and training to prevent discrimination against historically marginalised women.

NGOs, CBOs and trade union movements should consider strengthening a weak union structure that has been battling for decades due to poor organization.

Education should be encouraged and closely monitored for all girl children until the age of 16. This needs to be carefully regulated especially in rural areas where girls are forced to leave school at an early age due to the socio-economic conditions of the family.

More effort needs to be focused on advertisement campaigns that focus on the rights and the future of the girl child. If these issues are not brought to the fore and discussed in the homes of the primary significant others we, as South African women, are faced with a

very bleak future. African women will continue to flock into the urban centers in search of domestic employment and the cycle will continue.

Domestic workers in this study are filled with regret. They wish that they had obtained higher levels of education. They are sure that higher education levels and greater encouragement for occupational achievement versus marriage would have provided them with different occupational choices.

The South African government is the only government in the world to accept and sign The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women (CEDAW) in its totality and should be committed to the advancement and development of historically disadvantaged African women.

With the establishment of the gender commission, resources should be allocated to workshop domestic workers for further advancement and development. They cannot continue to be the lowest paid, vulnerable and the most exploited sector of both the family and society.

Finally, it is hoped that this preliminary and explanatory study on socialisation and domestic work emerges as a contribution towards dialogue, debate and further research on domestic workers within a South African context.

In articulating the espousal of values consistent with the new constitution of South Africa, it is hoped that this study will lead to equality of historically disadvantaged African women in South Africa.

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## INTERNET RESOURCES

[www.scr.com](http://www.scr.com)

[http://research2.csci.](http://research2.csci)

[www.misq.org](http://www.misq.org)

[www.umanitoba.ca](http://www.umanitoba.ca)

[www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr/1990/](http://www.anc.org.za/ancdocs/pr/1990/)

[www.thefamily.org/dossier/statements/socialisation.htm](http://www.thefamily.org/dossier/statements/socialisation.htm)

[www.socorl.niu.edu/forest/socialisation.htm](http://www.socorl.niu.edu/forest/socialisation.htm)

[www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5/girl.child-e.html](http://www.swc-cfc.gc.ca/publish/beijing5/girl.child-e.html)

[www.hrw.org](http://www.hrw.org)

<http://www.iwa.org/News/AthensNews.htm>

<http://www.pressroom.com/domestic.htm>

[www.bc.edu/~evansec/curriculum](http://www.bc.edu/~evansec/curriculum)

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[www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov](http://www.ncbi.nlm.nih.gov)

[www.arasite.org](http://www.arasite.org)

[www.csf.edu.com](http://www.csf.edu.com)

<http://don.ratcliff.net>

[www.scr.com](http://www.scr.com)

[http://research2.csci.](http://research2.csci)

[www.misq.org](http://www.misq.org)

[www.umanitoba.co](http://www.umanitoba.co)

[www.saxakali.com](http://www.saxakali.com)

Mariam Seedat

## Appendix A

### Interview schedule

#### A. Personal Information

1. Name:
2. Surname:
3. Age:
4. Where are you from?
5. How long have you lived in Durban?

#### B. Family of the domestic worker

6. Are you married?
7. If yes, do you live with your husband?
8. If no, why not?
9. What does your husband do?
10. What is the highest level of education obtained by your husband?
11. How much does he earn?

**C. Children of the domestic worker**

12. Do you have any children?
13. If yes, how many?
14. How many boys?
15. Ages?
16. How many girls?
17. Ages?

**D. Educational status of domestic workers family**

18. Educational status of daughters?
19. What do your daughters do?
20. How much do they earn?
21. Educational status of son?
22. What do you sons do?
23. How much do they earn?
24. Who obtained higher qualifications sons/ daughters?
25. Why?

**E. Care givers for the children of domestic workers**

26. Do your children live with you?
27. If no, where are your children?
28. Who takes care of your children?
29. How often do you see your children?
30. How much do you send to your children each month?
31. What are your financial responsibilities to your children?

**F. The family history of the domestic worker in the home of parent/guardian/caregiver?**

32. Where did you grow up?
33. Who did you live with?
34. Who was the primary breadwinner in the family?
35. Who lived in your family home?
36. Who was responsible for raising you?

**G. Socialisation in the home of the parents/parents/guardians/caregivers/caregiver?**

37. What were some of the values that you were taught as a young girl?
38. What values were boys taught?



39. What was your/sisters responsibility in the home?
40. What was the responsibility of your brothers in the home?
41. What was your mother's responsibility?
42. What was your mother's profession?
43. What was your father's responsibility?
44. What was your father's profession?

#### **H. Educational status of the domestic workers family (home of parent/guardian/caregiver)**

45. How many brothers do you have?
46. Did they complete their schooling?
47. If yes what level?
48. If no why not?
49. What do your brothers do?
50. How much do they earn?
51. How many sisters do you have?
52. Did they complete their schooling?
53. If yes, what level did they complete?
54. If no why not?
55. What do your sisters do?
56. How much do they earn?

57. Mothers educational status?
58. Fathers educational status?
59. What is the highest level of education received by anyone in your family?
60. What do they do?
61. How did they obtain their education?
62. What do you think about this person?

#### **I. Educational status domestic worker**

63. Did you complete your schooling?
64. If no why not?
65. What level of education did you complete?
66. Have you acquired any new skills since you left school?
67. If yes, how?
68. If no, why not?
69. How did you acquire the skills to become a domestic worker?

#### **J. Working as a domestic**

70. How long have you worked here?
71. How long have you worked as a domestic worker?

72. What does your job entail?
73. How many hours do you work a day?
74. How many days do you work a week?
75. How much do you earn a month?
76. Is your family allowed to visit you?
77. If no why not?
78. What is the best thing about being a domestic worker?
79. What is the worst thing about being a domestic worker?

**K. Aims and ambitions of the girl child (domestic workers)**

80. What did you want to be when you grew up?
81. What did your parents want you to be when you grew up?
82. If different from domestic worker, why did you not achieve that?
83. Did you know anyone who worked as a domestic worker while growing up?
84. If yes, who was she?
85. What did you think about her job while growing up?
86. Did she tell you anything about being a domestic worker?

**L. Domestic work as an occupational choice**

87. Would you recommend domestic work to anyone?
87. If yes, why?
88. If no, why not?
89. Why did you decide to engage in domestic employment?
90. What were the other employment options available to you?
91. Why did you not exercise those options?
92. What are some of the other jobs that woman from your area are engaged in?

**M. Why domestic work**

93. What do you think lead you to become a domestic worker?
94. Would you like to change your job?
95. If yes, why don't you do this?
96. If no, why not?
97. What would you like to do?
98. Do you see yourself as a domestic worker forever?

**N. Responsibility in the home of parent/guardian/caregiver?**

- 99. Did you help take care of any young children?
- 100. Did boys help take care of children?
- 101. What skills did you learn in your home?
- 102. What skills did boys learn?
- 103. What responsibility did you have in the home?
- 104. What responsibility did your brother have in the home?

**O. How was gender defined while you were growing up?**

- 105. What type of behavior was acceptable for a young girl?
- 106. What type of behavior was acceptable for a young boy?
- 107. Who was your role model?
- 108. Who was your brother's role model?
- 109. What were boys expected to do when they grew up?
- 110. What were girls expected to do when they grew up?
- 111. How are little girls treated?
- 112. How are little boys treated?
- 113. Do you think that boys and girls should be treated the same?
- 114. Why/why not?

115. If you were treated the same as a boy what do you think you would be doing today?
116. Do you think the way your family treated you has anything to do with the job that you are in today?
117. Why?
118. Do you think that you would have had other employment options available to you if you were a boy?
119. Do you think that your parents would have sent you to complete your schooling if you were a boy?

**P. The socialization of children of the domestic workers**

120. Do you think that you treat your sons and daughters the same way?
121. If yes, why?
122. If no, why not?
123. Do you think it is better to have sons rather than daughters?
124. Why?
125. What are the rules for your daughter?
126. What are the rules for your son?

**Q. Gaining entry into domestic work**

127. Why did you decide to start working?

- 128. Are you working for the love of it?
- 129. Are you working out of financial necessity?
- 130. What is your money spent on?

**R. The future of the domestic workers children**

- 131. Have you made any provisions for further education for your children?
- 132. If yes, what?
- 133. If no, why not?
- 134. What would you like your children to do?
- 135. Daughters?
- 136. Sons?
- 137. What do you expect from your daughters?
- 138. What do you expect from your sons?
- 139. Who will take care of you when you are older?
- 140. Why?
- 141. Do you think any of your children will be domestic workers?
- 142. If yes, why?
- 143. If no, why not?

## Appendix B Completed interview schedule

Name of Participant	Age	Where are you from	How long have you lived in Durban	Are you married	If yes do you live with your husband	If no, why not	What does your husband do	What is your husbands educational qualifications	How much does he earn
Alzina Khumalo	72 years	Mahlabathini	49 years	No		I was not fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry.			
Bazolile Nzama	27	Harding	7 years	Yes	No	We are separated because my husband married a second wife and he did not support me.	He is a herbalist.	He has only completed grade 10.	+/- R100 per day.
Doris Gwala	62	Newhanover	40 years	No		I was not fortunate enough, to get married			
Egnes Khuzwayo	64	Eshowe	29 years	Yes	No	He past away in 1976.	He worked in a hotel.		I do not know.
Egnes Mbatha	52	Ulundi	8 years	No		I was not fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry.			
Emmah Sosibo	72	Escort	45 years	Yes	No, my husband left.				
Ester Mnandana	54	Entabankulu (Umtala)	29 years	Yes	No	My husband left me.			
Eunice Dlamini	48	Umzumbe	30 years	No		I was not lucky enough to get married.			
Julia Nzuza	58	Nkandla	12 years	Yes	No	My husband lives in Nkandla because he is not working.	He is not working as he is a pensioner.		R700 per month.
Lynet Ndlela	44	Mtubatuba	5 years	No		I was not fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry.			



