(Re) Constructing Identities:

South African Domestic Workers, English Language Learning, and Power

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Dedication

This dissertation is dedicated to the incredible working women around the world, and particularly to the working women throughout South Africa.

Thank you for your stories; thank you for your strength.

Abstract

Domestic workers have played an essential role in the history of South Africa; and yet, current research neither explores the educational experiences of these women nor examines the ways in which national discourses surrounding English language learning influence their educational motivations. This dissertation aims to ameliorate this dearth of research while simultaneously broadening global conceptions of adult language learners by focusing on the English language learning of older, Black, female, South African domestic workers. Utilizing Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis (CENA), in which I draw from the histories, narratives, and HERstories of 28 female domestic workers over three-year span, I explore the complex reasons and motivations for South African domestic workers to learn English in a multilingual linguascape. Framed in poststructural theories of language, identity, and power in connection with postcolonial theories of English language learning, I make three main arguments. First, I contend that the terms "education" and "literacy" have become metonyms for "English language education" and "English literacy" that undeniably affect these women's educational and linguistic motivations. Second, I find that these women are living in a three-fold state of domination in which they incur symbolic violence from the neo-colonial importance placed on English leading to their linguistic vulnerability. Third, I find that despite metonymic discourses purporting the essential nature of English in post-apartheid South Africa, and notwithstanding the numerous forms of violence enacted upon these women in their past and present lives, South African domestic workers live within interstices in which they are showcasing aspects of agency and autonomy in their work, home, and

educational spaces while concurrently remaining within the boundaries of metonymic discourse that binds them to these spaces.

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List of Abbreviations

ABE	Adult Basic Education
ABET	Adult Basic Education and Training
ANC	African National Congress
BEE	Black Economic Empowerment
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CENA	Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis
CNA	Critical Narrative Analysis
EFL	English as a Foreign Language
ELLs	English Language Learners
ESL	English as a Second Language
FLAS	Foreign Language and Area Studies Fellowship
KGALP	Kha ri Gude (Let Us Learn) Adult Literacy Programme
NGOs	Non-governmental Organizations
PANSALB	Pan South African Language Board
PRAESA	Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa
SACHED	South African Committee for Higher Education
SADWU	South African Domestic Workers Union
SADSAWU	South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union
SAE	South African English
SANLI	South African National Literacy Initiative
SASA	South African Schools Act
TVET	Technical and Vocational Education and Training
USWE	Use, Speak and Write English

Chapter 1: The History of English Language Education, Adult Language Literacy, and Domestic Work in South Africa

> *"I think it's almost that they're the forgotten generation. I think you've got to understand them and locate them in the context of the country. The Bantu Education Act of 1953- they were victims of that…they are also products of the migrant labor system and that was a system in which they were taken away from their families or their homelands, right? And they were supposed to work in these commercial white centers, or white South African centers… I think in so many ways, government has done a lot in terms of ABET (Adult Basic Education and Training), which is providing education for older people, but I think society has, to a large extent, forgotten these women"* (Emmanuel, personal communication, September 1, 2015).

The above narrative comes from Emmanuel,[1] a volunteer teacher who works in a wealthy suburb outside of Johannesburg with black, South African, female domestic workers who are learning English as a Foreign Language (EFL).[2] Domestic workers, "the largest single sector of women's employment in South Africa" (Ally, 2009, p. 2), are often overlooked in discussions regarding the future of South African education. As Emmanuel suggested, this population has been impacted by oppressive apartheid laws that segregated learners according to skin color. They have been affected by enforced migration in which they were taken away from their homes and stripped of land rights. And, as Emmanuel contended, they have seemingly been forgotten by policies regarding adult education and language education. And yet, the group of domestic workers who Emmanuel teaches, most of whom are ages 50 to 70, some who are without any formal education and others who have received an inequitable education under the Bantu Education Act of 1953 and a multitude of other racially disparate apartheid policies, and all of whom have native and home languages other than English, come to classes week

[1] All names have been changed to protect the privacy of participants.

[2] I met Emmanuel during my pre-dissertation research in Johannesburg in the summer of 2014. He and his wife had been teaching EFL classes to domestic workers for several years and they invited me to observe their classes, and later, to aid in the teaching of English to these women.

after week to learn English. Due to their ages and social standing in South African society, they may be forgotten in the broad rhetoric and policy-formation of South African adult education. Nonetheless, they have remained committed to learning English.

At first mention, many might not find these women's dedication to English language learning surprising, particularly due to the internationalization of English and its emergence as the lingua franca of globalization. For example, some might assume that they need English to communicate with their employers, especially because the largest number of native English speakers in South Africa is found in the Gauteng Province where Johannesburg is situated (Statistics South Africa, 2011). However, while many of their employers do speak English, they also speak languages such as Afrikaans and Greek in the home. Moreover, many of these women have worked for their employers for five to twenty years and have effectively communicated with them during this time.

Others might suggest that they are studying English in the hopes of improving their job prospects (Casale & Posel, 2011; Chiswick & Miller, 2003), but most of these women are nearing or of retirement age[3] and expressed little interest in realistically finding new positions.[4] Furthermore, at present, only 12% of the population of South Africa uses English as a main language of communication and less than .5% of black South Africans report using English as their main home language (Posel & Zeller, 2016). IsiZulu,[5] on the other hand, is the most frequently used language in the country, with

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[3] The retirement age in South Africa is 60 years old.

[4] As I discuss in Chapter Six, although many of my participants have hopes for a future outside of domestic work, any formal plan of leaving their work was not evident in my interviews and observations with them.

