"In-between"

A study of domestic workers' children who have been informally fostered by their mothers' employers.

Alice Ruth Morrison
(212557767)

Supervisors: Richard Ballard & Shauna Mottiar

Submitted in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Development Studies.

School of Built Environment and Development Studies.
Howard College
University of KwaZulu Natal

Durban, December 2015

COLLEGE OF HUMANITIES

<u>DECLARATION – PLAGIARISM</u>

I, Alice Ruth Morrison, declare that

1. The research reported in this thesis, except where otherwise indicated, is my original research.

2. This thesis has not been submitted for any degree or examination at any other university.

3. This thesis does not contain other persons' data, pictures, graphs or other information, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other persons.

4. This thesis does not contain other persons' writing, unless specifically acknowledged as being sourced from other researchers. Where other written sources have been quoted, then:
    a. Their words have been re-written but the general information attributed to them has been referenced
    b. Where their exact words have been used, then their writing has been placed in italics and inside quotation marks, and referenced.

5. This thesis does not contain text, graphics or tables copied and pasted from the Internet, unless specifically acknowledged, and the source being detailed in the thesis and in the References sections.

Signed:

Date:

……………………………………………………………………………

ABSTRACT

This research explores the subjective experiences and life stories of 4 domestic workers' children who were informally fostered by their mothers'/grandmothers' employers in South Africa. Using a narrative thematic approach to analyse the semi-structured interviews conducted with each participant, the research sought to develop an understanding of the experience of being informally fostered, and how it may have shaped their understanding of themselves and their place in society. Themes related to notions of 'identity' and 'belonging' dominated the interview data and hinted that essentialist notions of race and culture still dominate social discourse in South Africa. A key finding of this research was that receiving unconditional support and acceptance from both their biological and their informal fostering families was important. Perceived or actual abandonment from either of these parental systems potentially resulted in significant threats to self-esteem, sense of personal agency, identity, and security of belonging. Another important finding was that the colour of the participants' skin led them to question whether their identity, their sense of belonging, and their 'ways of being' were 'natural' to them or divergent as they differed from South African society's essentialist expectations of black identities.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

Completing my Masters has been a slow process as a series of significant losses in my life and that of my family interrupted its completion. I would like to dedicate this dissertation to these people as their deaths have profoundly shaped my life both before and during this research.

- My self-appointed godmother, Juliet Armstrong, August 2012, who taught me not to take myself too seriously and to seek the world's beauty and fun.

- Thabani Hlabisa, May 2013, a brother in childhood and the inspiration for this research.

- Alzina Shalembe, "Gogo", February 2014, who taught me the values of stubborn perseverance, hard work, and family loyalty.

- My granny, Marguerite, April 2014, whose ditsy kindness amused and shaped my childhood.

- My father, John Morrison, May 2014, who inspired me to ask questions about the world and find out as much as I can about the people within it, who taught me to value people, justice, truth, kindness, and knowledge.

- Philip, June 2014, who taught me about the patience of gardening and that being quietly present can be loudly felt and when gone, missed.

- Jeff Guy, December 2014, an extraordinary thinker and obstinate man, my mentor and close friend, who taught me to believe in myself and to be excited about the world, particularly about thinking, sunsets, traffic jams, birds, and wine.

- My uncle, John McKenzie, December 2014, who understood and encouraged my love of animals and nature.

I am deeply grateful for the patient and kind supervision offered to me by Richard Ballard. I thank him for guiding me through this process and sharing his insights, knowledge, and encouragement. I have appreciated learning from someone who is enthusiastic about ideas and critical thinking. I thank Shauna Mottiar for her help during the final phase of this research project. My sincere thanks also go to my mother, Floss Morrison, to St John Haw, to Hazel Barnes, and to Michael Guilfoyle, who have supported me throughout this process. Finally, I would like to thank the individuals who participated in this research project, for sharing their time, their experiences, and their stories with me.

(Thabani and me: our first day of school, January 1992)

"So what must it be like to grow up in this kind of situation? Typically, as such a child you live in a large house with middle class fineries, while your mother lives in a room out the back. You sit at a table while your mother serves both you and your foster family and then cleans and washes up for everyone. You are most likely sent to a good school while your biological siblings may be less fortunate. In many cases your mother may be vaguely literate at best. You now have two families… While your (white) family may accept you; they are probably unfamiliar with your cultural roots. The wider society may find it difficult to accept that you belong in such a family, and in a race conscious and prejudiced society such as ours, a cross cultural adoption stands out glaringly. Is there shame about one's difference, one's past, one's place? Is there an over bearing sense of gratitude for the present, and does all of this leave one resentful, guilty, confused, directionless? Are you stuck in 'no-man's land', alienated from your past, insecure about the present and uncertain about the future?" (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001, p. 54).

CONTENTS

CHAPTER 1: INTRODUCTION

Domestic work remains one of the largest sources of employment for black women within South Africa (du Preez, Beswick, Whittaker & Dickinson, 2010). Jacobs, Manicom & Durrheim (2013, p.274) estimated that between 861000 and 1.15 million women are employed as domestic workers within present day South Africa. During Apartheid, despite the racial separatism, white families and black women cohabited within this space, as live-in domestic workers were the norm (Ginsberg, 1999). The close personal proximity of the domestic worker to her employer's family could lead to a level of emotional intimacy and attachment, but more often than not "house rules" and the uneven power dynamic of the relationship led to what Ginsberg (1999, p.57) describes as a "conflicted symbiosis". The uneven power dynamics and the environment in which domestic work occurs means it is a form of employment in which exploitation is common and can easily be hidden.

The ending of Apartheid and the implementation of new legislation offered South African domestic workers greater rights and freedoms and these aimed to end exploitation within the domestic workspace (du Preez, Beswick, Whittaker and Dickinson, 2010). However, in their study of the domestic employment relationship in South Africa, du Preez, et al. (2010) note that the racist legacy of Apartheid and the inequality of the employment relationship within a private domestic space, compounded by South Africa's high levels of unemployment, can lead to domestic workers being exploited, subjected to paternalism, and sometimes outright abuse.

After the abolition of Apartheid segregation laws in the 1990s, a specific type of patronage developed within some domestic labour arrangements: the informal fostering of domestic workers' children by their mothers' employers (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001). Patronage, on an individual level, refers to the practice of selecting and sponsoring individuals of lower social or economic status by those with higher socioeconomic or political standing (Scott, 1972, p.93). The relationship often creates a sense of mutual-dependence through reciprocity as the resources and influence of the patron are typically exchanged for services and assistance from the recipient (Mannoni, 1990). Access to education was one of the driving forces behind this phenomenon, as in order to send their children to previously 'whites-only' schools it was necessary to secure an address that was within reach of these schools (Manual for state-aided model "C" schools, 1993; Christie, 1991; Louw, 2004). This led to many domestic workers requesting their employer's permission to allow their child to reside on the employer's property (Mange, 1995). Additionally, the hoped for 'New South Africa' encouraged the development of a reconciliatory and supportive attitude among some South Africans, and this could have played a role in an employer choosing to become emotionally and

financially involved with their domestic worker's child (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001; Christian, 1998; Dickow and Moller, 2002).

1.1. Background

The genesis of this research lies in my own experience of growing up in a middle-class white South African home in which my parents 'informally fostered' Thabani, our domestic worker's son. Thabani was four years old when he moved in with his mother on our property in Pietermaritzburg. His siblings and father joined them in 1990 when political violence gripped KwaZulu Natal, and the small cottage they had shared was extended to allow any family members who felt threatened by the violence to stay with them.

Thabani's experiences of childhood were fraught with far more confusion than my own. I remember sharing a bath with him and my brother Guy, while Thabani scrubbed his skin to try and wash away his blackness. I recall him telling people he only spoke English despite the fact that he was fluent in isiZulu. I remember him calling his mum Frieda and dad Sipho and calling my parents Mum and Dad. I remember him answering the phone in our house and our shared glee at people being unable to tell our voices apart. I remember Thabani getting into trouble at junior school for stealing and then later, in high school, for drugs. Thabani, Guy and I all owned matching tracksuits. I remember that Thabani telling us wonderful stories of the farm he had lived on before he came to stay with his mother and stories of the wealth of his grandparents. I never doubted what he told me, but over time I came to understand that they were embellished far beyond the socio-economic circumstances of his family could have ever allowed. I remember in 1997 when my parents helped his parents buy their own home and the sense of loss and confusion we both felt when he moved away and our large entangled families became two distinct family units.

As we grew older our lives grew apart. It started with us attending different schools and then with different schools came different social circles. Thabani once told me that his English accent made it difficult for him to find acceptance among his black peers and that he found it easier to make friends with 'coloured' people. After school Thabani struggled to find a steady job while I had the privilege of attending university. Thabani eventually found a job as a clerk of the Pietermaritzburg High Court. Sadly, Thabani passed away in June 2013 after contracting tuberculosis, leaving behind his young son Israel. The death of any family member is painful to bear, but Thabani's death elicited more than loss and sadness within my family, we felt we had failed him.

Now, with a greater sense of reflexivity concerning my own feelings about our shared childhoods, I wanted to gain a sense of what this arrangement may have been like for Thabani and how it may

have influenced the course of his life. I became interested in exploring and documenting this small, but under-researched segment of the post-Apartheid South African population: people who, through their upbringing, fall into a space that is 'in-between' in terms of race, culture, socio-economic status and the employer and employee relationship. It is an ill-defined, 'entangled' space, which, appears to have been profoundly neglected in academic research.

1.2. Research Questions and Aims

This study was motivated by two basic questions of inquiry. First, what is it like to grow up within an informal fostering arrangement? Second, how does this upbringing shape an individuals understanding of themselves and their place in society?

This research is largely exploratory in nature as there is a very limited body of literature that pertains to the informal fostering of domestic workers' children both within South Africa and abroad. The intention of this research is to contribute an examination of this phenomenon through academic analysis. Through this it aims to develop an understanding of the lives and experiences of some of the people who are a product of this particular form of informal fostering with a South African context. Using a narrative thematic approach, the study explores the participants' remembered experiences of their financial, physical, emotional and social involvement with the employers and their families. It aims to develop an understanding of a young person's subjective experience of growing up between two families of differing racial and socio-economic backgrounds and how these potentially complex relationships impacted on their life.

After reviewing the literature related to this study, and then analysing the interview data, the aim of the study was refined to developing an understanding of how these arrangements influenced the participants' construction of their identity and sense of belonging.

CHAPTER 2: LITERATURE REVIEW

Much has been written on domestic workers both within South Africa (Cock, 1980; du Preez, et al., 2010; Ginsberg, 1999, 2000; Gordon, 1987; Wessels, 2008) and abroad (Arnando, 2002; Dickey, 2000; Pape, 1993), as well as the relationships between domestic workers and the children in their care (Goldman, 2003; van der Merwe, 2009). However, there is an extremely limited body of research on domestic workers' children, and even less on the informal fostering of domestic workers' children by their mothers' or grandmothers' employers both within South Africa and abroad. This lack of formal research attention is surprising as these relationships have been commented on and explored through the arts and the popular media. This includes, the press (Arbuckle, 2007, in *The Witness*), print magazines (Lillah & Makatile, 1996; Makatile, 1996, in *Drum Magazine*) and the arts (*Rainbow Scars*, a play written by Mark van Graan, 2012; *Coconut*, a novel written by Kopano Matlwa, 2007). These sources provide both anecdotal understandings of this phenomenon, as well as voicing the experiences of individuals within this situation such as, belonging, estrangement, hope, resentment, opportunity and loss.

Due to the limited nature of the literature directly related to this topic, this literature review aims to develop an understanding of the historical and social context within which the informal fostering of domestic workers' children arose. This chapter will move from Apartheid's impact on the lives of black families, through domestic work under Apartheid and the relationship between domestic workers and their employers, to the informal fostering of domestic workers' children.

2.1. Extended Families and Child Circulation

The family functions as one of the primary sites of social reproduction (Cock, 2010). Apartheid's system of social engineering reproduced white prosperity through the legislated subjugation of black South Africans. The Apartheid government's limited provision of healthcare, education and welfare services compounded the black majority's socio-economic and political oppression. The Bantustan system[1] functioned as a means of socially controlling and exploiting the black majority to form a submissive, cheap, low skilled and disposable labour force (MacDonald, 2006; International Association of Labour History Institutions, 2008). Thus, economic survival forced black families into the role of reproducing and maintaining South Africa's labour force.

---

[1] 10 Bantustans were created by the Apartheid state. These areas covered approximately 13 % of the land in South Africa but were thought to have housed over half of the country's population. These areas were established as ethnic "homelands" for black South Africans and functioned as areas to which surplus black labour could be placed after their forcible removal from what the Apartheid government considered to be 'White South Africa'. For more information of the Bantustans system see Butler, J, Rotberg, R. and Adams, J. (1978). *The Blacks Homelands of South Africa: The Political and Economic Development of Bophuthatswana and Kwa-Zulu*. Berkeley: University of California Press.

Modernisation theory proposes that industrialisation leads to urbanization and a movement away from extended family living towards nuclear family homes (Amoateng, Heaton and Kalule-Sabiti, 2007). Within South Africa, migrant labour and Apartheid's policies of socio-economic and political oppression interrupted and interfered with this process among black families. The Pass Laws of 1952 confined those who were unemployed or unable to be employed to the Bantustans, and this included the children of domestic workers. Kane-Berman (1972, p.7) states that this process was one of the most "in-human" aspects of the Apartheid system as it separated husbands and wives, and parents from children, while deliberately ignoring the family life, education and health care needs of South Africa's black children. This created a large number of fragmented and geographically stretched black family units.

During Apartheid most live-in domestic workers' conditions of employment required them to leave their children in the care of others (Christian, 1998). Cock's (1984) seminal study on domestic work during Apartheid, found that each domestic worker typically supported 5.5 dependents residing in the Bantustans. A domestic worker's ability to provide this support was often reliant on a network of family and friends caring for her children. Gordon (1987) found these networks extended from the family into the community and were often sustained through reciprocal acts of generosity. Extended family living and child circulation function to pool economic and reproductive labour resources and often occur in socio-economically disadvantaged societies where migratory labour is common (Walmsey, 2008).

Nkosi and Daniels (2007) and Sibanda (2001), whose research focused on black families during Apartheid, found that multigenerational extended family living arrangements promoted resilience against socio-economic and political hardships. Smit's (2001) study on the impact of migrant labour on black families within South Africa, found that child circulation among different households was not uncommon within extended family living arrangements. Interestingly, children growing up in these arrangements, who moved between caregivers and their homes, often regarded other female family members as holding a similar status to their absent biological mother. This could cause a child to feel insecure about where home was and confused about who their primary caregiver was. However, Smit (2001) found that children who had developed a deep attachment to a specific member of their extended family could mitigate this insecurity and better manage the absence of parents employed in migratory labour.

Cotton and Beguy's (2014) research on migrant mothers, voluntary kinship fostering, and child circulation in low-income communities in Sub-Saharan Africa found that children who are raised

away from their mother by other family or community members risk negative social, psychological and physical consequences. Such children are less likely to attend school, are likely to suffer from malnutrition and are more often expected to perform domestic or agricultural tasks in which the host family's children do not participate (Cotton & Beguy, 2014). They attributed this to the higher priority the host family was likely to place on the well being of their biological children.

Walmsey's (2008) research on child circulation found that socio-economic pressures shape child circulation within families and across communities. While Cotton and Beguy's (2014) found that it was common in Sub-Saharan Africa for women employed in migrant labour to find unemployed family or community members to foster their children, Walmsey (2008) found the opposite occurred in Ecuador. In Ecuador it is common for low-income families to seek out wealthy family or community members to raise their children. The process is seen as an act of 'social solidarity' where wealthier families offer children social mobility and education in exchange for domestic labour. Walmsey (2008) found that the familial socialisation process that connects these children to their host family could be enhanced by certain factors. These included entering the host family's home at a young age, a higher degree of consanguinity between the child and the host family, and adopting the host family's 'way of being'. A key finding of this study that is of importance to this research is Walmsey's (2008) conclusion that 'familial kinship' is socially constructed rather than pre-existing. Thus, families can be constructed through socialisation and not only through blood ties.

Nelson (2013) places informal fostering and domestic labour under the label of 'situational fictive kinship'. This label is broadly used to describe family-like bonds that develop between people who are not related by blood, adoption, or marriage, "when the blood or legal family is spatially or temporally absent" (Nelson, 2013, p.265). The notion of fictive kinship is useful to this research as it suggests that the domestic worker could come to see her employer and their family as authentic family members. Verhoef (2005) suggests that within child circulation practices in Sub-Saharan Africa it is assumed that female members of the extended family will share the parenting of their relatives' children. Christian (1998) proposes that within a domestic labour context, where the domestic worker and the employer share a close relationship, the bonds of fictive kinship could be extended to the domestic worker's child and the employers come to be seen as part of the child's extended family. However, before exploring this process it is important to understand the asymmetrical power structure of the domestic labour context, and how the labour and loyalty of the domestic worker can easily come to be exploited through the guise of familial obligation (Ally, 2009). To further understand this in relation to the research topic it is important to develop an

understanding of the nature of domestic work within Apartheid South Africa and the relationship between domestic workers and their employers.

2.2. 'One of the Family': Domestic Work in Apartheid South Africa

> I was so sad that if I had not had those children to get money for I'd have killed myself. They are the only reason I'm still here, the one reason I will go on doing this job that is killing me. At least it is giving life to them. (Ginsberg (2011, p. 91), quoting a domestic worker on her live-in position during Apartheid, in Johannesburg)

Apartheid refined old colonial legislation, such as the Masters and Servants Act (No. 15 of 1856), to favour the rights of employers over their domestic workers (Burman & van der Spuy, 1998). This left domestic workers open to exploitation and abuse as black women held little legal capacity and had few alternative employment options (Cock, 1989). Naidoo (1986) states that Apartheid legislation and cultural customs legally and socially retained black women in the position of a minor and effectively placed them under the guardianship of a male relative or their employers.

As waged domestic labour is typically comprised of 'marginalized' women from 'disadvantaged backgrounds', it is a sphere of employment in which issues of race, class and gender are intertwined (Jacobs, et al., 2013; King, 2007). Apartheid's system of racial stratification and manufactured white supremacy was mirrored and reinforced through the positioning of black domestic workers as servants and white employers as masters (Burman and van der Spuy, 1998; Durrheim, Jacobs & Dixon, 2013). Fish (2006, p.108) states that through the reinforcement of these roles domestic labour "both ideologically and materially reproduced apartheid" while maintaining the lifestyles and status of middle to upper class white South Africans (King, 2007).

During Apartheid most domestic workers endured poor living and working conditions with many employed as "live-in" maids (Fredman, 2014). This meant the domestic worker lived on the employer's property (Ginsberg, 2000). Domestic work usually included both household maintenance and caring for the employer's elderly relatives, children or pets (Ginsberg, 1999). Job security was usually poor, benefits were non-existent, wages were low and working hours were long (Jacobs, et al., 2013). Food was often rationed and of a poor quality, verbal and physical abuse were common, and the accommodation provided for live-in domestic workers was often poorly furnished and without electricity (Ginsberg, 2000).

The waged labour of domestic workers released white South Africans, particularly white women, from physically participating in household labour (Naidoo, 1986). Several authors describe white women as exercising a "parasitic" level of control over their domestic workers' lives to elevate their own status within the household (Cock, 1989; Fish, 2006; Goldman, 2003, p.76; Gregson & Lowe,

2005). In order to retain this status white 'madams' used symbols of servitude to maintain a social distance and hierarchy between their families and the domestic workers (Ginsberg, 1999). These included forbidding the domestic worker from speaking her mother tongue, requiring her to wear a uniform, referring to her as "the girl", requiring her to call her employers 'master' and 'madam', and insisting she use 'servants only' cutlery, plates and toilets (Ginsberg, 1999; van der Merwe, 2009).

Goldman (2003, p.76) describes this social distancing and the complex and sometimes confusing relationship between a domestic worker and her employer as founded in a "series of contradictions". The asymmetrical power dynamics between the two women always placed the domestic worker in an incongruent position; at once she was both an "intimate family member" and an "interloper" who had to remain a silent invisible feature of the home until she was called upon to participate (Goldman, 2003, p 77). This uneasy paradox was rooted in conflicting feelings of trust and mistrust, dependency and depersonalisation as well as actions that ranged from paternalistic to exploitative (Chen, 2011; Ginsberg, 1999). The cartoon strip '*Madam and Eve*[2]' found its success satirizing this conflict through its caricatures of a suspicious Madam and a calculating maid who ultimately held genuine feelings of affection towards each other.

White madams often treated their domestic workers like children in need of supervision and control. As such, researchers have labeled these relationships as paternalistic or maternalistic (Ally, 2009; Cock, 1989; Jacobs, et al., 2013; King, 2007). King (2007 citing Rollins, 1985) suggests that 'maternalism' could better describe the emotionally complicated relationship between a domestic worker and her 'madam' as the 'madam' uses both kindness and fictive kinship to manipulate the domestic workers prioritise her obligations to the employer's family above her own family. Both Ally (2009) and Cock (1989) noted that some domestic workers utilized their madam's maternalistic projections to derive personal benefits and improve employment conditions. King (2007, citing Ozyegin, 2001) suggests that in situations where the employee is empowered through the relationship that 'patronage' could be considered a more appropriate term.

Crucially, in relation to this research, what the above labels present is an assumption on the part of the employer that the domestic worker is in need of guidance or control. Underlying this is the assumption that the domestic worker is unable to make the right choice or, that her employers would make better choices for her. These factors could be argued to play a large role in providing a foundation for the cultivation of indebted domestic labour and encouraging the encroachment of white employers into domestic worker's private lives.

---

[2]See http://www.madameve.co.za/all_about_madamandeve.html

Although the literature above largely presents the institution of domestic work as one of exploitation, relationships of support could also develop between the domestic worker and her employers. The advent of democracy further encouraged some whites to rethink their relationships with their domestic workers as new labour laws presented domestic workers as people with rights and not as expendable servants (Ally, 2009). The reciprocity engendered by the 'New South Africa' encouraged some whites to embrace the idea of the 'rainbow nation' and acknowledge and confront the privileges Apartheid had afforded them (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010). For some this found expression in feelings of 'white guilt'. Hook (2013, p.99) describes white guilt as an "enlarged moral responsibility assumed in relation to patterns of racialized privilege" that functions as an act of "self-flagellation" to "relieve the subject's own discomfort". In the context of this research these feelings of guilt, reciprocity and reconciliation would likely have been enacted upon or found expression in relationships white South Africans already held with black people. In most of these cases this was likely to have been a black employee such as a domestic worker and her family. Christian (1998) theorises the informal fostering of domestic workers' children at the end of Apartheid evolved through these feelings, and was combined with an adaption of the extended family living practices and child care circulation that were already evident in black South African families, as well as the desire of live-in domestic workers to live with their children.

2.3. The informal fostering of domestic workers' children

Domestic workers often endured poor working and living conditions to ensure that they could provide for their children (Ally, 2009; Cock, 1989; Gordon, 1985; King, 2007). As Burja (2000, p.109 cited in Goldman, 2003, p. 74) bluntly explains: "if you face hardship you do anything – you would be ready to clean shit from lavatories so long as your children are fed". After the Pass Laws were repealed in 1986 and Bantu Education was abandoned in 1990, domestic workers could bring their children to live with them on their employers' property with their employers' permission. Access to education was one of the driving forces behind this as some domestic workers hoped that the education their children would receive in Model-C schools would provide better opportunities and perhaps a better future for the family as a whole (Christian, 1998; Mange, 1995). Similarly, Gordon (1985, p. xxiv) states, "The drive to educate the young was almost an imperative".

Mange (1995), explored the experiences of domestic workers whose employers paid for their children to attended previously whites-only schools. She found that there were advantaged and disadvantages to such arrangements and they could subject domestic workers "contradictory experiences" (Mange, 1995, p.7). These experiences could include earning a low wage while the

child's school fees were expensive, having little to no education while their child gained a privileged education, often in the same school as her employers' children, and negotiating a space as a parent in a white dominated environment (Mange, 1995). The advantages the mothers reported were largely related to educational gains. However, some mothers reported improved bonds with their children through proximity and the emulation of the ways of relating that their employers exhibited with their own children. Mange (1995) found that most of her participants felt that these advantages were outweighed by the negative outcomes they had experienced. These included the domestic workers feeling financially bound to their employer, feeling stigmatised within their children's schools, their children feeling humiliated by their mothers work, the stigmatisation of their children within black spaces, and the alienation of their children from their mother tongue, their family, and their community. Although Mange (1995) does provide useful insights into domestic workers experiences, it leaves the domestic workers' children's stories untold.

Romero (1993, 1999, 2001, 2011) has produced extensive research on domestic labour as well as the experiences of domestic workers children in the USA. Although conducted outside of South Africa, her research provides an understanding of both the complexities and opportunities that the informal fostering of a domestic worker's child can produce in the lives of the child and the families concerned. Romero (2011) provides a seminal text regarding the informal fostering of domestic workers children outside of South Africa. The research, which has resulted from two decades of life history research, provides an in-depth case study of the experiences of growing up as the informally fostered child of a domestic worker and it exposes the emotional, social and material experiences, contradictions and outcomes that such an arrangement may result in (Romero, 2011).

Key findings in Romero's (2011) research, which are relevant to this research, revolve around her subject's search for belonging and identity while the subjected navigated her childhood and relationship with her mother. In childhood this was expressed as an internal conflict concerning her familial loyalty and the gratitude and indebtedness she experienced in relation to her mother's employers. While her accent, clothing and education allowed her to 'pass' in 'white society', as she grew older she become more aware of, and less comfortable with, the disconnection 'informal fostering' had caused her to feel from her working class and Mexican identities (Romero, 2011). These feelings caused the child to feel both protective of and disappointed in her mother, and also contributed to her engaging in mildly rebellious activities that served to declare her ethnic identity as well as her lower class status within white American affluent suburbia.

Christian's (1998) and Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) studies, comprise the only academic literature on the informal fostering of domestic workers' children within South Africa. Christian's

(1998) unpublished Masters dissertation examined the parental autonomy and authority of eight live-in domestic workers' who were raising their children on their employers' property. Christian (1998) found that within the uneven power relationship between domestic workers and their employers, most participants were able to maintain their role as autonomous parents and found their employer's involvement to be beneficial. However, a minority found the employers involvement as a threat to the relationship they shared with their child. Thus, Christian concluded that the outcomes of such relationships are not homogenous.

While Christian's (1998) research focused on domestic worker's experiences of their employers parenting their children, certain findings are relevant to this study. Discipline, decision-making and education were primary areas through which domestic workers reported their employers were likely to become involved, while cultural education and financial responsibility often lay with the domestic workers. Christian (1998, p.72) found that cultural education was used by the domestic workers as a means of differentiating themselves from the employer and creating a sense of "sameness" between the domestic workers and their children and provided them with a sense of belonging. Christian (1998) found that one of the ways domestic workers exercised their parental authority was by limiting their children's access to their employers' resources. Such acts aimed to enforce the children's connection to their mother.

An important finding of Christian's (1998) research is that raising a domestic worker's child on the employers' property alters the child's perception of home. While all of the participants of Christian's study saw their "communities of origin" as their homes, they reported that their children saw their employers' property as "home". While some were concerned that this could cause their children discomfort or confusion, Christian (1998) found that most participants felt that when their children had grown up they would be able to decide which community they wanted to live in. Similarly, the participants saw the confusion that their children experienced in relation to parental role and racial identity as issues that were or would be resolved as the children grew older.

The only publication that deals directly with the experiences of informal fostered domestic workers' children within South Africa is Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) paper. As such it may be considered the foundational text regarding this phenomenon within South Africa, despite the fact that it is only ten pages in length and is grounded in clinical observations rather than a purposefully designed study. It is a short collection of three psychoanalytically informed case studies 'informally fostered' adolescents who were referred to the Johannesburg Parent and Child Counselling Centre for the treatment of psychosocial problems. It contains the authors' observations and theoretical understandings of the psychosocial problems these adolescents were encountering and expressing in

therapy. The findings presented by Burkhalter and Manala (2001), although useful in establishing much needed information on informal fostering in South Africa, as they only present the experiences of children in distress who have sought psychological support within a clinical framework. Despite this, their research does provide insights into informal fostering arrangements, and what can potentially cause them to go wrong.

The participants of Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) study began to experience difficulties and engage in maladaptive behaviours on reaching adolescence. The authors acknowledge that some of the participants' difficulties were common to all adolescents, but added that the "developmental conundrum" informal fostering poses could exacerbate these difficulties (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001, p.54). They surmise that if the informal fostering arrangement has not equipped a child with the developmental tools required to negotiate the extremely critical and difficult phase in which an adolescent develops and comes to understand their own identity, maladaptive behaviours and psychological problems may develop (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001, p.54). They further suggest that these issues could be aggravated by poorly defined parental, disciplinary, and supportive roles in the informal fostering arrangement. The authors suspected that if the structure of the arrangement was not clearly defined it could lead to the child or any member of the child's foster or biological families experiencing feelings of disappointment, resentment, and guilt.

The common feelings expressed and presented by the participants included a sense of alienation, a lack of trust in others and one's self, a strong desire for independence and self-reliance, helplessness, rejection, anger and powerlessness (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001). These echo the negative feelings expressed by the mothers in Mange's (1995) study. Interestingly, the researchers noted that the participants' experiences of perpetual alienation and dislocation resonated most with the findings of research conducted with child refugees. The participants appeared to exhibit considerable distress about their skin colour, personality, culture, and identity not aligning to the expected racial identities that dominate South Africa. One participant described himself as "too white" for his black friends and "too black" for his white friends and felt considerable distress about not fitting in (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001, p.57).

Burkhalter and Manala (2001) cite maladaptive behaviours as a common reason for informally fostered children being referred for psychological support and intervention. Some of the behaviours that observed were self-mutilation, para-suicide behaviour and suicidal ideation, disordered eating, running away, and stealing (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001). Significantly, the authors suspected that this was due to the internal instability and feelings of loss that the participants had experienced in relation to the diminished parental role, but continued physical presence, of their biological mothers in their lives. Furthermore, Burkhalter and Manala (2001, p.52) believe this "insecure attachments"

impacted their ability to develop, maintain and find security in other relationships as well as in their place of residence (2001, p.52).

Burkhalter and Manala (2001) state that certain parallels can be drawn between children's experiences of the informal fostering process and formal transracial fostering and adoption. However, they felt that informal fostering "held sufficient difference and complications" to warrant an exploration of this phenomenon in its own right (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001, p.52)[3]. The most significant of these is the frequently complex relationship between the domestic worker and her employers and how the socio-economic, racial, and cultural differences between these two parties are negotiated in relation to the child. One of Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) findings concerning this relationship is that in many cases the maternal role of the child's biological mother could be diminished by her position as the household's domestic worker. Similarly, the complexity of the power dynamics of the employer/employee relationship in relation to the informal fostering of the domestic worker's child is voiced poignantly in Mange (1995, p.44);

> "The issue of children being closer to employers needs to be handled with extreme care by employers who because they tend to be in a dominant position, have the responsibility of preventing the situation becoming intolerable. This fragile area essentially calls for some sensitivity and constant self-monitoring so that they do not take over the domestic workers' role as parent".

In both Burkhalter and Manala (2001) and Romero (2011; 2014) social mobility and other selected privileges offered by domestic workers' employers were seen to be contingent on the domestic worker's child embracing and assimilating into "middle-class whiteness" (Romero, 2011, p.2). Like Mange (1995) they found that this could socially distance the children from their mothers, families, and communities of origin. The opportunities and privileges the domestic workers' children were offered appeared to be based on the children's acceptance of and assimilation into a certain social 'way of being', rather than based on the children's individual merit (Romero, 2011). These findings suggest that it is important to develop an understanding what identifies people as belonging to certain racial, social, economic, or other groups, and how identity and difference, with particular reference to race and South Africa, are constructed.

2.4. Summary

This chapter aimed to contextualise the informal fostering of domestic workers' children within South Africa's social and political history. Apartheid disrupted the family lives of many black

---

[3] For more information on Transracial Adoption please see Appendix A.

South Africans. Migrant labour and the Bantustan system normalized extended family households and child circulation practices within black families as a means of social, political and economic survival. Live-in domestic workers were often forced to leave their children to be raised by family members while they earned a living caring for the families of white South Africans. Long working hours and minimal annual leave limited the time domestic workers could spend with their children. Christian (1998) suspects the informal fostering of domestic workers children arose because it allowed domestic workers' children social mobility as well as offering live-in domestic workers an opportunity to live with and raise their children.

The adolescent quest for developing a personal identity that confirms a sense of connection and belonging to one's family and community appear to have been central to both Burkhalter and Manala (2001) and Romero's (2011) findings. Both Burkhalter and Manala (2001) and Romero (2011) suggest that the context in which the informally fostered children of domestic workers are raised may increase the complexity of this universal human experience. The processes through which the children come to perceive themselves and how they are perceived and received by others are therefore an important aspect of understanding what it must be like to have grown up in this way. Thus, the next chapter will explore the social construction of identity and belonging with specific reference to the South African context.

CHAPTER 3: CONSTRUCTING IDENTITY and the MANAGEMENT OF SOCIAL DIFFERENCE

This chapter functions as this research project's conceptual framework. This research is located within an anti-essentialist, social constructionist framework. As such, these epistemologies will guide the concepts and ideas below. This chapter is divided into three sections within which identity and social difference remain an overarching theme. The first section discusses the social construction of identity with reference to the rise of anti-essentialism. The second section explores the construction of social difference through 'othering', and looks at different methods through which social difference can be managed. The last section examines the management of social difference and identity within South Africa and references ideas that may be relevant to this research.