Mavis Ngcobo	64	Kwa Ngcolosi	11 years	No		I was not fortunate enough, to find someone that I would marry.			
Mphela Nagudulela	55	Mnambithi	37 years	No		I was not fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry.			
Nokulunga Maphumulo	47	Nanda	33 years	Yes	No	I am divorced.			
Primrose Sabela	54	Transkei	34 years	Yes	Yes		My husband use to work but now he has a stroke.		
Sellinah Gula	49	Transkei	30 years	No		I was not fortunate enough to get married			
Sheila Zama	50	Nanda	Ever since I was born	Yes	No	My husband past away	He was a baker.		
Thandi Zulu	36	Ntuzuma	Since I was born.	Yes	Yes		He repairs air conditioners and fridges, in which he has a certificate for this work.	N4 – Trade School	R2260 per month
Thobi Mlambi	26	Port Shepstone	6 years	No		I was not fortunate enough, to find someone that I would marry.			
Sibongile T. Nzuza	59	Nkadla	13 years	No		My husband left.	I do not know.	I do not know	I do not know.
Victoria Ngcobo	38	Port Shepstone	13 years	Yes	No	We divorced since 1992.			

Name of Participant	Do you have any children?	If yes, how many?	How many boys?	Ages?	How many girls?	Ages?	Educational status of daughters?	What do your daughters do?	How much do they earn?
Alzina Khumalo	Yes	3	2	First son: 58 and Second son: 53 years old.	1	47 years old.	High-school	She is a teacher.	I do not know.
Bazolile Nzama	Yes.	3	1	7 years	2	9 and 1 years old.	Grade 3.	One is in grade 3 and the other is still young for school.	
Doris Gwala	Yes	4	2	43 and 39 years old	2	30 and 24 years old	Both daughters completed grade 11.	My older daughter plants sugar cane and the other is a domestic worker.	My older daughter earns R600 a month and the other earns R950 per month.
Egnes Khuzwayo	Yes	2	1	46 years old	1	44 years old	Primary school	She is working as a domestic worker.	R50 per day
Egnes Mbatha	Yes	2	1	27 years old	1	23 years old	High-school	Unemployed	
Emmah Sosibo	Yes	5	2	50 and 36 years old	3	42, 40, and 34 years old.	Primary school	My daughters are not working but they are married.	
Ester Mmandana	Yes	2	1	20 years old	1	16 years old			
Eunice Dlamini	Yes	4			4	29, 14, 9 and 5 years	My second daughter is in high-school, my third daughter is in primary school and my last born child is in pre-school	My first daughter is unemployed	

Julia Nzuzu	Yes	7	2	28 and 15 years old.	5	32, 26, 23, 22, and 19 years old.	High-school	Three of my daughters are completing Matric.	
Lynet Ndelela	No								
Mavis Ngcobo	Yes	4	2	46 and 36 years old	2	40 and 44 years old	Primary school	They are domestic workers.	R1000 per month.
Mphela Nagudulela	Yes	2	2	33 and 29 years					
Nokulunga Maphumulo	Yes	4	3	First son: 22, second son: 18, Third son: 16 years old.	1	20 years old.	My daughter is in high-school.		
Primrose Sabela	Yes	3	2	34 and 32 years old.	1	21 years old.	Tertiary – Mangosuthu Technikon.	Civil engineering	
Sellinah Gula	Yes	3	2	18 and 17 years old.	1	20 years old	High-school	She is working as a domestic worker	R30 per day.
Sheila Zama	Yes	6	1	22 years old.	5	29, 28-twins, 18, 14 years old	High-school	They are schooling.	One of my daughters is working and she is in catering.
Thandi Zulu	Yes	1	none		1	14 years	Grade 7	Schooling	
Thobi Mlambi	Yes	1			1	4 years old	Pre-school		
Sibongile T. Nzuzu	Yes	1	None.		1	19	My daughter is still in high school.	Schooling.	
Victoria Ngcobo	Yes	1			1	18 years old	High-school	She is a scholar	

Name of Participant	Educational status of son?	What do you sons do?	How much do they earn?	Who obtained higher qualifications sons/daughters?	Why?	Do your children live with you?	If no, where are your children?	Who takes care of your children?	How often do you see your children?
Alzina Khumalo	High-school	My first son is unemployed and my second son is working (Hardware).	I do not know	Daughters	She is a teacher now.	No	My second is in Umtuba and my first son lives in Mahlabathini	My children are old enough to take care of themselves.	I have to ask my employer to see my children as I do not have any leave
Bazolile Nzama	Grade 1.	He is schooling.		My daughter	Because she is completing grade 3.	No.	My children live in Harding.	My sister	At the end of every month.
Doris Gwala	My older son completed grade 9 and the younger son grade 11.	My older son is mentally disabled and is therefore not working. The younger son is unemployed.		All of my children have the same qualifications, which are grade 11, except for my older son who completed grade 9.		No	Newhanover	I take care of my children	At the end of the month.
Egnes Khuzwayo	Primary school.	Unemployed		Non		No	Eshowe	They take care of themselves as they are old enough to do so.	At the end of every month.
Egnes Mbatha	High-school	Unemployed		My daughter	She has completed grade 11.	No	ULundi	They take care of themselves as they are old enough to do so.	After 3 months.
Emmah Sosibo	High-school	They work at Toyota.		My sons.	Because my sons matriculated.	No	Lindelani	My children take care of themselves	I see my children once a week.

Ester Mnandana	High-school	He is schooling		My son	He is in grade 12.	No	Entabankulu (Umtala)	My mother	I see my children twice a year, which is on Easter and Christmas holidays.
Eunice Dlamini						No	My children live in Umzumbe.	After my mother past away, my children now take care of themselves.	At the end of every month.
Julia Nzuzza	High-school	My first son is working and the second is in school.	I do not know.	My daughters.	They are completing grade 12.	No	Nkandla	They take care of themselves	After 3 months.
Lynet Ndlela Mavis Ngcobo	Primary school	They are unemployed.				No	Kwa Ngcolosi	My children are old enough to take care of themselves	I see my children on the days that I am off, which is on a Thursday and Friday
Mphela Nagudulela	High-school	My first son is working and my second son is employed	I do not know.	My sons	My sons completed grade 11. The school that they went to had strikes and therefore they could not complete grade 12.	No	My first son lives in Westville and the second son lives in Overport.	I take care of my second son as he is not working.	Everyday.
Nokulunga Maphumulo	My sons are in high-school.			My daughter.	She matriculated last year.	Yes		I take care of my children.	We live together, so I see them everyday.

Primrose Sabela	High-school	My first son is in the security field and the second son is sick as he was in a car accident	I do not know.	My daughter	She is a technician	Yes		I take care of my children.	Everyday.
Sellinah Gula	Primary school.			My daughter	She has completed grade 8.	No	Sydenham	I take care of my children.	After every 2 weeks.
Sheila Zama	High-school	He left school when he was in grade 11.		Daughter.	My daughter has matriculated.	Yes		I take care of my children	Everyday.
Thandi Zulu				My daughter is still in grade 7 and this is her highest level of education		Yes		I take care of my child	We live together
Thobi Mlambi						No	Port Shepstone	My sister	At the end of every month
Sibongile. T. Nzuz						My daughter use to live with me but now she lives on the farm.	She lives on the farm.	My brother's wife.	Every school holiday, which is four times a year
Victoria Ngcobo				My daughter	I do not have sons	No	Port Shepstone	My sister's mother	At the end of every month.

Name of Participant	How much do you send to your children each month?	What are your financial responsibilities to your children?	Where did you grow up?	Who did you live with?	Who was the primary breadwinner in the family?	Who lived in your family home?	Who was responsible for raising you?	What were some of the values that you were taught as a young girl?	What values were boys taught?
Alzina Khumalo	I pay someone R300 a month to look after my house.		Mahlabathini	My parents	My mother as my father past away in 1940.	My sisters and brother.	My mother	I was told to get married.	
Bazolile Nzama	R40 per month.	I save R100 a month for my children's further studies.	Harding	My grandmother	My mother	My sisters and brothers.	My grandmother.	Craft work.	Fishing.
Doris Gwala	Sometimes I send R400 or R500 a month but this depends on my requirements that I need.	I have to buy groceries for my children.	Newhanover	My parents	My father	My parents, sisters and brother.	My father was responsible for raising me because my mother was a housewife.	To get married but I did not get married as it is a gift from God.	To pursue the Arts as he made wooden spoons and bowls.
Egnes Khuzwayo	R500 per month	I buy the groceries and take care of my grandchildren's school fees, uniforms and books	Eshowe	My parents	My father	My sister and brother	My parents	I was just expected to get married	
Egnes Mbatha	R600	I buy them their groceries.	ULundi	My parents	My father	My brother and sister	My parents	Girls were just told to get married.	Boys learnt the value of working.

Emmah Sosibo	I do not send anything to my children		Escort	My parents	My father	My sister	My parents	We were told to get married.	Boys were told to find employment and work
Ester Mnandana	R500 a month	I pay for my children's school fees and I buy the groceries.	Entabankulu (Umtala)	My parents	My mother.	My sisters and brothers.	My mother	We were just told to get married	
Eunice Dlamini	R300	I have to pay for my children's school fees, books as well as the groceries	Umzumbe	I lived with my grandmother.	My grandmother	Her children	My grandmother.	We were taught the importance of working.	Boys were taught how to become a taxi driver
Julia Nzuza	R700 per month.	I buy the groceries, pay the school fees and uniforms.	Nkandla.	My parents	My father	My brother and sister.	My parents	Girls were just told to get married.	Boys were taught the value of work.
Lynel Ndlela			Mtubatuba	My mother	My mother		My mother	Girls were taught the value of work.	
Mavis Ngcobo	R60 per month.	I buy food for my children	Kwa Ngcolosi	I lived my mother and father. However, my father past away when I was 3 years old.	My mother	My sister	My mother	We were taught the value of work in order to have a better future.	
Mphela Nagudulela	I do not send money to my children. I buy groceries and spilt this into two packages, which I give each of them.	I buy them food.	Mnambithi	My parents	My father	My sisters and brothers.	My parents	We were told to get married.	