[5] While commonly referred to as Zulu, I use the prefix "isi" in "isiZulu" throughout this dissertation as this is the Zulu prefix used to connote "language."

almost 25% of the population identifying as native isiZulu speakers (Heugh, 2007) and over 60% identifying as isiZulu, isiXhosa, and Sepedi speakers (Posel & Zeller, 2016).

While the number of native English speakers is higher in the Gauteng Province than elsewhere in South Africa due to the ethnic and linguistic diversity of the province and of Johannesburg in particular, isiZulu remains more widely spoken than any other language in Gauteng with 19.8% of people being native isiZulu language speakers and 13.3% of people being native English language speakers (Statistics South Africa, 2011). With eleven official languages implemented in the post-apartheid democratic constitution, South African national policies are increasingly emphasizing the importance of "mother-tongue,"[6] or native language, education for both youth and adults. Despite the growing role of native language education, and despite the fact that these women both live and work in environments in which English language literacy is not always necessary, they continue spending their limited free time attending English language literacy classes. This dissertation seeks to understand why.

In South Africa, the political and economic emphasis on education has been central to public discourse and has been a key governmental policy focus since the end of apartheid in 1994. Nelson Mandela famously affirmed that "education is the most powerful weapon used to change the world," and conversations informing South African educational policy have consistently echoed this sentiment, holding that it is education that leads to the recognition and mitigation of inequities; it is education that provides hope for future generations; it is education that leads to social and economic progress.

[6] "Mother-tongue" is referenced in quotes because although this is a widely used term in language learning, the term assumes one main home language. In South Africa, many people speak several languages in the home, hence the use of the term native language(s) education rather than mother-tongue education.

Thus, educational policies in post-apartheid South Africa often explicitly frame education as a political tool to advance social equality, safeguard democratic values, and redress historical injustices. Yet, adult basic education in general, and adult language education in particular, remain under-resourced and underfunded, perpetuating the consequences of apartheid educational policies for, what Emmanuel described as, “the forgotten generation.”

Purpose of the Study

Situated in the intersections of the largely political trajectories of both language and adult education in South Africa and the tumultuous history of South African domestic work and its connection to socially inscribed gender and race roles, my research centers on the English language learning of female South African domestic workers and the ways in which these women use English to recreate both their personal identities and re-narrate social histories. Specifically, it seeks to answer the following research questions:

1. What personal, social, and historical forces shape South African domestic workers’ desires to learn English?
2. What role does language education play in the lives of these participants?
3. Why might these participants focus on learning English specifically rather than increasing literacy skills in other languages such as their native languages?

In answering these questions, this research contributes innovative thinking in the field of education about the intersections of language learning, adult literacy, social identities, and modes of personal identity reconstruction in post-colonial contexts.

Moreover, this research helps to broaden and to provide more nuanced understandings of adult education in both South African and larger global contexts. What becomes apparent within the pages of this dissertation are the social and political factors shaping the educational and linguistic choices that these women make, and how these choices impact participants' narratives and life histories, or what I am calling "HERstories" (Kaiper, 2018).[7]

The HERstory of This Study

While my participants' narratives are undeniably entrenched in a long history of domestic work that has become engrained into the socio-cultural milieu of South Africa, too often, the multiple identities that these women concurrently hold are diminished into the sole category of "domestic worker." By emphasizing the narratives embedded within this dissertation, a more nuanced understanding of the links between social, linguistic, and political histories and individual HERstories will foreseeably be produced. Further, by revealing the subtleties within my participants' narratives, what becomes possible is the re-appropriation of the term "domestic worker," a term historically thought of as a role for the uneducated, poor, female, black South African, to instead, more complex and multifaceted conceptions of their identities.

Locating Space/Locating Participants

> **Amahle:** Yeah I want to write my life story.
> **Anna:** Why do you want people to read about your life?
> **Amahle:** I want to share my story with other people you know? If I write, that time I want to continue to go to school and then I will write it. Last time I was asking my son "can you help me to start writing a book?" He said "ma I can do"

[7] As I further elaborate on in Chapter Three, I am using the term "HERstories" to differentiate between individual stories within South Africa and the histories of language, education, and adult basic education within the country. By using the term "HERstory" while also describing larger South African histories, I am attempting to reveal how a country's history and individual women's HERstories conflict and interact.

> and he started to try.
> **Anna:** How about this. All of this interview I'm going to type, and then I can show it to you. And then if you want to, we can meet again and then we can keep adding more. Would you want that?
> **Amahle:** Yes!
> **Anna:** Because then if you tell me more stories, I can write them and then you can have your book.
> **Amahle:** Really? I would like that. I don't know if it would work! My life- I got lots of stories but I will cut to them. Or the deeper ones I will put aside or not use my name you know?

This dissertation centers on stories, stories of domestic work, stories of language learning, stories of colonization, stories of family, stories of future goals and dreams, and even stories of both symbolic and physical violence. The center of this broader story is the English language learning of South African domestic workers, but it also encompasses life narratives and stories such as those that Amahle one day dreams of writing and publishing. Amahle was just one of the 28 women at three sites that I visited and interacted in. Amahle, like all of my participants, is a socially categorized and self-identified black, non-native English speaking, female domestic worker who has had little access to formal education and has spent the majority of her life in domestic work. Also like many of my participants, Amahle wants to learn to speak more English and perhaps, learn to become literate in English. For Amahle, this goal partially stems from wanting to create a book about her life that she can share with people both in and outside of South Africa. For other women in my study, the goal of learning English derives from wanting to feel differently in the social spaces in which they live. English becomes a means to pushback against identities historically and socially ascribed to them. But what becomes most apparent throughout this dissertation is that my participants' desires for learning

English changed and transformed depending on the histories that they have lived through and the differing social and geographical spaces in which they live and work.