3.1. The Social Construction of Identity and Difference

3.1.1. The Rise of Anti-essentialism and Social Constructionism as Ontological Approaches

During the second half of the 20th century there was a decline in the popularity of essentialist frameworks of enquiry within the social sciences (Mottier, 2005). Essentialist approaches posit that the complexity of an object, phenomenon, or being, can be reduced, through study, to identify a true, fixed and invariable core-essence (Fuss, 1989). In relation to identity, essentialism aims to see through the outer complexity of individuals or their social group to their core characteristics based on factors such as race, ethnicity, gender, culture and class (Clarke, 2008). These factors then function as concrete, "stable" and "freestanding" signifiers of the essential attributes that are thought to make up an individual or group's identity (Barnett, 2000 p.6-7).

Anti-essentialist epistemologies arose as a reaction to and criticism of essentialist philosophies' failure to acknowledge subjective variation and difference. Critics believed its reductionist outlook promoted the stereotypes and generalizations that engender racism and other forms of exclusivism (Fuchs, 2001, p.15; Hall, 2003). Anti-essentialist approaches include interpretivism, post-modernism, post-structuralism, social constructionism, and the narrative approach. Central to these epistemologies is the belief that truth, meaning, and reality are subjectively constructed rather than universally defined (Crossley, 2000a; Terre Blanche, Durrheim & Painter, 2006). Social constructionism therefore provides a means through which one can deconstruct the essentialist notions that operate within a society by analysing how they are produced and perpetuated.

3.1.2. Anti-essentialism and the Social Construction of Identity

The anti-essentialist movement has profoundly shaped the field of identity studies. Anti-essentialist approaches posit that identity is a socially constructed concept, and disregard essentialist notions of identity as an observable or discoverable object of study (Bauman & Vecchi, 2004). From a social constructionist perspective identity and belonging are reflexively negotiated, within a given context, through social interaction, to provide individuals with both an external and internal sense of connection and meaning. This process allows individuals to situate themselves within the socially constructed reality in which they function, and signifies how others may identify them (Levine, 1999).

Identity, race, gender and social class are all examples of socially constructed entities; they are ideas that are given meaning through the social, political, historical, economic and ideological context in which they function. The social construction of identity is intricately tied to the social construction of reality as social constructs can function to prevent, enforce, and allow certain actions, realities and identities to persist within society (Terre Blanche, et al., 2006). The dominant ideas or discourses operating within a society are produced by its dominant social groupings. Discourses are unconsciously accepted ideas and concepts that define how social knowledge dictates social interaction (The Open University 2012). On a macro-political level discourses can be understood as constituting, governing and dictating how a society's reality is perceived and how social interactions within it occur (Fillignham 1993).

A discourse's power is related to how widely its construction of reality is accepted. Discourses delineate what is considered 'normal' and what is 'abnormal' within a given space, and actively construct how concepts such as race, class and gender are shaped. This guides how individuals perceive themselves and how they are identified and perceived by others (Levine, 1999). Such processes promote the normalization of dominant social groups and their beliefs, social actions, and identities (Fillingham, 1993). Identities, beliefs and actions that fall outside of the norm come to be seen as deviant, abnormal or 'other'. As different social realities exist concurrently, individuals' identities can adapt and change to allow them to establish belonging within different contexts and within different social groups. In order to find acceptance and belonging within a particular social group an individual is therefore required to negotiate the different social realities in which they operate and construct an identity which indicates to others that they are 'normal' or 'insiders' to the social group.

Social constructionism is an anti-essentialist approach of enquiry that understands all knowledge to discursively produced and maintained through the social interaction of people. Thus, guided by the

social constructs and discourses operating within a given socio-historical context, individuals actively shape their experience of reality through social interaction, using the tool of language (Durrheim, 1997; Lieblich, Tuval-Mashiach, & Zilber, 1998; Riessman, 1993). Social constructs are ideas and social reference points that have developed over time within a given society, through reinforced interactions and institutionalized understandings, to give meaning to social phenomena, objects and subjects (Fillingham, 1993). These shared interactions and understandings are influenced, guarded and guided by the context in which they are formed (Tamboukou, 2008).

3.2. How Societies Identify and Deal with Social Difference

3.2.1 Identifying difference: 'Othering', Stigma, Stereotypes and Marking

As identity formation is understood within this research to be an intrinsically social process, and as this research concerns the movements and relationships between individuals of differing cultures, races and socioeconomic statuses, it is necessary to develop an understanding of social inclusion and exclusion.

'Othering' is a social, linguistic, and psychological process of identification and depreciation through which an individual or social group is marked and named as different - 'other' - from the norm (Clarke, 2008). It is a hierarchical social process that assigns value judgments to social qualities and behaviours. The dominant discourses and social constructs operating within a given context dictate who is to be considered 'other' within that milieu. For example, within both the Western and post-colonial world, Western cultural hegemony has imposed a framework that essentialised white heterosexual masculinity as the cornerstone of that which is desirable and 'normal' (Puwar, 2004). This then marks those who fall outside of this sphere – for example, women, homosexuals and, non-whites – to be 'abnormal', inferior and 'other' (Puwar, 2004).

Through its exclusionary nature, 'othering' functions to develop a sense of homogenous cultural security and belonging within a social group that allows its members to identify one another as "us" and outsiders as "them". 'Othering' holds the power of social reproduction and control as dominant groups are able to socially and politically marginalise, disempower and exclude minority groups and those labeled as outsiders (Barter-Godfrey and Taket, 2009).

A stigma is an undesirable or abnormal attribute that identifies – marks – an individual or group as 'other' and results in their marginalisation or rejection from a social group or society (Goffman, 1968). Factors that may mark individuals as 'other' include obvious social differences such as race,

ethnicity, gender, class, religion, and sexual orientation. These can be further compounded by an individual's accent, deportment, and clothing (Yazdiha, 2010). Dovidio, Major and Crocker (2003, p.3) state that the social construction of stigma is based on the significance placed on various social identities through, firstly, "the recognition of difference based on some distinguishing characteristic or mark", and secondly, "a consequent devaluation of the person". As stigma is socially constructed, the stigmatization of one individual by another is bound to and developed within the social, relational, historical and environmental sphere in which they operate (Dovidio, et al., 2003).

Stigmas separate individuals into those that are marked by the attribute or characteristic and those that are unmarked. A stigma is given social gravity and meaning through its expression as a stereotype (Barter-Godfrey & Taket, 2009). Stereotypes operate within shared frameworks of cultural knowledge and function as cues to identify marked or stigmatized individuals. Stereotyping is significant in the construction of 'otherness' as it is functions to reduce an individual or the social, cultural or racial group, within which they identify, to an essentialist, simplified exaggeration of common characteristics (Clarke, 2008; Hall, 2003). It functions as an exercise of power in which the hegemony of one group is naturalized into normality through its identification and marking of what it perceives to be different or 'other'.

Marked individuals bear a burden of proof to negotiate a space in which their individual characteristics are seen and accepted over and above the stereotypes and assumptions attached to their mark (Puwar, 2004). This can be done by mimicking the socially dominant group or attempting to assimilate into it. However, actions that are perceived to constitute mimicry are often accompanied with accusations of inauthenticity that question the character of the individual in question (Bhabha, 1986). With more difficulty, it can be done through challenging the stigmas and stereotypes that inform their exclusion (Howarth, 2006). Such transgressions, which challenge social boundaries, can result in wider social acceptance or implementation of stricter social controls. Puwar (2004) labels individuals who transgress the social boundaries delineated by their cultural, gender, racial or ethnic characteristics as 'space invaders'.

Race is perhaps one of the most obvious forms of 'marking' as black or brown bodies visually puncture the whiteness of Western cultural hegemonic spaces through the embodiment of difference seen in the complexion of their skin (Howarth 2006). In *Black Skin White Masks,* Fanon (1967/2008) highlights how stigmas attached to the blackness of his skin position him as a 'racial other', not only within normative white society, but within himself. Just as his blackness pre-empts other's assumptions, expectations and fears of him, these become imposed on his own experience of his identity. Such assumptions and expectations deny the expression and development of individual

agency and characteristics outside of blackness. As Fanon (1967/2008) explained, he was always identified first by his black complexion and this over shadowed his identity as a doctor or a man.

Fanon (1967/2008) explores how, through social coercion and force, colonized individuals could be psychologically and socially conditioned to absorb the stigmatising beliefs of colonial settlers and position their own culture as inferior. He states, "The colonized is elevated above his jungle status in proportion to his adoption of the mother country's cultural standards. He becomes whiter as he renounces his blackness" (Fanon, 1967/2008, p.9). Stigmatization, stereotyping, and marking can therefore be understood to play a central role in how societies identify difference and also lay the foundation for the methods they use to control and manage it.

3.2.2. Managing Difference

As an individual's social context plays a large role in how they define themselves and interact with others, how their society manages difference will shape both their personal identity and their interactions with others. Political approaches towards the management of social differences can function to preserve a specific social identity and culture, or, aim to promote a pluralistic society that accepts cultural diversity and social differences as an integral part of the society's broader identity. In societies where social exclusion is employed as a strategy to manage difference, divergent cultures are placed in opposition to the dominant social identity and often treated with hostility. Examples of this include: genocide in Australia (Short, 2014), segregation in Apartheid South Africa (Ballard, 2004), and forced assimilation in Canada and Australia (Pearson, 2001, Jacobs, 2009). In societies where social inclusion is employed to manage social difference, assimilation and integration can be used to diffuse difference while pluralist approaches, such as multiculturalism and hybridity can be used to promote diversity as a tolerance or acceptance of difference.

Segregation and Assimilation

The presence of social difference and social 'others' can cause some individuals or groups discomfort (Hansjee, 2011). In order to prevent the arousal of this discomfort individuals or groups may choose to avoid the spaces, places and people who evoke this feeling. Avoidance of social difference and 'others' finds political expression in the spatial organization of difference through policies of institutional segregation (Staszak, 2009). Institutional segregation aims to clear physical and social spaces of individuals with attributes that are marked as undesirable or 'other'. These attributes are often based on race, religion, culture and ethnicity (Poulsen, 2009). Institutional segregation sets up physical, legal, psychological and social boundaries that aim to maintain the

social hygiene of the dominant social in-group. However, segregation can also function as an organic process in which individuals of similar cultures or socio-economic status gravitate towards similar areas or facilities. This process may lead to the development of separate residential areas, which come to represent the specific religious, ethnic, cultural, socio-economic or racial groups that identify with the area (Poulsen, 2009).

In contrast, assimilation is a process through social differences and discomfort are mitigated by an out-group or outsider takes on the social characteristics, attitudes, memories, history, language, class, religious practices, cultural behaviours or social rituals of the host-group in order to be merged within a shared community (Ballard, 2014; Teske & Nelson, 1974). Assimilation is a continuous and adaptive process. Teske and Nelson (1974, p.359) state that for assimilation to occur the out-group must have found a positive reception within the dominant in-group. Assimilation is both a social and internal psychological process that is achieved through personal social interactions, as well as through outsiders attempting to become less distinguishable from the in-group members by changing their values and actions. Assimilation is therefore the process through which an outsider becomes a member of a group through their acceptance by and identification with the host-group (Teske & Nelson, 1974). Such a host-group can be seen to occupy different social contexts including the family, a neighbourhood, a city, a province, a country, or region (Ballard, 2014).

Teske and Nelson (1974) argue that most literature on assimilation presents it as a unidirectional process, with the movement towards assimilation occurring in the direction of the dominant or host-group. According to this model, the outsider or out-group is only allowed to assimilate according to the terms defined and controlled by the host-group (Ballard, 2014). The host-group holds the power to define the terms and the rate at which assimilation can occur, and this power imbalance leaves the out-group with very limited opportunity to shape the nature of the relationship. Therefore, assimilation enforces the homogeneity of a society by protecting the social identity and culture of the host-group (Ballard, 2014).

Integration and Multiculturalism: Tolerance and Hospitality

The identity of a social group is moulded and defined externally through its relational interactions with others as well as internally, through the interactions of its members which affirm their similarities and sense of belonging (Young, 2000). When a social group's interactions with other social groups occur within a context of equality and the mutual acceptance of diversity, the social integration of that society can occur (Ballard, 2004). As policies of managing social difference,

social integration and multiculturalism aim to create socially cohesive societies, which respect diversity, through the promotion of acceptance, tolerance, and hospitality.

Social integration aims to promote a sense of interconnectedness, solidarity and mutual identification between individual members within a given society. The United Nations Research Institute for Social Development (UNRISD, 1994) describes it as a complex process that has both positive and negative outcomes. The positive outcome is that it promotes equal opportunities and rights for all members of society including marginalized groups and individuals. However, a negative consequence is that it can result in the loss of individuality and the promotion of cultural conformity.

Multiculturalism is a form of social integration based on an attitude of social accommodation. It operates as a descriptive and ideological term that refers to the liberal democratic value of respecting and maintaining cultural difference and diversity within a given space (Hoffman and Graham, 2013). Descriptively, it is not a new phenomenon but ideologically it has grown in its prominence throughout the 20th century as a means of managing social difference in culturally diverse societies (Claval, 2001). Globalization has been conducive to multiculturalism, and vice-versa, as increased mobility and interconnection has led to a standardization of dominant cultures (Claval, 2001). This can allow cultures to co-exist, as the differences between them are rendered nominal; they are no longer threatening or unknown. Multiculturalism controls social difference through the promotion of cultural pride and simultaneous cultural respect (Feinberg, 1996).

Critics of multiculturalism view its promotion of tolerance and hospitality as a form of social control that reiterates the social dominance of one social group over another. In the attempt to naturalise differences, multiculturalism can be accused of attempting to justify inequality. To be hospitable one must have the power and resources to host, this confirms the hosted party's inferior position (Derrida, 2000). Multiculturalism obligates host-groups to tolerate the presence of stigmatized or 'othered' groups or individuals within their society, and in return these social 'others' are required to behave in a manner in which their differences do not arouse discomfort. Therefore critics of these approaches believe that tolerance is not an act of acceptance or the affirmation of an 'others' worth, it is, as Bauman (1991, p.8) states, a "strengthening the existing order of superiority".

3.3. Identity and Difference in South Africa

This section now turns to a discussion of the ways in which social boundaries and social difference have been managed within the South African context. Within post-Apartheid South Africa, the acceptance of diversity and social difference is entrenched in the constitution. However, the remnants of Apartheid's essentialist construction of different races as naturally divided and socially divergent entities still permeates social interaction within the country and intercepts individuals' ideas of identity and belonging (Ballard, 2004). These areas will be briefly explored as this study is concerned with individuals whose childhoods' have transgressed the social boundaries of race and class that still operate within South African society.

3.3.1. Apartheid

Apartheid functioned as an essentialist and essentialising project. Its anti-assimilation pro-segregation stance presumed that there were such things as races; that these races had core characteristics; and that races were spatially and socially incompatible (Ballard, 2002). The Population Registration Act of 1950 assigned each South African a racial classification of "white" or "non-white", with non-whites further sub-categorized as black, coloured (of mixed-racial decent), Indian and Asian (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010). Apartheid's hierarchical arrangement of these classifications was based on the essentialist assumption that an individual's skin colour inherently dictated their character, intellect, abilities, and behaviour. Thus, institutional segregation, based on essentialist notions of race, stratified white-black relations by positioning whites in a superior position to non-whites (Nash, 1999). The legally codified structure of Apartheid society forbade the assimilation of racially divergent people to preserve the spatial integrity, economic superiority, and cultural dominance of white South Africans (Griffiths & Prozesky, 2010).

Apartheid's social and political policies were structured to enforce the subjugation of the black population through policies and practices that undermined each black person's sense of self-worth by limiting the support structures they could access and opportunities for social mobility. The Bantu Education system was key to this. Verwoerd, speaking in the 1950s describes how Bantu Education would be utilized to restrain black people to the working classes:

> There is no place for [the Bantu] in the European community above the level of certain forms of labour (...) What is the use of teaching the Bantu child mathematics when it cannot use it in practice? That is quite absurd. Education must train people in accordance with their opportunities in life, according to the sphere in which they live. (Cited in Lapping, 1987)

Apartheid psychologically depreciated black South Africans' perceptions of self worth to a level where they felt that their race, rather than Apartheid, alienated them from both social and self-acceptance. As Biko (1978, pp. 100-101, 51) describes:

> "The Black man in himself has developed a certain state of alienation. He ... attaches the meaning White to all that is good... [This situation] arises out of living...it is part of the roots of self-negation which our kids get even as they grow up. The homes are different, the streets...so you tend to begin to feel that there is something incomplete in your humanity, and that completeness goes with whiteness. (…) The white system has produced throughout the world a number of people who are not aware that they too are people"

Apartheid's hierarchy of racial superiority encouraged black South Africans to view 'whiteness' and the adoption of 'white' language and culture as a means through which an individual might obtain a higher degree of social acceptance or become, what Bhabha (1986, p.199) describes as, "a reformed recognizable Other". Griffiths and Prozesky (2010, p.24) describe "whiteness" within South Africa "as a racial and political construct of mechanical perfection" assigned to individuals based on their "appearance, descent, or social acceptance". However, due to the segregation-based nature of the Apartheid system, true assimilation and social acceptance, at a societal level, was impossible.

3.3.2. Post Apartheid South Africa

In the early 1990s, as Apartheid was dismantled, an atmosphere of reconciliation and increased social flexibility developed. Legal, social and political policies were employed to foster the integration of South African society. These policies aimed to dispel any remnants of Apartheid's hierarchical stratification of race and culture and establish a society that promoted an acceptance of difference as a national social identity as well as a Constitutional ideal (Ballard, 2004). The positive sentiment that surrounded the birth of the 'new' South Africa, encapsulated by such symbols as 'the rainbow nation' and a multi-lingual national anthem, gave the sense that things had changed much more dramatically than they actually had. It was hoped that power relations would in time shift to promote and encourage an equal yet culturally diverse South African society (National Planning Commission, 2011). It was during this time, in which social change, integration and acceptance were promoted, that the informal fostering of domestic workers' children began to take place.

However, social reproduction has perpetuated the dominance of white South Africans within the socio-economic strata they occupied during Apartheid and, as noted above, despite embracing a rhetoric of diversity, Apartheid's essentialist understandings of race and the assumptions of identity, character, and culture attached to these understandings, still permeate popular and official

discourse. What is interesting to this research is how South African society actively labels and judges individuals who do not act in accordance with the race based expectations they have of them.

There is some social judgment against black South Africans who are seen to have assimilated into 'white culture'. Those who have accents and attributes that fit a stereotype of white culture might be labelled as 'oreos' or 'coconuts': they are people who are seen to be racially black but are considered by others and sometimes themselves to act in a stereotypically white way (Rudwick, 2008). In contrast, black South Africans who have maintained their black cultural identities and social ties while gaining socioeconomic status are often referred to as 'black diamonds'. It is important to explore and understand these labels, as both these social identities could be applicable to the participants of this study.

"Coconut" is not a positive or favourable term; it has connotations of favouring 'whiteness' over 'blackness', of inauthenticity, and of abandoning the social, cultural and linguistic identities that are marked by your race (Rudwick, 2008). When used by white people the label acts as an acknowledgement that a black person can 'pass' as white. When used by black people it is often an accusation of cultural betrayal that questions their 'credentials' of blackness (Chevalier, 2011; Rudwick, 2008). Black children who have been schooled in 'model-C' or private schools, who speak English well, who are seen to have lost touch with their culture, or are considered more 'Westernised" than some of their black peers are often ascribed this title. Living 'between' white and black cultures in South Africa, as would be evident in the case of domestic workers' children who have had a strong emotional and psychosocial involvement with their mother's employers, may result in the child being labelled a 'coconut'.

Chevalier (2011) notes that the term 'black diamonds' has been utilized to identify affluent black South Africans who have the financial means to access consumption patterns and residential areas that were previously reserved for whites. They are individuals whose upward social mobility has allowed them to transgress the traditional social and spatial boundaries set in place by Apartheid. The media presents black diamonds as individuals who are well-educated, professional and affluent consumers, who enjoy the luxuries of their socio-economic success, but still maintain links to their cultural roots and township life (Chevalier, 2011). 'Black diamond' could be considered a pejorative term. The child of a domestic worker, who has been informally fostered by the domestic worker's employer, may come to be considered a black diamond if they manage to obtain upward social mobility but refuse to assimilate in to 'white culture' and maintain their cultural links to a black social identity.

Within post-Apartheid South Africa social reproduction has secured and perpetuated the privileges afforded to white South Africans through the investments the Apartheid state made in 'whites only' services and infrastructure. Upward social mobility has therefore been underpinned by the legacy of white privilege and the marked social, spatial and economic disparity between races within South Africa. This disparity has led to the perpetuation of what Raditlhalo (2010, p.21) labels as "whiteache", "a debilitating sickness (…), in which (some black South Africans) do not wish to 'pass for white' but to 'be white'". The discomfort that resides in the labels of 'coconut' and 'black diamond' arises from this longing and from the failures of the new South Africa to elevate ordinary black South Africans from the position of 'other'.

Raditlhalo (2010) posits that 'white-ache' persists within South Africa as anti-Apartheid movements pushed individuals to give up their personal identities, in favour of a collective identity tied to the struggle. When Apartheid ended, without economic freedom and with the neo-colonialism of white capital, it left some individuals without a secure and coherent social identity. This could be regarded as a fairly radical argument, but its value is that it offers an understanding of why black South Africans might wish to assimilate or emulate white South African culture. It also highlights the tremendous complexity of the construction of social identity in post-Apartheid South Africa.

3.4. Acknowledging the organic nature of human interactions

The political management of social difference within a society is rarely able to fully enforce prescriptive social controls over human interaction. There is a disjuncture between the policies of managing social difference and the organic nature of humans' relationships and interactions. Essentialist notions of race, gender, culture, social class, and the static nature of identity created social boundaries that were seen to be impermeable (Madood, 1998). However, there are always opportunities for individuals to transgress, intersect, or ignore the political policies guiding social boundaries and social interactions. In practice some individuals may be able to 'pass' through these boundaries unnoticed, while others may be identified as outsiders but not disqualified from participation or integration. These encounters and transgressions of social boundaries form the focus of the theories of hybridity and entanglement. As these theories hold a similar focus to the subject of this research project they are briefly explored below.

3.4.1. Hybridity

The term 'hybridity' developed within biology and botany to denote a cross between two species (Guignery, 2011). It was adopted by scientific racism to describe the society that would result if

miscegenation were allowed (Smith, 1998). In the 1990s, the term was appropriated by postcolonial theorists to identify and describe the complexity of the transcultural identities that emerged with colonial societies as a result of cultural, ethnic and linguistic intermixing (Guignery, 2011). Hybridity is an important concept in that it highlights the disjuncture between the social construction of a society's functioning and the lived experience of those who reside within it.

Post-colonial theory has attempted to explore the use of power and knowledge through its assertion of the multiplicity and complexity of social identity and human experience (Guignery, 2011). However, the methods through which the reductionist nature of essentialism are called into question, can form a dichotomy of 'the colonizer' and 'the colonized', 'the self' and 'the other', which can redefine the fixed notions of identity and social difference that post-colonial studies try to debunk (Young, 1995). Bhabha's theory of hybridity functions to dispel this dichotomy through its emphasis on the organic nature of social and cultural contact, exchange and change as well as the enmeshed nature of post-colonial spaces, identities and relationships (Young, 1995).

3.4.2. Entanglement

Nuttall (2009) promotes 'entanglement' as a theoretical term that denotes a movement away from essentialist reductionism to a broader view which acknowledges and intersects the complexity of historical, temporal, cultural, racial and biological entanglements as well as the entanglement of people and the physical object world within post-colonial histories, spaces and identities.

A description of the theory is best provided through Nutall's (2009, p.1) own words;

> "Entanglement is a condition of being twisted together or entwined, involved with; it speaks of an intimacy gained, even if it was resisted, or ignored or uninvited. It is a term which may gesture towards a relationship or a set of social relationships that is complicated, ensnaring, in a tangle, but which also implies a human foldedness. It works with difference and sameness but also with their limits, their predicaments, their moments of complication. (…) So often the story of post-apartheid has been told with the register of difference – frequently for good reason, but often, too, ignoring the intricate overlaps that mark the present and, at times, and in important ways, the past, as well."

Nuttall's (2009) E*ntanglement* provides a succinct lens through which to view post-colonial encounters and in particular, post-Apartheid relationships such as the ones this study will explore. Entanglement draws on postcolonial thinking to develop a means through which to seek out the intersections of human existence within post-Apartheid South Africa. In so doing it does not

highlight or dwell on the divisive nature of difference, but rather digs deeper to expose the significant and complex interconnections within post-Apartheid society.

3.5. Summary

This chapter aimed to set out a conceptual framework through which the social construction of race, identity, and belonging could be understood. It highlighted how the social construction of identity is influenced by the dominant social discourses operating within that society, and that these discourses determine what behaviours, beliefs, ethnicities, and cultures are seen as acceptable or 'other'. For example, essentialist and race-based understandings of identity and belonging continue to persist within South African society and individuals who do not fit into these expectations can face social exclusion and stigmatisation. However, such essentialist understandings deny the continual social interplay between individuals of differing races, classes and cultures within the South African context. In relation to this thesis, this chapter highlights the salience of others in individuals' experiences of identity development and their feelings of acceptance and belonging.

CHAPTER 4: THEORETICAL ORIENTATIONS AND METHODOLOGICAL DESIGN

This research uses a narrative methodological approach to explore the informal fostering of domestic workers' children by their mothers' employers. As this research is located within a social constructionist framework, a narrative life-story approach seemed suitable as it offers a means through which one can explore how an individual comes to construct their life experiences. The first section of this chapter explores narrative theory, narrative research and the narrative construction of identity. The second section utilizes these theoretical orientations to develop the research design.

4.1. Theoretical Orientation: Narrative Theory

"Lives are told in being lived and lived in being told"

(Carr, 1986, cited in Crossley, 2000b, p. 536)

Narrative theory arose from post-modernist and social constructionist approaches, which emphasize the role of social interaction and social context in the production of knowledge (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003). It falls within the qualitative paradigm with a focus on participants' stories as an object of study. Narrative research is therefore concerned with individuals' life stories and sees humans as narrative beings that construct their identity and experiences through the stories they tell (Riessman, 1993). These stories are not seen as a realistic description of an external objective reality but rather, socially and internally "constructed, rhetorical, and interpretive" accounts that are composed and expressed through language (Mitchell and Egudo, 2003, p. 2). The theoretical foundation of this research design was informed by McAdams' (1993; 1994; 2001) Life Story Model and Crossley's (2000a & 2000b) interpretive, experience-based approach to narrative research[4].

Crossley (2000b, p.58) describes human life as "bearing within it a narrative structure". The interpretive nature of narrative research rests on this structure and in its concern with how participants use language to interpret and present their life stories in order to construct a sense of continuity while simultaneously making sense and meaning of their everyday life events (Rogers, 2007). McAdams (2001) posits that an individual's identity is narratively constructed through this process of self-narration. As an individual develops their everyday stories into a temporally coherent life story their sense of self and identity are formed. Through this process an individual's

---

[4] For a brief introduction to the McAdam's Life Story Model and Crossley's approach to narrative research please see Appendix B.

life comes to be experienced as sequential, with their sense of self and identity arising through their collection of past and present everyday stories and their hopes for the future.

Both McAdams (2001) and Crossley (2000a & 2000b) suggest that identity is constructed through an individual's inter and intra-personal dialogue and through the stories people tell of their lives to make sense of the world (Crossley, 2000a). An individual's narrative is therefore dependent on the individual's personal and social background, is influenced by the situation and company in which the narrative is constructed and presented, and mediated by the social constructs and discourses in operation within their society. Furthermore, these approaches posit that the stories people tell do not just reflect the self but are constitutive; they can make things happen, persuade others of the reliability of one's account over another, can lead to action and can shape lives (Crossley, 2000a). Therefore the stories individuals tell have the ability to bring their identity into being, not only for themselves but also for those they are telling them to (Crossley, 2000a).

4.2. Research Design

In-depth narrative interviews, based on Crossley's (2000a) interview schedule[5], were conducted with each participant, the transcripts of which were analysed using Braun and Clarke's (2006) guide to conducting thematic analysis. The analysis was used to generate descriptive case studies[6] of each participant while identifying the overarching thematic links running concurrently within the each participant's narratives.

This study is exploratory in nature as there is very little research regarding the informal fostering of domestic workers' children within South Africa. A qualitative perspective is suited to this study as it takes into consideration "the uniqueness of human experience" that is often left unaccounted for by quantitative measures (Gathigia, 2006, p. 39). Additionally, due to a lack of individuals' willing to participate in the study and who fulfilled the selection criteria[7], a quantitative analysis would not have provided results that could have been widely generalisable (Terre Blanche, et al., 2006).

4.2.1. Preparatory Phase

The research process began with a preparatory phrase during which literature relevant to the topic and this study's chosen theoretical background was gathered. The literature review was conducted with the aim of gaining a thorough understanding of the topic, as well as identifying gaps in the literature. As discussed in Chapter 2 there was a significant lack of literature concerning domestic

---

[5] See Appendix C to view the interview schedule
[6] See Appendix F for each participant's life story
[7] See section 4.2.2.

workers' children. Conducting the theoretical literature review provided an understanding of social constructionism, narrative theory, and practical approaches to narrative analysis. Once an understanding of the topic and the narrative research method were established the sampling phase of the research process began.

4.2.2. Participants and Sampling

Purposive snowball sampling was used to identify potential participants. This non-probability sampling method aims to gather cases that are considered information-rich for the purpose of the study and who fitted the selection criteria (Sandelowski, 2000; Terre Blanche, et al., 2006). Selection criteria included the following: First, as a child, the participant and the participant's mother or grandmother must have lived on the employer's property. Second, the employer's family must have been involved in the participant's life financially, emotionally and in practical day-to-day activities. Third, the participant needs to have reached young adulthood (aged 19 and upwards). This is specified to ensure the participants had reached the age of consent, and additionally, it would be unlikely that they would still be living on the employer's property. Additionally, McAdams (2001) states, by this age individuals should have developed a greater level of reflexivity regarding their life-stories and identity.

Once initial participants or knowledgeable individuals were identified, they were asked if they could provide further suitable contacts. Ten individuals who fitted the selection criteria were approached to participate in the research process. Only four of these individuals agreed to participate (see Table 1 below). This was not considered problematic to the aims of this research as Killian (2002, p.604) states that qualitative studies are less concerned with the generalisability of data through large sample sizes, favouring instead the opportunity to access the "richness and detail of subjects' dominant narratives". Furthermore, Riessman (1993, p.70-71) supports this in relation to narrative research and analysis, stating, "eloquent and enduring theories have been developed on the basis of close observation of a few individuals".

The individuals who declined to participate in the study did so based on the following factors: the potentially sensitive nature of the topic and how their participation might affect their relationship with their biological and informal-foster family; inability to find a suitable time to commit to the study; and finally, despite assurances of confidentiality and anonymity, two individuals declined to participate as they were socially linked to my family or friends of my family. Those who participated indicated that they were interested in the study as they wanted to share their life stories and experiences, or to explore their own feelings about their lives.

Table 1: Participants' Biographical Information

Psuedonym	James	Zama	Themba	Gugu
Gender	Male	Female	Male	Female
Year of Birth	1987	1990	1986	1976
1st Language	*saPedi* (father) English (mother)	*isiZulu*	*isiZulu*	*isiXhosa*
Home Province	Gauteng	KwaZulu Natal	KwaZulu Natal	Eastern Cape
Education	Tertiary (LLB)	Tertiary (BA)	Matric, chef Training	Matric
Biological Parents	Married Live separately due to work commitments.	No mention of biological father. Mother lives with Zama's stepfather	Predominantly raised by his grandmother. Parents are married and live together	Parents are not married. Gugu did not share a close relationship with her biological father.
Biological Siblings	One younger sister called Mbali	Two younger brothers. One has cerebral palsy. Two younger stepbrothers	One younger sister, called Sindisiwe, who suffers from epilepsy	One younger sister.
Foster Parents	1. Maryna Boschof 2. Linda and Roy Wilson	John and Mary Smith	Andrew and Helen Martin	Doctor and Karen Schmidt (German speaking)
Foster Siblings	1. Amanda, Sarah and Debbie Boschof 2. Ryan and Carla Wilson	Amy, Clare and Dane Smith	Stephen and Kate Martin	Helmut, Paul and David Schmidt

(All names and identifying details have been changed)

There are a number of characters within each participant's story. In order to contextualise these individuals within the participants' lives, family trees depicting the members of each participant's biological and foster families are presented in the diagrams below. It may be useful to refer to these when reading Chapter 5.