Nokulunga Maphumulo		I pay for my children's fees and uniforms	La Mercy	My mother	My mother	My brother and sisters	My mother	We were taught the value of work and being independent.	
Primrose Sabela		I pay for my daughter's tertiary education and her bus fare. I also have to support my family as my husband and son are not working.	Transkei	My parents, although they past away when I was nine.	My father	My sister	My parents, but after they past away, my sister took care of me.	We were taught the value of work and to be good.	
Sellimah Gula	R180 per month	I pay the rent for my children. My daughter is also a domestic worker and she is responsible for buying the food.	Transkei	I lived with my parents.	My mother.	My brothers and sisters	My mother	Girls were taught the value of work.	
Sheila Zama		I have to pay for my children's school fees as well as their uniforms.	Nanda	My parents	My father	My brother and sister	My parents	We were taught dress-making	
Thandi Zulu		I save R90 a month for my daughter's tertiary education. I do not want my daughter to be like me and this is why I save. To prevent financial problems.	Ntuzuma	My brother	My mother	My brother	My mother	Singing and modelling.	Fishing and soccer.
Thobi Mlambi	R500	I have to pay her school fees.	Port Shepstone	My parents	My father	My brothers and sisters	My parents	I was told to get married	

Sibongile T. Nzuz	I give my daughter money only when she asks for it. She asks for various amounts. Example: R100-R200	I have to pay for my child's school fees and books every year	Nkadla.	I lived with my mother	My mother	My mother, sister, and brother	My mother	We were taught to work and be good children	The boys were not taught any values and could do as they pleased.
Victoria Ngcobo	R400	I have to buy the groceries and pay her school fees.	Port Shepstone	My parents	My father	My brothers	My parents	We were told to get married	

Name of Participant	What was your/sisters responsibility in the home?	What was the responsibility of your brothers in the home?	What was your mother's responsibility?	What was your mother's profession?	What was your father's responsibility?	What was your father's profession?	How many brothers do you have?	Did they complete their schooling?	If yes what level?
Alzina Khumalo	Cooking, cleaning and washing	He had to work.	My mother had a garden in which, she use to plant sweet potatoes and tobacco. She sold the tobacco.				1	No	
Bazolile Nzama	We had to take care of the children, cook, clean, wash, and plant vegetables.	They had to plant maize and pumpkins.	My mother use to work and therefore it was her responsibility to send money for us.	She had no profession.	My parents were separated and my father did not support us. He lived with my stepmother and had no responsibilities in our home.	He had no profession.	1	No. He is still schooling.	
Doris Gwala	Cleaning, making African mats and knitting doilies.	Herding the cattle as well as milking them.	Cooking and washing of the clothes.	She did not have a profession.	He had to financially support our family and check on his cattle and sheep before going to work.	He did not have a profession	1	Yes	Grade 11. Grade 11 was the highest grade during my time
Egnes Khuzwayo	Cooking and cleaning.		My mother's responsibility was to make Zulu mats.				I have 3 brothers but 2 have past away now	No	
Egnes Mbatha	Cooking and cleaning the house.	They had to herd the cattle.	My mother had to make Zulu mats and clay pots.		He made walking sticks		1	No	
Emmah Sosibo	They had to cook and clean.		My mother had to sell fruit.		He had to sell fruit.				

Ester Mmandana	We had to cook, learn how to farm and clean the garden		My mother had to make Zulu mats, clay pots and learn how to farm.	My father had no responsibilities at home as he was not a supportive person. Despite the fact that he worked in Johannesburg he did not support us.	1	No
Eunice Dlamini	We had to cook, clean and farm the land	Boys had to herd the cattle. They also had to check on the sheep and goats	My mother was a domestic worker and she had no responsibilities at home. She did send money to us, when she was young.	My father worked at Hulett's but past away when I was 11 years old. He had no responsibilities at home	2	No.
Julia Nzuza	Cooking, cleaning and farming.	They had to herd the cattle.	My mother had to make Zulu mats.	My father worked and had no responsibility at home.	1	No
Lynet Ndlela			My mother had to do all the farming.			
Mavis Ngcobo	Cleaning and cooking		My mother's responsibility was to plant maize and beans.	My father built houses before he past away	None	
Mphela Nagudulela	We had to cook and collect water from the river.	They had to herd the cattle and milk the cows.	My mother would cook if she felt like.	He had to farm the land.	2	No

Nokulunga Maphumulo	They were taught how to cook, clean and in their spare time learn African craft work.	Boys had to work and support the family.	My mother was a domestic worker and had no responsibilities at home. She did send money to us	My mother was not a professional, she was a domestic worker.	My father past away when I was 5 years old, so he had no responsibilities at home	1	No		
Primrose Sabela	We had to plant fruit and vegetables and sell them when they were harvested.	My brother worked but he did not support the family.	She planted vegetables and rice.		He worked and had no responsibilities at home.	He was a policeman	3	No	
Sellinah Gula	We had to cook, clean and do the washing of clothes.	My brothers had to do the farming of the land. (Maize).	My mother's responsibility was to farm the land as well.				2	No	
Sheila Zama	We had to cook, clean and do the washing.		My mother worked and had no responsibilities at home.	She was a teacher.	My father had the responsibility of farming the land.		2	No	
Thandi Zulu		He was to plant and water the garden.	Sell fruit and vegetables.	My mother did not have a profession	My father was unemployed because he was abnormal and in a wheelchair. He collected a pension which was used to support our family.	He did not have a profession	1	Yes.	He completed level 4 (S4).

Thobi Mlambi	Cooking, cleaning the house and farming	They had to herd the cattle.	My mother had to take care of the children.				2	One of my brothers completed school and the other did not go to school.	Grade 12
Sibongile. T. Nzuz	We had the responsibilities of cooking, cleaning the house and learning how to farm the land.	The boys had to herd the cattle as well as the sheep. They did not have the same responsibilities as did the girls.	My mother had to make Zulu mats, cook, clean and look after the children.	She made Zulu mats and eventually sold them	My father past away when I was eight. He did not have any responsibilities	He was a policeman in Durban	1	No.	
Victoria Ngcobo		My brothers had to herd the cattle.	My mother worked and had no responsibilities at home.	She was a teacher.	My fathers responsibility was to work		2	No	

Name of Participant	If no why not?	What do your brothers do?	How much do they earn?	How many sisters do you have?	Did they complete their schooling?	If yes, what level did they complete?	If no why not?	What do your sisters do?	How much do they earn?
Alzina Khumalo	I do not know. They left school and ran away to Johannesburg without my parent's permission. They wanted to find employment there and only came back when he was working.	He past away.		1	Yes	Standard 9 - Royal.		She was a teacher but now she had past away.	
Bazolile Nzama	He is still at school.	He is in school.		2	No		After my parents separated, my father did not support us and therefore my mother could not afford to send us to study further.	My sister is unemployed. However, she plants vegetables to support the family.	

Doris Gwala	My brother was a welder in which he has a certificate for that. He has now past away in a car accident in 1983.	I cannot remember.	2	No.	My parents only sent my brother to school as they believed that a girl's responsibility was to get married. My father expected iLobola rather than education. Girls were not allowed to go to school. Those that did go to school learnt how to read and write in order to communicate with their boyfriends, in the hope of getting married to them.	They are unemployed.
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Egnes Khuzwayo	They were only sent to school to learn how to read. E.g. the Bible or letters.	He is unemployed	I have 2 sisters but one has past away now.	No	They did not attend school as they did not believe in education	My sister is married.
Egnes Mbatha	My parents could not afford to send my brother to school. Their only source of income was the craft work which they sold.	He is a farmer.	1	No	My parents could not afford to send her to school.	She is married.
Emmah Sosibo			1	No	She fell pregnant while she was at school.	My sister is married and not working

Ester Mnandana	<p>In my family it was not important to get an education. My parents worked despite the fact that they did not have an education. They planted vegetables which became our staple diet. We were not encouraged to go to school as my parents felt that we could still get a job without an education.</p>	They are working.	I do not know.	6	No	<p>They just expected to get married rather than getting an education. There was no need to go to school because we harvested the fields of vegetables, which we lived off.</p>	They are married
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Eunice Dlamini	My brother's main responsibility was to herd the cattle as well as take care of the other animals. They did not go to school.	My brothers are farmers.	Most of the time they earn cows.	1	No.	My parents did not see the need to send us to school because we worked on the farm. They believed that cattle were everything to them.	They are domestic workers.	R800 per month
Julia Nzuzza	My parents sent us to school just to learn how to read and write. They felt that we would learn all the bad things if we carried on with our schooling. E.g. get pregnant, boyfriends	He past away.		4	No	My parents thought that my sisters would fall pregnant if they sent them to school.	They are married.	

Lynet Ndlela Mavis Ngcobo				1	No	After my father past away, it became very difficult for my mother to send us to school as she could not afford it. Although she sold fruit and vegetables, she did not make a profit to send us to school.	She is unemployed.	
Mphela Nagudulela	Because they worked on the farm in order to harvest the land.	My brothers past away in a car accident last year.		2	No	They also worked on the farm.	They are married	
Nokulunga Maphumulo	We had financial problems	My brother builds toilets and he is a gardener for some people.	Depends on the agreement between his employer and himself	2	No	Financial problems.	One is a domestic worker and the other is married.	R900
Primrose Sabela	He got a job when he was in standard 5. (Royal Education)	They have past away.		1	No	She left school when she was in grade 11 and got married.	She is married.	

Sellinah Gula	We had financial problems as my father past away when we were young. Although my mother sold fruit and vegetables, this money was not sufficient for her to send us to school	They are working.	I do not know.	1	No	We had financial problems as my father past away when we were young. Although my mother sold fruit and vegetables, this money was not sufficient for her to send us to school.	She is working.	R20 per day.
Sheila Zama	They did not like going to school.	They just drink alcohol		3	No	My sisters were lazy even though my parents gave them the opportunity to go to school. My sisters just did not see the need for going to school.	They are married.	
Thandi Zulu		He is working as an electrician.	He earns +/- R7000 per month.					

Thobi Mlambi	My parents decided to send my second brothers child to school.	They are unemployed		3	No	My sisters were not allowed to go to school	They are married.
Sibongile. T. Nzuz	He only completed standard one. There was no money to complete school.	He fixes lifts	I do not know	1	No.	My sister completed standard three and did not complete because there was no money.	She is unemployed
Victoria Ngcobo	My father did not like to send them to school. Despite the fact that my mother was educated.	They are unemployed					

Name of Participant	Mothers educational status?	Fathers educational status?	What is the highest level of education received by anyone in your family?	What do they do?	How did they obtain their education?	What do you think about this person?	Did you complete your schooling?	If no why not?	What level of education did you complete?
Alzina Khumalo			My sister – standard 9 – Royal.	She was a teacher.	My father supported her financially, when she studied.	My sister was lucky because when she started studying, my father was alive	No	My father had past away, when I started school and my mother did not have the money for me to study.	Grade 6
Bazolile Nzama	My mother completed grade 4.	My father completed grade 2.	Grade 11.	He is still completing school.			No.	After my parents separated my mother started to plant vegetables and domestic work. However, the profit was not sufficient for us to complete school.	Grade 11.