My research, while concentrating broadly on "South African" domestic workers, is more explicitly situated in the cosmopolitan spaces in and around Johannesburg in which language use is always changing and is dependent on communities of language speakers that are also varying and fluctuating. Thus, the stories of the women in this study might differ extensively from domestic workers living in more rural spaces in South Africa and foreseeably differ from those in other cosmopolitan spaces within the country. Additionally, while I draw from three differing sites, two of which are educational spaces and one that spans a larger community of domestic workers within the Gauteng province, these sites stem from my own connections with the people who I have met and the spaces in which I have visited and lived. Consequently, one can conjecture that the narratives of my participants invariably differ from those in other geographical and social spaces throughout South Africa.

And yet, as Pavlenko and Blackledge (2004) contend, "since individuals often shift and adjust ways in which they identify and position themselves in distinct contexts, identities are best understood when they are approached in their entirety, rather than through a single aspect of subject position" (p. 16). While my participants are situated in one geographical location and share similar components of their racialized, gendered, educational, and career backgrounds, each of their identities shifts and changes consistently depending on numerous variables within larger confines of space and time. Thus, it is neither my participants' race, nor gender, nor career, nor geographical locations, nor linguistic backgrounds that I am solely interested in. Instead, it is the ways

in which these identities come together to produce larger narratives and the ways in which these narratives tell both individualized and interconnected stories that are at the

center of my research. Moreover, it is also the ways in which my own narrative both restricts and changes the narratives of my participants that leads to my choice in methodologies, analyses, and conclusions of this research.

My Own Narrative

As a young child, I remember listening to Hugh Masekela and the Graceland Band singing "Bring Back Nelson Mandela." Though my parents described to me the heroism of Nelson Mandela and the horror of apartheid, I did not fully grasp the significance of these lyrics, nor did I know the role South African history would play in my own life. While my interest in South Africa remained, it was not until college that I realized the impact of my parents' descriptions of South African history on my desire to understand this unique and complex country. My interest in education, an interest that had been developing since high school, combined with my fascination in South African history, prompted me to find the summer program led by the School for International Training in Durban, South Africa, focusing on South African education. While there, I primarily stayed with an isiZulu-speaking host family in Durban, a family I still send holiday letters to every year, and I became intrigued with the isiZulu language. This interest broadened when I stayed for five days with an isiZulu-speaking family in a small, circular, one-room mud home in rural Kwa-Zulu Natal.

In this room that I shared with five other women, there was no electricity, no books or board games, and thus, the only option for entertainment was to attempt to communicate with one another. "Igama lakho nguAnna," (Your name is Anna) I would

practice, and the women would laugh. “Cha” (No) they would say, “Igama lami!” (My name!). “Sanibonani” (Hello everyone) I would announce as I entered the home. “Yebo!”

(Yes!) they would respond happily when I finally had gotten the correct verb tense for this common greeting. These back and forth linguistic mini-lessons solidified my desire to return to South Africa and learn isiZulu. Additionally, during this time, I visited both rural and urban schools where I met students of all ages, races, and linguistic backgrounds- elementary and high school students, Indian, black, and white learners, students who were struggling to learn in a language other than their own, and some who were comfortably literate in up to five or six languages. This trip as a twenty-year-old young woman sparked my passion for international education and led to the creation of my ten-year plan: I would receive my PhD in International Education focusing on South African education, and I would learn isiZulu.

I did not visit South Africa again for almost a decade. After returning from Durban, I spent eight years teaching domestically in New York City and New Mexico, as well as teaching English as a Foreign Language (EFL) internationally in Thailand and Argentina. While this time was inspiring and eye opening, it only fueled my desire to further my experience and studies in South African education. In the Fall of 2013, seeking to fulfill my ten-year plan, I began my doctoral studies in Comparative and International Education. During the first several months of my studies, seeking funding as most graduate students do, I learned of a fellowship called the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship in which a student could use the summer to travel to a country of their choice and learn a “less commonly spoken language.” The second part of my ten-year plan went immediately in effect. I applied for and received the fellowship,

booked my flights to Johannesburg, registered for intensive isiZulu language classes (five hours a day, five days a week) at Wits Language School through the University of

Witwatersrand, and flew to the country I had not been to for many years. Little did I know that I would have the opportunity to return to Johannesburg two more times and conduct both my pre-dissertation and dissertation research here.

In June of 2015, I returned to Johannesburg for two months to take additional isiZulu classes and conduct my pre-dissertation research. I returned again in July 2016, ready to continue my language classes and conduct my dissertation research with one site, the Gauteng English Literacy Program, solidified. Over the course of my five-month stay, however, I was able to discover two more sites to meet, observe, and interview participants. Much of this had to do with my isiZulu teacher, Langa, and his wife, Eva, who were personally connected to these sites in differing ways. Because of my close relationship with Langa and Eva, as well as my previous trips to South Africa in which I built relationships with women from the Gauteng English Literacy program, I gained significantly more access into many of my participants' lives than I originally thought would be possible. In the Chapter Three, I detail each site and its participants, but before I do, I find it important to provide the following short caveat.