Diagram 1: James's Family Tree

JAMES:
Born: 1987

Biological Family

Parents:
Mom & Dad

Sibling:
Mbali: born 2005

1st Informal Foster Family:
The Boschofs
(fostered in 1987)

Parent:
Maryna
(divorced)

Siblings:
Amanda: born 1968
Debbie: born 1969
 - James's godmother
Sarah: born 1971

2nd Informal Foster Family:
The Wilsons
(fostered in 1995)

Parents:
Linda & Roy

Siblings:
Ryan: born 1989
Carla: born 1991
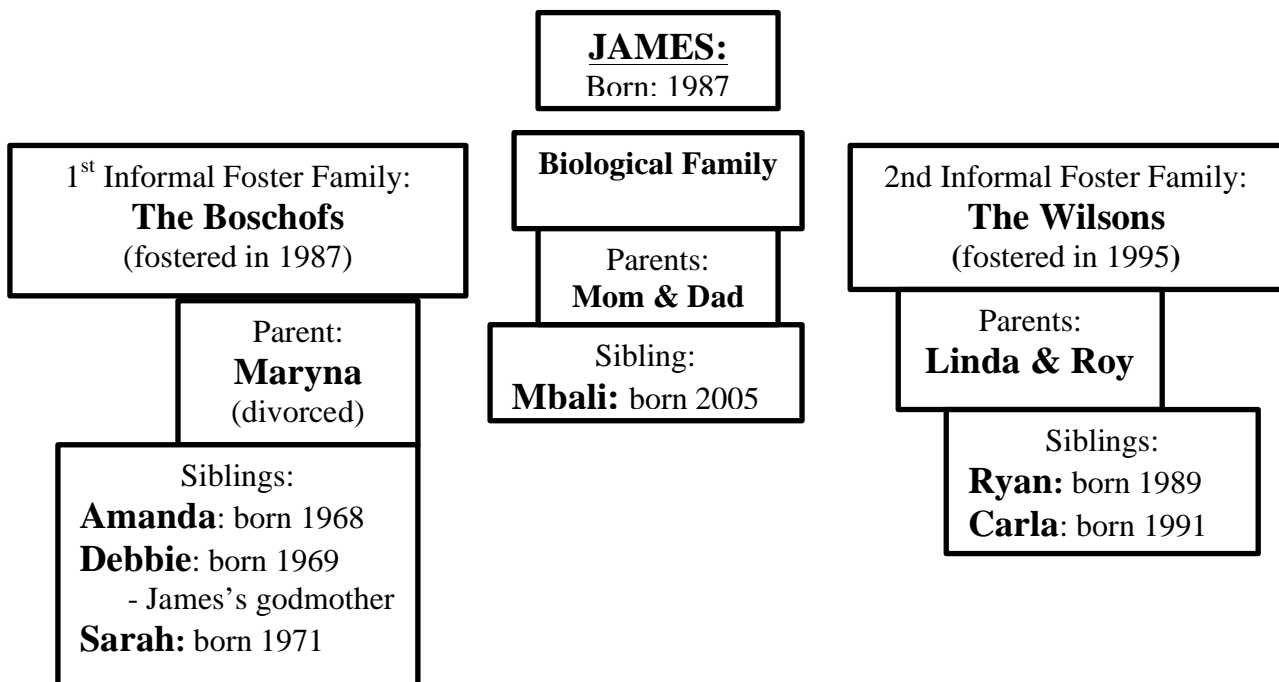
Diagram 2: Zama's Family Tree

ZAMA
Born: 1990

Informal Foster Family:
The Smiths
(fostered in 1995)

Parents:
Mary & John

Siblings:
Amy, Clare, & Dane

Biological Family

Parents:
Mom & Step-dad
(did not mention
biological father)

Siblings:
Two Brothers:
1) Born 1999 – has
down syndorm
2) Born 2002

Stepsiblings:
Two younger
stepbrothers
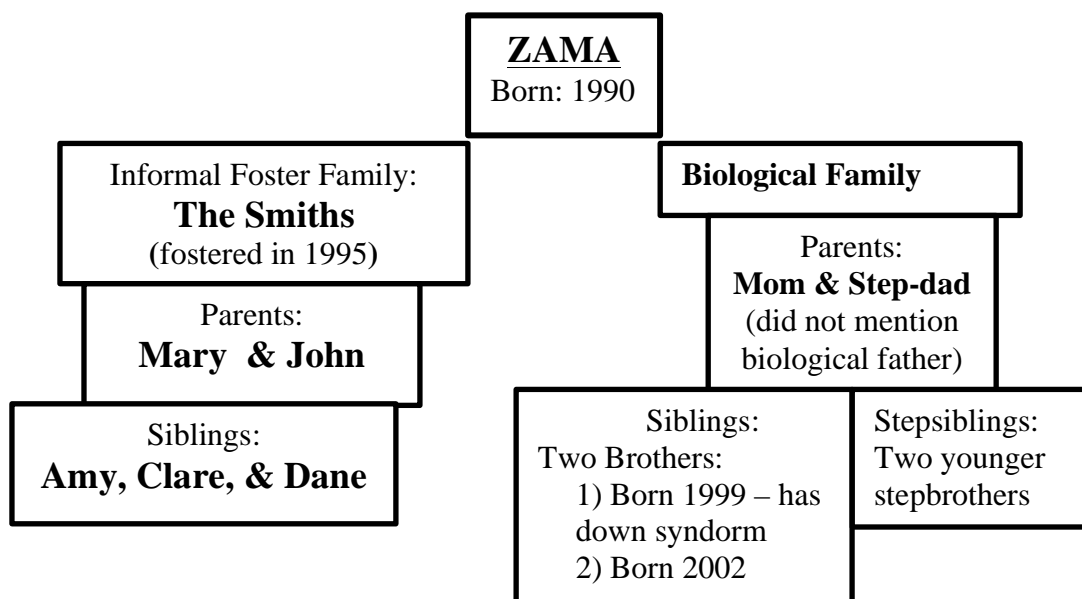
Diagram 3: Themba's Family Tree

THEMBA
Born: 1986

Informal Foster Family:
The Martins
(fostered 1986)

Parents:
Helen & Andrew
- Andrew died: 1995

Siblings:
Stephen: born 1983
Kate: born 1985

Biological Family

Maternal Grandmother
- Primary care giver
- Employed by the Martin family for over 50 years as a domestic worker

Mom & Dad
- Mom born 1970

Sibling:
Sindisiwe: born 1992
- has epilepsy and is mentally challenged

Diagram 4: Gugu's Family Tree

GUGU
Born: 1976

Informal Foster Family:
The Schmidts
(fostered in1976)

Parents:
Doctor & Karen
Gugu called them Papa & Mama

Siblings:
Paul, Helmut, & David

Biological Family

Parents:
Mom
- worked for the Schmidts from the age of 14
(Dad is estranged)

Siblings:
Sister: born 1986

4.2.3. Data Collection

Once an individual had agreed to participate in the study, an interview was scheduled at a time and location convenient to the participant. Prior to commencing the interview any questions or concerns the participant may have had were addressed and the consent form completed[8]. The interviews were conducted in English, and with the participants' permission, were audio recorded.

Crossley (2000a) describes the interview process as providing participants an opportunity to express their personal narratives in their own words. This offers a glimpse into how the participants understand themselves subjectively in terms of their social and psychological worlds. The interview schedule used in this study was based on Crossley's (2000a) semi-structured interview schedule, which borrows from McAdams's (1993) 'life-story approach' to narrative research[9]. The semi-structured interview schedule aimed to encourage the participants to share their 'everyday stories' of the past, the present, and their hopes for the future, in relation to the research topic (Crossley, 2000a).
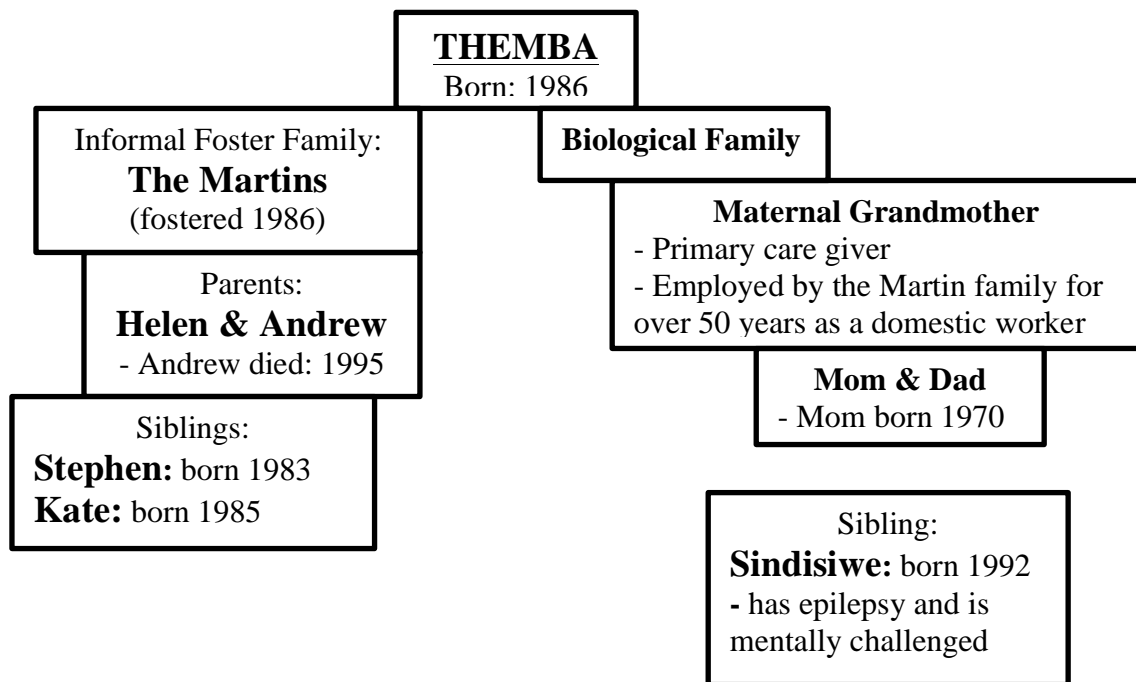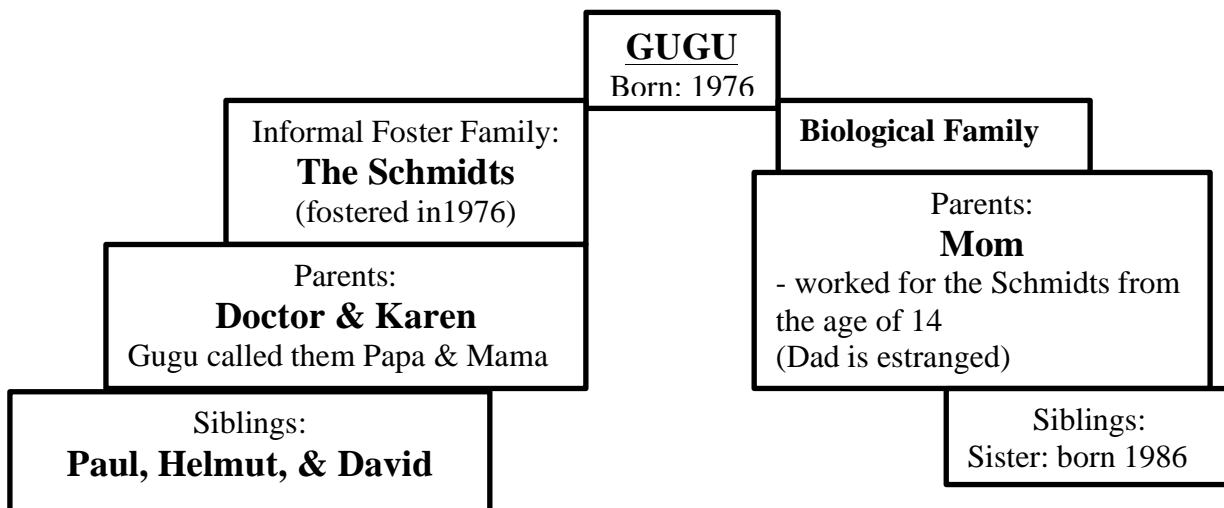
After each interview was completed it was transcribed with identifying information such as names and places altered to prevent disclosure of the participants and to maintain confidentiality. Edwards (2003; cited in Hansjee, 2011) states that the way in which interview data is transcribed may vary according to the study's paradigm and aims; as this research was concerned with the participants' stories, less attention was paid to the participants' pauses and emphases, while punctuation was used to structure the flow of the interview narratives. Once the interviews were transcribed they were given back to the participants for the purposes of clarification. One participant requested a follow-up meeting to review her interview transcript with me in person. These processes aimed to establish the trustworthiness of the data.

4.2.4. Narrative Thematic Analysis

When reviewing literature related to narrative theory it became apparent that there is no clear method for conducting a narrative analysis. I experimented with different methods of analysing the interview text and settled on thematic analysis[10]. Thematic analysis is not embedded within a particular theoretical framework and can therefore be used as a methodology in its own right or as was the case in this research, can be used as a data analysis method within a study's theoretical

---

[8] See Appendix D to view the Informed Consent document provided to each participant.
[9] See Appendix C to view the interview schedule.
[10] See Appendix I to view a rough example of the text based analysis I initially conducted.

framework (Braun & Clarke, 2006). Braun and Clarke (2006) describe themes as relevant patterns contained within the data, which the researcher actively identifies as relevant to their research aims. In conjunction with Braun and Clarke (2006) six-phase method for performing thematic analysis, Riessman's (2008) worked examples of narrative thematic analysis was consulted.

The analysis began by coding the interview transcripts and then refining these codes into themes. When this had been completed for each participant a coherent life story of each participant's experience of living in this situation was constructed, these are located in Appendix F. In order to develop a rounded interpretation of each participant's life story in relation to the existing body of knowledge, the narrative themes were then analysed in relation to the research aims and objectives, as well as the literature reviewed. While the analysis and conclusion were being written a reflexive stance on my positioning within the research was maintained. For an in-depth account of the steps I followed to complete the analysis please see Braun and Clarke's (2006, p.87) method for preforming thematic analysis in Appendix E.

4.2.5. Reflexivity and Trustworthiness

Crossley (2000a, p.104) describes validity in narrative research as research that is "well grounded and supportable". In order to ensure this, the transcribed data was continually referred to, ensuring that the arguments and interpretations presented were located within and supported by the data. In addition, relevant literature was consulted throughout the research process.

Mauthner, Birch, Jessop and Miller (2002) propose that reflexivity is an integral part of qualitative research as it ties the methodological, epistemological and ethical considerations of a study together. As it is impossible for individuals to set aside their own backgrounds and beliefs, a reflexive stance encourages a researcher to engage in a process of critically reflecting on the self, as the researcher, in relation to the research topic and participants (Guba & Lincoln, 2005). Through this, researchers are encouraged to become aware of their positioning within their research and its influence thereon. This includes developing an awareness of their "personal, interpersonal, institutional, pragmatic, emotional, theoretical, epistemological and ontological" (Mauthner et al., 2002, p.134) beliefs and how these may influence the research process and outcome. The aim of this is to produce research that is honest, transparent, accountable, and that sufficiently represents the participants' narratives through the researcher's interpretations (Guba & Lincoln, 2005).

During the data collection phase I tried to maintain a reflexive stance in relation to my interactions with the participants. In terms of reflexivity, Crossley (2000a, p.104) alerts the narrative researcher

to the impact of his or her economic, psychological, emotional and moral history. McLeod (2002, p.20) states "researcher reflexivity should address the interactional, relational and power dynamics of the research at hand". Traditionally the researcher holds the position of assumed expert; the researcher and the participants may have conflicting agendas or come from differing cultural or socio-economic backgrounds. With this in mind, I tried to remain conscious of my own positioning in relation to the contexts of both the research and the participants. This included my gender (female), race (white), socio-economic background (privileged) and status perhaps attached to my level of education.

With all of the participants, but Gugu, I felt that a comfortable level of rapport developed between us at the outset of the interviews. I believe this is because with the other three participants we shared commonalities that linked us in various ways. I had participated in the same horse-riding events as Zama; was from the same town as Themba and Zama; Themba had attended the same high school as my sister; James, Zama and I all attended Rhodes University and finally, I was a similar age to the three of them. Gugu was very shy and battled to express herself (Gugu's English vocabulary was limited in comparison with the three other participants). She was older than me and had grown up with a deeper conscious memory of Apartheid than the other participants or I had. Unlike the other participants she had not attended "white" schools and, as an adult had become a domestic worker. This reflexivity was maintained through out the research process.

4.2.6. Ethical Considerations

According to Terre Blanche et al. (2006), informed consent, confidentiality, beneficence and non-maleficence are four ethical principles that should guide research. Their principles were adhered to throughout this study and were applied through the following measures:

- The participants were asked to sign a consent form in which they consented to participate in the research project and to have their interviews audio-taped (see Appendix D). As noted, the identity of the participants has been treated with strict confidentiality. Participants were assigned pseudonyms and direct biographical details of their families changed within the transcriptions.
- This study was not anticipated to have direct benefits for the participants, but may indirectly benefit participants by increasing the body of knowledge around individuals who have lived in this situation.
- Although harm of the participants was not anticipated, participants were informed that reviewing 'historical' material in their lives may affect them emotionally, either positively or negatively and that should they have required it, they would be referred to an organization such as FAMSA

where psychological support would be available to them (see Appendix D). I prepared for the above possibility by consulting with a qualified counselling psychologist.

CHAPTER 5: EMPIRICAL MATERIAL AND ANALYSIS

This chapter aims to provide an exploration and analysis of the concepts of 'identity' and 'belonging' as evidenced in the data. As discussed in Chapter 3, an individual's identity is socially constructed, context dependent, and defines both how individuals see themselves and how others see them. Although each participant's story was unique, they shared thematic and circumstantial similarities. This is not surprising as the participants shared similar backgrounds and drew on common cultural and social discourses. Of interest to this research is how the participants used these to define their experiences and how they used these to mediate and develop their personal identities and sense of belonging.

The over-arching theme that seemed to most capture the participants' informal fostering experience is that of being *in-between*. This can be understood on two levels. Firstly, it can be viewed as a description of identity. In other words, participants describe themselves as being in-between group identities. Participants spoke about not fully fitting into their home or their foster home and the people connected to those contexts. Secondly, it can be understood relationally. In this sense, the participants often described the negotiations, tensions and inconsistencies that are present when shifting between groups of people who rarely intermingle. This idea of *in-betweenness* seems to permeate all aspects of the participants' lives including their perceptions of themselves, their perceptions of how others see them, their personal identities and their sense of belonging. Each participant described this in different ways and experienced it in different environments and relationships, including their feelings about themselves in relation to their biological and foster families, white and black racial groups, socio-economic status and opportunities and access to tertiary education.

Despite the ending of Apartheid, essentialist notions of race and culture persist in both popular and official discourse and continue to shape people's understandings and expectations of themselves and of others (Ballard, 2004). While the participants in this study utilized essentialist language and static understandings of race, culture and gender to tell their life stories, their personal experiences and identities question the very nature of such essentialist notions and the assumptions attached to them. The participants' lives and identities appear to support Nuttall's (2009) theory of entanglement as well as echoing Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity. Thus, bounded definitions of identity, race, culture and gender can be questioned and explored through their narratives.

As the family functions as a primary site of social reproduction and lays the foundations for an individual's identity development and sense of belonging, it is suitable to begin this analysis with an exploration of the participants' understanding of family as mediated through their unusual childhoods. This will be followed by an exploration of the participants' identity development, social mobility, and social acceptance in relation to culture and society.

5.1. Establishing Belonging

The family is a system of socialization that plays an integral role in the formation of an individual's understanding of themselves, their social world, and how they situate themselves within it. It plays a significant role in how individuals come to construct their personal identities and thus in the life stories they tell. Each participant in this study was raised by at least two families that held no biological links to one another. The levels of attachment and sense of acceptance the participants felt, both within and across these families, was largely determined by the dynamics between the individual family members and the participants, but also deeply influenced by the relationship their mothers[11] shared with their employers. How these dynamics manifested and were managed appeared to impact each participant's sense of belonging, personal agency, and the expectations they held for their own futures. Ultimately, their family relationships appeared to influence each participant's sense of self-worth, self-acceptance, and the congruence of their identity.

5.1.1 Becoming Part of the Family

Live-in domestic work occurs within the personal and intimate space of an employer's home. The social boundaries and rules of interaction are largely determined by the employer and function to maintain the domestic workers' position within the household as a worker (Ginsberg, 1999; 2000). The transgressing of these social boundaries and conventions played an integral role in forming the strong emotional bonds that were evident in the relationships between the participants' mothers, or grandmother in Themba's case, and their employers. These bonds formed the foundation for the informal fostering relationships as they integrated the participants into the lives and routines of the employers' families and guided the development of the participants' relationships with the employers[12].

Education and the creation of opportunities seem to have been both the goal and the driving force behind the creation of these relationships, but the participants' presence within the employers' homes was key to founding their informal fostering arrangements. Inclusion in the employers'

---

[11] In Themba's case his grandmother's relationship
[12] For background information on the relationships shared between the participant's mothers or grandmothers and their employers please see Appendix G.

family activities and the intimacy of daily routines appeared to develop both gradually and unintentionally around these goals. Spatial proximity, daily interactions, emotional involvement, and financial commitments appeared to increase as the participants grew older and this seemed to foster a sense of mutual dependence, responsibility and kinship between the children, their mothers and the employers' families. Examples of the processes that the participants felt cemented their inclusion within the employers' homes are illustrated in the quotes below:

> When I came to live with my mom, and get introduced to the Smiths, start horse riding, it was sort of like a new beginning to a whole new chapter, but all to do with who I am now (…). I went to the same school that Amy and Clare and Dane went to. It was like stages; Amy was the oldest, then it was Clare, then it was me, then it was Dane. After that it sort of became like a process, like everybody moved in the same direction (…) After that it sort of became routine, spend the week there and do homework after school, then I started, sort of, you know, becoming part of the family, not even part of the family, but just someone who was always there. (Zama)

> They fetch me if I'm going to school, and they pay for me the school fees. All the things like that. (…) I remember I liked to play with (…) the small boy, David. I remember that, playing with David, he was older, but he was also a child like me too. We liked to ride the bicycles, and kick the balls, and I have a car, there was a small toy car there and then I ride in it, and maybe when we are tired we are going to town, maybe go shopping, maybe go get drinks and snacks! Ja, it was nice. And the swimming also, if it is hot you are going to swim. They teach me how to swim and I swim well. (Gugu)

> Initially we all went to Early Bird Crèche, then went to Three Oaks pre-primary school, then we all went to Scottsville. Half way through Stephen changed and went to Merchiston, I think one of the biggest reasons for the change was that we were always in fights at school because someone would say something to me and he would always have my back, obviously because he is my brother. (Themba)

> There isn't one specific memory that I have; I suppose I have one or two. The daughters were in the pipe band (at school), so I do remember banging drums quite a bit as a youngster, and I do remember getting told off quite a bit (laughs). I remember Maryna, she was always very trusting of me in a lot of ways. Like I remember carrying china around the house for people, and you know, like making tea and coffee at like four or five years old and people looking at me thinking I am going to drop stuff. (James)

The examples above commonly express how the participants' inclusion into the employers' household was largely formed through bonding with the employers' children, inclusion in everyday household activities, and through education. Despite these activities generating feelings of familial kinship, the participants, as young children, appeared to have had little power in defining the nature of their relationship with their mothers' employers or the social boundaries within it. The employers, as bosses and homeowners, controlled when the participants could be included within the family and when they were to be excluded. At times this could cause the

participants to feel uncertain about how much a part of the family they actually were, as Zama succinctly explained:

> There was sometimes that un-surety, like I'd feel very unsure. Like sometimes I would feel that I'm becoming too much like a part of the family, when I really am not part of the family. So then it would become awkward, like I didn't know when to be a part of the family, and when to hold out. (Zama)

Similar experiences were described in the findings of both Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) research and that of Romero (2011). As Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) study focused on troubled adolescents in therapy, it is not surprising that they found that the uncertainty of acceptance or belonging could provoke psychological distress and maladaptive behaviours. However, this research project found that the negative outcomes described by Burkhalter and Manala are not applicable to all domestic workers' children who have been 'informally' fostered. While the participants' circumstances seemed to exacerbate some of the social and developmental challenges of adolescence, the increased size of their familial support networks, including their biological and foster families, had the potential to lessen the impact of these challenges.

Strong positive attachments to primary caregivers, usually their mothers and mothers' employers, and the reception of true unconditional acceptance, from both biological and informal foster parents and siblings, appeared to foster the capacity for resilience, self-acceptance and belonging. However, in confirmation of Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) research, poor attachments and incomplete acceptance appeared to have the potential to limit personal agency and self-acceptance, hinder the participants' individuation from their families, and disrupt the establishment of a sense of belonging.

5.1.2 Juxtapositions: Attachments, Roles, Names, and Absences

Living within the employers' household juxtaposed the participants' own families with those of the employers. These juxtapositions were related to the families' structure, the roles of family members, households and personal space, race, class, culture, finances, availability of parents, and opportunity. The stark contrasts that the participants experienced between their biological and informal foster families are perhaps best seen in the participants' description of their families. Their biological families were described as rural, working class, uneducated, vast, chaotically interconnected, intergenerational and, at times, unfamiliar:

> I have like another extended family completely on my parents' side, which was almost a little neglected by myself (…), like I had to be forced to go there. (…) I only see them periodically, like sometimes I haven't seen them for three years, and then having to go

back there, especially when younger, and having to remember people becomes hard. (James)

(My mom's) cousins and brothers, my grandfather had two wives, my grandmother and another woman, so I have a huge, huge family and he had seven brothers, those brothers each of them and two or three or four wives, lots of cousins. So there are millions of us! (…) Seven brothers all came from one wife and three came from another wife because his father had two wives as well (…) my mom, obviously there is two of us, me and my sister, but from my other uncles and with them there are also two wives, it is a never ending story. (Themba)

The tone in which the participants spoke about their extended families ranged between jovial, embarrassed and condescending, to having a hint of pride. While they appeared to hold a degree of affection for their extended families, it was clear that spending their childhoods in their mothers' employers' homes, away from their biological families, disconnected the participants from their extended families and distanced them from the social and cultural norms that they associated with their relatives. The participants all expressed that this disconnection had meant that they had grown up with little understanding of what it meant to 'be black' or how to 'be black', but also, at times left them feeling as though they were strangers within their biological families.

In contrast, the employers' families appeared to be seen by the participants as familiar, orderly, nuclear, and contained. Family members, their jobs, and their interests were easily remembered and explained. The participants appeared to see the employers as holding different types of knowledge from their own families, this included knowing and understanding the processes that accessed education, health services and, importantly, pathways to upward social mobility.

Mothering

Romero (2011; 2014) found that the intensive mothering offered by female employers to their children, and at times to their domestic worker's children, could be contrasted with the unavailability of domestic worker to mother their own children. Similarly, the participants often found their mothers were unavailable due to the nature of their work, were financially restricted, or that their mothers' lack of education limited their ability to assist with homework. In contrast, the employers were able to access funding, offer lifts to and from school, play with their children and develop their children's interests. The marked contrast in availability caused two dominant reactions within the participants. The first of these reactions was a drive to establish the employer as their 'second mother' and to elicit parent-like reactions from her. The second response was to protect their own mother from the strain that her socio-economic position and form of employment placed on her ability to mother her own children.

The participants typically favoured the former reaction when they were young children and commonly explained that this was because the household positioned their mothers as workers, and the employers as parents. However, with age and a greater understanding of their own circumstances, they developed a profound sense of responsibility to ensure that they or their mothers' employers did not overstep any boundaries or encroach on their mothers' maternal role. These conflicting loyalties could be experienced as an emotional conundrum as the participants appeared to have felt responsible for protecting their mothers' parental autonomy, but still wanted to access and maintain the mothering they received from the employer. Examples of these experiences are seen in the following quotes:

> Helen became a single mom with three kids, so she would take Stephen and Kate and it was only fair for my grandmother to take me. (…) I didn't see that then, I was like why she is being horrible. (…) Going to parents' evening and here is Helen, she is white, you are black, you see the other black kids who have their black parents, and I am asking myself why didn't my parents go to school, why weren't they able to afford to take me to school so I wouldn't have all this around me all the time. (Themba)

> I have always managed to have that line, I think, with my mother's employers and myself in terms of they aren't my parents, so they aren't able to impose themselves to such an extent where I feel pressured to go their route. But I have had the advantage of having their input on a lot of those things which has helped quite a bit. (James)

> (P)eople thought I was adopted (but) most of the time, my mother would do like all the little things like filling in forms, they were never like proper foster parents or anything. My mother would fill in the forms, (…) get me stuff (…) and like organize it. (Zama)

A common means of managing having two maternal figures involved dividing the types of support they could access and types of information they would share between the two women. While their mothers remained their primary locus of support, they could approach the employers for additional financial, emotional, academic or social support or advice. Interestingly, the participants often approached the employer's family as a means of protecting their mothers or reducing their perceived burdens.

> My mum she is always tell me she is tired. So I would go to the Schmidts and maybe Helmut, he always like to study, and he help me. (Gugu)

> I am very reluctant to phone my mom for money, I hardly ever do. Often my mom will offer, and (…) if I don't need it I will always say no because I know she has her own burdens and own stresses to deal with (…) So to me it was a huge thing to be aware that I can't phone my mom for money. So, who did I go to when my car was broken in to? I went to Maryna. (…) She was like, "Okay where do I need to put the money". (…) I tend to not get hold of my mother a lot of the time over stuff like this, especially if I feel I have been done wrong in someway, because she get really emotionally heightened and involved. So I just tend to steer clear of all of that sort of stuff. (James)

Understanding the significance and the role of their mothers within their lives became easier with age. Looking back on their lives, the participants depicted their biological mothers as strong women who had sacrificed a great deal to pursue a better life for their children and families.

> My mother, I never thought that she was that important until I was out of school then I realised how important she was. Even though she was never there, she wasn't there because she was working to make sure when I would go home to [the township] there was food on the table, that there was anything and everything I needed. (…) Obviously, now I've learnt more about sacrifices they made to make sure that I stayed with Helen and the things they did, because my grandmother is their maid and still is their maid until today. I think of all the sacrifices she has made, to give her life to them, to give me a better life. (Themba)

> (M)y mom has done wonders, not just for me but her whole extended family. (…) My mom is always willing to help them. (…) I don't think there have been many domestics who have been able to achieve half of what my mother has on the salary that she gets! (…) I mean she has like this overall belief that you can actually do it! Like if mum can basically get me through school, through varsity, get me fully educated with two degrees at the end of all of it, like wow, not much is impossible! (James)

> My mother, she is my role model. I love my mother because of how she is growing me. I say thank you to my mother. (…) My mother she care of me. I said she is a nice mother for me. Ah! I don't know what to say but there are a lot of things, like that other parents do but (because my daddy was not there) it was mostly her. (Gugu)

> In all of this you sometimes forget who you really are and my mother has always been the sort of person to bring me back down, to say, "This is actually who you really are". Especially, as I said from coming here to Rhodes (…) my mom understands the dynamics of what's going on. Because she even says, "My child I would really love for you to do that but you know you can't do that, we can't afford it". I think my mom has pretty much helped me to sort of live, like I have never felt I couldn't live up to the standards or anything. I have never felt I can't dress up nicely because my parents can't afford it. (…) She will take me shopping for all the real necessities. Other people may have five trench coats but I have my one really good one, that sort of thing. So my mom knows the things I need and she understands what is going on in life. (Zama)

The participants' childhood circumstances provided them with multiple maternal figures. These included their own mothers, their grandmothers, their mothers' employers, and the older female children of the employers. Despite accessing mothering from multiple sources, each participant ultimately found the greatest support in their biological mother, and additionally, in Themba's case, his maternal grandmother. While the participants described their mothers as their primary caregivers, the nature of their childhoods meant that certain aspects and areas of parenting required collaboration, negotiation and compromise between their mothers and their mothers' employers. This was also evidenced in Christian's (1998) findings. How the arrangement was negotiated, including the power positions, and therefore dynamics, between the mothers and their employers, had both positive and negative ramifications for the participants.

The positive consequences were that the participants were provided with a range of experiences and opportunities that they might never have had, had their mothers' employers not taken an interest in their futures. It provided them with a large familial support network as well as a 'second mother' whom they could turn to when they felt their own mothers might not understand or be able to assist them. However, having to accommodate multiple maternal figures was a balancing act that required the participants to split their affections, loyalty, expectations, and time between these women. This experience could manifest itself in the following feelings: isolation, inadequacy, alienation, disconnection and exclusion. As with the participants of Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) study, these feelings caused some participants to become overly compliant while in others it led to rebellious or maladaptive behaviours. These are discussed later in this chapter.

Naming and Labels

The entangled nature of the participants' family systems resulted in them holding themselves accountable to multiple parental figures and family members. How the participants named and labeled these individuals, as well as the family constellations from which these individuals originated, illustrated both the participants' search for belonging as well as the function and relevance of certain individuals at different stages of their childhoods.

For the first few years of his life, James copied the other children in the household and called his mother by her first name, while calling the employer "mom". He said he did this because it was "confusing" and that it was only when he grew older that he could appreciate the significance of a name or a label. James used the label of 'godmother' to distinguish and stress the significance of Debbie as more than a friend or sibling. Gugu presented Karen and Dr Schmidt as parental figures for both herself and her mother, and respectfully and intimately named them 'her' "mama" and "papa".

Zama, who was overtly protective of her biological mother's parental role, reserved the label of "mom" for her own mother while she referred to Mary by her first name. The use of a first name indicates a level of pragmatic familiarity that is greater than the status implied by the title of 'Madam' or 'Mrs'. Themba called his biological mother and grandmother "mom" and "gran" respectively. He yearned to extend the label of "mom" to Helen but had been raised to call her "Madam". Calling her "Madam" perhaps reflected the "gap" Themba described between himself and Helen, and illustrates his disappointment that despite feeling that she was his "white mom" and he was "her child", he could never fully claim her as his mother.