Doris Gwala	My mother has no educational status.	My father has no educational status.	My brother had the highest educational status.	Welding.	My parents sent my brother to Empolweni to finish the highest level of education (Grade 11). He was afforded this opportunity as he was not a girl.	I think he was lucky because he also worked as a mechanical engineer. He was very clever to do this.	No.	Because we lived on the farm my father also had to work on it. My father's boss did not allow the girls to go to school and therefore I was scared to attend as my father may have been fired. My father's boss thought they were white people. My responsibility was to feed the pigs and this is why we were not allowed to attend school.	Grade 3.
Egnes Khuzwayo							No	My parents felt that there was no need to go to school as they preferred getting us married. They wanted iLobola, so there was no need to school. We only went to school to learn how to read and write and then left after awhile.	Grade 4



Egnes Mbatha							No	My parents could not afford to send me to school	Grade 5
Emmah Sosibo							No	I got married when I was in grade 7.	I completed grade 7.
Ester Mmandana							No	I just expected to get married rather than getting an education. There was no need to go to school because we harvested the fields of vegetables, which we lived off.	
Eunice Dlamini	No educational status.	No educational status.	No person in my family has an educational status.				No	My parents did not see the need for us to go to school. They depended on the cattle but they did not realize that one day they could lose the cattle.	None
Julia Nzuza			My daughters have the highest level of education in my family.	They are completing Matric.	After becoming a domestic worker I was able to send my children to school.	I think that they will complete their schooling and study further.	No	My parents thought that I would fall pregnant if they sent me to school.	Grade 3
Lynet Ndlela	My mother did not go to school.						Yes		Grade 12
Mavis Ngcobo							No	My mother could not afford to send me to school.	

Mphela Nagudulela			No member of my family completed school			No	All the members of my family worked on the farm and did not go to school. They did this in order to obtain food to sustain them.		
Nokulunga Maphumulo	My mother has no educational status.	My father has no educational status.	No member of my family has an educational status.			No	Besides the fact that we did not have money my sister and brothers did not go to school and therefore I thought that there was no need to go to school.	I did not even start grade 1.	
Primrose Sabela		I do not know. But he did have Royal Education	My daughter	She is still studying.	I am working in order to educate my children. I do not want them to become like me.	She is very kind and intelligent	No	After my parents past away, my sister sold vegetables in order to educate me. However, I only completed grade 11 as she could not manage to finance my education till grade 12. I did not seek advice and in my time grade 11 was good.	Grade 11.
Sellinah Gula						No.	We had financial problems	I completed grade 4.	

Sheila Zama	My mother went to College.	Standard 4 (Royal)	My mother received the highest level of education. She went to College.	She is a teacher	My mother's parents sent her to school, in which she did not waste this opportunity and her future.	I think she is blessed	No	After grade 6 I received a proposal and got married. I preferred being married rather than educating myself.	Grade 6.
Thandi Zulu	My mother does not have an educational status.	My father does not have an educational status	My brother completed his national diploma in electrical engineering (S4).	He is working as an electrician and still studying for his BTech.	Because he was a boy, my father sent him to school, in which he completed grade 12. My father sold his cows to send my brother to Natal Technikon as his pension was not sufficient to pay for it. When my brother was in 2 <sup>nd</sup> year he received a bursary and completed his studies.	I think God blessed him from the beginning as he was a boy. He passed even through all the difficult times. My father thought that sending me to school was a waste of time because I was a girl. He just expected me to get married.	No	My parents did not give me a chance as they felt that I would fall pregnant or get married. If I got married I would be wasting their money as I would not belong to them anymore. They felt that when I get married it would be my husband's responsibility to educate me and it was too late at that time	Grade 3.
Thobi Mlambi			My brother received the highest level of education	He is unemployed.	My parents decided to send my brother to school. However, when my parents past away, my older sister financed his schooling	He is lucky to have completed school, although he is unemployed now.	No	My father past away when I was completing grade 10.	Grade 10

Sibongile. T. Nzuza	No educational status	No educational status.	No member of my family studied.				No.	There was no money	Standard four.
Victoria Ngcobo	She was a teacher		My mother received the highest level of education.	She was a teacher.	Her parents sent her to school.	They are all educated in my mother's family.	No	My father did not like to send his children to school	Grade 7.

Name of Participant	Have you acquired any new skills since you left school?	If yes, how?	If no, why not?	How did you acquire the skills to become a domestic worker?	How long have you worked here?	How long have you worked as a domestic worker?	What does your job entail?	How many hours do you work a day?	How many days do you work a week?
Alzina Khumalo	I have learnt how to garden.	My mother taught me this.		There was someone who had a market in Mahlabathini and she had asked me to work for her. I had learnt how to become a domestic worker from her.	44 years	49 years	Cooking and cleaning	7 hours a day	7 days a week
Bazolile Nzama	Yes.	My mother was a domestic worker and I use to help her during the holidays. I also practiced how to communicate in English.		My boss taught me how to cook, bake, and drive but I do not have my license. I also know how to take care of children.	7 years.	7 years.	Ironing, washing, cleaning and taking care of 2 children.	10 hours.	5 days a week.

Doris Gwala	Yes.	When my parents passed away I had to become a domestic worker in order to look after my sisters.	My friend taught me the skills required for domestic work. She showed me how to look after the children, washing, ironing and cooking. I use to relieve my friend from work during the holidays.	10 years.	41 years.	Ironing, washing and cleaning.	8 hours.	5 days a week.
Egnes Khuzwayo	I have learnt how to make Zulu mats	My mother taught me how to make them.	My sister was a domestic worker and when I visited her, I would help with the cleaning, washing and ironing.	10 years	29 years	Cooking, washing, ironing and cleaning	10 hours a day.	7 days a week.
Egnes Mbatla	No, besides doing domestic work.		My aunt was a domestic worker and she asked me to help her with the work. I eventually took over her job.	15 months	36 years	Cleaning, washing, cooking and ironing	8 hours	7 days a week
Emmah Sosibo	No. I just married.			32 years.	45 years	Cooking, cleaning, washing and ironing.	10 hours	7 days a week.

Ester Mmandana	I have only learnt how work in the garden	In my family, gardening was the most important thing as we depended on it for food. This is how I learnt these skills.	My neighbour was a domestic worker. One day, she asked me to help her and she showed the skills.	7 years	29 years	Cooking, washing, ironing and cleaning	15-17 hours a day.	7 days a week.
Eunice Dlamini	Yes	Even though I did not go to school my employer has taught me how to read, write and speak in English.	I use to visit my mother when she was a domestic worker and she taught me the skills of washing and ironing. Eventually I got my own job as a domestic worker	30 years	30 years	I have to cook, clean and look after the children.	10 hours a day.	5 days a week.
Julia Nzuzo	I learnt how to make Zulu mats.	I learnt this from my mother.	I did the cleaning and washing at home.	10 years	14 years	Cleaning, washing, and ironing	13 hours a day	6 days a week
Lynet Ndlela	No	My mother could not afford to send me to study further.	My aunt use to work as a domestic worker and when I visited her, the employer had asked me to stay on permanently.	5 years	5 years	Cleaning, washing, ironing and cooking.	10 hours a day	7 days a week

Mavis Ngcobo	Fencing pillow.	I learnt this from my friends	I use to clean the house when I was young, so I learnt this from them. The only thing that I had to learn was the cooking as it was different. My employer taught me how to cook for them.	28 years	36 years	Cooking, cleaning, ironing and washing	9 hours a day.	5 days a week.
Mphela Nagudulela	I worked on the farm	I learnt how to harvest the various fruit and vegetables that we grew.	I use to clean the house when I was young and this is how I learnt the skills of domestic work.	37 years	37 years	Cooking, cleaning, washing, ironing and gardening	13 hours	7 days a week.
Nokulunga Maphumulo	Yes	I went to a factory shop and learnt how to become a dress-maker. I have a certificate for this.	My mother and sister were domestic workers and when I visited them they taught me the skills.	2 years	33 years	Washing, cleaning, ironing and cooking	9 hours.	4 days but sometimes I only work on 2 days.
Primrose Sabela	Dress-making	I learnt dress-making from my neighbour	I started working in order to relieve my aunty.	23 years	34 years	Cooking, washing. Ironing and cleaning	8 hours a day.	5 days a week.



Sellinah Gula	Yes.	I have learnt how to sew. I do not have a certificate for this as it costs a lot of money to study sewing.	When we were young we had to clean, cook and do the washing. So this is how I learnt the skills of domestic work.	13 years.	20 years	Cleaning the garden and washing.	4 hours.	3 days a week.
Sheila Zama	I have learnt how to sew and farm.	My father taught me this.	I use to clean my own house and this is how I learnt the skills of domestic work.	8 months	30 years	I have to clean, wash, iron and cook.	9 hours a day.	5 days a week.
Thandi Zulu	Yes.	My boss helped me learn how to drive and now I have my license. Now I have to take my bosses children to school because I know how to drive.	My friend was a domestic worker. I started domestic work when I visited my friend, in which I use to help her. After this, I realized that domestic work was my only option as I was uneducated	17 years.	17 years.	I have to do the ironing, cooking, washing and taking the children to school.	10 hours.	5 days.
Thobi Mlambi	Cashier	I learnt how to be a cashier	It was my responsibility to do all the house work when I was young. This is how I learnt domestic work.	1 month	1 year	Cleaning, washing and ironing.	11 hours a day	6 days a week

Sibongile. T. Nzuza	No.	I don't know.	Six years.	Eighteen years.	I have to cook, clean and look after the children	Six or seven hours a day.	Six days a week.
Victoria Ngcobo	No	I use to clean the house when I was small. I also have worked at a restaurant, were I learnt how to clean up.	9 years	9 years	Washing, cleaning and ironing.	8 hours a day.	6 days a week

Name of Participant	How much do you earn a month?	Is your family allowed to visit you?	If no why not?	What is the best thing about being a domestic worker?	What is the worst thing about being a domestic worker?	What did you want to be when you grew up?	What did your parents want you to be when you grew up?	If different from domestic worker, why did you not achieve that?	Did you know anyone who worked as a domestic worker while growing up?
Alzina Khumalo	R700 per month	Yes		There is no best thing about being a domestic worker.	If I am sick, my employer does not care or send me to the doctor. I am old and I have to work 7 days a week, without a day off. I do not have time to spend with my family. I do not even spend Christmas or Easter with my family as I have to work.	I wanted to get married.	I do not know.	I just wanted to get married and I was not fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry.	No
Bazolile Nzama	R650	Yes.		I am happy because I have a job. At least I am not on the streets. Even though I do not like domestic work I believe half a loaf of bread is better than none at all.	Working on holidays because I would like to spend time with my family. I do not have enough time to eat as I am only allowed to sit down for 5 minutes. I do not even manage to finish my work because there is so much to do.	A nurse.	A doctor.	The separation of my parents destroyed my future because everything changed after that.	Yes.