I share the aforementioned short narrative of my journeys to South Africa neither to center this dissertation on my own life history nor to focus on my work and travel goals. While as a researcher, I inevitably impact the course of my research, the focus of this study is on my participants' narratives and HERstories, not on my own. Consequently, I share a component of my personal narrative to disclose the ways in which I am neither an insider in South Africa nor an outside researcher with no prior

knowledge of this country before beginning my research. I, myself, work within an interstitial space. I have spent hundreds of hours learning isiZulu and yet, my interviews are conducted primarily in English about the role of the English language. I critique the role of English language learning globally and yet, I have acted as an English language teacher in several international spaces. I write about the problematic nature of using English as means for accessing white South Africans and foreigners, however, it is because of this access that I was able to build relationships with my participants and conduct this research. Even more, I problematize English as the global lingua franca while offering no solid construction of policies and practices as an alternative.

Like my participants, and like the language policies of South Africa, I am, in many ways, stuck within the spaces already created for me and those in which I have chosen to create. I am working within identities that have afforded me many privileges while concurrently producing my inability to have an "emic" understanding of the people and places at the center of this dissertation. Similar to those of my participants, my identities are consistently in flux with the linguistics practices and social performativities (Butler, 1997) that I employ. Therefore, I have chosen to have my voice as a constant presence in this dissertation, as well as in the narratives I present. This is intentional so as to not let the reader overlook my own complex and often problematic identities that I bring to this project, and the ways in which these identities undeniably impact the interviews, observations, and narratives that are produced.

Defining "English"

This dissertation ties my experiences with 28 women in three sites of research to the intricate history of colonial and postcolonial English language education, adult basic

education, and domestic work within South Africa to gain understanding of the personal and social motivations to learn English held by this group of women. However, before

delving into a detailed history of the English language in South African history, it is essential that I clarify what I am referencing when I utilize the word "English." While there are conceptions of "Standard English" (SE) that assume a "normal" English by which other Englishes derive, numerous authors argue that this concept of standardization does not exist. For example, as Bex and Watts (1999) contended, "notions of 'Standard English' vary from country to country, and not merely in the ways in which such a variety is described, but also in the prestige in which it is held and the functions it has developed to perform" (p. 5). Moreover, as Lass (2002) asserted, "virtually every regional variety of English has its own sociolinguistic continuum from 'standard' to vernacular" (p. 105). In South Africa, varieties of English include, but are not limited to, "South African English" (SAE), "Indian South African English" (ISAE) and "Black South African English" (BSAE). Mesthrie (2006), for example, discussed the history of ISAE and compared it to "Indian English", while BSAE was defined by de Klerk and Gough as "the variety of English commonly used by mother-tongue speakers of South Africa's indigenous African languages" (as cited in Lass, 2002, p. 356).

The existence of these English varieties, while both interesting and complex, is not at the center of this dissertation. When my participants used the word "English," it was not clear as to which variety of English they were referring to. Additionally, I did not distinguish a specific kind of English when discussing the "English language" with my participants. And yet, there are defining moments in interviews and observations when these English varieties are being referenced by my participants. For example, numerous

women referred to "proper" English or "good" English as something that they would like to attain. In other moments, women referenced "Coloured English" or "Indian English"

spoken by previous employers or current teachers. Even more, there were many moments when my participants would use an English word that I did not understand and vice versa.[8] For this dissertation, I use the term "English" to encompass the numerous English varieties existent in South Africa that fall under the umbrella of the English language. Nevertheless, I mention these linguistic variances to reveal the ways in which even within a study on English language learning, differing conceptions of language, and specifically of the English language, are constantly in existence.

The History of English Language Education in South Africa

The history of the English language within South Africa, and the ways in which this history is connected to current conceptions of the symbolic power of English, are complex. In the following sections, I trace the role of English in pre-Apartheid, Apartheid, and post-Apartheid South Africa, beginning with the arrival of British Colonizers in the 18th century.

Pre-Apartheid South African Education

In 1795, the British arrived in the Cape of Good Hope, today known as Cape Town, to overthrow Dutch rule and control the Cape sea route between Asia and Europe (Lass, 1995). Prior to this, from 1652 until 1795, the Dutch had colonized this territory, and only the Dutch language was used for access to resources and employment in the civil service (Kamwangamalu, 2002). As a way to undermine any Dutch influence, the British replaced the Dutch language, which later became a creole language known as

[8] Examples of these differences in English terms include: "car boot" = "car trunk", "robot"= "traffic light", "childminder"= "babysitter", etc.

Afrikaans,[9] with English as the lingua franca of the region. Moreover, the British promoted English as the language of politics, administration, and courts. As Alexander (1989) noted, "The upshot of British policy was that English became the language of public discourse among Whites while Afrikaans/Dutch was pushed back into the private and religious spheres" (p. 14). This went as far as the outright exclusion of Boers[10] from civil juries because their English was not adequate enough to serve on such councils (Kamwangamalu, 2002).

Alongside the domains of public administration and the domains of the state, schools became a primary forum for the implementation of English language policies. By 1814, after the establishment of English as the formal language of the colony, any form of Dutch or Afrikaans was completely banned in colony schools. State-funded schools, which primarily British, Dutch, and Afrikaans children attended, were required to use English as the medium of instruction, and a large part of the curriculum surrounded British imperial history. These requirements suggest the ways in which language was conceived of as a part of a broader imperial project to implement British nationalism into South African identity (Warwick, 1980). This enforcement of language was a focal point of Afrikaner resistance, which manifested in the Anglo-Boer War of 1899-1902 (Kamwangamalu, 2002).

From 1899 until 1902, the British and the Afrikaans fought in the Anglo-Boer War in which the British were ultimately victorious. As an outcome of this victory, Lord

[9] The existence of Afrikaans as a language separate from Dutch is most often dated between 1750 and 1775 though variation continued for at least another century. Standard Afrikaans was not developed and implemented until between 1900-1930 (Mesthrie, 2002).