While all of the participants had biological siblings, their childhoods were mostly spent in the company of the employers' children. It appeared to be important to all of the participants to claim and name these individuals as their own siblings. This seemed to function as a means to legitimate the depth of these relationships to people outside their families as well as to themselves. Additionally, it appeared to facilitate the participants' understanding of their position and role within the employers' homes, as they were largely included in family activities through the relationships they shared with the other children in the house. These relationships appeared to support their feelings of belonging and their sense of connection to the employers' families. This is perhaps best demonstrated in how James situates certain aspects of his own identity and personality in relation to his 'siblings':

> I have been lucky, I got to learn a lot from them and what has worked for them and I think that I can see bits of all of them in my life. (…) Debs was really, really good at sport, I mean she represented South Africa in softball and action cricket, and I have also been lucky and fortunate to be really good at sport. (…) I do have a very chilled-out side to me and I think that is, well if I had to describe Amanda in one word I would use the word hippie! Sarah is a very driven and very smart lady (…) she has always made a point of being that person that will succeed. She is very stubborn, very driven; I think I am a bit like that. (James)

Although Zama described herself as "feeling like (the Smiths') little sister" she was uncomfortable with naming the Smith children as siblings as she appeared to worry it would diminish the importance and position of her biological brothers. This ambiguity is important as it manifests the sense of betrayal and resultant feelings of guilt that the participants sometimes felt from spending time with their 'informal' foster families instead of their biological families. Interestingly, after debating with herself Zama, decided their shared past and emotional connections made them siblings:

> They sibling-friends, sort of. (Laughs). They are in-between. I think, like when I was younger, it would be like they were my friends. Like I don't know when you sort of grow up you feel a greater connection, and you can be like, "You know, those people could really be my siblings". (…) As we got older, we all started taking more responsibility for ourselves, that's when we started getting closer because then we started depending on each other, and you know doing stuff together in terms of helping one another. (…) Amy has really been like an older sister, she understands the whole situation as well. Like she is always willing to give a hand like whenever I need one, she has always been there. If I was to say like, "Am I siblings with them? I could say, Ja, I'm siblings with Amy, she is like my older sister. (Zama)

Gugu said that the Schmidt children had called her "sister" and treated her like their sister. Gugu's descriptions of her play with the Schmidt children seemed to echo the power dynamics of the relationship Gugu's mother had with their parents. The Schmidt children were in control of the relationship and decided what games would be played and what Gugu's role would be. However, it

is interesting to note, that her acceptance by the Schmidt children as their 'sister' elevated Gugu's social position within the home above her mother. As seen in the quote below, her acceptance as a sister positioned her mother as her maid:

> Because they boys have no sister they is treating me like their sister. If maybe they go to play, I go with them. If maybe they are sitting at a TV room, I am also there, I watch the TV with them. They also like to eat. (laughs) They like to eat! They bring the food we are eating. Ja. And, maybe if we are making a mess in the TV room they say, "No, no don't pick up the mess, just leave it, because sister don't clean the mess". (Laughs) Ja, my mom cleans the mess. They also liked to bully me if they are playing rugby, I also play and they kick me with the ball. I don't know how to ride the bike, and then I try to ride the bicycle, and he leave me and I fall! But I learn to ride the bike. The boys helped me and their friends also, they help me. (Gugu)

The participants' life stories were dominated with memories they had shared with their 'informal' siblings rather than with their biological siblings. The absence of these and other family members from the participants' lives had a large impact on their life experiences and ultimately their life goals. These will now be explored.

Absences

The dominance of maternal figures with the participants' lives was strikingly contrasted with the absent nature of paternal figures in both their immediate and extended families. Zama never mentions her biological father and appeared not to have a strong relationship with her stepfather. Themba describes his father as "useless, he still is useless". Gugu painfully said, "I have a daddy but he doesn't do anything for me". As a child, James's relationship with his father had been limited by the demands of his parents' employment; because of this he did not share a home with his father until he was an adult. James also describes his uncles as men who were "fairly successful people but they can't take care of their children properly".

Interestingly, the white fathers in the employers' homes were also 'absent' or marginally available. As such, the participants' experiences of fathers seem to have been defined largely by absence and semi-absence. The absence of both biological and 'foster' fathers seems to have played a role in creating a relationship of mutual dependence, as co-mothers, between the female employers and the domestic workers. The employer, as a mother, relied on the domestic worker to reduce the load of parenting, while the domestic worker received employment, proximity to her child, and the hope that material and social benefits her child was receiving could generate positive long-term benefits. This interdependence potentially fostered an even closer relationship between the participants' children and the employers' children. Additionally, this relationship could provide the participants' biological mothers with a barrier of support against the traditionally patriarchal structures associated black families, allowing her to have a determining role in deciding her child's future.

A clear example of the relationship described above is seen in the support Maryna provided to James's mother in her desire to raise James outside of tradition and ensure he received a good education. The employer's role in this de-escalated potential conflict between James's parents but, although intended to support James's mother, it paradoxically reduced her agency in relation to his education.

> (M)y mother's employer made it basically her life goal to ensure that I stayed in a Western area in terms of education. (…) Which does arise with a little bit of conflict, not with my mother so much, but with my father, in terms of traditionally going back home, being raised by your grandparents, that kind of vibe. So from that aspect there was a bit of conflict. My mother's employer sort of won that fight.

The reduction of parental agency through good-willed intentions on the part of the employers was a common theme in both the literature (Burkhalter & Manala, 2001; Christian, 1998; Mange, 1995; Romero, 2011) and in the lives of each of the participants in this study. How the participants and their biological mothers' experienced this was largely dependent on whether the employers actions were seen to support or diminish the domestic workers' parental authority.

Where a father figure was present, this was significant. For Gugu, Dr. Schmidt fulfilled her need for an active, protective, and caring father figure: "I call him Papa, and he is nice for me, he cares for me". Themba turned to his 'older brother', Stephen, to teach him "how to be a man" after experiencing disappointment in his own father's parenting capabilities and losing Andrew when he was eight years old. James expressed that the women in his "female dominated" childhood had had negative experiences with men, and believed that their experiences had impacted on both his views on relationships and on "males". Significantly, James's relationship with his father improved when his parents got their first home. James was already away at university at this stage but sharing a home with his parents during the holidays provided them with a space to be a family. This moved James and his father's relationship away from what James described as "hi-and-bye" interactions when he was younger, to a more "open" relationship in which they are able to "chat" and spend time together without "clashing". Similarly, Christian (1998) found that domestic workers experienced an improvement in the quality of their relationship with their children, and the respect their children afforded them, when the family had time together away from the employers' home.

The informal fostering process presented the participants with different opportunities and privileges from those available to their biological siblings. While the majority of the participants' childhoods were spent separated from their biological siblings, either through age difference or living in different homes, they all shared a strong connection to their siblings that appeared to deepen after

they moved out of the employers' homes. All of the participants, except Gugu who shares a similar socio-economic position with her younger sister, felt a certain level of responsibility to use the opportunities they had received to improve the lives and opportunities of their biological families:

> What I want to do is help my parents out with my sister. I think that is a very big thing in my life, whether it be through a fund, or something that I can provide for her now, or that maybe pays out when she goes to high school or like something for varsity, higher education. Ja, so that I can help my parents out later on so that they can actually possibly retire and my mom can go enjoy herself for a little bit. (James)

Two of the participants were acutely aware of the unfairness attached to the opportunities they had received and felt both helpless and guilty that their siblings were not as fortunate. Interestingly, both of these participants had siblings who were disabled. Their feelings of guilt could therefore also be related to their luck of being born mentally and physically able. For example, Themba, who felt deeply guilty about not having taken all the opportunities he had been presented with, was concerned that the Martins had supported him when his sister had greater needs. He seemed to suggest that because he was "normal" it was easier for the Martins to choose to support him:

> My sister has epilepsy so she is a slow learner. I would say she is mentally different to all of us. I know this might sound harsh but I always wondered, if she was normal, would Helen and Andrew have taken her as well. Because she was a special child, I will put it that way, she goes to a special school for people who have the same condition or are like her. But I often wondered if she was a normal child like me or you, would they have taken her in and sent her to a normal school? I suppose that is something which I will never know.

It is clear from the participants' experiences that absent family members have the potential to shape an individual's expectation of themselves and of others. While cycling through daily demands made of them by their multiple parents and divergent family groups, each participant was, at times, concerned about which family they belonged to or whether and when their presence and needs constituted an imposition.

5.1.3. Insider? Outsider? An Imposition?

An imposition is an unfair or unwelcome demand or burden. Amongst the participants, experiencing oneself as an imposition, being experienced as an imposition, and deliberately behaving as an imposition were all reported responses to living within their mothers' employers' households. Romero (2011, 2014), Burkhalter and Manala (2001), and Mange (1995) all found that the acceptance of a domestic worker's child into an informal fostering arrangement was often contingent upon the child accepting certain house rules, and adopting the behaviours and beliefs of the employers. These findings resonate with Derrida's (2000)

theories of hospitality and tolerance as a means through which a host-group can exercise social control.

The participants of this study displayed a similar awareness that their acceptance within the employers' family, and the offers of financial and emotional support, were contingent upon their acceptance of certain ways of being and in respecting certain boundaries set, either knowingly or unconsciously, by the employer. Most importantly, for the relationship to persist comfortably and for the economic and social resources offered by the employers to continue to be made available, the participants needed not to be seen as an imposition. Cultivating an identity that both resonated with and was compatible with the employers' milieu was a means of passing as a household member and gaining acceptance within the employers' social circles.

James and Gugu were both included within the employers' homes in such a way that they did not feel that they themselves were an imposition. However, they did feel it was their responsibility to regulate their behaviour to ensure it would not draw negative attention or cause offence.

> There were certain things I wouldn't impose, you sort of reach an age where you start realising (…) this actually isn't any of my stuff, I can't really. Whereas at my godmother's place, it was basically a free for all! (…) Whatever I want, it was cool. It was a case of help yourself, go mad! (…) You would never find me doing that stuff at Linda and Roy's place, even now. (James)

Both Zama and Themba experienced themselves as impositions. They dealt with these feelings in different ways. Zama evidenced the most discomfort with the possibility that she might appear to be imposing herself on the Smiths and feared that her presence and her needs might be a burden to the family. This discomfort seems to have arisen within her rather than from overt or even subtle expectations in the employer's family. The feeling of not belonging, or of imposing, did not have to arise out of large events or obvious exclusions. In Zama's experience it manifested as a constant feeling of 'awkwardness' and uncertainty:

> It would be really weird because sometimes I would end up there on like a holiday. They were like, "Come guys! Now it's time to go for the Easter egg hunt". I sort of let them all run off, and I stood for a while thinking, "Am I really part of this? Do I go on the Easter egg hunt?" They were sort of like "No Zama, go!" And then you start doing the Easter egg hunt and you realize that you are doing it quicker than everybody else, that you finding the eggs a whole lot quicker than everybody else, and you know that what you find you keep, and then you are like, "But I wasn't even supposed to be here, so should I just sort of hold out?" (…) I think I felt like it was my responsibility to hold back because they are just so nice (…) it would always be awkward.

The Smiths seem to have be cognisant of Zama's discomfort and helped her to overcome these feelings by supporting her to develop a sense of personal capacity and agency:

> I always felt bad some times, because everything for Amy and Clare was sort of so easy and when it came to me it was always the extra things happening, that not going through, that going through, (…) They always had to make extra plans for me, because things just weren't working out right for me (…) But they were still always very supportive and they never made me feel bad. They always said, "You have gotta keep your head up, you have got to work, if you really want this you will work hard. If it's really meant to be things will all fall into place". (…) Mary was always good about sorting out funding, like a better option, so, like I wouldn't feel like I was burdening them. So it feels like I'm doing something good and there's people out there that want to support what I'm doing.

Unlike Zama, the support Themba received from his 'informal' foster family failed to nurture his sense of personal agency and feelings of belonging. Despite describing himself as Helen's child, from a young age Themba felt he was a burden to the Martins and feared his acceptance into their family would be temporary. He described his childhood as "stressful" because he felt insecure, and he believes these feelings caused him to become a "rebellious" child who behaved as "the complete opposite to everybody else" in the family. Although he felt he belonged within their family he felt different to the Martins and that his differences were 'bad'. For example he saw his interest in sport within the academically oriented Martin family as "naughty". His 'rebelliousness' was later distressingly expressed when he began stealing at school. He claims this was a means of connecting to his black peers. However, it also seems to have been a way of testing his position in the family. The responses he elicited only served to confirm his belief that he was a temporary member of the Martin family, as the threat of punishment elicited was far greater than that which would be given to a biological child of the family:

> (M)y black family were, sjoe! it's the whole ungratefulness, not being grateful. They teach me, they buy me clothes. Why do I need to steal? Why do I do all these things? I think it got to a point where Helen she didn't know what to do. She threatened to send me to a township high school, I didn't want to go back there. It made me angry. I felt like if Stephen did stuff like that at school he would never be threatened with a school in the township.

A potentially negative aspect of the participants' passing as an 'insider' of their white families was that this was often achieved at the cost of spending time with their biological mother or biological family. While this acceptance was important for the participants' social mobility and facilitated their assimilation into the middle or upper classes, it required them to distance themselves physically and symbolically from certain aspects of their parents' lives and their own working class backgrounds. Romero (2011, p.249) describes this assimilation as a "hidden cost" of social mobility as it can negatively impact the social and cultural connections between working class parents and their middle to upper class children. When younger, the

participants were often unaware of the parental control their mothers had to relinquish in order for the participants to be accepted within the employers' families. The clearest example of this in this study was Gugu's description of meal times at the Schmidt's' home:

> Gugu: The wonderful thing is if it is supper my mother liked to call me, "Come we will eat together" but Dr Schmidt he said, "No, just leave Gugu because she is our child and we must eat together at the supper". If there was a party we were joining in.

> Alice: Your mum would join in as well?

> Gugu: No my mother she was working mostly.

> Alice: When you had supper with the Schmidts where would your mum be? Would she also be at the table?

> Gugu: No, no.

The quote above demonstrates how the nature of domestic work can intrude into the family life of domestic workers and their families but also how, in informal fostering relationships the employer has the power to override the parental authority of the domestic worker. Mange (1995) found that the power relations embedded in the domestic employer – employee relationship had the potential to limit the domestic worker's ability to express her own needs and desires for her child. While the participants of this study did not explicitly express such sentiments, they did note that their inclusion into the employers' family activities could force them to choose between spending time with the employers' family, their mothers, or visiting their biological families. Their inclusion in certain activities or events highlighted the social mobility the relationship had afforded them but also how this was often contingent on excluding their mothers.

5.1.4. Leaving Home: endings and continuity

Throughout the participants' lives and relationships with their mothers' employers, it was clear that if and when the informal fostering arrangement worked, it provided the participants with multiple role models and options for support. However, when the arrangement failed or didn't work, it potentially provided the participants with multiple instances of rejection. Overall, the participants' lives appear to have been defined, at different times, by the loss and gain of different family members and of familial constellations. These experiences, as well as the level of integration the participants' experienced within the employers' families and their own biological families, were clearly crystallized when the participants left the employers' homes.

The informal fostering arrangement offered each participant an opportunity for upward social mobility and, as Themba said "a taste of the good life". Leaving home either perpetuated the

participants' upward trajectory or stunted it. For Zama and James, leaving home to go to university was a positive experience, which provided them with a reflexive space to view their own lives and the connections they shared with the people in their lives. They continued to connect with their respective families and expand the hybridity of their social networks. The unconditional positive support that had been shown to them as children, both by their own mothers and their 'informal foster families' had allowed them to individuate successfully as adults and to face their futures with hope. Both James and Zama seemed excited by what their futures would hold as their success was assumed and their continued connection to both their biological and foster families felt guaranteed:

> (I)n terms of the future, I mean, basically, they are just my family. They'll be at my wedding; I'll be at theirs. It's just like your usual family with a lot less of the admin, just a lot of happy times. That's one thing that I can say, it has probably been an advantage because. I have almost three separate families; I have only had happy times with each, or at least those times that I can remember. (James)

> It feels like you know its sort of coming to a close because very soon I'm going be out there doing my own thing. And sort of now, like before, they still involved and stuff but after this, it's going to be about a whole lot of thanking after this. Like once I get my degree, (…) parents have been there for me through a lot, but in the end I can really say the Smiths got me here. So it would be really thanking them and stuff. Wow! (Zama)

In contrast, when Gugu and Themba moved out of their 'informal foster' homes, they did not experience the positive and perpetuated trajectory of social mobility and support that James and Zama had. Instead, educational opportunities and support were terminated and financial support was largely suspended. Moving homes uprooted them from their foster families, their childhood homes, and their communities and placed them in a space that felt unfamiliar and foreign. Although they both remained in contact with their foster families they both lost the close connections and family structure they associated with their childhoods. The futures they had envisioned through their childhood experiences where abruptly disrupted by the reality of their 'new' lives as permanent residents of a township. They both described townships as dangerous and morally bankrupt spaces. This experience truncated their personal aspirations and led to a sense of disconnection and inadequacy. They both felt profoundly abandoned, alien to their current communities, and that their personal potential for upward social mobility had regressed.

The two quotes below express the loss Gugu's and then Themba's felt in relation to these experiences. Gugu's loss is focused on the loss of the life she had known before. Themba's loss is focused on limitations he felt that moving to the township had had on his future. Themba displayed an acute awareness that his lack of tertiary education acts as a limitation to both his personal success and his ability to remain integrated in middle class society.

For me it was a nice life, you see, a very nice life. I remember the time Dr Schmidt he buy a house for my mother, then we move out to the location. I was [17 years old]. I was crying because I don't know the life of the location. I was crying because I don't know the life of the location, because it was nice there at town, I was crying because I am losing to live there and it is very nice. Like if there is sun on Sunday we are going to have a picnic, and now I go to location. Wow! I don't know what life it is there and I am going there to start another life. It was difficult. Yoh! It was difficult. Like now it is difficult to think about that family and how we lived together. (Gugu)

After school I was told by Helen that I would have to move out and go back to the township. Yoh! There is nothing to describe it; it was one of the saddest days of my life. I cried for weeks.. Daily thinking "why now?" (…) At one of the most important time of my life, she was kicking me out. She said she couldn't afford to have me around anymore because Stephen and Kate were going to varsity. I didn't go to varsity. I asked what's wrong with me, but there is a part of me believes that I wouldn't have been in this situation that I am in today if I had gone to varsity, I would have a better life than what I have now. But at the same time I don't think I have done anything to change that, well I'm beginning to now I guess. I think I have always had someone to blame instead of myself, blaming my situation, blaming my poor parents, blaming Helen for not giving me more, but what more did she have to give me. The one thing that I still blame her for was, maybe, not helping me with the channels, even if she had helped getting me a student loan, because I didn't know about those things. (Themba)

While each of the participants has remained in contact with their 'white families', the quality of this contact and who initiates it indicates the relative importance they or their 'family' members place on the continuity of the relationship. Zama and James have maintained close and constant contact with the employers and their children and place great importance on sharing their lives with them. While Zama chose more traditional means of remaining in contact, such as spending time together and phoning one another, James, in addition to these, chose to cement and display his deep connection to his 'white' brother Ryan in the form of a shared tattoo.

Moving away from their mothers' employers homes removed Gugu and Themba from their 'white' families' social circles and activities. This move and the subsequent lack of contact appeared to confirm their incomplete inclusion within the employers' families. Themba saw their lack of contact as evidence of the distance between himself and his 'white' family; he tried to rationalize their distance as characteristic of white people:

My foster family, I wish we were closer, but we are not as close as when we were living together, but I've noticed in the white culture that that is okay, like you don't see your brother for five years, that's normal. In black culture it doesn't work like that. You see each other all the time, constant contact, keeping in touch all the time. (…) I know exactly what is going on I can tell you where so-and-so is now, you know what I mean? I can't tell you what my white mom is doing, but I can tell you where my mom is now. I can tell you where my gran is now. I can tell you where my sister is now, that's the

difference. Kate I see probably once a year, that is if I bump into her. Stephen I see once every three months also if I bump into him somewhere. (Themba)

5.1.5. Summary

Whether the participants' experiences were predominantly negative or positive did not seem to impact their attachment to the individuals they felt were their family. They saw these people as integral to their personal development and identities, and fundamental to finding meaning within their lives.

> Overall, I wouldn't change the family, I wouldn't change the experience, I wouldn't change my brother and sisters, Stephen and Kate and Sindiswe, wouldn't change my parents. I didn't want a mom and dad who are lawyers and I went to a perfect school and I was just perfect. I am happy and content with what I have it has made me who I am now. The ups and downs the lows and highs, the pain and the joy, would have made me who I am. (Themba)

> What gives my life meaning? I'd say family, and I use that word very loosely. Obviously it has got to do with my situation, but I mean I love my [biological and foster] family. No one could understand how much actually. Like I really, really do, like I know that you take it for granted that your family would do almost anything for you, but, I mean wow! I am really appreciative and I love my family. I consider myself extremely, extremely fortunate for like everything that I have been through but also just like stuff that they have supported me through, whether it be, and it is definitely in that sense not been financially at all, it has been emotionally and I suppose just having someone to bounce ideas off. So in that sense I would say that is important. (James)

Like the informal fostering arrangements explored by Burkhalter and Manala (2001), Christian (1998), Mange (1995), and Romero (2011), the arrangements explored in this study appear to have been entered into fairly haphazardly, driven by emotional attachment and by good intentions. The long-term individual outcome of each arrangement seems to have depended upon the capacity of each employer's family to respect the social and familial boundaries implicit in the participants' various family structures. This included supporting and not disrupting the child's bond with their biological mother. In addition, the depth and continuity of commitment, both emotional and practical, appeared to profoundly impact the outcome of these relationships. This, in turn, impacted on the integrity of each participant's personal and social identities and the internal congruency between the participants' sense of belonging and their identity.

5.2. Identity, Race, and Culture: Passing? Faking? Fitting?

As children, the participants had upbringings that were quite different from those they would have experienced in the absence of the circumstances that drew them into the family life of their mothers' employers. Within these families the participants were exposed to what Mange (1995) called 'contradictory experiences', which highlighted to them the differences between how black and

white lives were constructed and lived, but also, the similarities evidenced through daily interactions.

Race and culture presented as obvious areas in which the participants would have had to negotiate their personal and group identities, and as such themes around this issue were expected to feature prominently in the narratives of the participants interviewed. Surprisingly, there was far less overt discussion of race in the material than may have been expected, but it featured prominently as a latent influence in the participants' understanding and portrayal of their experiences. At times the participants appeared to worry about the social acceptability race as a topic of conversation or category of classification, this is aptly illustrated by Zama's statement, "Sorry I know I'm sounding all like white, black, white, black".

The concepts of race and culture have played a divergent role in carving the participants' individual identities and guiding their interactions with the world[13]. For Themba, race was an overt and powerful construct that marked him by overshadowing his uniqueness and excluding him from the people he felt most comfortable with. James saw race as an irrelevant feature of life that he tried hard to ignore. Zama saw race as something that caused others to misunderstand her, while Gugu experienced race as an irrefutable fact of life. Below the participants individual experiences of navigating race and culture are explored through the concepts of 'passing', social exclusion, and social acceptance more broadly.

5.2.1. Passing? Exploring Identities, Transgressing Boundaries and Limitations to Acceptance

As a social construct the 'new' 'rainbow nation' presented South Africans with an opportunity to redefine the nature of social acceptance within South Africa and to create a new racially integrated society. This created a social climate in which it became possible for individuals to transgress the rigid race-based social boundaries that Apartheid had imposed on them and encouraged the exploration of and engagement with the socially and racially entangled nature of most South Africans' daily lived experiences. Despite the promise of increased openness and acceptance that the myth of the 'rainbow nation' came to represent, the dominant social discourses operating within South African society continued to mark people by class, race, and gender, simultaneously defining their access and ability to relate to each other (Ballard, 2004).

Romero (2011) found that acceptance within white, upper-middle class spaces required domestic workers' children to suppress divergent racial, cultural, or class identities as well as to distance

---

[13] Appendix H provides a more detailed exploration of each participant's personal portrayal of his or her identity in relation to race and culture.

themselves from their families within certain social settings. 'Passing' within these social circles could be consciously pursued through the adoption of the normative language, accent, mannerisms and clothing associated with them. In this research the participants' portrayed their assimilation into white spaces as a largely unconscious process. This is to be expected as they were socialized into the social and cultural 'norms' of the households in which they were raised. However, as they grew older their skin colour caused them and others to question whether their interests, identities, and behaviours were 'natural' to them or fitted with the 'white' or 'black' norms constructed by South African society. The participants presented their strong identification with 'white norms' as directly related to growing up within white homes and predominantly interacting with white people, rather than through conscious adoption. As Zama explained:

> Before, when I was living with my gran, I was living out in the rural area, sort of living that chilled-back lifestyle, learning how like to clean the house, and then when I came to live with my mom, and get introduced to the Smiths, start horse riding, so sort of like a new beginning to a whole new chapter but all to do with who I am now. It was sort of difficult, because I mean I was always like the token black person in the white crowd and stuff like that. But when you grow up and you are young and you know only one thing, and you never try change it. You know? You accept what you have so you just, you know, always hang around with white people. (Zama)

When the participants were young children, race did not function as a limit to 'passing' within the employers' home, or when they were in contexts where people knew their backgrounds. To a certain extent, their childhoods equipped them to transcend certain social boundaries that were associated with their mothers' class and race. As seen in the quotes below, acceptance within their white families provided them with a foundation of insights that could enable 'passing', which was later amplified by some of the participants through their language, clothing, interests, and education.

> I sort of learnt basically sort of the norms of like the society, the people that I live with now, I learnt that through them. Like if I had lived with my parents, like with my parents it's sort of learning like the black norms, like you know of black people's society. And when I lived with them then I learnt the white norms, well like from back then what was more of like the white norms and basically I have lived in sort of that area, that sort of society, so basically learnt to live, like among the people that I'd naturally be living in, like when I go to school, (…) Like I would know all the other extra things that other black kids wouldn't know, I would know. (Zama)

> I went to a local primary school and I went to a preschool as well, mostly white at that stage, which was quite odd. Must have been '92 or '93. (…) I met a lot of my mates that I'm still (…) very close with. In terms of how it related to my situation, I suppose every one just sort of knew that I was the child of a domestic, so it never really came up. (James)

> And Doctor and their son's friends are also nice to me. Wow! They take me like I'm like family, like Schmidt's family, because the friends don't say things like this is black, or this is white. You see? They see we were one family. (Gugu)

> When I reached high school I was very good at sport, so it was always a nice common area where nothing really matters except your talent for the sport you know? So, it is a nice little bonding thing. (…) At school not everyone knows your background, in terms of me, I tend to steer clear of all of that, like here I am now, you know? I suppose it is a little different at times, because people do assume a lot of things that are fairly wrong, but like I have always been fortunate in a sense that my godmother has always been into fashion, and that sort of stuff, so I'm always fairly well dressed. I have never really been or seen to be like poverty stricken. (James)

Yazdiha (2010) describes language and accent as powerful markers of identity that provide others with an opportunity to develop expectations and apply generalisations to a person. Additionally, it provides the speaker access and a connection to the culture associated with the language. Certain languages, such as English in post-colonial settings, are seen to hold greater social currency as they came to be constructed as the languages of government institutions and of power. Thus, fluency in such a language can potentially support social mobility as it provides one with access to and, sometimes, acceptance within certain social circles and institutions.

Three of the participants stated that they considered English to be their first language. Learning English appears to have been highly prized by the participants' families, as they appear to have believed that developing the participants' abilities in English could potentially provide both the participants and their families with access to better opportunities and a better practical understanding of bureaucratic processes. Examples of these benefits are expressed in the quotes below:

> I'm grateful for the principles they instilled in me, the opportunities that were given me. Some I have taken some I haven't taken. The ability to speak the way I do. English has become a very important language. I think that if communications breakdown between you and who-ever you are talking to you are not going to go very far. (Themba)

> It has also been a case of trying to educate my parents on stuff that I now know, Like insurance stuff and finances, like I can say to them, you know if something was to happen is it better to insure it and pay X amount a month, or do you think it's not. Like I help my mom out with a lot of forms. (James)

When speaking on the telephone, the fluency of their English and the English South African accent with which Zama, James and Themba expressed themselves, caused strangers to expect them to be white. What is most interesting about these experiences is how each participant experienced others' surprise in finding out they were black. Themba experienced their "shock" as "hurtful", while James thought such mix-ups were both "interesting" and "funny". Zama felt that being mistaken for one of the Smith's children when she answered the Smith's home phone made her feel a greater sense of belonging within their home. These responses corresponded with each participant's overall response to their childhoods and their sense of belonging and search for identity.

While Zama, James and Themba's proficiency in English created opportunities for acceptance within white social settings, their use of English meant that they either suppressed their ability to speak their mother tongue or were unable to feel confident when using it. For example, despite having chosen to express herself predominantly in English in social contexts such as school, Zama felt confused that other black pupils were surprised that she could speak Zulu. What is interesting about this is how she equates her skin colour directly to the ability to speak Zulu, as though being black should have indicated to other people that she was a Zulu speaker.

> I think people only discovered I could speak Zulu when I was like in grade eleven or matric. Like they would be like "What you speak Zulu!" and I'd be like "Of course I speak Zulu, I'm black. Can't you see?" (laughs) "I have a black mother, I come from a black family, I have black brothers!" (Zama)

Although speaking fluent English opened up certain opportunities for the participants, they found that it also distanced them from their extended biological families and alienated them in contexts where their mother tongue dominated. They felt other people saw their use of English as an indicator that they were wealthy, adopted, or as an expression of contempt for their vernacular or race. The participants felt that these hurtful attitudes failed to appreciate or understand that English was merely the language they had grown most comfortable expressing themselves in. James stated that learning English and predominantly conversing with others in English, including his mother, had limited his ability to speak "home" or "African" languages. He said that this had hampered his interest in connecting with all types of people. During the interview he decided it was important for his little sister to become multi-lingual as this would give her an advantage he wished he had:

> Funny enough, myself and my mom, we speak to each other in English, myself and my dad speak to each other in Pedi. I don't know, it is just one of those things. (…) I speak English with my sister, she has grown up in [the Martin's] house, so she is almost like me when I was younger. (…) She is quite multi-lingual, she probably could do better like in terms of African languages but I think that is something I will need to push in a big way as well, because I don't think she needs to be in the situations that I have been in, so she could actually be like better off. You know? So that is something that I will mention to my mom. You know like maybe think about possibly trying to actually speak to her in Zulu and Pedi at home. And let her do the English at school.

While most children grow up within communities and families where others look like them or hold similar levels of education and socioeconomic status, the participants' childhoods stretched them between two divergent social worlds. As they grew older the differences between themselves and those around them became more apparent. As adolescents, constructing their own identities within and across these social spaces, the participants were prompted to start making conscious choices about what cultural and social behaviours were comfortable and congruent with their lifestyles, identities and circumstances or would be beneficial to their future success. Their ability to access

certain cultures and lifestyles was mediated by other people. Others were able to determine whether they felt the participants authentically belonged within a specific social sphere or whether they were outsiders.

5.2.2 Faking? Accusations of Mimicry and Adoption of Prejudice

For an individual to find acceptance or rejection within a specific social setting rests on how they manage their personal, physical and social differences and how others perceive their presence within a social space. Resonating with the personal experiences of racial marking expressed by Fanon (1967/2008), the participants in this study felt that others' assumptions about their personal identity were sometimes preceded with value judgments and assumptions based on race.[14] As the participants grew older and began to engage with people outside of the employers' homes, they found that their 'blackness' could be a social burden in that it pre-empted others to project certain stereotypes and stigmas against them. In white spaces, their black skins could mark them as either undesirable, 'other', while in black spaces their language choice, accent and clothing could mark them as outsiders.

While the participants themselves appeared to feel comfortable in what they portrayed as traditionally white spaces, their skin colour and socio-economic position defied the norms of these social spaces. This could limit their ability to 'pass' and could, at times, provoke negative responses from others. How the participants dealt with these incidents appeared to be grounded in the security they held in their personal identity and sense of belonging. For example, James felt that any difficulties he had experienced as a child had been worth it in the long run as they were part of the process that gave him the opportunity to be who he became:

> The whole background thing as well, it has become a bit of a struggle, like I mean I struggle in terms of home languages because I'm not so fluent in them. I've gotten a hell of a lot better like the older I have become, but especially when younger, and obviously with English being my first language and having the surname Hlophe and being black, it does raise a couple of questions. Like I battled with that probably mostly through primary school and a little bit at high school. Ah man, it wasn't great, it was almost like even if tried [to fit in] I didn't get a choice in that. That being said, I look how it turned out, I'd rather be where I am now, considering what could have been and in terms of where everything is going, in this country especially. (James)

In contrast, Themba, who felt most felt comfortable around white people, found that they did not always feel comfortable around him. As an adult, this continued to impact negatively on how he felt about himself and reinforced his feelings of social exclusion:

---

[14] Fanon (1967/2008) in 'Black Skin White Masks' has powerfully explored the experience of racial marking, and its power to over shadow personal identities and achievements.