Doris Gwala	R700	No.	Black people are not allowed to visit me. My daughter is not even allowed to ring the bell, so she whistle's in order to call me. I was told that accommodation is only available for me and no one else.	Nothing, besides the fact that I earn R700 a month. At least I am doing something even though I am not educated and this money supports my family and I.	My boss runs a Bed and Breakfast it is my responsibility to do all the guests washing, ironing as well as serve them.	A dress maker	They wanted me to get married as it would be a disappointment if I did not.	Domestic work is the only job available for uneducated people. I did not have the money to learn dressmaking.	Yes.
Egnes Khuzwayo	R1500 per month.	Yes. My employer allows my family to visit me but the caretaker has a problem with it. They do not allow my family to visit.	My employer and I understand one another. I do not have to buy food and I get a bonus at the end of every year. I also get leave on 4 days of the month.	The caretaker does not allow my family or friends to visit. They hate them.	I wanted to get married	I do not know.	When I got married, I depended on him for everything. However, when he past away, I realized that every can change. I needed to get a job to support my family	Yes	
Egnes Mbatha	R900 per month	Yes	I am able to support my family.	Working on the weekend	A nurse	They wanted me to get married.	My parents could not afford to send me to school	Yes	

Emmah Sosibo	R900 a month.	No	The accommodation that is available is only for me and not my family.	I do not have to pay for rent, electricity and food. I am happy because I also earn R900 a month.	I have to work on Sundays and holidays. I do not have time to spend with my family as they are not allowed to visit me.	I wanted to get married.	My parents wanted me to get married.	When I got married I thought that my husband would support me and therefore I did not go to school. When he left, I had no option but to do domestic work.	No
Ester Mnandana	R950 per month	No	My employer did not give me a reason but she told me that she did not like friends and family to visit.	The bonus at the end of the year	I work 15 hours a day and I do not have day off. I have to buy my own food and even if it's a light globe for my room. I do not have time with my family as they cannot visit me.	I wanted to get married.	They wanted me to get married.	I did not like to work as I preferred to get married. When my husband left, I realized the importance of education and not being dependent on your husband	Yes
Eunice Dlamini	R800	No	There is not enough accommodation.	Domestic work is the best thing for me because I am not educated. They have taught me how to read, write and speak English.	Nothing.	A Nurse.	My parents wanted me to get married.	My parents did not send me to school. They just expected me to get married	Yes

Julia Nzuzo	R1100 per month.	Yes		I get my money at any time that I want it.	There is no worst thing about being a domestic worker.	I wanted to be educated and get married	They wanted me to get married.	When I got married my husband did not work and I decided to become a domestic worker as I needed to support my family	Yes
Lynet Ndlela	R700 per month	No	They waste water and electricity	There is no best thing about being a domestic worker.	I work 7 days a week and also on holidays. I do not get paid for working on holidays. I have to buy my own food and I do not get a chance to see my mother.	A Nurse	I do not know	My mother could not afford to send me to school as my father past away when I was young. My mother only managed to send to school.	Yes
Mavis Ngcobo	R1200 per month.	Yes		I enjoy my job because my employer treats me like a human being. I know what they like and they know what I like. My friends and family are allowed to visit me and I am happy with my salary.	The worst thing about being a domestic worker is that I am not feeling well anymore	A teacher	My parents wanted me to get married.	I had financial problems	Yes

Mphela Nagudulela	R600	Yes	None	The work is very hard and I only earn R600 a month. I have to work on Sundays and holidays. I am old to work for 13 hours a day. Also, my boss takes out R100 a month from my salary, in which she says she saves this money for me. I am worried about this as this money is on my boss's name.	I wanted to get married	They wanted me to get married.	I was not fortunate enough to find someone that I would marry. Also, I worked on the farm and did not go to school to become a professional person	No
Nokulunga Maphumulo	R120 for two days of work and in other places R140 for two days. This depends on whether my bosses want me to work or not. If there is no work, I do not get paid.		None	It is difficult when I have to go and look for work as I spend money on bus fare. Sometimes when I go to work the boss does not want me to work and I have to spend more money on going back home.	A sangoma	I do not know.	I did not have the ambition in me to become a sangoma. Although it was my dream	Yes

Primrose Sabela	R1300 per month.	Yes		When I receive my salary and support my family.	I do not have a lunch break and my employer is not a nice person. I have a lot of work to do.	I wanted to be a social worker and help people and my family.	I do not know.	My sister could not afford to send me to complete grade 12. I did not get the proper advice to complete my education.	Yes
Sellinah Gula	R220 per month.	Yes, but they are not allowed to sleep over.		Nothing	Accommodation is not suitable for a human being. I cannot support my family with the salary that I earn	A Doctor.	My parents wanted me to get married	We had financial problems	No
Sheila Zama	R900 a month.	No	My employer is rude. She does not even want me to go out with my friends	Nothing	I am treated like a child. I am not allowed to talk with the other people that are working for my boss. I have a lot of work to do	I wanted to be a dress-maker and I wanted to get married	They wanted me to become a teacher.	I thought that getting married would be like a jackpot and this is why I did not study. Unfortunately my husband has past away now.	No
Thandi Zulu	R900.50	Yes.		I am lucky because my family and I live together. We do not have to for pay rent, electricity and bus fare.	I do not have the time to rest even if I am not feeling well.	A Secretary	My parents just wanted me to get married.	My parents thought it was a waste of time to send me to school as they would have not gained anything in return.	Yes



Thobi Mlambi	R900 per month	I do not know	I do not know, because it has only been one month since I've started at this home. I have not questioned this issue	There is no best thing about domestic work.	There is no worst thing about domestic work.	A Doctor	They wanted me to be a policewoman	I did not complete school.	Yes
Sibongile. T. Nzuza	Nine hundred rands a month	Yes		Being with the children.	Nothing.	A nurse.	A nurse	I had no money to become a nurse	No.
Victoria Ngcobo	I use to earn R800, and now I earn R700	No	My employer has written a letter, which is attached to this document.	There is no best thing about being a domestic worker.	I work at two places in a day. My employer's daughter does not pay me as my employer feels that R700 is enough for me to work in two places. My salary has been reduced and I work on holidays which I do not get paid for.	I wanted to get married	My parents wanted me to get married, so that they could collect iLobola.	I got married, although I am divorced now.	Yes

Name of Participant	If yes, who was she?	What did you think about her job while growing up?	Did she tell you anything about being a domestic worker?	Would you recommend domestic work to anyone?	Why did you decide to engage in domestic employment?	If yes, why?	If no, why not?	What were the other employment options available to you?	Why did you not exercise those options?
Alzina Khumalo				Yes	I was uneducated	When my father past away, I could not study. I did not have an option but to become a domestic worker.		None	
Bazolile Nzama	My mother.	I was not good but she had no alternative but to be a domestic worker.	No.	No.	Because I was not educated. Even if I continued to plant vegetables there was not enough income from that either	Because I was uneducated. I also do not want my children to be like me so I am working to educate them.		None.	
Doris Gwala	My friend Jene.	My friend worked in Durban and at that time I wished I could also work in Durban as I had not been to this place.	Yes.	No, not at all because I work like a slave.	I was uneducated	I cannot acquire any other job because I am uneducated		None.	

Egnes Khuzwayo	My sister	I wished I could have a job like hers	No	No	I had no alternative but to become a domestic worker as I was uneducated	I was uneducated and my husband had past away. I had to start working, to support my family.	
Egnes Mbatha	My aunty	I did not like her job because she worked on weekends	She told me that if I wanted to become a domestic worker I had to love, respect and complete my job perfectly	Yes. It is better than not being employed at all.	I was uneducated	I needed to support my children.	None
Emmah Sosibo				Yes	When my husband left, I had no option but to become a domestic worker as I was uneducated	I was uneducated.	

Ester Mnandana	My aunty	She did not want to work. When her husband left her, she realized that it was a good job for her as she was uneducated	Yes. My aunty told me the difficulties of being a domestic worker. My aunt had problem with her nails when she did the washing of clothes	I recommend this work for someone who is a quite person as you do not have to work as a team. No matter what your employer tells you, you can just keep quite as you are uneducated.	I do not like working as a team and I am uneducated. One cannot depend on planting vegetables as things have changed now.	When my husband left me, I was responsible for supporting my family. Therefore, I had to engage in domestic employment.	
Eunice Dlamini	My mother and sister	They told me that it was good being a domestic worker.	No	No	I did not go to school and therefore I had no option but to become a domestic worker. It was not my choice.	I did not have the opportunity of going to school.	I did not have other employment options.
Julia Nzuza	My sister-in-law	I was jealous that she had a job.	No	Yes, it is helpful	My husband did not work	I needed to support my children	None

Lynet Ndlela	My aunty	I thought that if I was able to become a domestic worker, I could support my mother.	No	Yes. It is for those people who do not have a good future. I prefer this work as it is better than being on the streets.	I am doing this job in order to support my mother. My mother sacrificed a lot for me and now I have to support her. She only managed to send me to complete my schooling and this is why I had to become a domestic worker	I did not get to complete my further studies	Dress-making	I did not have the money to learn dress-making.
Mavis Ngcobo	She was one of my family members.	I was jealous of her having this job	Yes. She said domestic work is suitable for uneducated people. She also told me that no matter what your employer calls you, you must know that you are an uneducated person. At the end of the day, you will still get your money.	Yes. I would recommend domestic work as it is better than being unemployed and begging on the street.	I like the fact that it's not a temporary job. There is no contract and you can work for however long you like.	I was uneducated and this is why I decided to engage in domestic work. I believed that it was good for my future.	None	

Mphela Nagudulela				No	I was uneducated	I needed to support my family when my father past away and this is why I had to find employment as a domestic worker.	None	
Nokulunga Maphumulo	My mother	It was not good.	No	No	I was uneducated	I am doing domestic work in order for my children to achieve their goals. However, I had no option but to become a domestic worker as I am uneducated.	Dress-making and a hairdresser.	I did not get a job in this field.
Primrose Sabela	My cousin and my aunty.	They did not like their job.	No	No	I was uneducated.	I was uneducated	Nursing, although I did not get advice in order to pursue this career.	I did not know how to pursue this career.
Sellinah Gula				No	I am not educated and therefore this job is suitable for me.	Because I am uneducated	Selling bed sheets.	I did not acquire enough profit to sustain my family and I.