[10] "Boer" is both the Dutch and Afrikaans word for farmer. Today, descendants of the Boers are most commonly referred to as Afrikaners.

Milner, the British High Commissioner, introduced an even stricter Anglicization policy enforcing the use of the English language and undermining the use of Dutch. This not

only fueled the Afrikaner community's struggle for recognition of their language as an official language equal to English, but as Probyn (2005) emphasized, Britain's win provoked intense resistance amongst Afrikaners making the use of Afrikaans as the language of instruction in education a main political point they fought for. According to Alexander (2003), this resistance eventually "helped to entrench the racist version of Afrikaner nationalism that eventually gave birth to the political policy of apartheid" (p. 8). Furthermore, in his book on the Anglo-Boer War, Kuitenbrouwer (2012) asserted that towards the end of the nineteenth century, the political struggle over language was the most urgent struggle in South Africa as it was related to whether the British or Dutch would rule the region. While the Dutch were afraid that the English language would destroy their influence and social cohesion, the British were concerned that Afrikaners would not submit to British rule if allowed to keep their own language. These anxieties indicate that from early on in the South African context, the politics of language use were explicitly linked to possibilities of subversion and resistance.

Also adding to the influence of English in the region were British missionaries. While the Christianization of Southern Africans began upon arrival of the Dutch in 1652, the occupation of the Cape by the British in 1795 ignited an extreme push of missionary activity including the establishment of missionary schools (Lewis & Steyn, 2003). During the time of British rule, the Christian church controlled almost all schooling for children, particularly African children, as African children's main access to "formal" education was through mission schools (Alexander, 1989). In the early years of the 19th century,

missionaries introduced English to many black communities on the Eastern Cape and simultaneously codified isiXhosa and later, other South African languages. As Silva (1997) uncritically stated, "superior English, classical and mathematical education" (p. 1) was being taught at the mission schools with English as the medium of instruction, which produced an influential group of black educators, writers, and political leaders of whom were all fluent in English. Furthermore, Thompson (2000) noted that, "Africans who had received a missionary education periodically tried to harness the resentment of the black masses to counter white hegemony" (p. 156), leading to the creation of the African National Congress (ANC) in 1912. This political party would later come to power in South Africa in the 1990s and has remained the country's dominant party for the past 24 years.

By the mid 1800s, missionary education became a commanding force in the colonization of black South Africans and reflected the colonial government's policies of social expansion (Lewis & Steyn, 2003). In 1928, for example, there were over 48 missionary organizations operating in the Union of South Africa, and mission schools became virtually the only institutions where Africans could acquire literacy skills necessary for obtaining jobs in the industrialized economy (Thomson, 2000). Though some basic literacy skills were taught in African languages, the overwhelming emphasis of these institutions was English language literacy. Mission schools remained open well into the time of apartheid, which became the official state system in 1948, but as government rule changed, so did the language of instruction.

While English remained the enforced language of the colony until the early 1900s, in 1910, the Union of South Africa was formed along with a constitution that

made both Dutch and English the official languages of the country (Thompson, 2000). As Kamwangamalu (2000) contended, however, the British never accepted equality between

Dutch and English, especially in education, further exacerbating the divisive role of language in both British, Dutch, and Afrikaner identities. In 1925, Afrikaans gained status as the other official language of South Africa besides English, a role that it appropriated from the Dutch language, and language remained a central issue in the ethnic consciousness of the Afrikaner community (Mesthrie, 1995). The formation of this new union introduced, for the first time in South Africa's history, officially mandated separate curricula for black and white students, as the system of entrenched racism produced assumptions that black students would only need skills for menial labor. The introduction of separate schools and separate curricula based on race was accompanied by the considerable structural neglect and deterioration of schools for black Africans (Jansen, 1990) that increased with the implementation of apartheid.

South African Education During Apartheid

1948 brought the end to British rule in South Africa and the beginning of the Afrikaans-run National Party as the ruling party. This new ruling party not only created the social system of racial segregation known as *apartheid*, but also dissolved English as a national language of the country. Correspondingly, Afrikaans became enforced as the main language of business and politics in the new apartheid regime (Kamwangamalu, 2002). Under apartheid, myriad policies were created to promote the superiority of Afrikaans people based on race and language and to advocate for the inferiority of black Africans and native Bantu languages. This was notably evident in the infamous Bantu Education Act of 1953.

The Bantu Education Act, put into effect in 1953, was specifically created to segregate educational systems for South Africans according to race. The law shifted previous control of education from the Department of Education to the apartheid-run Native Affairs Department, and forced mission-run schools to turn over their power to the government or lose funding. Hendrick Voerwoed, the Minister of Native Affairs at this time, stated that the act was necessary as education "must train and teach people in accordance with their opportunities in life," signifying the belief that black Africans had little opportunity and therefore, had little reason to receive an education (Mandela, 1994). While numerous policies within the act were meant to promote the immense oppression of black South Africans, language of instruction in schools was one prominent tool used in this act as a means of creating inequitable educational practices.

Language policy was instrumental in promoting the Bantu Education Act's emphasis on racial segregation. As Alexander (2013) stated, "apartheid language policy tried to continue and to intensify British colonial policy but with the substitution of Afrikaans for English as the language of domination and social accommodation" (p. 19). The main components of the act promoted Afrikaans as the primary language of education and reduced the influence of English in schools while also extending mother tongue education from grade 4 to grade 8 (Kamwangamalu, 2007). The promotion of Afrikaans symbolized group identity and power of the Afrikaans people, while mother-tongue education for black South Africans was used to support apartheid's repressive ideology of linguistic separatism (Taylor, 2002). Moreover, during apartheid rule, only black students were forced to take classes in three languages of instruction, including

Afrikaans, English, and at least one of their home languages, often leading to learners' decreased understanding of multiple school subjects.