I feel more comfortable around white people than I do black people. It is kind of weird. I think I feel more at home. I think because I have grown up in that environment. But with that, because we are older now, (…) you have got children who were taught that you can't mix with black people because they are bad. So you go to a nightclub, you dancing with a white girl and all of a sudden you get these looks from other white guys. They start trying to bump into you, trying to get a reaction out of you. Trying to get a response so that there is an opportunity for them to cause a fight. You get beaten up outside all because you are dancing with a white girl or you kissed a white girl. Until I was in high school I only had white girlfriends, it changed in high school because of obviously not fitting in, like now Liezel van Wyk must explain to her father Mr van Wyk that "T" is Themba and he is black. (Themba)

The participants often felt that others needed to question their backgrounds, the authenticity of their identities, and the content of their characters in order to understand why they 'acted white'. As discussed above, the apparent incongruity of the participants' race with their actions could cause discomfort in those who saw them as "space invaders" (see Puwar, 2004) within traditionally white spaces, or rouse curiosity in those who saw them as an anomaly. While the participants seemed to personally see these norms and behaviours as integral to their own personal identities, other people could perceive them to be copying or mimicking white culture. Mimicry refers to the opportunistic practice of suppressing one's own cultural identity in favour of imitating and adopting the language, culture, clothing and political orientation of a dominant and or more powerful culture (Bhabha, 1986). An accusation of mimicry is therefore, at a fundamental level, an accusation of inauthenticity and deceit.

Being seen by others to be mimicking white culture could earn them the label of coconut:

(W)hen I'd go to school, I'd always be called a coconut or whatever, because I think, half the time, maybe I did act like a white person! And then sometimes I would be like "Wow! I really am a coconut!" even though that was really hurtful. I really hated when people started calling me a coconut. I think most of the time people thought I was adopted or something (Zama)

lead to physical or emotional bullying:

I couldn't speak Zulu until I was 3 or 4 or 5. I only spoke English. I thought I was white and then when I would go home to the township those kids around me knocked it into me that I was black. They forced it into me that I was black because the way I was treated they used to pick on me, I was picked on at school, I was picked on when I went home. (Themba)

or, in some cases, to social exclusion:

I am a different girl with other children, ja. And I see the things that are going on now the things that are outside, the younger generations and the older generations, and I see myself, I am not, what do I say, I am not included with them. It is like I'm a other person. I am happy about that. (Gugu)

At one point in the interview, Themba manifested the confusion that could result from the disjuncture he experienced between his personal identity and the expectations others attach to his race, through verbalizing his internal dialogue. This conversation, with an imagined other, expresses how his search for identity is mediated by how others have responded to him, and this has ultimately left him uncertain of who or what he is:

> "You are black, you think you white". "You not black, you are not white". "You think you are black but you not". But then what am I? (Themba)

While each of the participants encountered difficulties with social acceptance at different times in their lives, Themba described his search for belonging as a life-long "battle" in which he needed to both "justify" and "defend" his background, his circumstances and his family structure. His desperation to find acceptance appeared to stem from his feelings that he was never truly accepted as a member of the Martin family. As with some of the participants in Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) study, Themba began to engage in attention-seeking, maladaptive behaviours which he felt would better cement his acceptance in his peer groups. To fit in with his white peers he lied about his background, belongings and family:

> Some part of me always felt that I had to lie to people to what I really am or who I was because I felt that people at school don't know who I really am. Like I'd lie about the things that I have or where I come from, even though I knew I didn't have them, just to fit in with the rest of the kids. My family, I wouldn't say they were wealthy but they were middle class and were able to afford anything and everything that I wanted. I still felt that I needed to lie and say that we had more than we had just so I could fit in. (Themba)

When he was a young child Themba felt he needed to coax friendship from children in the township by sharing his large toy collection with them. As seen in the quote below, he used the toys he had been given by Helen as a form of social currency. By sharing them with his black peers he gained companionship and gain some acceptance among the children who had previously ostracized him because of his accent and poor proficiency in Zulu.

> I had, because I lived with white people, I had every toy under the sun, anything you could think of, helicopters, cars, remote stuff, cricket sets. I'd take them to Sobantu on the weekends so I could share with all my friends and play. Obviously so I would have somebody to play with. Well obviously they don't have toys like that. (…) We used to play until 6 o'clock in the evening, my mom would make us supper and we would eat, and the kids would always come back tomorrow.

As discussed earlier, Themba began to steal from his peers as he thought this might enable him to make friends with the black children at his school. He believed that to find acceptance with black

people he should act like them and, as disturbingly seen in the quote below, he believed that most black people were "thieves".

> (B)lack people are thieves, (…) most of them, but not all of them, that's a generalisation, and it is like saying that all white people are racists.

5.2.3. Fitting: Hybridity, Entanglement, and Loss

While people feel included and excluded from different social settings, for different reasons, throughout their lives, the potential friction of the participants' movement across social boundaries related to race, class and culture could at times amplify these experiences. Two factors appeared to mediate these experiences and commonly determined the participants' ability to develop a sense of belonging and, ultimately, legitimate their personal identities as adults. The first of these is family and the provision of unconditional acceptance and support from the individuals the participants included within their biological and informal foster families. It appeared important that this support was expressed through love rather than through obligation and that this continued after the participants left the employers' homes. The second factor was education. Education had been one of the primary reasons for the development of the participants' relationships with their informal foster families and tertiary education appeared to be key in securing the social mobility these relationships had hoped to establish as well as key to allowing the participants to continue existing in the social circles they had grown accustomed to.

As discussed earlier, moving away from their mothers' employers' homes was a key moment in all of the participants' lives and integral in cementing their feelings of inclusion or exclusion as adults. The success the participants experienced in their search for a sense of belonging and in their attempts to establish a congruent identity seem to rest in how certain they were of their acceptance within both their informal foster families and their biological families. The positive support Zama and James received from their families seemed to reinforce their resilience and foster their capacity to feel hopeful about their futures. As they grew older, their confidence in themselves and their abilities, as well as their security in their personal identities continued to develop. Although they felt a sense of duty in extending their personal and financial success with their biological families, they did so with pride as they saw themselves as the means through which their families could obtain upward social mobility. Because of this responsibility, they both felt that their drive to establish and achieve their long-term goals was greater than most of their university peers. Additionally, as Zama explains in the quote below, leaving home and attending university opened her eyes to the different

levels of wealth, status, and the opportunities attached to different economic strata of society, and how education legitimated and facilitated her acceptance across a diverse range of people.

> I think it coming here to university makes you recognize the different levels of society more, like the wealthy, the not so wealthy. You get here, and you make friends with people, but you don't know where they come from. You find out that some of your friends are very wealthy, (…) like you realize some people can do this stuff but you can't. And coming here makes you realize there are those levels, like you may fit in with those people because of your personality, but then there is still the difference between like you and them. Like their parents are really out there making the money. They can afford for them to be here, you know that sort of thing. But you really have to, need to work to be here. You doing something to better your family's life, and some people are here just because their families can afford for them to be here, maybe they want to be here. Or maybe their families just want them to be here and get a degree. Maybe when they get their degree they'll want go work or want to go travel and do whatever they want. But me, I'm pretty much going straight to work. (Zama)

The quote below illustrates how leaving home encouraged Zama to be more aware of the "traditional" role she would have had in her family had she not met the Smiths. She held a gendered understanding of Zulu culture and equated her engagement with Zulu culture to taking on more responsibilities at home:

> (M)ost Zulu girls, when you get to a certain age, you start helping your mother around the house. But I was like always busy at like hockey practice, athletics practice, horse riding on the weekends, so I never really did any of that. I didn't have time. Now, since going to university, I'm at that stage where I have responsibilities at home. I need to help my mother with the cooking, the washing, and (my brothers). I'm sort of a more at home type person. When I'm at home I understand how things at home work, I understand that you can't, live this extravagant life. (…) It is like I'm now starting to learn the way of life that I should have always had, in terms of like what my life really would have been like if I hadn't been with the Smiths. (Zama)

Similarly, James found that growing older had allowed him to find a sense of appreciation for his 'cultural background':

> In terms of cultural background I have always been exposed, quite a bit, and my dad has almost sort of taken that side, every opportunity he gets to throw me into the whole cultural thing − with both hands, it has been quite interesting. (…) It was almost a little neglected by myself in my younger (…) So, ja from that aspect I'd say I have improved a lot in the last couple of years, I think that just comes from age though and from realizing a whole lot of stuff.

Zama and James's positive association with leaving home and their personal growth and development are sharply contrasted with the negative experiences and social exclusion Themba and Gugu continue to experience. While James and Zama were able to continue living in the social settings and circumstances they had grown familiar with, Gugu and Themba were forced to relearn

and re-establish within themselves the 'norms' of their new communities. Both constructed their lives in the township to be diametrically opposed to their life in the suburbs. For example, Themba equated his life in the Martin's home as "the good life" where he was surrounded by "trees, birds, fresh air" and, as seen in the quote below, the township was seen to be a negative and hostile space:

> (T)here was still fighting and shooting, stabbings, there were a lot of things I saw all the time, it's real, when you hear things about locations its real, rapes, not being able to go out of your house at 6 o'clock in the evening. My whole high school, primary school life I was locked up when I used to get home to the township and the only time I would leave the house was with my mom or gran.

As the participants were predominantly raised in white households the 'lives of black people' and what 'being' black could entail, was sometimes seen by the participants to be foreign from their own experiences and contexts. This was exacerbated by the minimal presence of black people within their everyday lives as the suburbs they lived in and schools they attended were predominantly white. The participants commonly indicated that their childhood circumstances had encouraged and amplified their disconnection from their parents' cultural experiences and frameworks and that they had felt it was their personal responsibility to engage with their families' cultural traditions rather than be taught them by their parents. Gugu was the only participant to actively explore her parental cultural background as a child:

> When I go to my grandpa and my grandmother it is because I want to know how the life is, how, about the life of my, of my, of what, of what black peoples live with. Because I am not growing with black people I am growing with Schmidts. And I am wanting to know how they grow, because I don't know. (Gugu)

As discussed above, Zama and James found exploring 'blackness' and 'traditional culture' easier and more interesting as they grew older and left home. In contrast, Themba's and Gugu's forced move into a township appeared to compound their negative perceptions of black cultures, lifestyles, and spaces, as well as their confusion of what 'being black' could entailed. In the quotes below, Gugu explains that she found her identity in her Christian faith, while Themba expresses his confusion with what black culture actually is:

> I don't believe the Xhosa culture. You see, like right now because I don't know what is. I don't believe because I didn't grow there. Then, even though sometimes like I pray, I believe in God and that he will answer me. Ja. I go to church. I am a Christian because I don't do the Xhosa traditional, or any of that things (Gugu).

> Sometimes I ask myself what is my culture? Obviously I am black, but black culture is so diverse. Westernised, Catholics, Christians, uShembe, they are the people who both practice Christianity and traditional beliefs. (Themba)

A seen above, Themba had hoped an essentialist understanding of what it meant to be black could help him find his black identity. Instead, he finds 'black culture' to be diverse, dynamic, and divergent. His description of 'black culture' aligns with Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity and Nutall's (2009) theory of entanglement. As discussed in section 3.4.1., hybridity refers to the interplay, interaction and influence of different cultures operating within a similar milieu. As Themba's life is so starkly divided by race, their associated cultures, and their associated socio-economic status and opportunities, he is forced to search for essentialist understandings of race and culture despite his personal views being based on equality and justice:

> I don't see colour, you are Indian, you are black, you are white or you are pink or you are green, I see a person. I treat everybody the same. If you disrespect me I disrespect you. If you respect me I respect you. (Themba)

In contrast, James has never felt limited by race, culture or class because the educational and socio-economic opportunities he has received have allowed him to largely ignore or remain ambivalent about these constructs. This afforded him the possibility to construct his own identity outside of these limitations. He believes the 'new' South Africa has made this possible:

> Obviously in terms of cultural issues I have never really had a problem there. South Africa, where it is now, what? 2010? Obviously that is sixteen years after the first democratic election. (…) it has never really affected me. (James)

Similarly, any limitations he did experience he explained as part of growing up, rather than in terms of race or class:

> The whole being a son of a domestic, it didn't really impact me at all. I just went along and did my thing. There obviously was a time when, there are times when you sit down and you realize "Oh, okay I can't do this, I can't do that". (…) I have been fortunate enough, because I have never struggled really, until it comes to 'varsity, budgeting and stuff like that. But that I mean is just a part of growing up, so I'd say, it has given me something to strive for, I'll give it that much. (James)

The loss and isolation that Gugu and Themba associated with their lack of connection to 'black culture' and their inability to pass in white society fostered their Christian beliefs. All the participants had utilized Christianity during their childhoods as an important support structure that offered them community, companionship, acceptance and belonging they had, at times, felt was missing from their lives. James and Zama, who appeared to have large support networks, swopped their religious beliefs for ones based on personal values of kindness and respect. Zama described her faith as "fading" when she left home, while James "flirted away" from Christianity because he strongly opposed the "hypocrisy" he began associating with the church. As adults, Christianity continued to offer Gugu and Themba a framework of strength and hope through which they could understand and identify themselves.

I pray, I believe in god and he will answer for me. (Gugu)

The more I survive the more I believe in God, the more I get things and they get taken away from me, the more I believe that they weren't meant to be. (Themba)

5.2.4. Summary

This research, as with that conducted by Burkhalter and Manala (2001) and Romero (2011), found that the informal fostering of domestic workers' children by their mothers' employers could potentially have both positive and negative impacts on the participants' identity development and sense of belonging. Positive outcomes were associated with the participants feeling secure in their inclusion into their white families, seeing their relationship with their white family as unconditional, and having a strong supportive biological mother. This allowed for the development of a healthy self-concept, which allowed the participants to positively navigate some of the negative or uncomfortable reactions they received from other people. Access to tertiary education appeared to legitimate their upward social mobility as it secured a future within the social settings their childhoods had exposed them to, and which was compatible with their identities.

The negative outcomes of this arrangement were largely seen in the experiences of Gugu and Themba and related to their uncertainty of the authenticity of their inclusion into their mothers' employers' families. The inconsistent emotional support they experienced throughout their childhoods and then, ultimately the termination or limitation of financial and emotional support and physical contact with their white families as adults, caused the participants to become insecure and uncertain of who they were or where they belonged. This confirmed Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) recommendation that people entering into this type of relationship to consider their long-term commitment to the child. The following quote, from Themba, perhaps best sums up the possible negative outcomes informal fostering could inflict on a child:

> (O)ne of the cons of white families and all these little black kids that they bring into their families, it is good and bad, but I think the bad outweighs the good. Look at my life the bad does outweigh the good, because in the end you raise a kid who possibly may not speak Zulu. (…) I couldn't speak Zulu until I was 3 or 4 or 5. I only spoke English. (…) Definitely give a child a better life but, take for instance a mom and a dad who are poor, and you are able to provide their children with a better life, I don't think you must take them away from their home and put them into your home because at the end of the day, one day, you are going to have to split and that child will have to go back to where they came from because the idea was to school them, go back and hope. Rather school them while they still living in that environment, so that when they get older you have schooled them right with the western world but they still know where they come from and understand that they are black, 100% all the way through. There is

nothing worse than not knowing where you fit in. Two of my other friends come from the same structures as me, grandmother, or mom was a maid. When we reflect on it to this day, we still reflect on the bad times, the good times, the common denominators that we all faced, there is pain, and there is conflict.

Despite some of the negative experiences some of the participants experienced in relation to their informal fostering, all of the participants were glad that they had grown up in the way that they had, as they saw their experiences as integral to their personal beliefs, identities, and their life goals. Despite the disappointments Themba had faced, the experience had made him who he was and had shown him where he wants his life to lead him:

I am happy and content with what I have. (…) I pray God keeps my gran alive until I have at least bought her a house, even if she only sleeps there one night, but for her to die happy that all her hard work hasn't gone to waste. (…) I will have to work hard to get the good life, but I have been there, I have had a taste of it, and I want to get back there. It would be different if I hadn't tasted it. Then my goals would be a lot different. (Themba)

CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION

Considering that approximately 2.1 % (see Jacobs et al., 2013, p.274; StatsSA, 2014) of the South African population finds employment in domestic service, this study has highlighted the paucity of research available on domestic workers' children in general, and more specifically, on the informal fostering of these children by domestic workers' employers. This exploratory research project is an attempt to correct this situation and contribute to a better understanding of some of the experiences of this grouping within South Africa.

I embarked upon this research through a personal interest in trying to understand the kinds of experiences and difficulties that Thabani may have encountered in being informally fostered by my parents. I remember vividly his confusion over whether to name my mother or his mother "Mum", his difficulty socialising with black people, his denial of his blackness, and his engagement in maladaptive behaviours such as stealing. I was interested in understanding how these early experiences with this particularly unique form of fostering may have impacted on the course of his life and in the development of his identity. This research is therefore an attempt to develop a more profound and nuanced understanding of the lives and narratives of some of the people who grow up within these very complex and potentially challenging family arrangements.

6.1. Summary of the Main Findings

Central to each participant's life story was their search for acceptance within themselves and acceptance from others. This is not an unusual area of exploration and expression within an individual's life, but these fears of non-acceptance and disconnection from self and others are powerfully present in the narratives of all the participants. This is not surprising in the light of the divergent and at times competing nature of the racial, cultural, geographic and socio-economic groupings the participants had to make themselves a part of. A very clear theme in most of the participants' narratives was how complex and difficult it is to feel fully integrated or accepted in all of the social spaces and communities that they inhabited. A sense of being integrated or accepted is something that many people do not have to invest much cognitive or emotional energy in achieving because it comes from existing within a socio-cultural environment that in most cases explicitly prepares them with the skills and knowledge they need to make this acceptance likely. In the lives of the participants interviewed for this research, however, this feeling of being fully and unreservedly accepted could seldom be taken for granted and sometimes required much energy to try to achieve. These experiences appeared to amplify the participants' need to carve out and define their identities as individuals while they attempted to locate their sense of belonging within society.

Essentialist notions of race continue to underpin discourses on race and identity within South Africa. While the participants experiences and identities appeared to embody the theoretical understandings of identity expressed in Nuttall's (2009) theory of entanglement and Bhabha's (1994) theory of hybridity, the colour of the participants' skins still led them to question whether their identity, their sense of belonging, and their 'ways of being' were 'natural' as they diverged from South African society's expectations of black identities. What is interesting about this is how it constructs them as interlopers into both 'blackness' and 'whiteness' as their race or background can limit their acceptance into these differing social groups. Interestingly, how the participants received the experience of being seen as an interloper was dependant on their upbringing and sense of personal resilience. For less resilient individuals it could hold devastating consequences for their identity and social lives, while more resilient individuals could brush the experience aside or see it as inconsequential to the integrity of their identity.

A key finding of this research is that specific characteristics of the informal fostering arrangement seemed to predict whether the overall outcome of the informal fostering arrangement would be positive or negative for the participants. The most important of these was the participant's understanding that they had the unconditional support and acceptance of both their biological and their informal fostering family. The threat or act of abandonment − even unintentional − by the employers' family or by their own biological family could have painful and significant consequences for the participant's self esteem, sense of personal agency, identity, and security of belonging. This is not surprising considering the ever-growing body of research demonstrating the importance of secure attachment relationships to all areas of development and resilience (see Bowlby, 1988; Malekpour, 2007). It suggests the depth and significance of the attachments children develop within these informal fostering arrangements can impact the children's life course as well as ability to trust others and maintain relationships. Thus, confirming Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) suggestion, it seems imperative that individuals embarking on such an informal fostering arrangement realise their connection and acceptance of the child needs to be life long. If support and acceptance are guaranteed, informal fostering can provide a domestic workers' child with opportunities for social mobility, better education, and better prospects for themselves and their families. When the attachment relationships that form in these informal fostering arrangements are handled clumsily or poorly, however, the impact on identity, self-esteem and a person's feeling of acceptance are potentially very devastating.

6.2. Suggestions for Further Research

It would be useful if future research in this area includes more participants. In a country such as South Africa, where race-based conceptions of identity dominate, it is important to develop understandings of individuals whose identity development is not bound to their race. Expanding the study would allow one to develop a fuller understanding of the many types of experiences that people may have within these informal fostering arrangements. In order to do this I would suggest using an alternative method of sampling that had a broader reach than the snowball sampling method this research utilised. I would suggest using print media or social media to advertise the study to a wider audience. A difficulty encountered in this research was that although individuals who fitted the selection criteria were found, many of them felt uncomfortable sharing their experiences of growing up in this way and feared that their participation could have a negative impact on their relationships with their foster or biological families. This is obviously problematic in that some of the people who may have had some very difficult and potentially painful narratives to share may not submit themselves to being studied. Future studies will need to invest much time and energy in fostering conditions of trust and respect that enable participants to share their narratives freely and with a sense of comfort and safety.

It would be interesting to examine the experiences of other individuals in the informal fostering arrangement including biological parents, biological siblings, foster parents, and foster siblings. One approach to this would be to examine the conscious and unconscious motives and feelings that guided these individuals' interactions within these informal fostering arrangements. Alternatively, it could be interesting to examine these arrangements at a systemic level and develop case studies of the family units that become involved in these informal fostering arrangements.

6.3. Concluding Remarks

It is often tempting when doing social research that offers scope for understanding a set of real-world issues to want to offer a set of conclusive findings that could be used to inform and drive social policy. One of the very interesting findings of this exploratory research, however, is how extraordinarily complex these informal fostering arrangements are in terms of their impacts on the lives and experiences of people who have been fostered. They are so difficult to pin down that even the participants in this study did not hold overtly conscious understandings of how their unique childhood's had shaped their identities and lives. One of the participants suggested that the act of talking during the interview had allowed him to begin thinking about his life in a different way and this had allowed him to start developing a more concrete sense of how these experiences may have

influenced him. This is perhaps one of the major benefits that narrative research holds for some of these participants, but it also hints at how important it is that their stories are not distorted, simplified, or hijacked in the course of trying to better understand their experiences.

REFFERENCE LIST

Ally, S. (2009) *From Servants to Workers: South African Domestic Workers and the Democratic State*. Ithaca, USA: Cornell University Press.

Amoateng, A.Y., Heaton, T.B. & Kalule-Sabiti, I. (2007). Living arrangements in South Africa. In A.Y. Amoateng & Heaton (Eds.), *Families and Households in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Socio-Demographic Perspectives*. (pp. 43-60). Pretoria, South Africa: HSRC Press.

Arbuckle, A. (2007). The ties that bind. *The Witness*. 27 November 2007.

Arnado, M.J.M. (2002). *Class inequality among third world women. Wage Earners: Mistresses and maids in the Philippines*. (PHD thesis, Virginia Polytechnic Institute and State University, Virginia, USA). Retrieved from http://scholar.lib.vt.edu/theses/available/etd-03092002-233742/

Atwell, T. (2004). *A Phenomenological Exploration of Adoptive Parents' Motivation for and Experience of Transracial Adoption in South Africa*. (Master's thesis, Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa).

Ballard, R. (2002). *Desegregating Minds: White identities and urban change in the New South Africa.* (PHD thesis, University of Wales, Swansea, UK). Retrieved from http://citeseerx.ist.psu.edu/viewdoc/download?doi=10.1.1.461.8496&rep=rep1&type=pdf

Ballard, R. (2004). Assimilation, Emigration, Semigration, and Integration: 'white' peoples' strategies for finding a comfort zone in post-apartheid South Africa. In N. Distiller & N. Steyn (Eds.), *Under construction: 'Race' and identity in South Africa today* (pp. 51-66). Johannesburg, South Africa: Heinemann.

Ballard, R. (2014). Assimilation. In J. Stone, R. Dennis, P. Rizova, A. Smith & X. Hou (Eds.), *The Blackwell Encyclopaedia of Race, Ethnicity and Nationalism*. Wiley-Blackwell. (In-Press, forthcoming March 2016).

Barnett, C. (2005). Ways of Relating: Hospitality and the Acknowledgement of Otherness. *Progress in Human Geography, 29(1).* 5-21.

Barter-Godfrey,S. & Taket, A. (2009). Othering, marginalisation and pathways to exclusion in health. In A. Taket, B.R. Crisp, A. Nevill, G. Lamro, M. Graham & S. Barther-Godfrey (Eds.), *Theorising Social Exclusion* (pp.166-172). New York, USA: Routledge.

Bauman, Z. (1991). *Modernity and Ambivalence*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Bauman, Z. & Vecchi, B. (2004). *Identity*. Cambridge, UK: Polity Press.

Bhabha, H. (1986). Of Mimicry and Man: The Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse. In J. Donald, & S. Hall (Eds.), *Politics and Ideology*: *A reader* (pp. 198-204). Milton Keynes, UK: Open University Press.

Bhabha, H. (1994). *The Location of Culture*. London, UK: Routledge.

Biko, S. (1978). *I write what I like*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Picador Africa.

Bowlby, J. (1988). *A secure base: Parent-child attachment and healthy human development*. New York, USA: Basic Books

Braun, V. & Clarke, V. (2006). Using thematic analysis in psychology. *Qualitative Research in Psychology, 3(2),* 77-101. Retrieved from http://eprints.uwe.ac.uk/11735/

Bremner, R.H. (1974). *Children and Youth in America: A Documentary History, 1933 – 1973.* Vol. 3, Parts 1-4. Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press..

Burkhalter, T. & Manala, J. (2001). Living in no-man's land: an exploration of difficulties arising in children of domestic workers fostered by their employers. *Psycho-analytic Psychotherapy in South Africa, 9(2)*, 51-62.

Burman, S. & van der Spuy, P. (1998). Communities, 'caring', and institutions: Apartheid and childcare in Cape Town since 1948. In P. Horden, & R. Smith (Eds.), *The Locus of Care: Families, communities, institutions and the provision of welfare since antiquity* (pp. 239-258). New York, USA: Routledge.

Carte Blanche. (2013, November). *Adoption Obstacles in South Africa*. Multichoice. Retrieved from http://carteblanche.dstv.com/player/399394

Chen, M.A. (2011). Recognizing Domestic Workers, Regulating Domestic Work: Conceptual, Measurement, and Regulatory Challenges. *Canadian Journal of Women and the* Law, 23(1), 167-184.

Chevalier, S. (2011). The Black Diamonds: a South African phantasmagoria. *Economic and Social Research Council.* Retrieved from http://www.esrc.ac.uk/my-esrc/grants/RES-062-23-1290/outputs/read/85faed86-da50-42d3-b6ca-68fd214f30a9.

Christian, R. (1998). *An investigation of domestic workers' perceptions into the effect of employer involvement on parenting and parental autonomy*. (Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa). Retrieved from https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/9062

Christie, P. (1991). *The right to learn: The struggle for education in South Africa*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Raven Press.

Clarke, S. (2008). Culture and identity. *The SAGE Handbook of Cultural Analysis* (pp. 510-529). London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Claval, P. (2001). Multiculturalism and the Dynamics of Modern Civilizations. *United Nations University.* Retrieved from http://archive.unu.edu/dialogue/papers/claval-s2.pdf.

Cock, J. (1980). Deference and Dependence: a note on the self imagery of domestic workers. *South African Labour Bulletin, (6)*, 9-19.

Cock, J. (1981). Disposable nannies: Domestic servants in the political economy of South Africa. *Review of African Political Economy, 8(21).* 63-68.

Cock, J. (1984). *Maids and Madams: A study in the politics of exploitation*. Johannesburg, South Africa: Raven.

Cock, J (1989). *Maids and Madams: Domestic Workers under Apartheid*. Revised Edition. London, UK: The Women's Press.

Cock, J. (2010). Is the family the appropriate site of social reproduction in South Africa? *Europe Solidaire Sans Frontieres*. Retrieved from http://europe-solidaire.org/spip.php?article25873

Crossley, M.L. (2000a). *Introducing narrative psychology: Self, trauma and the construction of meaning*. Buckingham, UK: Open University Press.

Crossley, M.L. (2000b). Narrative psychology, trauma and the study of self/identity. *Theory & Psychology*. 10(4), 527-546.

Cotton, C. and Beguy, D. (2015). Does Mother's Migrant Status Affect Child Fostering in sub-Saharan Africa?: Evidence from Two Informal Settlements in Nairobi, Kenya. (Unpublished paper, McGill University, Montreal, Canada). Retrieved from http://paa2014.princeton.edu/papers/140736

Derrida, J. (2000). Hostipitality. *Angelaki, 5(3)*, 3–18.

Dovidio, J.F. Major, B. and Crocker, J. (2003). Stigma: Introduction and Overview. In T.F. Heatherton, R.E. Kleck, M.R. Hebl, & J.G. Hull (Eds.), *The Social Psychology of Stigma* (pp.1-30). New York, USA: The Guilford Press.

Dickey, S. (2000). Permeable homes: domestic service, household space, and the vulnerability of class boundaries in urban India. *American Ethnologist, 27(2)*, 462-489.

Dickow, H., & Moller, V. (2002). South Africa's 'Rainbow People', national pride and optimism: A trend study. *Social Indicators Research, (59)*, 175-202.

du Preez, J.; Beswick, C.; Wittacker, L. & Dickinson, D. (2010). The relationship in the domestic workspace in South Africa: beyond the Apartheid legacy. *Social Dynamics, 36(2)*, 395-409.

Durrheim, K. (1997). Social constructionism, discourse and psychology. *South African Journal of Psychology*, *27*(3), 465-475.

Durrheim, K., Jacobs, N., & Dixon, J. (2013). Explaining the paradoxical effects of intergroup contact: Paternalistic relations and system justification in domestic labour in South Africa. *International Journal of Intercultural Studies*. Retrieved from http://dx.doi.org/10.1016/j.ijintrel.2013.11.006.

Fanon, F. (1967/2008). *Black Skin, White Mask*. Sidmouth, UK: Pluto Press

Feinberg, W. (1996). The goals of multicultural education: A critical re-evaluation. *Philosophy of Education*. Retrieved from http://www.wce.wwu.edu/Resources/CEP/Events/Pluralism%20vs%20Multiculturalism.pdf

Fillingham, L.A. (1993). *Foucault for Beginners*. New York, USA: Writers and Readers.

Fish, J. (2006). "Engendering Democracy: Domestic Labour and Coalition-Building in South Africa", *Journal of Southern African Studies, 32(1)*, 107-127.

Fredman, S. (2014). Home from Home: Migrant Domestic Workers and the ILO Convention on Domestic Workers. In C. Costello and M. Freedland (Eds.), *Migrants at Work: Immigration and Vulnerability in Labour Law* (pp. 399-421). Oxfor, UK: Oxford University Press.

Fuchs, F. (2001). *Against Essentialism: A theory of Culture and Society*. USA: President and Fellows of Harvard College.

Fuss, D. (1989). *Essentially Speaking: Feminism, Nature and Difference*. New York, USA: Routledge.

Gill, O. & Jackson, B. (1983). *Adoption and Race*. London, UK: Batsford/BAAF

Ginsberg, R. (1999). Serving Apartheid? Domestic workers and the racial geographies of white suburban households, Johannesburg, South Africa, 1960s-1970s. *Historical Geography, (27),* 56-72.

Ginsberg, R. (2000). "Come in the Dark": domestic workers and their rooms in Apartheid-era Johannesburg, South Africa. In S. McMurray& A. Adams (Eds.), *People, Power, Places: Perspectives in Vernacular Architecture 8* (pp. 83-100). Knoxville, USA: University of Tennessee Press.

Ginsberg, R. (2011). *At Home with Apartheid: The hidden landscapes of domestic service in Johannesburg*. Charlottesville, USA: University of Virginia Press.

Gishen, D. (1996). *Transracial adoption in South Africa*. (Master's thesis, Rand Afrikaans University, Johannesburg, South Africa). Retrieved from https://ujdigispace.uj.ac.za/handle/10210/6753

Goffman, E. (1968). *Stigma: Notes on the management of spoiled identity*. New York, USA: Simon and Schuster.

Goldman, S. (2003). *White Boyhood Under Apartheid: The experience of being looked after by a black nanny*. (PHD thesis, Pretoria University, Pretoria, South Africa).

Gordon, S. (1985). *A Talent for Tomorrow: Life stories of South African servants*. Braamfontein, South Africa: Raven Press.

Gregson, N. & Lowe, M. (2005). *Servicing the Middle Classes: Class, Gender and Waged Domestic Work in Contemporary Britain*. London, UK: Routledge.

Griffiths, D. & Prozesky, M.L.C. (2010). The politics of dwelling: Being white/ being South African. *Africa Today, 56(4),* 23-41.

Guba, E. G., & Lincoln, Y. S. (2005). Paradigmatic, controversies, contradictions, and emerging confluences. In N. Denzin, & Y. Lincoln (Eds.), *The Sage handbook of qualitative research* (pp.191-216). Thousand Oaks, USA: SAGE Publications.

Guignery, V. (2011) Hybridity, why it still matters. In V. Guignery, C. Pesso-Miquel, & F. Specq (Eds.), *Hybridity: Forms and Figures in Literature and the Visual Arts* (pp. 1-9). Newcastle-upon-Tyne, UK: Cambridge Scholars Publishing.

Hall, S. (2003) The Spectacle of the Other. In Hall, S (Ed.) *Representation: Cultural Representations and Signifying Practices* (pp. 225-290). Milton Keynes, UK: The Open University.

Hansjee, J. (2011). *Abortion as Disruption: Discourses surrounding abortion in the talk of men.*

(Master's thesis. Rhodes University, Grahamstown, South Africa).

Hoffman, J. & Graham, P. (2013). *An Introduction to Political Theory.* 2nd Edition. London, UK: Routledge.

Hook, D. (2013). *(Post)apartheid Conditions: Psychoanalysis and Social Formation.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave Macmillan.