Sheila Zama				No	I needed to support my family.	I am uneducated and domestic work was my only option.	None	
Thandi Zulu	My friend, Nomzamo	I thought that she was so lucky to get this job because at the end of the day she got something in return. It was something special to be a domestic worker because we were not educated.	No.	No.		It was special for me because I was uneducated, but if you are educated you can do something else.		
Thobi Mlambi	My aunty	Nothing	No	Yes. However, only if they are not educated.	I did not want to stay at home and I needed to support my child.	I decided to engage in domestic employment as I was not educated.	Cashier.	I did not get the job.
Sibongile. T. Nzuza				No.	I did not have the money to study further and domestic work was my only alternative. Now I use the money to support my daughter and I.	I did not have the money to study further	None.	

Victoria Ngcobo	My aunty	I did not notice anything	No	Yes	I was uneducated	Also, my contract with the restaurant had come to an end and I needed to have another job	None
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Name of Participant	What are some of the other jobs that woman from your area are engaged in?	What do you think lead you to become a domestic worker?	Would you like to change your job?	If yes, why don't you do this?	If no, why not?	What would you like to do?	Do you see yourself as a domestic worker forever?	Did you help take care of any young children?	Did boys help take care of children?
Alzina Khumalo		I was uneducated.	No		I am too old to change my job. It's too late for that.		Yes	Yes, now they are old.	No
Bazolile Nzama	Domestic work, teachers and street cleaners.	I was uneducated	Yes.	It is hard for me because I work to support a big family and I cannot manage alone. I do not want to be a domestic worker forever.		I would like to be a cashier or dressmaker. I attend short classes to become a cashier and maybe I could live my dream.	No.	Yes.	No.
Doris Gwala	They work on the farm.	I was not married and uneducated. If I was married I would not be doing domestic work as married woman are not allowed to work.	No.		I am old and waiting to collect a pension. It is too late to venture into something else.		Yes.	Yes.	No.
Egnes Khuzwayo	Farming	I need to support my children because my husband had past away.	No		I am too old to get another job.		Yes	No, I only took care of my grandmother	No

Egnes Mbatha	Craft work	I was uneducated and I needed to support my children.	No		I am old and it is too late to change my job now	Yes	No	
Emmah Sosibo	They made African mats and clay pots. They also sewed	My husband left me.	No		I am too old to get another job. Besides this, I do like my job.	Yes	No	No
Ester Mnandana	Farming and domestic work.	My husband left me.	No		I am too old now. It's too late to change my job.	Yes	Yes. I am taking care of a child who is physically disabled.	No
Eunice Dlamini	Nurses, teachers.	I was uneducated	No		This job is good for me because I am uneducated.	Yes	Yes	Yes
Julia Nzuzza	Policeman	I was uneducated and I needed to support my children.	No		Everything is fine for me now.	Yes	Yes	
Lynet Ndlela	Teachers.	I did not have the money to complete my further education.	No		It is difficult to find another job.	Yes	No, but I helped take care of an old woman. I use to bath and feed her	
Mavis Ngcobo	They were domestic workers	My family was extremely poor and they could not afford to support me	No		I am too old to change my job. I do not have energy as I am not feeling well now	Yes	Yes, but not now.	No
Mphela Nagudulela	They sold Zulu mats and clay pots.	No member of my family worked and therefore I had to do so, in order to support the family	No		I have worked for many years for my boss. Besides this, I am too old to find something else.	Yes	Yes	No

Nokulunga Maphumulo	Drivers, hairdressers and dress-makers.	I was uneducated	Yes		I would like to do dress-making.	No	No	No
Primrose Sabela	Nurses and teachers	I had to support my family after my husband had a stroke.	No	I am old and not feeling well.		Yes	Yes, in 1987 but they are old now.	No
Sellinah Gula	Farming and dress-making	After my father past away, my mother could not afford to send us to school. Being uneducated, I felt that this job is suitable for me.	No	I am too old to change my job, despite the fact that I do not earn enough money.		Yes	No	No
Sheila Zama	They work on the farm and make Zulu mats which they sell them to those people who get married.	After my husband past away, my parents were no longer responsible for me and I decided to seek employment	No			Yes	No	Yes
Thandi Zulu	Domestic workers, teachers and nurses.	Being uneducated	Yes.	I do not want to do domestic work or work in someone's house forever	I would like to be a driver.	No	Yes.	Not at all.
Thobi Mlambi	Cashiers	I was uneducated	Yes	I would not like to do domestic work forever.	I would like to be a cashier.	No	Yes	No

Sibongile T. Nzuz	Domestic workers, Teachers, housewives, and nurses	We had no money to study further.	No.		This job is good for me.	Yes.	Eight children.	Yes.
Victoria Ngcobo	Teachers and nurses.	After my divorce with my husband, I needed to get a job in order to support my daughter and I.	Yes	I am not happy about the way I am treated.	I would still like to do domestic work.	Yes	Yes	

Name of Participant	What skills did you learn in your home?	What skills did boys learn?	What responsibility did you have in the home?	What responsibility did your brother have in the home?	What type of behaviour was acceptable for a young girl?	What type of behaviour was acceptable for a young boy?	Who was your role model?	Who was your brother's role model?	What were boys expected to do when they grew up?
Alzina Khumalo	I learnt how to make Zulu mats, and gardening skills.		Cooking and cleaning the house.	He had to herd the cattle.	Girls had to take care of themselves.	Boys had to also take care of themselves	My mother		They were expected to work.
Bazolile Nzama	Do not lose hope. Be confident and learn how to clean.	They learnt how to plant in the garden.	I had the responsibility of supporting my family.	My brother had to take care of the cattle and goats.	Girls had to learn how to control themselves and respect adults.	Boys had to respect their elders. Avoid drugs and alcohol.	My mother	My mother.	Boys had to study and work. They also had to find wives and marry
Doris Gwala	I learnt how to make African mats and clay pots	Education and Arts	I was to take care of my sisters before they got married, build a new house and buy groceries.	My brother had to milk the cows.	I had to look after myself in order to get married	They had to respect people	My mother	His mother.	They were expected to get married.
Egnes Khuzwayo	I learnt how to make Zulu mats.		Cooking, cleaning, and washing.		They must be able to control themselves	They must have respect for people	My mother		They were expected to get married
Egnes Mbatha	I made clay pots.		Cooking, cleaning, and collecting water from the river	They had to herd the cattle.	Girls had to respect people.	Boys also had to respect people	My brother		Boys were expected to work.
Emmah Sosibo	I learnt how to cook and clean.	Boys learnt how to fish.	I had the responsibility of cooking and cleaning	Boys had the responsibility of milking the cows	They had to behave and learn to respect people.	Boys had to also behave and respect people.	Soovie an aunt		Work

Ester Mnandana	I learnt how to do the gardening and make Zulu mats	They learnt how to herd the cattle.	Cooking and collecting the water from the river.	He had to herd the cattle	Girls had to look after themselves and prepare for marriage		My sister		They were expected to respect people.
Eunice Dlamini	I had to make clay pots.	Boys made wooden spoons.	I had to cook and clean.	My brother had to hunt for monkeys on the farm, in order for them to not eat the maize.	We were not allowed to have boyfriends. We had to stay at home and not visit our friends.	Boys were told not to have alcohol and take drugs.	My grandmother, Thandiswa.	Grandmother and Fani Madida who is a soccer player.	Boys were expected to herd the cattle and look after the sheep. They were also expected to get married.
Julia Nzuzo	I learnt how to make African mats.		Cooking, cleaning, and milking the cows	He had to herd the cattle.	They must look after themselves		My mother		They were expected to get married
Lynet Ndlela			Cooking, cleaning and washing		They must look after themselves		My mother.		
Mavis Ngcobo	Fence bedspread and knitting doilies		Cooking, cleaning, and collecting water from the river		Girls had to learn how to control themselves		My mother		
Mphela Nagudulela	I learnt how to farm.	They also learnt how to farm.	I had to cook and collect water from the river.	Boys had to herd the cattle.	Girls had to take care of themselves in order to prepare for marriage.		My parents		They were expected to work.
Nokulunga Maphumulo	I learnt how to sew and make beaded bed spreads.		Build houses, cook and clean.		Girls had to learn how to control themselves		My mother		They had to work.
Primrose Sabela	I learnt how to farm.		I had to cook, clean and do the washing.		Girls had to take care of themselves		My mother		Boys were expected to work.

Sellinah Gula	I learnt how to farm the land.		I had the responsibility of cooking, cutting the grass and cleaning.		Girls had to look after themselves.		My mother		Boys were expected to work.
Sheila Zama	I learnt how to farm and sell fruit.	Boys also learnt how to farm and sell fruit.	I had to cook and clean the house.		Girls had to have respect and take care of themselves	Boys had to respect people.	My mother		They were expected to work.
Thandi Zulu	Cooking, washing, cleaning and ironing	Cleaning the garden	I had to do the cooking and washing.	He had to support his parents.	He had to respect his parents	I had to also respect my parents	My mother.	My father.	They had to study before they got married.
Thobi Mlambi	I learnt how to make Zulu mats.		Cooking and cleaning the house.	He had to herd the cattle.	Girls must look after themselves.	Boys should also look after themselves.	My mother		Boys were expected to work.
Sibongile. T. Nzuz	Learnt how to make Zulu mats	None.	I had to cook, clean and buy the food.	They had to buy the food for the family	They could not have a boyfriend and go to parties. They had to stay at home and do the chores for the day.	Boys could only go out when they were 18 or 19 years old. Other than that they had to stay at home as did the girls.	Nelson Mandela	I don't know.	They had to look after the cattle and sheep. Eventually they would marry when they were older.
Victoria Ngcobo	I learnt how to farm.	Boys learnt how to herd the cattle.	Cooking and cleaning the house.	Boys had to herd the cattle.	Girls had to control themselves	Boys also had to control themselves	My friend		Boys were expected to work.