Alexander (2003) noted that ironically, "mother-tongue education was legitimated in terms of the then novel position of the UNESCO scholars as the optimal language-medium policy for effective and meaningful education" (p. 13), making the language medium policy in line with up-to-date international research that apartheid officials could use to support their policies. However, numerous authors including Posel and Casale (2011) asserted that this policy combined with inferior curriculum practices for the education of non-whites was used as a main tool of segregation in apartheid. Further, they contend that this language policy "provided a means of alienating the majority of the population from the political and economic core of the country" (p. 450), while also limiting the job-prospects of non-white South Africans. The outcome of the use of mother-tongue instruction as a form of linguistic separation and educational inequity was that many Bantu-speaking South Africans associated mother-tongue education with educational repression (Wet & Wolhuter, 2009). Furthermore, because Afrikaans was continually reinforced as the dominant language over both English and mother-tongue instruction, many black South Africans began to perceive Afrikaans as the language of the oppressor. While the government's strict enforcement of language in educational policies lasted for several decades, African resistance was cultivated and expanded quickly.

The Soweto uprisings of 1976 made visible black African students' responses to the oppressive and inequitable policies under the Bantu Education Act. The uprisings were a series of protests that took place in Soweto, a township outside of Johannesburg,

in which over 20,000 students from numerous schools took to the streets to protest Afrikaans as the language of instruction. These protests led to new policies implementing

South African schools' choice between English and Afrikaans as the medium of instruction after the fifth year of schooling (Taylor, 2002). What these protests additionally promoted was the conception of English as the language of advancement, access, democracy, and liberation (Nomvete, 1994). However, the role that English played in anti-apartheid movements was complex. As Kamwangamalu (2002) noted, "From that time onwards up until the birth of a democratic South Africa in 1994, English has never looked back…the language has become far more hegemonic than any other language in the land" (p. 2). While the promotion of English was seen as the language of anti-apartheid protest, it was still connected with British rule and colonization as well as the obstruction of Bantu traditions and languages. Additionally, English became perceived as a neutral language that bonded "formerly divided communities together" (Kamwangamalu, 2007), and remains similarly viewed by many in present-day South Africa. And yet, while the use of English increased, so did post-apartheid policies promoting the use of African languages as languages of instruction.

Post-Apartheid South African Education

The 1994 democratic elections brought the apartheid regime to an end and began the black African-run government led by the African National Congress (ANC) and its president, Nelson Mandela. Two years later, the Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, 1996, was implemented and supported new policies promoting equality for all South Africans, including the recognition of eleven official languages including sePedi, seTswana, seSotho, isiZulu, isiXhosa, isiNdebele, siSwati, xiTsonga, tshiVenda,

Afrikaans, and English. One primary way in which the ANC hoped to enforce this new post-apartheid South Africa was through policies ensuring rights to education for all learners, and specifically, license for students to choose their language of instruction. The South African Schools Act of 1996 stated that the governing body of a public school may determine the language policy of the school and was further amended in 2011 so that the first additional language, and any other official languages offered in schools, are offered on the same level (RSA, 2011). Moreover, the Language-In-Education Policy of 1997 promoted additive bilingualism[11] through supporting gradual access to additional languages including English as a way to promote the respect and development of all languages used in the country (Manyike & Lemmer, 2014).

In 2002, the Revised National Curriculum Statement further clarified the Language-In-Education Policy by stating that all learners, inclusive of every racial and language category, should study in both their home language and at least one additional language from Grade 1. Moreover, it noted that native language learners should study an African language for a minimum of three years before the end of Grade 12 (Manyike & Lemmer, 2014). Further support for instruction in home languages was exhibited in the Revised National Curriculum Statements of 2012, as the right for learners to be educated in a language of their choice was again emphasized (DBE, 2012).

Also aiding in the development of policies promoting the use of African languages was the creation of the Pan South African Language Board (PANSALB) implemented in 1995. PANSALB was established as an independent statutory body appointed by the Senate to promote the eleven official languages of South Africa

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[11] Alexander (2003) defined additive bilingualism as "the addition of another language and maintenance of the first/mother language" (p. 17).

implemented with the 1996 constitution and to advance notions of multilingualism in schools and in larger communities (PANSALB, n.d.). Likewise, the Project for the Study of Alternative Education in South Africa (PRAESA) was created to support the implementation of multilingualism. PRAESA was established in 1992 by the late Neville Alexander, a former member of the ANC, and has continued until present day. PRAESA acts as an independent research and development group created with goals to further additive bilingualism, contribute towards research on language policies and practice, and raise the status of African languages within South Africa (Kamwangamalu, 2004).

Despite the multiple policies and programs supporting native African language use, Manyike and Lemmer (2014) have argued that effective implementation of language policies has not been realized in practice. As Alexander (2005) stated, a lack of language implementation planning as well as delivery tends to negate the principle of language planning reducing it to “mere lip service” (p. 2). Presumably connected with the country’s longstanding relationship to the English language enforced through both British colonialism and apartheid policies, this lack of native African language implementation is evident both in K-12 education as well as in Adult Basic Education (ABE) programs throughout South Africa.