Howarth, C. (2006). Race as stigma: positioning the stigmatized as agents, not objects. *Journal of community and applied social psychology,* 16(6), 442-451.

Howe, R (1995). Redefining the Transracial Adoption Controversy. *Duke Journal of Gender Law & Policy, 2(1),*131-164.

International Association of Labour History Institutions (2008). *The Heritage of Migrant Labour in South and Southern Africa: Johannesburg: A Concept Note.* [Hand-out]. IALHI Annual Conference. Johannesburg, South Africa. Retrieved from http://www.ialhi.org/sites/default/files/conferences/iconf-08-concept.pdf

Jacobs, M.D. (2009). *White mother to a dark race: Settler Colonialism, Maternalism, and the Removal of Indigenous Children in the American West and Australia, 1880-1940.* Lincoln, USA: University of Nebraska Press.

Jacobs, N., Manicom, D. & Durrheim, K. (2013). 'Help somebody who help you': The effect of the domestic labour relationship on South African domestic workers' ability to exercise their rights. *Alternation*, *20(1)*. 273-294.

Johnson, F., Mickleson, S. & Davilla, M.D. (2013). Transracial Foster Care and Adoption: Issues and realities. *New England Journal of Public Policy*, 25(1). Retrieved from http://scholarworks.umb.edu/nejpp/vol25/iss1/5/

Kane-Berman, J. (1972). Migratory labour: The Canker in South Africa. *The Black Sash*. August edition. 7-8.

Killian, K.D. (2002). Dominant and marginalized discourses in interracial couples' narratives: Implications for family therapists. *Family Process, 41(4),* 603-618.

King, A.J. (2007). *Domestic Service in Post-Apartheid South Africa: Deference and Disdain.* Hampshire, UK: Ashgate Publishing

Lapping, B. (1987). *Apartheid: A history.* USA: Paladin Press.

Levine, D.P. (1999). Identity, the Group, and the Social Construction of Reality. *Journal for the Psychoanalysis of Culture and Society. 4(1),* 81-91.

Ledderboge, U.F. (1997). Transracial placements of children in the Durban metropolitan area. *Social Work*, (3), 333-342.

Lillah, R. & Makatile, D. (1996, 24 October). Please, Mom, let me go back. *Drum Magazine*, 8-11.

Louw, P.E. (2004). Anglicising post-apartheid South Africa. *Journal of Multilingual & Multicultural Development, 25(4)*, 318-332.

MacDonald, M. (2006). *Why race matters in South Africa.* Cambridge, USA: Harvard University Press.

Modood, T. (1998). Anti-Essentialism, Multiculturalism and the "Recognition" of Religious Minorities. *Journal of Political Philosophy*, 6(1), 378-399. Retrieved from http://www.tariqmodood.com/uploads/1/2/3/9/12392325/anti-essentialism.pdf

Makatile, D. (1996, 7 November). The madam and the maid. *Drum Magazine*, *218*, 18-24.

Malekpour, M. (2007). Effects of attachment on early and later development. *British Journal of Developmental Disabilities, 53(105),* 81-95.

Mange, N.P. (1995). *Experiences of African domestic workers undergo as a result of sending their children to predominantly white schools.* (Master's thesis, University of Cape Town, Cape Town, South Africa). Retrieved from https://open.uct.ac.za/handle/11427/10770

Mannoni, O. (1990). *Prospero and Caliban: The Psychology of Colonization*. Ann Arbor, USA: University of Michigan Press.

Manual for state-aided model "c" schools. (1993). South African Department of Education and Culture. Pretoria, South Africa: Government Printer.

Matlwa, K. (2007). *Coconut*. Cape Town, South Africa: CTP Printers.

Mauthner, M., Birch, M., Jessop, J., & Miller, T. (2002). *Ethics in Qualitative Research.* London, UK: SAGE Publications.

McAdams, D.P. (1993). *The stories we live by: Personal myths and the making of the self*. New York, USA: Morrow.

McAdams, D.P. (1994). *The Person: an introduction to personality psychology.* 2nd Edition. Fort Worth, USA: Harcourt Brace College Publishers.

McAdams, D. P. (2001). The psychology of life stories. *Review of General Psychology, (5),* 100-122.

Macleod, C. (2002). Deconstructive discourse analysis: extending the methodological conversation. *South African Journal of Psychology, 32(1)*, 17-25.

Mitchell, M. & Egudo, M. (2003). A Review of Narrative Methodology. Edinburgh South Australia: DSTO Systems Science Laboratory. Retrieved from http://www.au.af.mil/au/awc/awcgate/australia/narrative_methodology.pdf

Mokomane, Z., Rachat, T.J. & The Directorate (2011). Adoption in South Africa: trends and patterns in social work practice. *Child and Family Social Work, 17(3),* 347-358.

Mosikatsana, L. (1995). Transracial adoptions. *South African Law Journal. 11(4)*, 606-628.

Mottier, V. (2005). The Interpretive Turn: History, memory, and storage in qualitative research. *Forum Qualitative Sozialforschung / Forum: Qualitative Social Research, 6(2),* Retrieved from http://nbn-resolving.de/urn:nbn:de:0114-fqs0502330.

Naidoo, D.P. (1986). *A study of African domestic workers in and Indian township*. (Honours thesis, University of Durban-Westville, Durban, South Africa).

Nash, A. (1999). The moment of Western Marxism in South Africa. *Comparative Studies of South Asia, Africa and the Middle East*, XIX(1), 66-81. Retrieved from http://www.sahistory.org.za/r-turner/pdfs/Turner%20by%20Nash.pdf

National Planning Commission. (2011). National Development Plan: Vision for 2030. National Planning Commission. Retrieved from http://www.npconline.co.za/medialib/downloads/home/NPC%20National%20Development%20Plan%20Vision%202030%20-lo-res.pdf.

Nelson, M.K. (2013). Fictive kin, Families we choose, and Voluntary kin: What does the discourse tell us? *Journal of Family Theory & Review*. (5), 259-281.

Nkosi, B. & Daniels, P. (2007). Family strengths: South Africa. *Marriage & Family Review. 41(1/2),* 11-26.

Nuttall, S. (2009). *Entanglement: Literary and cultural reflections on post-apartheid.* Johannesburg, South Africa: Wits University Press.

Oliver, J.T. (2014, February 3). Adoptions should consider black children and black families. The New York Times. Retrieved from http://www.nytimes.com/roomfordebate/2014/02/02/in-adoption-does-race-matter/adoptions-should-consider-black-children-and-black-families

Pape, J. (1993). Still serving the tea: domestic workers in Zimbabwe 1980-90. *Journal of Southern African* Studies, 19(3), 387-404.

Pearson, D. (2001). *The Politics of Ethnicity in Settler Societies: States of Unease.* Basingstoke, UK: Palgrave.

Poulsen, M.F. (2009). Segregation. In R. Kitchin, & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography* (pp. 63-69). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier.

Puwar, N. (2004). *Space Invaders: Race, Gender and Bodies Out of Place*. Oxford, UK: Berg.

Raditlhalo, T.S. (2010). An indefensible obscenity: Fundamental questions of be-ing in Kopano Matlwa's 'Coconut'. *Imbizo, (1),* 19-38.

Riessman, C.K. (1993). *Narrative analysis*. Newbury Park: SAGE Publications.

Reissman, C.K. (2008). Narrative Methods for the Human Sciences. Thousand Oaks, USA: SAGE Publications.

Romero, M. (1993). Cuentos from a maid's daughter: stories of socialization and cultural resistance. *Latino Studies Journal, 4(3),* 7-18.

Romero, M. (1999). One of the family of just the Mexican maid's daughter: Belonging, identity and social mobility. In Romero, M. & Steward, A. (Eds.), *Women's Untold Stories: Breaking silence, talking back, voicing complexity* (pp.568-618). Rockport, USA: Rockport Institute Press.

Romero, M. (2001). Passing between the worlds of maid and mistress: The life of a Mexican maid's daughter. In Marshall, N. & Hertz, R. (Eds.), *Work and Family: Today's Realities, Tomorrow's Visions* (pp. 323-339). Berkley, USA: University of California Press.

Romero, M. (2011). *The Maid's Daughter: Living inside and outside the American Dream*. New York University Press: New York.

Romero, M. (2014). A Sociology of Inclusion and Exclusion through the Lens of the Maid's Daughter. In. Hertz, R. and Nelson, M. (Eds.), *Open to Disruption: Practicing Slow Sociology* (pp. 141-151). Nashville, USA: Vanderbilt University Press.

Rodgers, A.G. (2007). The unsayable, Lacanian psychoanalysis & the art of narrative interviewing. In D.J. Clandinin (Ed). *Handbook of narrative enquiry: mapping a methodology* (pp.99-119). Thousand Oaks: SAGE Publications.

Rudwick, S. (2008). "Coconuts" and "Oreos": English speaking Zulu people in a South African township. *World Englishes, 27(1),* 101-116.

Sandelowski, M. (2000). Combining qualitative and quantitative sampling, data collection, and analysis techniques and mixed-method studies. *Research in Nursing and Health, 23(3),* 246–255.

Scott, J.C. (1972). Patron-client politics and political change in Southeast Asia. *The American Political Science Review*, *66(1),* 91-113.

Sibanda, A (2001, November). *Ethnic variations in the living arrangements of children in South Africa.* Paper presented at Virtual Conference on African Households: An Exploration of Census Data. The African Census Analysis Project, Population Studies Centre, University of Pennsylvania. Retrieved from http://www.pop.upenn.edu/africahh

Simon, R.J. & Alstein, H. (1992). *Adoption, race and identity: From infancy through adolescence.* New York, USA: Praeger Publishers.

Smit, R. (2001). The impact of labour migration on African Families in South Africa: Yesterday and Today. *Journal of Comparative Family* Studies. *32(4),* 533-548.

Smith, M.J. (1998). *Social Science in Question: Towards a Post-disciplinary Framework*. London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Short, D. (2014). Burying Genocide: Official remembrance and recollection in Australia. In N. Eltringham, & P. Maclean (Eds.), *Remembering Genocide* (pp.176 – 199). New York: Routledge.

Staszak, J. (2009). Other/Otherness. In R, Kitchin, & N. Thrift (Eds.), *International Encyclopaedia of Human Geography* (pp. 43-47). Amsterdam, Netherlands: Elsevier.

StatsSA. (2014). *Mid-year Population Estimates*. Statistics South Africa. Pretoria, South Africa. Retrieved from http://www.statssa.gov.za/publications/P0302/P03022014.pdf

Tamboukou, M. (2008). A Foucauldian approach to narratives. In M. Andrews, C. Squire, & M. Tamboukou (Eds.), *Doing Narrative Research* (pp. 88-107). London, UK: SAGE Publications.

Terre Blanche, M. Durrheim, K. & Painter, D. (2006). *Research in practice: Applied methods for the social sciences*. Cape Town, South Africa: U.C.T. Press.

Teske, R.H.C & Nelson, B.H. (1974). Acculturation and Assimilation: A Clarification. *American Ethnologist*, *1(2)*, 351-367.

The Open University. (2012). Social Problems: Who makes them? *The Learning Space*. Retrieved from http://openlearn.open.ac.uk/mod/oucontent/view.php?id=399004.

UNRISD (1994). Social Integration: Approaches and Issues. World Summit for Social Development. Geneva, Switzerland. Retrieved from http://www.unrisd.org/unrisd/website/document.nsf/(httpPublications)/510920DA18B35A68802 56B65004C6A7B?OpenDocument

Van der Merwe, J. (2009). *Being Raised by a Domestic Worker: A Postmodern Study*. (Master's thesis, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa). Retrieved from http://repository.up.ac.za/handle/2263/23107

Verhoef, H. (2005). 'A child has many mothers': Views on child fostering in north-western Cameroon. *Childhood*, *12(3)*), 369-390.

Walmsley, E. (2008). Raised by another mother: Informal fostering and kinship ambiguities in Northwest Ecuador. *Journal of Latin American and Caribbean Anthropology*, *13(1),* 168-195.

Wessels, T.S. (2008). *The Development impact of the domestic worker skills development project on its participants.* (Master's thesis, UNISA, South Africa). Retrieved from http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiwqJr m8L_JAhUCuBQKHbegDJkQFggdMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fuir.unisa.ac.za%2Fbitstream% 2F10500%2F1720%2F1%2Fdissertation.pdf&usg=AFQjCNHlpESksdgsq9NDksfs7zuqz2gsag& sig2=KWttbRYF1r13gF5zWda-Dg

Yazdiha, H. (2010). Conceptualising hybridity: Deconstructing boundaries through the hybrid. *Formations, 1(1)*, 31-38. Retrieved from http://www.google.com/url?sa=t&rct=j&q=&esrc=s&source=web&cd=1&ved=0ahUKEwiYkZ T9ub_JAhVJ2xoKHZ6AAbUQFggdMAA&url=http%3A%2F%2Fojs.gc.cuny.edu%2Findex.ph p%2Fformations%2Farticle%2Fdownload%2F673%2F864&usg=AFQjCNEV3S7iuRJU8mIy51 vPoIUaZhbfgA&sig2=iMluBNWkPIMaX0I0dCuOTg

Young, I.M. (2000). *Inclusion and Democracy*. Oxford, UK: Oxford University Press

Young, R.J.C. (1995). *Colonial Desire: Hybridity in Theory, Culture and Race*. London, UK: Routledge.

APPENDICES

Appendix A: Transracial Adoption

Burkhalter and Manala's (2001) expressed reservations regarding the similarities between the informal fostering of domestic workers' children by their mother's employers and the practice of transracial adoption, and their emphasis on the importance of investigating informal fostering as a phenomenon in its own right and after an examination of the literature on transracial adoption I have come to agree with this. Superficially the informal fostering of domestic workers' children appears to be similar to transracial adoption and transracial fostering. However, these childcare arrangements are fundamentally different in that children who have been transracially adoped or transracially fostered are removed from their families and in need of a safe or new home. In contrast, in the informal fostering arrangements this research is exploring, the children are still living with family members. Thus, while one can develop certain understandings about growing up as a black person in a white home or community from research on transracial adoption and transracial fostering one cannot expect to develop an understanding of the experiences of informally fostered domestic workers' children by examining this research area.

Since its inception as policy in the United States of America [USA] and in United Kingdom [UK] during the mid-1900s, transracial adoption remained a highly debated area of social policy across the world (Gill & Jackson, 1983). Typically the practice involves the placement of a non-white child with a white family (Gill & Jackson, 1983). Literature available on this practice is dominated by research conducted in the USA and UK, but there is a small amount of research pertaining to South Africa's unique context, most of which appears to have been conducted as Masters or Doctoral research (Atwell, 2004; Gishen, 1996; Ledderboge, 1997; Mosikatsana, 1995). This is almost certainly based on the fact that transracial adoption was only legalized in South Africa in 1991 (Gishen, 1996). Transracial adoption's acceptance as policy in South Africa was initiated as it was seen to be acting within the best interests of a child: a quick placement in a stable family environment, regardless of race, was prized over institutional care (Atwell, 2004). However, transracial adoption within South Africa is not uncontroversial and debates around it are similar to those in the USA and UK.

These debates rest on two opposing lines of argument. The one side purports that transracial adoption is in the best interests of the child and of society as a whole. Proponents of this argument tend to believe transracial adoption propels racial integration while providing a family for a child in need. The opposing side's arguments are based on theories of racial identity development and the

belief that transracial adoption is discriminatory to black communities and detrimental to transracial adoption children (Howe, 1995). A statement from the National Association of Black Social Workers (NABSW) in the USA in 1972 perhaps displays the intensity of this argument in its description of transracial adoption as "unnatural", "artificial" and "unnecessary" action perpetrated by white America against black America which the NABSW felt amounted to a form of cultural and racial genocide which stripped black communities of its future members (Bremner, 1974, pp. 777-780; Gill & Jackson, 1983, p.2).

There may be some truth in both of these polarised views, but Johnson, Mickleson and Davilla (2013), whose study focused on transracial adoption in the USA, found that opposition to transracial adoption in the USA has decreased in correlation to the country's active promotion of a multiracial society. Currently, the NABSW promotes black family preservation and kinship based care arrangements but supports transracial adoption if it is in the best interests of an individual child (Oliver, 2014). Similarly, South Africa's Department of Social Development promotes transracial adoption if it is within the best interests of the child, if a suitable family member is unable to take in the child, or if culturally and racially similar adoptive parents could not be found (Mokomane, Rachat, & The Directorate, 2011). This strategy is supported, as it is believed that a child will integrate into an adoptive family more readily and with a more intact understanding of their identity if the child shares physical traits and characteristics with the adoptive parents. However, a report by Carte Blanche (2013) found that children are often left in institutional care while adoptive parents are available because of bureaucratic mismanagement and officials who are against transracial adoption children are often left in institutional care when adoptive parents are available[15].

The experiences of transracial adoption adopted children are shaped both by their own individual experiences and personalities, and also by societies understanding of transracial adoption and the expectations people hold of different cultures and races (Mokomane, Rachat, & The Directorate, 2011). Most of the literature reviewed found that although adoption can impact emotional wellbeing, self-esteem, identity development, and conception of self, transracial adoption did not negatively or disproportionately exacerbate these effects. Gishen's (1996) research on transracial adoption in South Africa, which analysed both South African and overseas literature and interviewed 14 parents of transracial adoption children and 21 social workers, found that transracial adoption literature was dominated by concerns about the development of transracial adoption children's racial identity and their strategies of resilience against racism.

---

[15] Anecdotally, one white parent who has informally fostered their domestic worker's child said to me that the overtly bureaucratic nature of transracial adoption in South Africa had encouraged her to support her domestic worker's daughter rather than endure the process of adoption.

In practice however, the majority of studies of transracial adoption both in South Africa and abroad appear to contradict the concerns held by some researchers, who suspect that a transracial adoption child's developmental processes will be negatively impacted by having parents of a different race (Christian, 1998). For example, longitudinal studies of transracial adoption individuals conducted in America suggest that the long term impact of transracial adoption on the majority of transracial adoption adoptees' self esteem, identity, as well as their racial identity, racial awareness and racial attitudes was comparable to the experiences of non-transracial adoption adoptees (Simon & Alstein, 1992). Transracially adopted children, who find integration into their adoptive families difficult, displayed similar maladaptive behaviours to their non-transracial adoption adoptive peers. However, these maladaptive behaviours are not specific to adoptive children but rather, they are reactionary behaviours evidenced in different populations of children in distress.

Appendix B: A Brief Introduction to the Narrative Theories of Crossley and McAdams

McAdams' Life Story Model

McAdams' (2001) life story model posits that people give unity and purpose to their lives by developing internalised and evolving narratives of the self. In terms of his model, identity is seen to be the extent that an individual's self-understanding situates them "into a meaningful psychosocial niche and provides his or her life with some degree of unity and purpose" (McAdams, 2001, p. 102). Thus, identity is not static; as we age, our identity changes and develops; it is influenced not only by our experiences but by moving into different social contexts and by society's expectations of us at our different life stages (McAdams, 2001).

Identity development begins in early childhood. However, it is not until late adolescence or early adulthood that all the cognitive and psychosocial prerequisites for constructing a life-story narrative are in place (McAdams, 2001). McAdams (2001) describes a number of conditions that need to be in place for a life story to be constructed. The first of these is *temporal coherence*, which is the understanding that a story needs to have a beginning, a middle, and an end which provides the story with a resolution. Secondly, it needs to have *biographical coherence*. This defines timing and the sequence of the life phases in relation to the individual's cultural norms. It also refers to an awareness of how a single event in one's life may be linked to one's cultural conventions. Thirdly, it needs to display *causal coherence,* which will indicate that an event has caused, or has a meaningful connection to the other events in one's life. An individual can explain how certain events may have led to the holding of certain beliefs, and will have certain traits, preferences or attitudes. Lastly, the life story needs to contain *thematic coherence,* which refers to the over-arching theme, value or principle that integrates the many events and episodes within an individual's life story. It is this theme that expresses to the listener what the essence of an individual's life experience is.

McAdams (2001) states that it is only possible for an individual to construct a life story containing all of the above four elements when they reach their early adult years. This is because the ability to construct a coherent life story is dependent on the individual's ability to incorporate the above conditions, all of which develop at differing stages of childhood and adolescence. During childhood, the processes that enable the emergence of a coherent life story and an identity in adulthood begin (McAdams, 2001). This process involves the collection of individual, relational and cultural materials and anecdotes that will later form parts of their overall life story and identity. McAdams (1993 cited in McAdams 2001) argues that early attachments and the quality of care

received as a child may therefore play a role in the central themes and images presented in an adult life story and as a result, the overall narrative tone and life quality that the story displays.

An important premise of McAdams' (2001) life story model is that the formation of an individual's identity does not end in early adolescence. An individual's life story, life theme, and life quality can change during the course of a lifetime. What this means is that at times an individual's life can take on different central themes or messages. For example, if a life was thought of in the genres we describe books and movies, at one stage it may be a comedy, at another stage, a tragedy and at another point, a romance. As the circumstances (plots), characters and settings of our lives change, so our life stories evolve (McAdams, 2001).

McAdams (2001) is particularly helpful as a theoretical foundation for this research in that he emphasizes the importance of developmental stages in the production of life-narratives and, significantly, the importance of early childhood attachments in the development of a secure sense of identity. As the individuals participating in this research would have possibly had multiple care-figures in their childhood years, their attachment to these individuals could significantly impact on the quality and nature of their relationships with others in the past, present and future, and this in turn could impact how they construct their life story narratives.

Crossley and the construction of the Self

"Like an author we partially determine the course of our own lives by selecting and omitting certain elements and events" (Carr, 1986, cited in Crossley, 2000b, p. 536)

In terms of Crossley's narrative structuring of the self, humans seek to impose structure on the flow of their experiences by placing a temporal structure to their life stories. Thus, human psychology can be said to have a narrative structure as humans use their self-narratives as an organising principle within their lives (Crossley, 2000b). As we grow up, we learn through the fictional and non-fictional stories people tell of their lives (Crossley, 2000b). The customs and rituals of a culture or community are held within the stories they tell. These stories educate our moral values and our understanding of the world, as well as our understanding of how to tell our own stories of our daily lives and overall life narrative.

For Crossley (2000b) two factors are important in creating narratives and in helping individuals to preserve a feeling of consistency and coherence in their experience of self in these constructed narratives. Firstly, all narratives are temporally configured in that they revolve around a time sequence of beginning, middle and end, or past, present and future. This is referred to as *time and*

temporality and is similar to McAdams's condition of *temporal coherence* discussed above. Humans orient themselves through routine and in time. Through time, they construct an implicit sense of order, connection and experiential unity during their everyday lives (Crossley, 2000b). Humans understand and create meaning through the activities in which they have been involved. All activities involve a sequence of events, thus incorporating time. An individual's portrayal of selfhood will have embedded within it an understanding of the connection between temporality and identity (Crossley, 2000b).

Secondly, humans create order and meaning through their *relationships and connections.* We use the relationships and connections we have around us to go beyond our perceptual and sensory level of experience in order to interpret what meaning the experience has within our lives. Thus, how people connect an event or a person to other events, activities or people in their lives, will constitute the meaning of that person, activity or event. Within a story or narrative, there is a central plot, different characters that can be good or bad, and a starting point, middle and an ending or resolution. This is the same in everyday human story telling. We learn how to narrate our stories through the stories and practices of our culture. For Crossley (2000b) it is only through our *relationships and connections* to other people and the occurrences around us that we can interpret ourselves.

An important concept put forward by Crossley (2000a; 2000b) is that of *narrative breach* or *narrative splintering*. This refers to an event or experience which is felt to be traumatic as it disrupts an individual's temporal routines, and or the relationships and connections which establish a sense of order and consistency within the individual's daily life as well as their sense of self and identity. Examples of such experiences could include the death of a friend, the ending of a relationship terminal illness or any other event that causes an individual to feel emotionally disorientated and lost. To overcome the trauma presented by a *narrative breach,* an individual would need to re-establish a sense of security in their identity through the construction of a new personal narrative that re-develops a sense of order, unity and routine within their daily life.

Appendix C: Interview Schedule

This interview schedule is based on Crossley (2000a, p. 70-73).

Life chapters

- If you were to think of the living situation between you, your mother and your mother's employer as a story or book or film how would you divide it into chapters/ sections? Give each chapter a heading, give a brief outline of what happened, and describe how this chapter moved onto the next.

- How did this particular living arrangement come about? When and why? How exactly did the everyday practicalities of childrearing, finances, feeding, or homework work when you were growing up?

- How does the foster/family relationship work now (e.g. contact, financial support, interactions with foster-siblings)?

Key events

A key event is a specific happening, a critical incident, a significant episode in your life – and we need to explore it in as much detail as possible (e.g. time, place, who was there, what happened, what you did/thought/felt, its significance to you).
- An earliest memory of your situation?

- A high point in your experience or wonderful moment?

- A low point or difficult time/situation you faced?

- A turning point where your understanding of yourself/situation changed?

- Any other important experience that stands out for you today?

Significant people

- Describe three or four of the most important people in your story of living in your family situation. Explain the relationship you have or had with each person and the specific way he/she had an impact on your experience.

Stresses & stumbling blocks

- Describe one area in *the past* which you experienced as stressful (e.g. a problem, conflict or challenge) – it may be useful to describe this as an actual incident/event that happened. How did this come about? What was your main concern? How did you handle it?

- Could you describe a troublesome event/incident (as above) in *the present*?

Personal values and beliefs
- How did you manage to get through the "tough stuff" (above)? What personal (cultural or spiritual) strengths, supports, values or beliefs give your life meaning? What is important to you? How do you understand being-happy and living-well?

- In what ways might your beliefs be different from other people you know including your mother and your mother's employer?

- How have your beliefs changed over time?

Life theme

- Looking back over your experience of living in this foster/family situation – thinking about it as a book or story or movie with episodes and significant people playing parts - can you discern a central theme, message or idea that runs through your experience? What is the major theme that emerges for you as a result of your involvement in the blended family unit?

Future Script

- We have discussed the past and the present, but what of the future? What might your plan or hopes be for what is to happen next in this family/foster relationship?

<div style="border:1px solid black">

INFORMED CONSENT AGREEMENT
BETWEEN STUDENT RESEARCHER AND RESEARCH PARTICIPANT

</div>

My name is Alice Morrison (student number: 212557767). I am doing research on a project entitled "In-between": A narrative study of domestic workers' children who have been informally fostered by their mother's employers. This research is supervised by Prof Richard Ballard of the School of Development Studies at Howard College, a Durban campus of the University of KwaZulu-Natal. If you need to contact me regarding your participation in the project my contact details are:
Cell: 0741284326
Tel: 033-3422046
Email: ali.morri@gmail.com

Contact details for the HSSREC Research Office:
Ms P Ximba
Tel: 0312603587
Email: ximbap@ukzn.ac.za

Contact details for Richard Ballard:
Tel: 031-2602266
Email: ballardr@ukzn.ac.za

I (participant's full name) _____ agree to

participate in Alice Morrison's Masters research on the experiences of domestic workers' children

who have been informally fostered by their mothers'/grandmothers' employers.

I understand that:

1. The researcher is a student conducting the research as the requirements for a Masters degree in Development Studies at Howard College.
2. The researcher is interested in uncovering the experiences of domestic workers' children who have been informally fostered by their mothers'/grandmothers' employers from a narrative perspective.

3. Participation will involve my involvement in an in-depth interview that will take approximately 60 - 90 minutes, and possibly, for the purpose of clarification, a follow-up interview which could last approximately 30 minutes.

4. I hereby **consent / do not consent** to have this interview recorded. (**Please circle your choice**)

5. I will be invited to answer questions of a personal nature but that I can choose not to answer any questions about aspects of my life that I am not willing to disclose.

6. I am invited to tell the researcher any concerns I have about my participation in the study and to have these addressed to my satisfaction.

7. I understand I am free to withdraw from the study at any time – however, I commit myself to full participation unless some unusual circumstances occur or I have concerns about my participation which I did not originally anticipate.

8. The report on the project may contain information about my personal experiences, attitudes and behaviours, but that the report will be designed in such a way that it will not be possible for me to be identified by the general reader.

9. The identity of the participants will be treated with strict confidentiality. Pseudonyms will be assigned and transcribed interview data will be kept on a password-protected USB storage device after the completion of the research by the supervisor for five years.

10. I understand that reviewing 'historical' material from my life may affect me emotionally, either positively or negatively. I understand that if I require psychological support as a result of my participation in this research I should contact the researcher. I will inform the researcher if I need help in obtaining psychological/emotional support and understand that I can contact FAMSA on the following numbers if I need support: **Pietermaritzburg: 033-3424945**
Durban: 031-2028987 or 0822004041
(additional numbers will be found if participants are located outside of Pietermaritzburg or Durban)

Signed on: ....

Researcher:..

Participant: ....

Appendix E: Braun and Clarke's (2006, p.87) six-phase method for performing thematic analysis:

1. The first phase involves the researcher <u>becoming familiar with the data</u>. This is achieved by repeatedly listening to the audio-tapes while transcribing the data and once this has been completed, re-reading the transcripts several times. Crossley (2000a) emphasizes this as an important step in developing a familiarity with each participant's narrative. During this phase initial impression and key ideas were noted down and the chronological progression and basic plot of each participant's life story was recorded.

2. The second phase requires the researcher to go systematically through the entire data set and <u>code</u> any interesting features of the data and to collate the data that is relevant to each code. Coding refers to "breaking up the data in analytical ways" (Terre Blanch, Durrheim & Kelly, 2006, p.324). (Within this study each code was asigned a colour and highlighted within the text. This allowed all similar thematic areas to be compared and connected.)

3. The third phase revolves around the <u>collation of codes</u> into potential narrative themes and collecting together of data that is considered relevant to each theme. The highlighted quotes from the data are divided into their relevant thematic groups.

4. The fourth phase involves two levels of <u>analysis</u>. Firstly, determining whether the themes connect with the coded extracts; and secondly, whether the themes are relevant to the entire data set or are unique to a specific participant's narrative. This revision of the themes enables the researcher to develop a "thematic map" of the analysis (Braun & Clarke, 2006, p.87).

5. The fifth phase requires the researcher to <u>name each theme and refine its definition</u>.

The final phase is that of <u>producing the research report</u>. Crossley (2000a), Braun and Clarke (2006) and Riessman (2008) all assert that, once analysed, the findings from the data should be discussed in relation to prior theory and research. This phase of the analysis process offered a final opportunity to analyse the data. It is a necessary step to relate the data and the analysis back to the research question as well as to the literature reviewed in order to develop a rounded interpretation of the participants' stories.

The aim of this section is to contextualize the participants within their own stories before moving away from the participant's individual stories and into the main analysis. It involves an attempt to structure the main storyline, plots, characters and events that emerged from each individual story in a sequential and coherent order in relation to this study's research aims.

Gugu: "It was a nice life"

Gugu's story begins with her mother at age sixteen when she got a job working for a doctor and his family in a small rural town in the Eastern Cape. Her mother worked for the Schmidt family as the nanny for their three boys Paul, Helmut and David. When the family moved to a different town, Gugu's mother decided to move with them to keep her job. Gugu felt this choice led to her mother becoming included in the Schmidt's family. Gugu was born in 1976 after the family had moved towns.

Gugu's story is a nostalgic one in which she longs for the stability and comfort of the past. She was the oldest participant in the study and as such she held a deeper conscious memory of Apartheid than the other participants. During the interview she came across as a caring but painfully shy person. Her shyness was compounded by her poor proficiency in English and my inability to converse in Xhosa. Her narrative is hopeful and moves forward progressively until a life event disrupts her identity and her ideas about her position in her world. After this event, her life feels stumped and her options and opportunities become limited. It is as this point her story develops a sense of hopelessness and nostalgic longing.

Gugu lived with her mother at the Schmidt's home until the age of 10. During this time Gugu could choose to sleep in her mother's room or to share a bedroom with David, the Schmidt's youngest son. David and his siblings played an important role in shaping her childhood and making her feel accepted as a member of the Schmidt's family. They encouraged her to join in their games and treated her "like their sister". They also encouraged her to play sport, taught her to ride a bike and would assist her with schoolwork.

Dr Schmidt is a central character in Gugu's life story and has played the role as her mentor and father. When I asked her about her biological father Gugu had very little to say about him, "I have a daddy but he doesn't do anything for me". Dr Schmidt is presented as a benevolent authority figure who played a prominent role in her identity formation. He is an important person in Gugu's life as he is someone who she trusts for support, and whose opinion she respects and values.

The Schmidt family actively included Gugu in their daily activities as well as providing her with practical and financial support. She felt deeply cared for and accepted as a member of the family. Gugu's favourite childhood memories revolve around simple family activities like swimming, shopping, holidays or mealtimes. In particular, the memories that stand out for her as most significant involve instances where the family could have easily chosen to exclude her but instead included her and so doing emphasized the special position Gugu held within the Schmidt family. One example Gugu provided was Dr Schmidt's insistence that Gugu should join the Schmidt family at their round supper table. She recalls him saying to her mother "No, just leave Gugu because it is our child we must eat together at the supper". Gugu described this affirmation of belonging as "wonderful", but seemed somewhat unconscious of some of the ways in which her inclusion excluded her mother.