Name of Participant	What were girls expected to do when they grew up?	How are little girls treated?	How are little boys treated?	Do you think that boys and girls should be treated the same?	Why/why not?	If you were treated the same as a boy what do you think you would be doing today?	Do you think the way your family treated you has anything to do with the job that you are in today?	Why?	Do you think that you would have had other employment options available to you if you were a boy?
Alzina Khumalo	Girls were expected to get married.	Girls are treated well	Boys are also treated well.	Yes	But they must learn to behave and respect people.	It would have no effect on my life today because my brother had left school and my father had past away.	Yes	I would have been doing something else if my father was alive. I would have been educated	I do not know.
Bazolile Nzama	The girls had to marry, plant vegetables and do craft work. We had to make clay pots and African mats.	Girls are treated badly.	Boys are treated well.	Yes.	Girls were not allowed to work and study. They were just expected to get married.	I believe I might have had a better job. My parent's separation did not affect my brother as he still attended school.	Yes.	My father was unfair. He did not allow the girls to prove themselves in which we believed that we could also achieve what the boys did.	Yes.



Doris Gwala	They were also expected to get married.	Girls were treated like slaves because they were not allowed to visit their friends. They were punished if they spoke to someone who had a baby or fell pregnant.	They were treated better than the girls because their duties were to herd the cattle for the entire day.	Yes.	They should all take care of themselves and stay away from each other until marriage	Boys had better opportunities as they were allowed to go to school	Yes.	Because they did not allow me to go to school. My job was to feed the pigs instead of educating myself.	Yes.
Egnes Khuzwayo	Girls were expected to prepare themselves for marriage and be able to control themselves	Girls are treated well	Boys are also treated well.	Yes	They should all have the same responsibilities, like cooking, cleaning and washing.	I do not know, because my brothers did not complete school as well.	Yes	Because they expected to get iLobola rather than giving us the opportunity to educate ourselves	No
Egnes Mbatha	Girls were expected to get married.	Girls were treated well.	Boys were also treated well.	Yes	They all need equal opportunities. They must go to school, church, etc	I do not know because either way, my parents could not afford to send us to school.	No	They could just not afford to send us to school.	No. Because my brother is not working
Emmah Sosibo	Girls were expected to get married	Girls are treated well.	Boys are treated well.	Yes	They should all respect and take care of themselves	I would have studied and not wasted my time on getting married. I would have had a better life now, as I would have been educated.	No	My family gave me the opportunity to go to school but I did not use it properly	Yes.

Ester Mmandana	Girls were also expected to get married	Girls are treated well	Boys are also treated well.	Yes	Things have changed now. Boys and girls can share their duties and have the same opportunities like educating themselves and working for their money.	There would be no difference because in my family no person was educated.	No	Even my parents do not have an education	No
Eunice Dlamini	Girls were expected to cook and clean	Girls are treated well.	Boys are treated well.	No	Boys and girls do not have the same rules. Like boys can spend the entire day in the bush while girls have to stay at home.	I do not know because even my brother did not even go to school	No	Because if I was sent to school I would have been something else today. I would not have become a domestic worker.	No
Julia Nzuzza	Girls were also expected to get married.	Girls are treated well.	Boys are also treated well.	Yes		I do not know.	Yes	They did not send us to school.	No
Lynet Ndlela	Girls were expected to work and support their parents	Girls are treated well		Yes.	Both of them need to be strong.	I do not know.	No	My mother had sent me to school, despite the fact that my father had had past away.	No
Mavis Ngcobo	Girls were expected to get married	Girls are treated well.		No	Because girls have different responsibilities compared to boys. For example girls cannot herd the cattle and milk the cows	I do not think I would have been doing anything. Even a boy cannot change the family poverty.	No	Because I understood the fact that my mother could not afford to send me to school. Even, if I was a boy or not.	No

Mphela Nagudulela	Girls were expected to get married.	Girls were treated well.	Boys were also treated well.	Yes		I think I would have still worked on the farm like my brothers.	No	All my brothers and sisters did not go to school, so it was not any fault of my parents that I have got this job today.	No
Nokulunga Maphumulo	Girls had to get married.	Girls are treated well.	Boys are treated well.	Yes	Everyone should have the responsibility to do the washing, ironing and cooking.	Boys were not sent to school as well. So I think I would have worked on the road or a plumber	No	I do not believe that my family did not send me to school with a purpose of destroying my life. They had financial problems	No
Primrose Sabela	Girls were expected to work and get married.	Girls are treated well.	Boys are treated well.	Yes	The only difference between is their sexuality. We all need to respect one another	There were no differences between boys and girls. My sister could not afford to send me to complete school, whether I would have been a boy or girl.	No	They did not have an effect on my life. If my parents were still alive they would have made me complete my schooling	No. Irrespective of whether I was a boy or girl, I would have still had opportunities. It's just that I did not get the correct advice.

Sellinah Gula	Girls were expected to get married	They are treated well.	Boys are treated well.	Yes		My mother did not even send my brother to school. Therefore, I would also have not completed my studies	No	They did not have the money to send me to school.	Yes
Sheila Zama	Girls were expected to get married.	Girls were treated well if they did not get boyfriends at a young age.	Boys were treated well, despite the fact that they drank alcohol and did not listen to their parents	Yes		I do not know because we were all given an opportunity to study but we did not use it. Boys do have more opportunities like building and plumbing	No	My parents gave me an opportunity to study but I chose to get married. So this was my own fault and I destroyed my future in the process.	Yes, because boys are able to do heavy duty work, in which there are more opportunities for them. Girls do not have many options, other than domestic work.
Thandi Zulu	They had to get married.	They were treated badly.	They were treated well	Yes.	Because everyone deserves a better life. Everyone should have a chance to study.		Yes.	They destroyed my future	Yes.

Thobi Mlambi	Girls were expected to get married.	Girls are treated well.	Boys are also treated well.	Yes	They also need to share the responsibilities of a girl. For example, both should help do the cooking, washing and cleaning of the house.	I do not know, because my brother was sent to school and he is unemployed now.	No	My parents sent me to school but I did not complete it.	Yes
Sibongile. T. Nzuza	Girls had to cook, clean and complete the Zulu mats.	They are treated well.	They are also treated well.	No. They should be treated differently.	Because they are different	I don't know	No.		Yes.
Victoria Ngcobo	Girls were expected get married.	Girls are treated well.	Boys are also treated well.	No	They have different duties.	There would be no difference.	Yes	They did not send me to school.	No

Name of Participant	Do you think that your parents would have sent you to complete your schooling if you were a boy?	Do you think that you treat your sons and daughters the same way?	If yes, why?	If no, why not?	Do you think it is better to have sons rather than daughters?	Why?	What are the rules for your daughter?	What are the rules for your son?	Why did you decide to start working?
Alzina Khumalo	No. Because they sent my brother to school but he decided to leave while my sister completed school.	Yes	Because they are good and communicate with one another.		Both	I like sons and daughters.	She must control herself.	He must also control himself.	I needed to support my children.
Bazolile Nzama	Yes.	Yes.	I do not believe that education is designed for males. Education is for everybody no matter who you are. Everyone needs a better future.		Daughters.	They will not forget their parents.	To avoid bad friends. Do not lose hope and be honest.	To control himself and respect people.	I started working because I needed to support my family and children.

Doris Gwala	Yes, because they sent my brother to school	Yes.	I give my children the opportunity to become whatever they want	Both.	They all need to be loved and to have a better life	They must have respect and confidence	They must also have respect and avoid alcohol	After my father past away, it became my responsibility to look after my mother and sisters.
Egnes Khuzwayo	No, my brothers did not even complete school.	Yes	They need to have equal opportunities to know what life is like.	Same	They are gifts from God.	She must take care of herself.	He must look after himself and not consume alcohol.	My husband past away.
Egnes Mbatha	No	Yes	I like both of them.	Both	There are only sexual differences between them. Other than that they are the same.	She must respect everyone		To support my children
Emmah Sosibo	My parents would have sent me to school whether I was a boy or not. It's just that I was not interested in it.	Yes	Both need love and respect	I like all children, whether they are boys or girls.	I like all children, whether they are boys or girls	They must have respect for people	Sons must also have respect for people.	Because my husband left me.

Ester Mmandana	No	Yes	Because girls and boys have the same opportunities. There is no difference between them.	Daughters	Boys usually take care of their wives	She must be able to control herself.		After my husband left me, I decided to work.
Eunice Dlamini	No	No	Girls and boys have different responsibilities. Girls have to cook and clean while boys have to herd the cattle on the farm.	Both	There is no difference between them.	They have to stay at home and not have boyfriends. They also have to learn how to do craft work.	Boys have to take care of themselves and not drink alcohol	I needed the money to support my family.
Julia Nzuzza	No. They did not even send my brother to school	Yes	I like giving them a lot of love.	Daughters	Boys do not respect	They must learn to respect people.		My husband did not work
Lynet Ndlela	Yes. I did not have a brother, but they still sent me to school.	Yes	They should learn all responsibilities					I had to support my mother.
Mavis Ngcobo	No	No	Because have different things to do as compared to boys. They do get the same amount of love, though.	Both	Sometimes boys can give you a hard time and so can girls. Sometimes boys are not responsible for supporting you and vice versa.	She must take care of herself.	They must not use drugs.	After my father past away, my mother needed financial help and I decided to look for a job in order to help her



Mphela Nagudulela	No, they did not even send my brother to school.	Yes	I give them the same treatment as it is fair to do so.	Both		She should look after herself and not have children before marriage.		I had to start working in order to support my family.
Nokulunga Maphumulo	No	Yes	They need the same knowledge	Both	Both children will support and respect their parents, whether it's a boy or girl	To stay at home and control herself.	To stay away from bad friends.	I started working in order to help my mother support the family.
Primrose Sabela	Yes, because they sent my brothers and sisters but it's just that I was young when they past away.	Yes	There is no difference between them.	Same	There is no difference between them.	She must look after herself.		In order to support my family.
Sellinah Gula	No, they did not have enough money to send us to school.	Yes.	All children need a better life. They need to be treated equally.	Both	All children are important as they are gifts from God.	To look after herself.		When my father past away, it was extremely difficult to make ends meet. I decided to start working in order to help my mother support the family.