Adult Basic Education and Language Learning in South Africa

Concurrent to the complex history of language in education in South Africa is the erratic history of adult basic education including adult language education within the country. Adult education in South Africa was not formally organized until the 20th century. Prior to this time, South African adult education was linked with missionary education and the westernization of black learners (Aitchison, 2003). In the 1920’s, the

first adult literacy classes in South Africa began under the Communist Party's creation of night schools (Bird, 1980). Though there were not heavy demands for educated and

skilled workers during the first part of the 20th century in South Africa, the Second World War brought on the growth of night school classes as well as the establishment of the National Council for Adult Education in 1946 (Aitchison, 2003). Thus began the Night School Movement in which learners were not only taught basic literacy and numeracy skills (prominently in English), but also were taught broader notions of political and economic relationships meant to spearhead political change (Aitchison, 2003), mirroring concepts of education as a form of liberation for adult learners. However, night schools for adult black learners were poorly resourced and this radical movement was short-lived (McCowan & Unterhalter, 2015) as the implementation of apartheid in 1948 made teaching black adults in nongovernment-registered schools a crime. Moreover, the 1953 Bantu Education Act made it an imprisonable offense to educate any black learner at non-registered schools.

By the early 1960s, almost all night schools were deregistered and closed. However, this time period also saw the formation of several campaigns to increase adult literacy (Aitchison, 2003), predominately English language literacy. The Bureau of Literacy and Literature was established to increase literacy in mining compounds, and Operation Upgrade, an evangelical organization notable for the production of some of the first easy to read texts in African languages, was also founded. Additionally, the South African Committee for Higher Education (SACHED) was created as an alternative non-governmental educational organization that served the needs of black students who were affected by the closing of older universities under apartheid. This organization developed

notions of alternative education that were consciously in opposition to apartheid-run education (Aitchison, 2003). Finally, in the mid-1960s, T-group (group dynamics, sensitivity training, and human relations) training methods pioneered in the United States and run by both black and white churches were introduced. These trainings created a greater level of intimacy among whites and blacks that influenced the larger anti-apartheid struggles, and as Aitchison (2003) contended, "Adult education in various forms thus clothed much anti-apartheid work" (p. 134).

The 1970s ushered in a growing use of adult education as a means to resist apartheid. First initiated during the night school movement, student educators were trained in Paolo Freire's methodology of *conscientization* to use in their community education and literacy classes. Teaching notions of empowerment became a dominant strategy in many organizations teaching literacy, such as the Western Province Literacy Project created in Cape Town in 1974, as well as the Learn and Teach program in Johannesburg supported by the Catholic Church (Aitchison, 2003). 1976 was the pinnacle for change in overall conceptions of education as well as in notions of adult education specifically as the Soweto revolt led to educational reforms throughout the country. These reforms included the creation of an adult education section in the Department of Bantu Education and concurrently led to the reopening of night schools in 1978. As is described in Chapter Two of this dissertation, the strategies emphasized during this time were extremely influential in later andragogical practices in South Africa. Further, the programs of the 1970s undoubtedly influenced current notions of adult literacy as a means to empowerment, and fundamentally, as a way to achieve conscientization.

During the 1980s, the functions of adult education within universities began to

grow as the University of Cape Town appointed the first professor of adult education in South Africa and started the first postgraduate diploma program for adult educators

(Aitchison, 2003). Soon, other universities followed suit and began establishing adult education programs. Concomitantly, progressive literacy organizations often funded by foreign anti-apartheid donors began to increase. These included Use, Speak and Write English (USWE), a program set up to help black domestic and migrant workers learn literacy and English language skills (Kerfoot, 1993), as well as the "People's English" movement, which used English language classes to challenge "inequality in society rather than perpetuating it" (Norton, 1989, p. 403). English was used as a tool to build solidarity amongst both students and activists within the anti-apartheid movement, and the use of English undeniably impacted the transformation of the movement from an in-country fight against apartheid to a transnational campaign.

It is of great importance to note, however, that these programs, while seemingly positive for increasing access to education for adult learners, undoubtedly supported conceptions of English being the vital language of South Africa. While this might have increased global support of these programs, it concurrently led to the continued devaluation of native African languages as a means for protest and change. For example, as Kerfoot (1993) wrote in her paper on participatory adult education in South Africa, "English has become the carrier for discourses of democracy and freedom and a way of achieving solidarity across different language groups in the liberation struggle" (p. 432), mirroring ideologies surrounding the essential nature of English for adult learners. Accordingly, notions of educational transformation were at once a tool of anti-oppressive policy and an instrument of linguistic hegemony, thus leading to the creation of

interstitial spaces that I detail in Chapter Six.

Until the early 1990s, ABE as an agent of social change was only prominent among NGOs and activists in higher education (Baatjes & Mathe, 2004), which led to a weak infrastructure to support ABE. As Kerfoot (1993) contended, "an effective ABE system (was) nonexistent with only a handful of night schools, perhaps two community colleges, no recognised training for teachers, no pool of skilled teachers on which to draw, no coherent accreditation for learners, and a dire shortage of sound learning materials" (p. 433). Consequently, South African ABE was in need of a complete overhaul. As apartheid came to an end, government policies implementing ABE as critical for addressing the basic and developmental needs of adult learners began to be emphasized. Adult Basic Education and Training (ABET) became implemented, and McKay (2007) noted that while ABE refers to the educational base required to improve learners' life chances, the T for "Training" refers to "foundational income-generating or occupational skills that individuals require to improve their livelihoods and living conditions" (p. 291). Baatjes and Mathe (2004) further explained that, while ABE is for those who have been deprived of basic schooling, ABET was created to contribute to the core values of democracy, access, and development adopted in the post-apartheid democracy. As a result, from 1995 on, there was a growing sense of crisis for NGOs who began losing funding from foreign donors who now preferred to work directly with the government (Aitchison, 2003). This brought the closing of organizations such as USWE and the English Literacy Project. It also incited the institutionalization of ABET with the 1994 White Paper on Education leading to the creation of the 1997 Policy Document on

Adult Basic Education and Training, as well as the 2000 Adult Basic Education and Training Act.