Gugu's inclusion within the Schmidt family's activities elevated her position within the household above that of her mother. This somewhat alienated Gugu from her mother and seemed to undermine her mother's position of parental authority. When Gugu was included in parties or Christmas celebrations her mother would be excluded as she was expected to be working. If Gugu and the Schmidt children had made a mess they would tell her to leave it for her mum to clean up. By idealizing her inclusion into the Schmidt family Gugu seemed unable to reflect on how her inclusion may have impacted on her mother. She presented the Schmidt's actions as well intentioned and benevolent, but they had perhaps not considered some of the unanticipated effects that their words and actions could have on Gugu and the relationship she had with her mother.

When Gugu was 10 years old she decided she would like to live with her grandparents. She wanted to get to know her biological family as well as learn more about her own Xhosa culture. Having grown up in the Schmidt's German-Christian home she had felt she had not learnt "the life of … what black peoples live with". After about a year of living with her grandparents her mother called her back to live at the Schmidt's. Dr Schmidt had become concerned with how living in a township would influence Gugu and asked for her to be brought home so that she could "grow up like a nice child". This indicates the level of influence he held in both Gugu's life and her mother's.

Once back at the Schmidt's Gugu settled into their family routines and home. In high school she attended a local government school while her "brothers" attended a prestigious private school. With support from the Schmidts she managed to achieve a place on her school's tennis team. Academic achievement did not seem to be prioritized by her family who instead valued kindness and emotional intelligence. The Schmidt family seems to have held a liberal, non-racial political stance

and socialised with friends who held similar views. Gugu describes the Schmidt's friends as not defining people or things in terms of race and accepted her as part of the Schmidt family.

Dr Schmidt purchased a house in a township for Gugu's mother when Gugu was 17 year old. This act, which was intended as generosity, set in motion a period of profound loss and emotional instability for Gugu. When she and her mother left the Schmidt's home she was not only greatly distressed by the loss of familiar surroundings and routines, but also intensely saddened by the loss of the family she had grown up in. During the interview it felt like the shadow of this loss had followed her into adulthood. This was confirmed when she stated, "now it is difficult to think about that family and how we lived together". In terms of Crossley's (2000a) approach to narrative theory, moving to the township propelled Gugu into a period of narrative rupture or wreckage during which she was forced to restructure her life story and her identity.

Gugu saw the township as an unfamiliar and unsafe space. She did not know how to integrate herself into the community and found herself becoming increasingly isolated, choosing to spend her evenings at home watching television with her mother rather than socialising with other young people. She described herself as having learnt one way of life and felt that the move had forced her into a "difficult" space that required her to "start another" life. Instead of feeling disheartened by her social differences, Gugu found resilience and a sense of pride in seeing her-self as different to the other township people. She described herself as "happy" that she was not "included" as she disapproved of what she described as the township lifestyle. Gugu restructured her life story to position herself as an outsider, or as she described herself, "an 'other' person". Her marked and unconventional separation of the words "an" and "other" emphasized the otherness she experiences, although this interpretation is a guarded one in the light of Gugu's limited proficiency in the English language.

At the time of our interview Gugu was living with her mother and her younger sister in the home the Schmidts had bought for them, and she had found a job as a domestic worker at a private school. She still remained close to the Schmidts and she would arrange to see them when she "missed them", and she was sometimes invited to join them on holidays at their beach house. Gugu said that she would like to get married and hoped that if she had her own children they would see Dr Schmidt and his wife as their grandparents. She ended her interview saying, "All I can say now is that I love Schmidt family, that is all, ja I love Schmidt family. Oh! Ja, they are um, they are parents for me. You see?"

James: "There has always been a happy ending"

James had a lot to tell me during his interview and was visibly happy when sharing his life story. We spent a large portion of our time together laughing. When asked what genre would best describe his life story he said "my life would definitely be a comedy! There has always been a happy ending and there has always been a lot of laughter … there have been tough times and interesting experiences … but a lot of laughter." I felt this quote epitomized how James presented himself as well as his approach to life. He seemed to see life as a process where one could choose to look for happiness or to dwell on misfortune. He appeared to be a very positive and ambitious young man who actively looked for the good side of all people and all situations.

James is a strong believer in family and values the insights, experiences and support his families offer to him. James considers himself a member of three families that are biologically separate but socially connected to one another. His first family is his biological family, which is comprised of his mother who works as a domestic worker, his father who is a driver for an electrical company, and his younger sister. His second family is the family of his mother's first employer, Maryna Boschof, and her three daughters, Amanda, Sarah and Debbie. Debbie is his godmother. His third family currently employs his mother and is also close friends of his godmother Debbie. They are Linda and Roy Wilson and their children Ryan and Carla.

James was born in Johannesburg in 1987 while the Boschof family employed his mother. Maryna had always wanted a son called James and so his mother decided to use the name. He describes the Boschof children as his sisters and shares an especially close relationship with Debbie. He considers Maryna his second mother and for the first few years of his life called her "mom". During this time he called his mother by her first name. He said he did this as he was copying what the other people in the house called them.

Maryna actively involved herself in James's upbringing and "basically made it her life goal" to ensure James received a "western" education. Maryna's strong influence caused some conflict with James's biological father as it meant James did not follow tradition and "go back home" to be raised by his grandparents. In contrast, his mother actively supported Maryna and trusted her guidance in bringing James up. James appeared very nonchalant regarding any potential conflict between his different 'parents', and their ideas on raising him. He seemed content with what transpired as their decisions ultimately have produced positive relationship outcomes for both him and them.

When Maryna moved to Durban, James and his mother remained in Johannesburg. James found this time particularly difficult as he and his mother moved to the homes of three different employers in

the space of five years. He describes moving as "not ideal" and reflected that he might have been quite an "imposing character" in a new employer's home as his presence "takes a bit of getting used to for a lot of people, especially in that situation". His self-confidence is evident in this quote as rather than seeing himself as having to fit into an employer's home, it is the employer who is expected to get used to him. This response did not seem to be arising from a position of arrogance but rather, perhaps an expectation that things should go on as they had before. However, later in the interview he contradicted this by saying he felt "wary" of Linda and Roy – his mother's new employers - when he first moved in and as he grew older he did not want to be seen as an imposition.

James describes the process of moving homes when his mother changed employers as "interesting". When they moved to the Wilson's home he was about eleven or twelve and found settling into that environment "fun" as the move provided "a new beginning and sort of a new family" for him as they included him in the family life of the household. He gained two new "siblings" in Carla and Ryan, and in Roy, he found a mentor. James speaks of Roy with great admiration and describes him as a "self-made millionaire". Roy appears to have motivated James to become financially aware as well as academically productive. Having Roy's support and experience clearly motivates James's drive to become financially secure. This seems to be a theme across James's interactions with others; he likes to engage with people so he can learn from them and then use the knowledge they have shared to better himself.

James's siblings play a very significant role in his life. He is closest to Debbie and Ryan. Debbie is 18 years older than James while Ryan is two years younger. Debbie has played the role of older sister, godmother, friend and advisor to James. She has encouraged him to push himself academically and in sports, while also providing a support base that he could use to start taking greater responsibility for himself. Having always shared a bedroom with his mother James found a greater sense of personal freedom and space when visiting Debbie's home as he had his own bedroom when he visited her. As well as providing James with friendship and support Debbie also funded James's clothing and sporting equipment.

James describes his relationship with Ryan as "very, very close". When they first met James saw Ryan as a "spoilt brat" but quickly this changed and they began to see each other as brothers. James sees his own life story as having had a positive "impact" on how Ryan views the world. To illustrate the depth of their bond James told me how he chose to lose his job rather than miss Ryan's 21st birthday, "I gave up a really fat salary, just to be at one night, just to be there for him". Together with John, a close friend, they share matching tattoos.

James's social life is a central aspect of his character. I had heard of him before interviewing him through various diverse and disconnected friendship groups. My own friends had described him as someone who was kind, fun, interesting and interested. This certainly came across in the interview. What also became apparent was his drive to fit in. Although he did not seem to be embarrassed by his background he had seemed reluctant to share it with his peers. In order to avoid having to share his background James focused on developing other areas of his life that would allow him to find common ground to share with his peers. For James, sport became the most important of these areas as it allowed him to meet with his peers on an even playing field where ability and not background mattered. His talent on the sports field was rewarded with a bursary to King Edward for high school.

Apart from family and friends, education and finances are central themes running through James's story. Education and its related expenses played a key role in establishing the continued relationships James shares with his mother's employers. However, James reserves his admiration for his mother who has championed his education and made personal sacrifices to ensure he always had what he needed. His mother, who only reached standard eight, has funded James's education from junior school, through boarding school and up to university. Through careful saving she even managed to buy him a car. Her determination motivated James to work hard and to find ways to contribute to his own education through bursaries and student jobs. James's education has not been limited to school and university. His other families have provided him with lessons and insights that his own parents were never exposed to and so he is now able to help and teach them. Some examples of this are financial, like insurance, or practical, like filling in forms.

James has a healthy understanding of the roles and contributions the various parental figures in his life. From an early age he said he understood that he needed to manage his relationship with his mother's employers so that his own parents remained in control. James's descriptions of his families give the impression of a team working together with but each member offering different opportunities and areas of support. He said he thought the central theme running through his life would be "happiness and love" and described his families as just like "a usual family" with a lot "less admin" as he can only remember sharing "happy times" with each of them. His life has been grounded in the certainty of unconditional love and this has allowed James to grow in to a young man who was comfortably confident in himself and his abilities. He is content in knowing that his life will be forever intertwined with his different families, and is determined to use the opportunities he has been given to support and provide for his parents and his little sister.

Themba: "Look at my life, the bad does outweigh the good"

It was difficult to set up my interview with Themba. He cancelled meeting with me twice and then almost cancelled our third meeting. Two things motivated his change of heart, firstly he was afraid I would think badly of him and secondly, he had begun to think that the people one meets in life and the things that happen to an individual happen for a reason. He said to me that he felt motivated to meet with me after he realized that I, a "non-biased" stranger, was giving him the opportunity to talk about things that he had not talked about before.

Themba presented his life both tragic and hopeful. His stories were steeped in emotions that oscillated between rejection and inclusion, resentment and joy, disappointment and hope. At one point during our interview these feelings overwhelmed him and he was brought to tears. Despite the negative experiences he had faced in his life he presented himself as a confident, strong and jovial man who was "a big boy" and was able to look after himself. However, his tears revealed his sensitivity and the possibility that he hides his true feelings behind his character and large stature.

Themba was really taken with the idea of presenting his life in the form of a story and tried much harder than the other participants to stick to this format. He is a person who is eager to please others, perhaps in an effort gain acceptance. After some deliberation he named his life story "The White Picket Fence" and then began his story,

> "My mother was 16 years old giving birth to me, it was a Monday, windy, Northdale hospital, 1986, ten years after 1976, one of the heights or highest points in our history in terms of Apartheid, 10 years later here is this black boy, born into a poor family, (…) fortunately, my grandmother worked for my foster parents. (…) Exactly what the arrangement was I have never really found out why they took me and or was there a specific reason, but (…) they were giving me a helping hand (…) Growing up on two sides of the fence, one black side one white has given be a broader perspective of life and of people in general."

When Themba was about a month old he began to live with his grandmother at her employer's during the week and return with her to the township on the weekends. At first he shared a room with her but later had his own room in the Martin's household. Themba's grandmother has worked as a domestic worker since she was 13 years old. She has worked for two generations of the Martin family. She first worked as a nanny and domestic worker for Andrew Martin's parents and then, when Andrew had a family of his own she began to work for him. Andrew and his wife Helen have two children – Stephen, who is 4 years older than Themba, and Kate, who is one year older than him.

Andrew was a very important character in Themba's story as his bond with Themba's grandmother laid the foundations Themba entering the Martin's lives. In 1995, when Themba was 9 years old, Andrew died in a car accident. Andrew's death was a profoundly painful experience for Themba as he felt he had lost his only true father figure. It is also at this point that Themba began to feel some uncertainty about his place in the Martin family and in particular, about his relationship with Helen. Despite the fact that she decided to keep Themba until he had completed high school, at times Themba felt that he posed an additional financial and emotional burden to Helen. Despite feeling a deep sense of gratitude towards Helen for the opportunities she had provided him, Themba felt that there was an emotional gap between them. This gap was compounded by a shared inability to talk freely with one another.

After Andrew's death Themba began to view Stephen as his protector, mentor and father figure. Stephen taught him to ride a bike, life skills, and "how to be a man". He has always felt secure in the knowledge that he can depend on Stephen and Kate and that they can depend on him. However, his siblings' support was not enough to suppress the feeling that he did not belong in their home. As he grew older he found living between his black and white families increasingly difficult. Themba says that the "stress" that this insecurity caused him pushed him to becoming "rebellious" and "naughty".

This rebellious side presented itself most obviously in Themba's efforts to fit in at school. Here he told lies to his classmates about his background and exaggerated the financial position of his foster family. During high school Themba began to steal expensive pens from his classmates. He said he felt that this was a way to fit in with his black friends who engaged in similar activities. He said he did it to show his black friends that he was "also one of them, not just white". He said he found stealing easy but that it caused his family great disappointment and made Helen "stressed".

Race and finances have influenced how Themba interacted with and perceived his peers. When he was younger he would the toys he had at the Martins to his mother's home in the township. Once there, other children would come to play with his toys and would then spend most of their day at their house. His toys appear to have acted as a currency with which Themba could entice other children to play with him instead of bully him. He describes children in the township "picking" on him and using "force" to "knock" it in to him that he was black and not white. This experience made Themba feel defensive and also compounded negative feelings he associates with black people. Themba appears to feel more comfortable around white people but certain social situations have made realise that his skin colour can cause white people discomfort. Themba believes that the way he was raised has given him an understanding of black and white people that allows him to

relate to both groups. However, he is often left feeling alienated and isolated, as he is never "black enough" for black people or "white enough" for white people.

Despite having had to negotiate complicated peer relations at school and family dynamics between his two homes, Themba held positive and nostalgic feelings towards his time at school. He described it as a time when everything was "easier". He knew who his friends where, he was good at sport, became popular and was made a prefect in matric. When he finished matric his life drastically changed. Helen told him that she could no longer afford to look after him while Stephen and Kate were attending university. She told him he would have to "move out and go back home" to the township. Themba said the pain and sadness that this decision caused him was "indescribable". He felt that at a "crucial point" in his life Helen was "kicking" him out of his real home. This caused Themba to feel abandoned by Helen as well as deeply betrayed. He was left feeling ill prepared for his adult life and this further compounded his feelings of insecurity and low self-esteem. He now finds it difficult to fully trust people and opportunities.

Themba believes his life after school would have been easier if he had had access to tertiary education. He didn't expect Helen to pay for him but felt that she could have helped him explore other funding options, as he and his biological family were inexperienced in these areas. Themba views tertiary education as foundational to reaching financial security. He is hoping to pursue a career in hospitality.

Themba's foster family cared for him for 18 years. During this time he was never certain if he was really a member of their family or just someone who was always there. This uncertainty is a fundamental theme in Themba's story and has influenced how he perceives others and himself as well as his sense of belonging to people and places. For some time this uncertainty seemed to almost cripple Themba into taking a passive role in his life. Life was something that happened to him rather than something in which he could play and active role. He described this passivity as "procrastinating". Having spent many years blaming his parents and Helen for his circumstances Themba has begun to feel that he has to take more responsibility for the direction his life will take. His dream is to earn enough money to buy his grandmother a home in the suburbs. He wants her to experience the "good life" he "tasted" there -"birds, fresh air"- so that she can "die happy, knowing that all her hard work hasn't gone to waste".

Themba saw the interview process as an opportunity to reflect on his current situation. He worked hard to analyse his past and the people and events that had been influential in constructing his identity. It became clear during our time together that Themba had found sharing his story with me

both cathartic and empowering. He was grateful that someone wanted to listen to him. For some time after the interview Themba remained in contact with me and remarked that telling his story had given him a sense of confidence and a desire to take responsibility for the direction his life was taking. Despite the painful aspects of growing up between two families, Themba is grateful to have for the opportunities he has been given and for the people he has in his life. When he reflected on this research's topic he felt content with how he was raised but said, "it is good and bad, but I think the bad does out weigh the good". He suggested it would be better for an employer to support a domestic worker's child financially and to never remove the child from their biological family's home.

Zama: "Of course I speak Zulu, I'm black. Can't you see?"

At the time of her interview, Zama was 20 years old and completing her third year at a university in the Eastern Cape. She presented herself as a quietly confident young woman and summed up the main themes in her life as "support and opportunity, and a blending of cultures and lifestyles". Her story presented a tale of a destiny interrupted in which her relationship with her mother's employers pushed her life onto a trajectory that the average "Zulu girl" would not have taken. Who she *is* and who she *should be* recur throughout her story as an area of both internal and external conflict and exploration. Her story ends on a hopeful note as she comes to realise that the different trajectories her life could have taken are not mutually exclusive from one another. This realization, coupled with her reflective maturity, allowed her to develop a sense of internal congruence and confidence, which form the foundation of her integrated identity.

Zama divided her story into three chapters, "Becoming White"; which discussed the beginning of her relationship with the Smiths; "New Beginnings"*,* in which she talks about her life with the Smiths and how her childhood was different from that of her cousins and other Zulu girls; and "The Final Chapter"*;* which is describes her growing up and moving away from the close relationship she had with the Smith family. The main characters in her story are her mother; Mary and John Smith (her mother's employers); and the Smith's children, Amy, Dane and Clare, who Zama views as "sibling-friends" or as falling somewhere "in-between" these roles. Her biological family is comprised of her mother, two younger brothers, the older of which has Down syndrome, her stepfather, and two younger stepbrothers.

Her story begins when she was old enough to attend play-school and left her great grandmother's home in rural KwaZulu-Natal to go and live with her mother. Zama's mother worked for the Smiths on their smallholding and dog kennels in the Natal Midlands. Initially Zama had limited contact with the Smiths, as she was one of a number of workers' children who lived on the property. The

Smiths provided their workers with accommodation and organized for the worker's children to attend local schools. Zama described the Smiths as "caring" people who liked to "help" and "take care of their workers". Zama began her schooling with the other farm children. However, at some stage, the Smiths limited the number of employees and family members who could live on the smallholding. As the live-in domestic worker's child, Zama was allowed to stay. Zama would spend time at the Smith's house while her mother worked and it was through this that she started to spend more time with the Smiths and their children.

Zama describes her relationship with the Smiths as moving in "stages" and as a "process" which largely developed because of her presence within their household and being a similar age to the Smith's own children. Zama saw her inclusion in this process as linear and logical, Amy was the eldest, followed by Clare, then Zama and then Dane, as they grew up together they followed each other to the same schools and "moved in the same direction". As Zama spent more time with the Smith children she gradually began taking part in the family's activities. One of her earliest memories of her time with the Smiths is the day that Amy put her on a horse for the first time. Horse riding was a large part of the Smith's lives and Zama remembers watching Amy and Clare riding and hoping that she could have a turn. Zama vividly recalls the day Amy let her ride as she sees it as a key moment in cementing her relationship with the Smiths. Her first ride moved her from a passive position of "just watching" to being actively "involved" in the Smith's daily lives through horse riding and education.

On school days Zama would go up to the Smith's house to make her school lunch and would often eat breakfast with them. She and the Smith children would then go to school with the lift club Mary had organized. After school she would typically spend the afternoon at the Smith's home doing homework with the Smith children or horse riding while she waited for her mother to finish work. She said that she initially felt nervous spending so much time with them but after her daily routine became entwined with their lives she began to feel like she belonged there. She said that as she began to feel more comfortable with the Smiths she began to feel as though she was "part of the family, not even part of the family, but just someone who was always there". This quote presents the confusion Zama experienced in relation to her relationship with the Smiths; sometimes she felt like a member of their family, sometimes she felt like an observer and at other times she felt like an interloper or intruder. She felt it was her responsibility to work out when it was appropriate for her to behave like a member of their family and when she should hold back.

Towards the end of junior school Zama's mother married her stepfather and they bought a flat in a town close to the Smith's farm. Her mother would live at the Smith's during the week and would

return to the flat at weekends. If Zama had a horse show she would spend the weekend at the Smiths and then go with them to school on the Monday morning. It was over these weekends that Zama would often experience a level of discomfort or "un-surety" about her presence in the Smiths home. Despite their positive inclusion of her in supper parties, visits to friends or restaurants and traditions like Eater egg hunts, Zama would often worry that her presence was an imposition.

Other people, especially schoolmates, were sometimes confused by Zama's South African English accent and her close relationship with the Smiths. At school other children often thought she was adopted as she "act(ed) like a white person". She found it painful when other children would question her blackness by calling her a coconut. She described black schoolmates as "discovering" she could speak fluent Zulu and had a black family when she was in Grade 11. This suggests she was uncomfortable conversing in Zulu at school. She says she only made friends with other black pupils in her last year of junior school and then again in her last year of high school. Once she had made black friends Zama found it difficult that her groups of school friends were divided along racial lines, and this made her feel like a "very in-between person" as her friends would not "intermingle".

As Zama neared the end of her high schooling, having gone to the same schools as Amy and Clare throughout her school career, logically she wished to attend the same university as them. Mary and John helped Zama complete her application but told her that they could not afford to send her to university with their children. They helped her investigate funding options and she managed to get funding for tuition and residence accommodation. At university she had different friends to Amy and Clare but they continued to make an effort to see each other regularly and John and Mary would phone her to check how she was. Zama found university a life changing experience as it provided her an opportunity to reflect on her life, her position in society, where she had come from and where she would like to go. It also made her aware of the sacrifices her mother had made in supporting her as well as the crucial role the Smiths had played in nurturing her talents and supporting her opportunities.

Mary and John had made an effort not to overshadow Zama's mother's parental role while they supported Zama. Zama stated, "they were never proper foster parents". Instead they offered advice, financial assistance and practical support rather than taking parental control of Zama. Zama's mother remained financially responsible for Zama. The Smiths assisted her financially through loans that would be debited from her salary over time and by helping apply for bursaries for schooling and by locating sponsors to support Zama's horse riding. Zama said Mary's approach to finding funding helped her to feel good about herself as Mary found people that wanted to support

her. Because of this she felt she did not have to be "burden" to the Smiths. Zama sees Mary as a mentor who has taught her to be a kind, open and caring person and has encouraged her to seek out the positive side of life.

Zama deeply admires her mother and portrayed her as a hard working, practical and caring woman. She sees her mother as a grounding influence, which encourages her to remember where she comes from. After leaving home to attend university Zama seemed to have a greater understanding of the supportive role her mother had played in providing her with a life that not many people with her background would have the opportunity to pursue. On returning home for holidays Zama now makes an effort to be as supportive as she can and takes responsibility to prepare the families meals, help care for her brothers and keep their home clean. She believes if she had not met the Smiths she would have assumed this role at a much earlier age and described it as the "way of life" she "should have always had". She said that going to university had allowed her to "understand how things at home worked", taught her familial "responsibility" and helped her to accept that her life could not be as "extravagant" as the lives of some of her peers.

Zama named the last chapter of her story "The Final Chapter" as she realised that growing up meant she was going to become independent from both the Smiths and her family. However, although she seemed uncertain of what her future after university would hold she was confident that her relationship with the Smiths would continue throughout her life. Zama felt that both her mother and the Smiths had "raised" her and during her interview she conveyed a deep sense of gratitude towards them. Zama appeared to feel compelled to succeed in life to ensure the sacrifices and investments they had made in her would prove fruitful. Coupled with these positive feelings, Zama also presented feelings of guilt. She felt guilty for not acting like "most Zulu girls", she felt guilty if she perceived herself as an inconvenience to the Smiths, and she felt guilty for sometimes wanting experiences or objects above her family's financial means. Although her sense of guilt appeared to taint her experiences it also seemed to provide her with a drive to succeed. She described her future as one filled with "hard work" which would show how "thankful" she is while she pursues a career that will make life easier for her family.

What struck me most about Zama's story is the sense of optimism that her childhood had instilled in her approach to life. The unconditional love and support her mother and the Smiths had offered her appeared to have created a foundation through which she could confidently explore herself and the world while comfortably individuating from her family and the Smiths. It was apparent during the interview that Zama had spent some time reflecting on her life story and how her experiences had shaped who she had become and who she wanted to be.

Appendix G: Foundational Relationships

Gugu's mother was 16 years old when she began working for the Schmidts. When the Schmidts moved to a different town she chose to leave her family's rural home and follow them in order to keep her job. At the time of Gugu's interview the Schmidts had employed her mother as a live-in domestic worker for over 40 years. Gugu saw her mother, her sister and herself as members of the Schmidts' immediate family.

Themba's grandmother started working as a live-in domestic worker when she was 13 years old. She had been in domestic service for over 70 years at the time of Themba's interview. He described her as a woman who valued hard work, but also as a product of her generation, as he saw her as a subjugated black woman who viewed white people as superior to herself. She worked for two generations of the Martin family. Firstly, she was the domestic worker of Andrew Martin's parents, and then when Andrew had his own family she began to work for him. Themba described his grandmother's relationship with Andrew as very close as she had "basically raised Andrew as her own child". Despite his grandmother's age, Themba believed she continued to work because Helen would find it hard to replace her: "Helen doesn't want to get rid of (my gran) because in this day and age it is very hard to find a maid who you can trust".

Zama's mother had worked in the Smith's dog kennel business before she was employed as their domestic worker. She lived on the Smith's smallholding with the other employees of the kennels. Later, as their domestic worker, she was given the privilege of being allowed to have her daughter live with her on the property. Zama describes the Smiths as being caring, respectful and supportive employers. Zama believes they respected her mother's role as a parent but made themselves available to support her through their offers of loans, advice and other forms of assistance. She describes the quality of this relationship in the following words:

> (B)ecause my mom and Mary and everybody else also have a very good relationship, like there has never been sort of anything bad going on, or some fall-out or anything like that. So everything has always pretty much got along well. (Zama)

James's mother had a very close relationship with her first employer, Maryna Boschof. She had worked in their home as a live-in domestic worker and had played a large role in raising Maryna's children. The closeness of her relationship with the Boschof family is evident in her choosing to use Maryna's suggestion of "James" for the name of her first child. It is also seen in her decision to make Maryna's daughter James's godmother. When Maryna moved to Durban, she remained in contact with James and his mother and offered them financial and emotional support. Later, James's mother found long-term employment with the Wilsons who were friends with James's godmother.

James describes moving into the Wilson's home as "a new beginning" in which he and his mother were accepted into a "new family". The Wilsons played a significant role in supporting James's mother and in helping her to pursue and realize the dreams she had for her son. James's mother's relationship with her employers seemed to be grounded in mutual respect and support.

Appendix H: How Each Participant Portrayed Identity in Relation to Race and Culture

Below, the divergent role the concepts of race and culture have played in carving the participants' individual identities and guiding their interactions with the world, are explored.

Themba

Themba's interview was the most racially charged of all of the participants. Having grown up in a white family but never having felt fully accepted within it, Themba faced the world with a crippling lack of self-esteem. Themba felt his childhood had allowed him to relate to both white and black people but that this had left him unable to fit in with either. He feels most "at home" with white people and white spaces but feels that white society marks and rejects him because of his skin colour. He felt his 'blackness' masked his true identity as it hid his "kindness" and "good heart" and prevented others from seeing who he really was.

> "I am able to relate to black people and I am able to relate to white people. But sometimes I have felt that I don't actually fit in with either or, I am not black enough sometimes and I am not white enough sometimes, obviously because of my skin colour."

Themba presented 'blackness' as holding mostly negative connotations and associated it with poverty, low opportunities, danger, violence, and social rejection. As a child, he describes how he was bullied when he visited the township and "picked on" at school for "thinking (he) was white". As an adult this has continued and he has endured both verbal and physical confrontations in relation to his presence in public spaces such as bars or nightclubs that are mainly frequented by white patrons. He feels his skin colour has marked him as someone who is to be treated with suspicion. To a certain extent he believes this suspicion is warranted as he described "most" black people "but not all of them" as thieves. In desperation, to gain respect and acceptance from his black peers, Themba applied this stereotype to himself and began stealing expensive pens from his classmates in high school. He said he did this to gain the respect and admiration of some of his black peers and to show them that he was "also one of them, not just white".

Themba's sense of self is both defined and impoverished by the experience of being caught in a liminal space between two races and cultures. He describes how it has felt to fight to be seen as more than his skin colour, and to have to justify his background and family to others. He describes how these experiences forced him to build a defensive wall around himself that he is still "defending to this day".

Zama

Zama seems to hold a sense of guilt about how her upbringing distanced her from how "most Zulu girls" would have grown up and from the patriarchal family structure she associated with Zulu households. Instead of "helping around the house" and living with her grandmother in a rural area, she was "always busy" with school and sport. She described her negotiation of childhood as grooming her to become "a very in-between person" as she battled to reconcile the black and white aspects of herself and her social life. At school black and white children did not socialize with each other, so she often found herself to be "the token black person in a white crowd" as she had always "hung around white people" and didn't know how to change that. As she got older and more confident in herself she found she was able to approach and make black friends, but she was then faced with the dilemma of choosing between spending time with her white or with her black friends because these groups of friends did not "intermingle".

Zama holds a highly polarized and essentialist understanding of behaviours associated with race, which she categorizes as "white norms" and "black norms". Zama says she was taught both "norms" but describes herself as largely adopting "white norms". She defined these as the "other extra things that other black kids wouldn't know" which she learnt through spending time with the Smiths that gave her insider knowledge of how to behave appropriately within white society. These behaviours included "how to be around people", "eating with a knife and fork", "greeting people" and "etiquette". Interestingly, these "white norms" came to dominate even though only half her childhood was spent living on the Smiths property. In her narrative the idea of her 'acting white' came up a number of times, and she was so comfortable expressing this side of herself that it led to her friends at high school remarking: "What? You speak Zulu!" and I'd be like "Of course I speak Zulu, I'm black. Can't you see?"

James

James tended to avoid the subject of race in his interview. His three separate families provided him with a background rich in cultural and social diversity. His biological parents are Pedi and he describes them as Christian and conservative. His mother's first employer, Maryna, is an Afrikaans divorcee who remarried an American. His godmother is a gay woman with a sister who has interracial relationships. His mother's current employers, the Martins, are wealthy English speaking liberals. James believes he was "very fortunate" to have been brought up in this diverse environment as "nothing much fazes (him)", and this has allowed him to be "open" to other people and their experiences.

James's positive attitude to diversity appears to be grounded both in his familial support system and by his genuine interest in other people. It could be argued that by valuing him as an individual James's family enabled him to develop healthy resilience that enabled him to brush aside the few race-based "run-ins" he "obviously" experienced at school and university. James's use of the word "obviously" suggests that he expects that his skin colour may sometimes provoke discomfort as well as rejection within traditionally white spaces. However, he seemed comfortable enough with his own identity and sense of belonging not to feel "affected" by others' negative reactions to his race.

For James, financial security and independence diminishes the limitations of a racially defined society. James seems to define individuals by their character and their professional and personal successes rather than by race. His family structures provided enough positive regard and affirming experiences to enable his identity to develop in a way that is internally congruent and resilient in the face of external pressures. The only troubling aspect to his identity development is the sense of guilt that plagues him and that makes him feel pressured to perform and please both his peers and his family. This eagerness to please others seems connected to a feeling that he has been given so many opportunities that he must not disappoint people in order to prove that he was worthy of this magnanimity.

Gugu

Race and culture play a large role in how Gugu defines herself and other people and she has a very polarised view of the differences between being black and white. This is understandable considering that she grew up during the 1970s and 1980s when the Apartheid state employed increasingly brutal, repressive and desperate tactics to keep race groups strictly segregated and to prevent any dilution of white power. She lived a relatively sheltered life in the Schmidt's home as she makes little reference to her experiences and interactions with people outside of their home or her family. Nevertheless, she was a product of a time in which it was impossible to ignore the danger of being black in some 'white spaces'. This is why it was so refreshing for her that she did not feel her 'blackness' in the Schmidt home, and why she was grateful that she was accepted as an individual and a member of the family by the Schmidts and their friends.

At the age of 10 Gugu started wondering, "how the life is (…) of what black peoples live with". She asked her mother if she could "visit" her grandparents to get to know them, and also to see what it feels like to live as a black person in a black community. It is perhaps not surprising that this

search for understanding and identification coincided with her early adolescence - a life stage that is often characterized by an individual's search for identity. After living with her grandparents for about five years Dr Schmidt requested that Gugu return to live with them as he believed that living in a township would be detrimental to Gugu's character and would prevent her from growing up to be "nice`'". Gugu felt her inclusion in the Schmidt's home taught her to be "like them", and this included sharing Dr. Schmidt's discomfort and mistrust of township life.

Gugu describes herself as "not believing" in the Xhosa culture from which her mother originated as she "[doesn't] know what it is" because she "didn't grow there". Instead, Gugu strongly identifies with the Schmidt family and their beliefs, saying, "we are the same. It is the same. We are the same". Gugu structures her identity in opposition to the behaviours and attitudes she associates with traditional Xhosa beliefs and Xhosa youth culture. She said her strong identification with Christianity prevents her identifying with Xhosa culture or participating in the drinking culture that she feels dominates township life.

> "If you see now our generations, you see lots go to taverns, (…) all the night was spent at taverns like, you see the children. I say thank you I am not going there. I am sitting at home."

Gugu, like Themba, seems to find comfort in maintaining proximity to white spaces while simultaneously experiencing black spaces as excluding and immoral. She seems to have found little acceptance outside of her own family and that of the Schmidts. Like Themba, her desire to be like her foster family seems to have negatively impacted on her ability to integrate or socialise within the township she resides in. Although this makes her lonely and isolated, her difference and her exclusion from township life appear to function as a foundational part of her adult identity and mark her to others and herself as "an other person".