Sheila Zama	No, because we did have the opportunity to go to school but we did not use it.	Yes		Same		Do not get pregnant before marriage	Do not drink alcohol	After my husband past away, I did not have an income and I needed to support my family. Therefore, I had to find a job.
Thandi Zulu	Yes. Because they sent my brother	Yes.	I do not like the way my parents treated me	Both are fine.	They all deserve a better life and they need to be loved. I am a domestic worker because I did not get enough love.	She must take care of herself and stay away from bad friends.		After my father died it was different. My mother sold fruit and vegetables but she did not get much profit. My only option was to become a domestic worker as I was not educated.
Thobi Mlambi	Yes, whether I was a boy or girl, my parents would have still sent me to school.	Yes	I would like both of them.	Both	There is no difference between them, except sexual differences.	She must learn to control herself.		I needed to support my daughter.

Sibongile. T. Nzuzza	No.	I only have a daughter. However, if I had a son I would treat him differently to that of a daughter.	Boys and girls grow differently. They learn different things	Daughters	Sons do not listen to their parents and there is no respect.	She must go to school and in order to have a good job. She is also told to stay at home and not go out to parties with boyfriends	I do not have a son.	I started to work to for the money
Victoria Ngcobo	No	No	Boys and girls have different duties to carry out. For example, boys cannot make Zulu mats.	Both	You never know who will have respect or support you when you are older.	She must look after herself.		I needed to support my daughter.

Name of Participant	Are you working for the love of it?	Are you working out of financial necessity?	What is your money spent on	Have you made any provisions for further education for your children?	If yes, what?	If no, why not?	What would you like your children to do?	Daughters?	Sons?
Alzina Khumalo	Yes, I use to work for the love of it, but not now.	Yes	It is spent on my grandchildren's school fees.	Yes	I save R100 per month.		I would like them to work and love one another.	I would like my daughters to marry and support her family.	I would also like my sons to marry and support their family.
Bazolile Nzama	No.	Yes.	My money is spent on buying food and paying for my children's school fees.	Yes.	I save R100 every month for my children's education.		I would like them to finish their studies.	I would like my daughter to study social work.	I would like my son to be a lawyer.
Doris Gwala	No. I have no choice. I cannot do anything else, other than this domestic work.	Yes.	I do not save my money and it is only sufficient for the groceries	No.		I do not earn enough money for education.	Nursing.	My last born child wants to be a nurse. Whilst she is doing domestic work she saves her money to help herself	I wish that my older son gets a pension and my other son, employment
Egnes Khuzwayo	No	Yes	I support my family, and pay my grandchildren's school fees.	No		I do not have enough money to pay for my grandchildren's further education.	I would like my children to work	I would like my daughter to work	I would also like my son to work.
Egnes Mbatha	No	Yes	My money is spent on providing for my children.	No		They do not go to school.	I would like my children to work	I would like my daughter to marry and work.	I would like my son to work.

Emmah Sosibo	Yes.	Yes.	My money is spent on building my house and purchasing furniture for it.	No		They are old enough to educate themselves.	They are old enough to make their own choices	I would like my daughters to work.	I would also like my sons to work.
Ester Mnandana	Yes	Yes	It is spent on supporting my family	No		I do not earn enough money for that.	I would like my children to work.	I would like my daughter to work.	I would also like my son to work.
Eunice Dlamini	No	Yes	My money is spent on building my house and my children's education	Yes	I save money for my children's education		I would like them to become a civil engineer, doctor and lawyer.	My second child wants to be a doctor and my third child wants to be a lawyer. The last born child, a civil engineer.	
Julia Nzuzza	Yes	Yes	Paying school fees and supporting my children	Yes	I save R100 every month.		I would like my children to work.	After completing Matric, she must continue with her studies.	They must work.
Lynet Ndlela	Yes	Yes	I support my mother and buy my clothes.						
Mavis Ngcobo	Yes	Yes	I buy groceries, pay for my grandchild's school fees and I pay someone to look after my house	No		My salary is not sufficient and my children are old enough. I also support orphans.	I would like my children to get good jobs.	I would like my daughters to work.	I would like my sons to work.

Mphela Nagudulela	No	Yes	I spend my money on supporting my family and I save money for my funeral plan.	No	They are old enough to educate themselves	I would like my children to work.		I would like my sons to work.
Nokulunga Maphumulo	No	Yes, I want my children to get a better education	My money is spent on buying food and my children's fees.	No	I do not earn enough money to save for my children's education.	I would like my children to study and work.	A nurse.	A plumber
Primrose Sabela	No	Yes	It is spent on rent, and my daughter's fees.	No	My daughter is completing her tertiary education already.	I would like them to work.	I would like her to work and be a professional. A professional engineer.	I would like my sons to work.
Sellinah Gula	No	Yes	It is spent on paying the rent for my children.	No	I only earn R220 per month.	I would like my children to work.	I would like her to work, even if it is domestic work.	I would like my sons to work
Sheila Zama	No. I am just working to support my family as my husband past away.	Yes	My money is spent on paying for my children's school fees and groceries.	No	I have many children and my salary is not sufficient to send them for further education.	I would like my children to work.	I would like my daughter to work.	I would like my son to be a builder because he has the talent for that.
Thandi Zulu	No.	Yes.	I save about R300 a month for my daughter's tertiary education.	Yes.		Study.	I want my daughter to be a Quantity Surveyor.	
Thobi Mlambi	Yes	Yes	My money is spent on supporting my daughter	No	I will start to save as I have just started this new job.	I would like her to study.	I would like my daughter to study and work.	

Sibongile. T. Nzuza	I work to get money but I do like the feeling when I acquire that money.	Yes.	Money is spent on building my house, food, daughter's education, transport and uniform	Yes.	I have made provisions for my daughter to go to university in which she wants to become a social worker	I would like my daughter to become a social worker	Social work	No sons.
Victoria Ngcobo	No	Yes	My money is spent on supporting my daughter, paying her school fees.	No		I do not earn a sufficient amount of money to save for this.	I would like my child to study	I would like my daughter to work and study.

Name of Participant	What do you expect from your daughters?	What do you expect from your sons?	Who will take care of you when you are older	Why?	Do you think any of your children will be domestic workers?	If yes, why?	If no, why not?
Alzina Khumalo	I expect them to support me	I expect my sons to also support me.	My second son.	He is a lovely person.	No		My daughter is a teacher and my grandchildren are being educated.
Bazolile Nzama	I expect my daughter to become a professional person.	I would like my son to be a qualitative lawyer.	My children	I do not have a husband to look after me.	No.		I hate the feeling of being uneducated and I do not want my children to be in my position. I will make sure that my children will not do what I did.
Doris Gwala	My daughters must have better jobs before they get married in order for them not to depend on their husbands	My sons should work and get married.	My last born child.	I am very close to her.	No.		It is irritating to do the same thing everyday



**APPENDIX C****ABBREVIATIONS**

<b>ANC</b>	African National Congress
<b>CBO</b>	Community Based Organisation
<b>CEDAW</b>	The Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women
<b>IBR</b>	The Institute for Black Research
<b>NGO</b>	Not for gain organisation
<b>SADWU</b>	South African Domestic Workers Union
<b>UIF</b>	Unemployment Insurance Fund

Egnes Khuzwayo	I expect my daughter to work, get married and support me	I expect my son to support me.	I do not know.	This will depend on them. They will have to decide.	No	They will not have the time to spend with their family.
Egnes Mbatha	I expect my daughter to support me	I expect my son to work.	My son.	My daughter might get married.	Yes	She did not get a job and prefers domestic work.
Emmah Sosibo	I expect my daughters to work and get married	I expect my sons to work	My sons.	I trust my sons and my daughters are married so they are on their own.	Yes	They are not working and uneducated.
Ester Mnandana	I expect them to work and get married.		My daughter	I trust my daughter more than my son.	No	My daughter does not like domestic work. She will not even help me or relieve me when I need to take off.
Eunice Dlamini	I expect my daughters to do well at school and becomes professionals		My daughters	My daughters, because they know that whatever I do for them now, it's because I want them to have a better future.	No	I send my children to school because I do not want them to become domestic workers like myself.

Julia Nzuza	Daughters must study and support her parents	Sons should work	My son	Because my daughter might get married	No	It is difficult for children to be domestic workers. It is better when they get married
Lynet Ndlela			I do not know	Because I do not have anyone in my family besides my mother. I do not even have children		
Mavis Ngcobo	I expect my daughters to get married	I expect them to get wives	I do not know.	It will depend on my children	Yes	The rate and opportunities of finding a job is decreasing.
Mphela Nagudulela		I expect them to work and eventually find wives.	My son.	I do not have a daughter to take care of me.	No	My son cannot become a domestic worker as it is not good for him.

Nokulunga Maphumulo	I expect my daughter to support me and eventually get married.	I expect my son to support me.	I do not know.	This will depend on my children.	No.	I want my children to have a better life in which they have to study for this. I am frustrated doing domestic work and I do not want my children to be in the position that I am in. My daughter has seen for herself, what it is like to be a domestic worker and she does not want that for herself. She does not even like to relieve me.
Primrose Sabela	I expect my daughter to support me.	I expect my son to support me.	My daughter	She will not forget her mother.	No	My daughter has seen for herself, what it is like to be a domestic worker and she does not want that for herself. She does not even like to relieve me.

Sellinah Gula	I expect my daughter to work	I expect my sons to work.	My daughter	She is able to support me as she earns well. She is very helpful.	Yes	My daughter is a domestic worker as she did not complete school. It is a better job for her as she is able to support the family
Sheila Zama	I expect my daughter to work and support the family.	I would also expect my sons to work and support the family	I do not know.	Which ever child is able to take of me.	No	I do not like my children to work like slaves.
Thandi Zulu	After my daughter finishes her studies she can be what she wants to be. She must also look after her parents, buy them a lovely house and support them.		My daughter	I only have one daughter to look after me.	No.	It is difficult to be a domestic worker. You do not have enough time to spend on yourself, family, and house etc.
Thobi Mlambi	I expect my daughter to support me		My daughter.	I only have one daughter who will look after me.	No	I do not want my daughter to be a domestic worker.

Sibongile. T. Nzuza	I expect my daughter to learn and do well at school.	I will look after myself.	I feel that I am old enough to look after myself. My daughter is to busy with school	No.	My daughter is at school and therefore she can study further. Domestic workers do not have an education and that is why they have this job My job is irritating.
Victoria Ngcobo	I expect my daughter to work and support me.	My daughter	I do not have any other children besides my daughter.	No	