An important aspect of Gugu's sense of identity was revealed in her persistent referral to herself as a 'girl' and as a 'child' throughout her interview. This seems particularly significant since she is a person in her late thirties with a job and responsibilities. It may be because she does not see herself as a grown woman because she is unmarried and living with her mother. Another possibility is that her language refers to the Apartheid-endorsed practice of referring to grown black women and men as 'girls' and 'boys' irrespective of their age. Whatever the explanation, one has a sense that Gugu's experience of herself as a grown woman with agency in her world has been compromised; "And I see myself. I am not, what do I say, I am not included with them". It appears that she finds herself living in a liminal space between childhood and adulthood, while uncomfortably suspended between one community and another.

Appendix I: Text Based Analysis

I.1. Being in-between people

A prevalent theme, which seemed to most capture the participants' informal fostering experience is that of being *in-between* people. This can be understood on two levels. Firstly, it can be viewed as a description of identity. In other words, participants describe themselves as being in-between group identities. Participants speak about not fully fitting into their home or their foster home and the people connected to those contexts. Secondly, it can be understood relationally. In this sense, the participants often describe the negotiations, tensions and inconsistencies that are present when shifting between groups of people who rarely intermingle. This idea of *in-betweenness* seems to permeate all aspects of the participants' lives including their perceptions of themselves and their perceptions of how others see them. Each participant describes this in different ways and experiences it in different environments and relationships, including feelings about themselves in relation to their biological and foster families, white and black racial groups, rich and poor society and opportunities and access to tertiary education.

Extracts from the participants' narratives will now be analysed in relation to the theme of being *in-between* people.

Themba always feels he needs to justify who he is and does not feel as though he fits into either black or white South African society.

Extract 1: Themba

1.   T: If my life was a book. Sho, I have thought of many titles I could write a book

2.   about, black versus white, it sounds really racist or coloured but um, fence runner,

3.   A: Fence runner?

4.   T: Ja, fence runner or being on the fence or the white picket fence, lets call it the

5.   white picket fence, chapter 1. My mother was 16yrs old giving birth to me,

6.   A: Ok

7.   T: It was a Monday, windy, Northdale Hospital, 1986, ten years after 1976, one of the

8.   heights or highest points in our history in terms of Apartheid, 10 years later here is this

9.   black boy, born into a poor family, I would say

10.   A: Ok

11.   T: Fortunately, my grandmother worked for my foster parents

12.   A: Ok

13.   T: my grandmother worked for the lady, yes correct. Um, exactly what the

14. arrangement was I have never really found out why they took me and, or was there a

15. specific reason. But at the end of a time that they were giving me a helping hand, giving

16. me a better chance at a better life, and better opportunities, and giving me a broader

17. perspective or vision of how I see things in life because I, growing up on two sides of

18. the fence, one black side one white has given be a broader perspective of life and of

19. people in general

20. A: Ok

21. T: I am able to relate to black people and I am able to relate to white people. But

22. sometimes I have felt that I don't actually fit in with either or, I am not black enough

23. sometimes and I am not white enough sometimes, obviously because of my skin colour.

This extract comes from the start of Themba's interview. It shows the sense of ambiguity that Themba feels in relation to his race and his movement between the norms of black and white society. When asked what title he would give the story of his life and his involvement with the Martin family, his first reaction is to define it racially and as conflicted. This is done through the use of the word "versus" (line 2). This word sets up "black" and "white" (line 2) as two opposing groups and suggests that, within his life, race has been an area of tension. Had he chosen to name it "black and white", the use of the word "and" would have transformed the feel of the sentence to one in which the two groups are inclusive rather than as opposing and therefore mutually exclusive.

Themba then retracts the initial title he proposes for his story, stating that it sounds "really racist or coloured" (line 2). He reframes the name to "fence runner" (line 2). This title does not contain the explicitly racial connotations of the first and removes the idea of conflict. It does, however, present the imagery of Themba as being actively positioned between the separate black and white sides of the fence. The use of the word "runner" (line 2) also suggests a sense of speed and therefore perhaps urgency in his movement along the divide he experiences between black and white. The idea of fence running not only evokes images of speed and urgency but also a sense of what could be mobility between his two worlds where he keeps running in order to create and preserve his experience of some personal agency between the two worlds.

Themba then re-titled his story as "on the fence". This places him on a metaphorical fence, positioning him between black and white sides. In this title he is no longer active along this boundary but, rather, simply present between the different sides. This creates an image of Themba as more of an observer of both sides of the fence rather than as a participant in either side. This idea of being *in-between* is further reiterated in lines 17-19 where Themba suggests that, through having lived his life on the border between black and white societies, he has been able to see what life on

either side the fence is like. At this point, Themba's position of observer is neither wholly positive nor wholly negative. Themba is able, by evolving the title of his narrative through three stages, to arrive at a perspective of life which includes but does not integrate what he sees on either side of his position "on the fence" (line 4). It is interesting to notice how this three-stage title-creation occurs rapidly and without reference to details of his experience which come later in his narrative. This suggests that the formulation of his narrative, in sum, is contracted into this early section of the interview.

The title that Themba finally settles on is "the white picket fence" (lines 4-5) in which he has removed himself as present or active within the title. The "white picket fence" could be seen to represent suburban middle- to upper-class lifestyles and implies imagery and has connotations particularly akin to the 'American Dream'. Suggested by this title are images of neat gardens with green lawns, big houses and peaceful, leafy neighbourhoods. This title could either be presenting Themba as on the outside of the fence and not within its boundaries or as someone who is contained within the peaceful security of the fence. This second interpretation is unlikely and this is confirmed by Themba's use of the word "but" in line 21. The introduction of the word "but" indicates that having an understanding of both sides of the fence is not always positive. The negative aspects of living with a "white picket fence" (lines 4 – 5) are that Themba "[feels]" (line 22) he does not fit into either black or white society. He states that he is "not black enough" or "white enough" (lines 22-23) to fit in fully anywhere. Themba says he is not white enough "obviously because of [his] skin colour" (line 23) but does not substantiate why he is not black enough in this extract. The absence of an explanation is interesting. It could be that Themba feels that, apart from his skin colour, he more strongly identifies with white people but that his skin colour prevents him from fully integrating into that section of society. It could also be that Themba's contact with white society has somehow lessened his blackness making him feel unqualified to be as black as he could or should be able to experience himself as being.

Through Extract 1, one can see that Themba defines his identity racially. Although he has been able to gain the perspectives of both white and black racial groups, he has failed to gain an identity which fits neatly into one group or an identity which integrates both. As a result of his informal fostering with the Martin family and having grown up moving between both white and black sectors of South African society, his identity and narrative "[does not] actually fit in with either" (line 22).

Below, Extract 2 presents Zama's experience of being "a very in-between person" (line 9-10). As with the narrative portrayed in Extract 1, Zama also expresses a sense of dislocation between her experiences around blackness and whiteness. Her experience is not like that of Themba in that she

does not feel as though she never fitted in, but rather that she could not fit into both white and black groups simultaneously because the groups themselves did not intermingle.

Extract 2: Zama

1.   A: Ok so you have sort of basically covered your schooling and it sounds like it could be

2.   difficult at school sometimes?

3.   Z: Um, ja. It was sort of difficult, coz most of everybody, I mean I was always like the

4.   token black person in the white crowd and stuff like that. I think, coz I think, you know

5.   when you grow up and you are young and you know only one thing, and you never try

6.   change it, you know you accept what you have so you just you know, always hang around

7.   with white people, you know. I know I'm sounding all like white black, white black. But I

8.   sort of in grade seven, that's when I started, you know finding other friends, and started

9.   being a very in-between person. Like I think from, ja. Sort of from grade seven all the

10.   way up until matric, and even now, I have always found myself a very in-between

11.   person. Like I have never had, until now I guess, I've never had friends who all

12.   intermingle. It's always white and black. I always found in primary school I'd have to be

13.   with my white friends or my black friends. Like when I started making black friends in

14.   matric, and I finally started moving over, they'd be like "Ja Zama ok you not so much of a

15.   coconut, you know you cool, you can actually speak Zulu."

16.   A: So you only started making black friends in…

17.   Z: Grade seven. And then, ja, even through my whole high school, I think people only

18.   discovered I could speak Zulu when I was like in grade eleven or matric. Like they would

19.   be like "what you speak Zulu!" and I'd be like "of course I speak Zulu, I'm black. Can't

20.   you see?" (laughs) "I have a black mother, I come from a black family, I have black

21.   brothers" and stuff like that, so ja.

Extract 2 explores Zama's feelings of being "a very in-between person" (lines 9-11), which in her story seems to have come to the forefront in terms of race, language and relationships. Zama describes her younger self as always having been the "token black person in a white crowd" (line 4). She attributes this to her feeling that it was easier to go along with what she knew and that being the "token black person" was the role in which she had grown up (lines 5-6). The phrase "token black person" implies that Zama was the only black person to have been included in her group of white friends. Although in the context of this extract it appears to hold little negative significance, the fact that other black children were not included within the group of friends and that Zama expresses this absence, is significant. Tokenism in itself has negative connotations in that it can be

seen as implying inclusion which is symbolic rather than relational or based on the person's individual character. However, in Zama's case it is almost logical that she would have "always [hung] around with white people" (lines 6 -7) as she was the only black child living on the Smith's property and commuted with them daily to and from the same schools and would very likely have generalised this to her schoolyard affiliations.

The repetition in line 7 where Zama says, "I know I'm sounding all like white black, white black" emphasises the significance of the idea encapsulated by Zama in the words "black" and "white". It is as if Zama attempts to acknowledge that her narrative could be interpreted as racialised while simultaneously denying any racialised or racist perceptions of her relationships. The "but" in line 7 is used to indicate that her friendships only became black and white when she reached grade seven. In lines 9 - 11 Zama then states that it is at this time that she "started being a very in-between person" when she reached grade seven. She then says that she has "always" (line 10) found herself to be an "in-between person". This confusion about when she started to feel *in-between* could possibly show that Zama only became consciously aware of her feelings and her identity when she reached her teenage years. Zama says that it is at this age that she started making "other friends" (line 8). Lines 1-8 imply that by "other friends" Zama means black friends. She says that she had white and black groups of friends in junior school but that they did not "intermingle" (line 12). It was up to Zama to move *in-between* her racially divided groups of friends.

Zama attended different junior and high schools. This meant leaving some of her friends behind and having to establish new friendships. At her new high school, people often thought she was adopted because of the way she spoke and she was accused of being a coconut (lines 17 - 19). Zama describes herself as "finally starting to move over" (line 14) and "[make] black friends" (line 13) in her last two years of high school. The use of the word "finally" (line 14) implies that this "move" to have black friends was something that she expected should happen. The phrase "move over" (line 13) suggests she had to leave something behind. It appears that it is only through her conscious effort to befriend her black peers that she gained acceptance by them.

Zama describes her black peers as "[discovering] that [she] could speak Zulu" (line 18). The word "discovering" implies that Zama may have hidden or not disclosed her ability to speak Zulu openly to her peers. This suggests that Zama could possibly have experienced some discomfort with her Zulu or black identity.

In-between is part of her identity, which, at times, has been difficult for her to manage. The difficulties manifested in her social relationships and in her efforts to balance these relationships

within the context of her experience of being *in-between*. It seems that, for Zama, narrating a consistent identity is difficult since *in-betweenness*, for her, is more about a felt identity than about perspective. The *in-betweenness* is neither fully good nor fully bad and consequently results in tensions that affect the experience and expression of her identity.

As with Zama's story, Gugu's narrative does not present an image of the white and black sectors of the population in South African society inter-mingling. In her interview, Gugu presents her experience of not fitting in with the black and coloured youth in the townships as a good thing as she does not agree with the consumption of alcohol, which she believes, characterises the youth of these communities. Ironically, as she no longer lives with the Schmidt family, this leaves her isolated from the community within which she has ended up living.

Extract 3: Gugu

1.   A: What personal (cultural or spiritual) strengths, supports, values or beliefs give your life
2.   meaning? What is important to you? How do you understand being-happy and living-well?
3.   Ok, so tell me about what you believe and how that makes you feel about living your life
4.   and about who you are.
5.   G: Ok, the things that make me happy ne? Um, (laughs). Ja. Is that I am a different girl
6.   with other children, ja. And I see the things that are going on now the things
7.   that are outside. The younger generations and the older generations. And I see myself. I am
8.   not, what do I say, I am not included with them.
9.   A: Ok
10. G: It like I'm an other person, you see. I am happy about that. And I'm not like other
11. children and go to the tavern.
12. A: By other children who do you mean?
13. G: Like, like if you see now our generations, you see a lots go to taverns, go to, you
14. see all the night was spent at taverns like, you see the children. I say thank you I am not
15. going there. I am sitting at home. Um yoh, ja. I'm watching the TV that is all. Ja.

Gugu's childhood years coincided with the final decades of Apartheid. Consequently her childhood living arrangements were more racially defined in terms of law than was the case for the other participants in this study. Gugu lived variously and transiently in a white urban area, a black rural area and, finally, in a township with her mother. In the township situation, Gugu's sense of self is defined by not being a part of the majority of young people as she experiences them. In lines 5 – 7 she places herself *in-between* the younger and older generations stating that she is "different" (E3 line 5) and "not included" (line 8). She experiences herself as "an other person" (E3 line 10). Her

marked and unconventional separation of the words "an" and "other" seems to emphasise the otherness she experiences, although this interpretation is a guarded one in the light of Gugu's limited proficiency in the English language.

Gugu refers to herself as a "girl" (E3 line 5) and as a "[child]" throughout the extract. There are various possible explanations for this but as she is a woman in her mid-thirties it seems significant. She may not see herself as a grown woman (she is unmarried and lives at home with her mother), or she may not have access to language that accurately reflects her age. Another possibility is that her experience, reflected in her language, refers to the Apartheid-endorsed practice of referring to grown black women and men as 'girls' and 'boys' respectively. Whatever the explanation, one has a sense that Gugu's experience of herself as a grown woman with agency in her world has been compromised ;"And I see myself. I am not, what do I say, I am not included with them" (E3 lines 7 – 8). It appears that she finds herself living in a somewhat liminal space, between childhood and adulthood, between one community and another, within a community but not an integral part of it (E3 lines 7 – 8, 10 – 11, 14 - 15).

It could be said that Gugu experiences herself as not fitting into her current situation in the township: she chooses staying at home, separated from her peers, as a safer option and one in line with her values (lines 14 -15) which were established while growing up with the Schmidt family.

In contrast to the other participants, James sees his differences and *in-betweenness* as advantageous. His family background, from an outsider's perspective, could appear the most complex. He has three families and several different places he calls home. He has moved between these three families and his respective siblings' homes, boarding school and university. However, despite stating several times throughout his interview that his differences and complex background have been useful in his relationships with others, Extract 4 demonstrates that James does feel the need to find common ground to fit in.

Extract 4: James
1.   J: Um, when I reached high school I was very good at sport, so it was always a nice
2.   common area, that, where nothing really matters except your talent for the sport you
3.   know?
4.   A: Ja.
5.   J: So, it is a nice little bonding thing. So I um, tried to get out of Benoni, for a little bit, I
6.   was quite a good cricketer and I tried to go to one of the other schools in Jo'burg for
7.   cricket, didn't work out, so I ended up going to high school. Where, um it is almost a very

8. different environment, it is I mean, all the other schools coming together to one sort of

9. central school. So not everyone knows your whole environment, not everyone knows your

10. background.

11. A: Ok.

12. J: In terms of me, I tend to steer clear of all of that, like here I am now, you know

13. A: Ok.

14. J: Like, I suppose it does, it is a little different at times, because people do assume a lot

15. of things that are fairly wrong, um, like I have always been fortunate in a sense that my

16. godmother has always been into fashion, and that sort of stuff, so I'm always fairly well

17. dressed. Um, you know I have never really been or seen to be like poverty stricken…

James seems to move between two experiences. On the one hand he positions himself as a person who lives in the present: "like here I am now" (E4 line 12) and discounts his background as an informally fostered domestic worker's child, "I have never really been or seen to be like poverty stricken…" (E4 line 17); "…not everyone knows your background" (E4 lines 9 – 10). It is interesting to note that James claims to be comfortable with his background as a domestic worker's child but does not always feel comfortable to own it: "In terms of me, I tend to steer clear of all that" (E4 line 12). He expresses how important it has been for him to find common ground, for example through sport (E4 lines 1 – 3, 5). Sport and his ability in that area seem to have carried the potential to plaster over some of the tensions of being *in-between*: "it was always a nice common area, that, where nothing really matters except your talent for the sport you know?" (E4 lines 1 – 2). Being able to dress in a manner that does not distinguish him by being not "well dressed" (E4 lines 16 – 17) again reflects James's need not to have to own his original background in certain contexts. Interpretation of his apparent need in this regard is offered with caution as his ebullient tone in the interview would seem to contradict his expressed discomfort. At most it could be said that, as with most humans, he seeks acceptance.

In spite of the implied tension between the two positions described above, it could be said that James's *in-between* experience is positive for him in that he believes he has perspectives that others may lack: "people do assume a lot of things that are fairly wrong" (E4 lines 14 – 15).

Conclusion

Analysis of the excerpts above in terms of the over-arching theme of *in-betweenness* crystallises particular features of the lived experiences and narratives of the participants. Any attempt to make value judgements of these *in-between* experiences would be inappropriate since the effects of the various tensions experienced and expressed in the interviews are clearly multi-faceted. The tensions

resulting from the *in-between* experiences can be interpreted as contributing to a richness and complexity of experience but also, possibly, as offering challenges that have, at times, been overwhelming, confusing and even unfair.

Negotiating their pathways through their experiences by means of narrating them in the interviews, confirms that the participants variously lived through tensions in the realms of family, values, language, race, colour, material possessions and opportunities, aspirations and, also, inclusion and exclusion in social groups.

What can be safely said is that, for all participants, the experience of *in-betweenness*, central to their narratives, is an integral and defining feature of their experience of who they are.

I.2. Having and Not Having: finances, possessions and opportunities

For each participant, an important and material consequence of the position of being *in-between* meant that in different instances they would have, for example, better opportunities than their biological siblings but possibly less opportunity than their foster siblings. It meant that they were unable to afford some things that their peers could afford.

The theme of *having and not having* is divided into three sub-themes. Firstly: finances, which refers to experiences participants referred to that directly pertained to matters relating to monetary resources or the lack thereof in relation to biological families, the families that informally fostered them, institutions and their own agency in earning or acquiring money. Secondly, possessions refers not only to actual physical material possessions that were made available to the participants by virtue of their position as informally fostered domestic workers' children, but also to possessions that they may not have had access to and to the meaning, in terms of experience, of having and not having had those possessions. Thirdly, with the sub-theme, 'opportunities', an examination of opportunities afforded the participants by their status will further add to the issue of experiences of having and not having. Although the sub-themes named above are obviously inter-related and inform each other, an attempt will be made to tease out sections of each extract in a way that will highlight and possibly explicate the quoted participant's experience of the sub-theme. In this manner, it is intended that the sub-themes will converge for the reader in such a way that the main theme is illustrated.

Extract 5 below illustrates James's perceptions and experiences in relation to financial awareness and responsibility. It becomes clear in this extract that his *in-between* experience is also reflected in

the way in which financial matters have affected him. The extract also gives an insight into James's awareness and interest in financial matters and in the bigger picture of investment and economy.

Extract 5: James

1.   J: Like the other thing is, when I came to varsity, I became very aware of my parents'
2.   salaries, um, you know. Extremely aware. I mean, there has been a situation at varsity that
3.   I've earned more money than my mother. You know, which is almost, it is extremely
4.   unfair. She works a hell of a lot harder than I do, you know.
5.   A: Ja.
6.   J: And it's a lot, it just opened my eyes up to, to a lot of stuff. Um, I have always as well,
7.   with that, I have always tried to work in the holidays, especially when I started at varsity.
8.   So I have done a lot of muck jobs! Really boring, and tedious, I have worked in stationary
9.   stores, I've you know, a lot of that stuff has, has done, has ja. And also I suppose just
10. realising like, that you don't, my situation has made me realise a lot, that I can't look at,
11.   that you can't look at a book by its cover at all. I mean, I am fortunate enough now. I live
12. in a really cool digs with really cool people. Um, you know I coach 1st team ladies' hockey
13. at Rhodes. I drive a really awesome car, which was handed down to me last year. I, I don't
14. think many people on campus would know from afar. If someone said, "you know, he is
15. the son of a domestic", I don't think they would believe you. Ja, I mean, my situation, I
16. think, is quite, is quite different in a sense, because I have been fortunate to have almost, I
17. mean it's been a benefit for me, 'coz I have had a whole other family.
18. A: Ja.
19. J: Um, you know and at times they do contribute financially, but, regardless of what the
20. financial benefits are, um, it has never really been for varsity. My financial benefits have
21. been for my sports and stuff like that. Everything academic, everything, you know, like
22. pocket money-wise especially for those first three years, has been purely my mother. Um,
23. now pocket money wise, I do get help. You know, I get bits and pieces flowing in from
24. everywhere into my bank account every single month. But I, I don't take more than I need.

James became acutely aware of the difference in earning power between his biological parents and the parents of most of his university peers (lines 1 – 2). He emphasises this awareness by saying, "extremely aware, I mean" (line 2) suggesting that his arrival at university marked a turning point for him in his understanding of his parents' financial situation with his earlier lack of awareness.

He also comments that the differential in earning capacity of people is unjust (lines 2 – 4). He uses repetition (the word, "extremely" in lines 2 and 4) to emphasise the intensity with which he responds to this unfairness. The emphatic tone in his statement about his mother working "a hell of a lot harder" than he does (line 4) together with his earlier comment that he "earned more money than [his] mother" (line 3) reiterates his discomfort with this unfairness. In terms of the progression of his thinking, this links to the position of financial accountability and responsibility James aspires to, which is summarised in the utterance, "I don't take more then I need" (E5 line 24).

James's statement in lines 13- 15, "I don't think many people on campus would know from afar. If someone said, 'you know, he is the son of a domestic', I don't think they would believe you", implies that his status as a domestic worker's child has been masked. This has been possible because he has taken responsibility for some of his own finances by finding various jobs. James's story includes reference to his acceptance that the need for him for work and financial security and independence are directly linked. In the light of this standpoint, he is able to experience, as suggested by the above italicised sentences, that jobs that are "muck", "really boring" and "tedious" (line 8) are enjoyable because they facilitate his financial independence as well, perhaps, as keeping the masking of his background intact.

James refers to himself as "fortunate" (line 11 and 16) in relation to his current financial position and with reference to his foster families. This good fortune seems to be linked to his not being seen as a domestic worker's child (lines 14 – 15). Material or financial elements which have aided the concealment of this aspect of his narrative from his peers include his "really cool digs" (line 12) and his "really awesome car" (line 13). These possessions and the financial support he received were made possible through his informal fostering arrangements (23-24). His access to financial support outside his biological family allowed him to develop an appearance that concealed his background, thereby allowing him to live without having to explain himself unless he felt comfortable to do so.

Zama, like James, is aware that her biological family's financial situation may limit what she can do or what she can have. Her experience differs from James's in that she has not had money "flowing in from everywhere" (E5 lines 23-24). As such, she says she needs to be reminded at times by her mother that she is not always able to do everything her friends do. Two extracts have been selected to explore Zama's experiences. Extract 6 looks at how Zama and her mother have negotiated Zama's financial requirements in relation to what Zama wants and what Zama needs. Extract 7 examines how Zama's informal foster family have supported her financially and helped her to find funding so that she would not feel as though she was "burdening" (E7 line 8) them. Her experience will be analysed across the two extracts.

Extract 6: Zama

1. My mother has always been the sort of person to bring me back down. To say you know
2. this is actually who you really are, and especially as I said from coming here to Rhodes and
3. sort of that. You know sometimes I'd phone my mom and say "you know mom, I really
4. want to do this my friends are doing it. And she'd be like it's all good that your friends are
5. doing it, coz they can do it. But you have got to think about who you are, and if you can do
6. it. And you know that I can't do some of the stuff. And like even, my mom sort of
7. understands the dynamics of what's going on. Coz she even says like "my child I would
8. really love for you to do that but you know you can't do that, we can't afford it or,
9. whatever." And stuff like that. I think my mom has pretty much helped me to sort of live,
10. like I have never felt I couldn't live up to the standards or anything. Like I have never felt I
11. can't dress up nicely coz my parents can't afford it. Like my mom, when I come back from
12. holidays will be like "listen do you need any clothes" or whatever. She will take me
13. shopping for all the real necessities and stuff. And other people may have like five trench
14. coats but I have my one really good one. You know that sort of thing. So my mom know
15. sort of like the things I need and she sort of like, she understands what is going on in life.
16. She understands that sometimes there are things that all teenagers are wanting at that stage,
17. you know that sort of thing.

Extract 7: Zama

1. A: With your riding, how did you fund that?
2. Z: Mary was always good in terms of looking for an option in which she didn't have to pay.
3. Like so I could get recognised for what I was doing, sort of thing. Like you know she
4. would, like in the beginning she would do the whole paying and stuff. But then she would
5. get people involved, like people to fund it like "you know this is Zama, she is doing this,
6. she is like the only black rider here in KZN", that type of thing "don't you wanna help
7. fund", like you know. And stuff like that so. Mary was always good about sort of funding.
8. Like a better option, in terms of like, so, like I wouldn't feel like I was burdening them, sort
9. of thing. So it feels like I'm doing something good and there's people out there that want to
10. support what I'm doing.

Zama experiences herself as longing to have access to aspects of a lifestyle at university that is not within reach of her financial reality (E6 lines 3 – 4). This is indicated when she describes her mother having had to "bring her back down" (E6 line 1) and remind her of who she "really [is]" (E6

123

line 2). In addition to showing Zama's mother's understanding of their situation, these statements provide insight into how Zama feels. Throughout her interview and as demonstrated here, Zama portrays herself as having had to return to her true position as that of a black *Zulu girl*, a position which was interrupted by her involvement with the Smith family and then again by attending university. In terms of finances and possessions Zama positions her mother in the dual role of reminding her about her true position but also being the person who ensures that she has enough, in terms of money and possessions (clothes, for example in lines 13 - 14), to prevent her from feeling excluded (E6 lines 9 – 11).

In E6, Zama refers to her biological family and the ways in which her mother, particularly, provides her with what she needs within the capacity of her family's financial means. In E7 line 2, the initial ambiguity of Zama's comment suggests Mary could be seen to be avoiding financial support of Zama, however this is undone by Zama's further explication of how Mary operated financially. In E7, Zama describes the manner in which the Smiths supported her financially (E7 line 4) and simultaneously modelled financial self-sufficiency (E7 line 8) and creativity in approaches to acquiring funds (E7 line 2, 4 – 6).

In terms of opportunities, as with her accessing university funding, Zama's participation in horse riding was an opportunity afforded her directly as a result of her informal fostering: "…like in the beginning [Mary] she would do the whole paying and stuff" (E7 line 4). The way in which Zama experienced this support clearly led to increasing self-esteem: "I wouldn't feel like I was burdening them" (E7 line 8) and "so it feels like I'm doing something good" (E7 line 9).

E6 and E7 have demonstrated how Zama dealt with her experiences and how both her mother and the Smiths have supported her in their own ways. She seems to have had a repetitious invitation from her mother to check herself or remind herself that she does not have as much as her friends and has to make choices that many of her university friends do not have to face. She is torn about what she would like to participate in, in terms of social opportunity, especially in light of her position of *having and not having* in relation to her peers. One can possibly assume (from the requests to her mother) that her experience in this regard would, at times, have been uncomfortable and conflicted. However, also evident in E6 is her acceptance of her financial status. Both her mother and the Smiths supported Zama to be financially aware and responsible. In addition, it appears that Zama experienced her mother as always ensuring that she has what she needs but not necessarily what she wants.

Unlike Zama, Themba describes himself as having grown up with every toy he could have wanted "because I lived with white people". However, as illustrated by the extracts below, having "everything" did not provide Themba with a sense of a stable future. In his case, from what he has expressed, it seems that, at times, material support exceeded the emotional support and recognition he craved from his foster family. Also, when Themba finished high school, support was withdrawn and having had "everything" while growing up, he felt abandoned and, since he had not been taught how to source funding, he was unable to pursue further education.

Extract 8: Themba

1. T: My whole high school, primary school life I was locked up, I used to get home to
2. (the township) and the only time I would leave my home my house was with my mom or
3. gran. I had, because I lived with white people, I had every toy under the sun, anything you
4. could think of, helicopters, cars, remote stuff, cricket sets,
5. A: Did you take them back to (the township) with you?
6. T: Ja, so I could share with all my friends and play. Obviously so I would have somebody
7. to play with. Well obviously they don't have toys like that. We had a big yard so, it was
8. awesome. I had goalposts, I had everything, volleyball, I had everything. Like a little
9. indoor centre but outside. We used to play until 6 o'clock in the evening my mom would
10. make us supper and we would eat and the kids would always come back tomorrow.

Extract 9: Themba

1. She couldn't afford to have me around anymore because Stephen and Kate were going to
2. varsity. I didn't go to varsity. I asked what's wrong with me, but there is a part of me
3. believes that I wouldn't have been in this situation that I am in today if I had gone to
4. varsity, I would have a better life, than what I have now. But at the same time I don't think
5. I have done anything to change that. Um well I'm beginning now I guess. I think I have
6. always had someone to blame instead of myself, blaming my situation, blaming my poor
7. parents, blaming Helen for not giving me more, but what more did she have to give me.
8. The one thing maybe I still, not that I blame her but, that I still blame her for was she, um
9. maybe helping me with the channels, even if she had helped getting me a student loan,
10. because I didn't know about those things. I mean my parents didn't even have a matric,
11. they didn't even go to high school so my mother works at a school as a cleaner and my
12. grandmother has been a maid since she was 13. So like even, like when my grandmother
13. has forms she says, what is this, and then she would always give it to me. I thought she
14. could have helped more in the sense of hopefully getting me a student loan, even though

15. she wasn't going to pay for it, I was going to pay for it in the end one day, like most people
16. do. I know a lot of, most of my friends today are still paying for student loans. I think that
17. is a normal fact of life, not all parents can afford to send all their kids to varsity so I have,
18. um, I just felt that she could have done more there but at the same time she was confused
19. herself; she was a single mom, probably stressed with her own financial hardships, sending
20. her own kids to varsity and now she has to worry about me as well.

In E8 and E9, one can clearly see Themba's contradictory experiences in relation to both financial and emotional support. E8 discusses his early childhood while E9 discusses what happened when he no longer lived with the Martins.

Themba describes himself as having had "every toy under the sun" because "[he] lived with white people" (E8 line 3). He describes one of the values for him of having so many toys was that they earned him play companions when he returned to the township for weekends and holidays with his gran (E8 lines 6 – 9). So, having "every toy under the sun" (E8 line 3) enabled Themba to break the ice with the township children particularly since his command of isiZulu was limited in his early childhood.

Themba doesn't directly discuss the contrast between being "locked up" (E 8 line 1) when he returned to the township in childhood with the relative physical freedom he experienced while the Martins. Possibly, Themba's experience of being "locked up" during his childhood was a result of his mother and grandmother's concern for his safety during the ongoing political violence which was evident in the townships and rural settlements within KwaZulu-Natal during Themba's childhood.

Interestingly, the toys not only provided Themba with a channel to engage other children as playmates, but placed him in a position to set up a safe venue for the children in the area surrounding his biological parents' home: "I had everything. Like a little indoor centre but outside" (E8 lines 8 – 9). The effect of this opportunity was to stabilise his social group in the township. In addition to this, he reports that his "mom would make [them] supper and [they] would eat and the kids would always come back tomorrow" (E8 lines 9 – 10). Even though Themba's biological family in no way had the material wealth of the Martins, Themba notes that his parents had the resources to feed neighbour children supper. The tone of nostalgia in this section of Extract 8 suggests that the combined opportunity afforded him by the ownership of the toys from the Martins together with the hospitality of his biological family, gave him a position of inclusion and the experience of sharing material possessions when in the context of the township.

Extract 9 is steeped in references by Themba to the loss of support experienced when Helen was no longer able to accommodate his educational or financial needs (E9 line 1). The effect of this withdrawal was confusing for him and included the experience of self-blame ("what's wrong with me" (E9 line 2)), guilt ("she was a single mom probably stressed with her own financial hardships, sending her own kids to varsity and now she has to worry about me as well" (E9 lines 19 – 20)), blame (E9 lines 8 – 16) and, eventually, rationalisation ("but at the time she was confused herself" (E9 lines 18 – 19)), as he tried to come to terms with the change.

Themba has clearly linked the loss of financial support with the lack of opportunity. He correlates tertiary education with the opportunity to be successful in terms of financial and professional status (E9 lines 2 – 4), and *Because I have always thought if you haven't got a degree you are nothing. And I hate that. I hate having to think that I am lesser than someone else"*. As he looks around himself, he has a strong sense of the injustice of not having known how to access student loans: "most of my friends today are still paying for student loans. I think that is a normal fact of life, not all parents can afford to send their kids to varsity" (E9 lines 16 – 17).

For six years (between the ages of 18 and 24), Themba describes himself as having blamed others for his lack of tertiary education but as having now arrived at a realisation that he needs to take responsibility for himself in order for things to change: "But at the same time I don't think I have done anything to change that. Um well I'm beginning now I guess. I think I have always had someone to blame instead of myself" (E9 lines 4 – 6).