As was noted by McKay (2007), today the post-apartheid government regards ABET as critical in addressing the needs of adult learners, as millions of South Africans are considered illiterate in post-apartheid South Africa, and 58% of those who are illiterate are women. Numerous initiatives have been created including the South African National Literacy Initiative (SANLI) implemented in 2000, and the Kha ri Gude (Let Us Learn) Adult Literacy Programme (KGALP) established in 2008, as a means of reducing both English language and African language illiteracy across South Africa. However, McKay (2009) also reported that despite concerted efforts from these programs to reduce illiteracy, the rate of illiteracy in South Africa remains extremely high.[12]

Policies continue to be created supporting ABET, but the small amount of the country's education budget allocated to ABET makes it inevitable that these policies are rarely implemented (McKay, 2007). Further, "basic education and adult literacy are still the 'stepchildren' of the education sector (which underpins) the relatively poor investment into adult education and the reluctant delivery across the country" (McKay, 2007, p. 309). This is evidenced in the 2016 phasing out of the Kha ri Gude program (South African Government, 2017). While both government-funded and informal ABE/ABET classes remain low in financial and social investment, what continues to persist is the high rate of adults seeking literacy, numeracy, and English language

[12] It is important to note that within these statistics, it is unclear as to whether the terms "literacy" and "illiteracy" connote literacy in any language or solely in English. The ambiguity of these terms in relation to language use and the ways in which these terms are often linked to English language literacy and illiteracy are further explored in Chapter Four.

education. One such group of adults trying to take advantage of what little investment exists in adult education is South African domestic workers.

Domestic Work in South Africa

My research is situated in the intersections of both language and adult education in South Africa and the volatile history of South African domestic work. Hence, while language, and the history of English in particular, are central to this research, so too are the histories of my participants and the ways in which their identities as domestic workers and their educational and linguistic HERtories interconnect. As du Toit (2013) argued, “Domestic work in South Africa has its roots firmly embedded in a history of colonial oppression, racial segregation and exclusion of domestic workers from a legal vacuum” (p. 5).

In this section I provide a history of domestic work in South Africa and connect this history to the current roles of domestic workers within South African society. Further, I tie these accounts to the oppressive educational policies for black adult learners that have undeniably affected South African domestic workers. This connection is utilized to provide further insight into the role of English language learning for domestic workers in post-apartheid South Africa, thus offering a framework for understanding the specific educational and linguistic choices and motivations of my participants.

Domestic service in South Africa began in the mid to late eighteenth century as a project of colonial servitude in which both Asian and black African populations were enslaved as domestics (Ally, 2011). As the eighteenth century came to a close and slavery became less politically sustainable, domestic service became a form of waged labor in which African women, African men, and white immigrants took part. When the 19th

century began, however, more English settlers moved to the Cape of Good Hope, bringing with them already established customs from their homeland. For many, one prominent practice that they were accustomed to was the reliance on domestic labor. As such, some settlers brought with them their servants from England while others created a demand for domestic workers within South Africa (Cock, 1980).

During the 1840s, a growing need for domestic work led many European immigrants--and in particular, women--to come to the Cape in search of jobs to escape the working class conditions existent in Britain. The colonial state supported this wave of white immigrant women by assisting with the recruitment of approximately 14,000 immigrants to the Eastern Cape, many of whom worked as domestic workers (Ally, 2009). By the end of the 1800s, however, the supply of white servants was not able to meet the demand, as many of these women tended to marry after arriving in South Africa and did not need to work as domestic servants thereafter (Swaisland, 1993). Because of this, domestic service shifted from being an occupation of predominately white European women to one consisting almost exclusively of black African women. As the 20th century began, more and more black female domestic workers occupied the role of domestic servants, and by 1930, African women constituted more than half of the domestic workers in Johannesburg, South Africa's largest city (Ginsburg, 2011). From 1921 to 1936, urbanization of black females increased 245.3 percent with the vast majority of these urbanized women working as domestic servants (Ally, 2011).

Throughout the first decades of apartheid, the number of black female domestic workers continued to grow. Simultaneously, apartheid laws were created to regulate the large number of women going into domestic work, including a law requiring that

domestic workers carry permits when in the predominately white neighborhoods of their employers. It was not until the late 1970s that previous notions of domestic service began to change from a legal perspective. During this time, the apartheid state officially transformed the term domestic "servants" to domestic "workers," and recognized paid domestic work as a form of employment. And yet, as Ally (2011) strongly asserted, this was done "for the purposes of control rather than protection" (p. 39), emphasizing the continued social and state control over domestic work. However, even with these two levels of control, Ally also suggested that domestic workers had a role in the changing their own sense of agency in the conditions of their work.

As Ally (2011) noted, and I expand upon in Chapter Six, while domestic workers experienced, and continue to experience, numerous systems of social and political oppression, there remains evidence of individual and collective agency demonstrated by domestic workers. One way in which this agency is revealed was with the movement of live-out work, in which workers lived in their own homes rather than live with the families they worked for. This was done as a way to take back conceptions of freedoms, such as privacy, that had been forcibly removed by apartheid laws (Ally, 2011). Moreover, groups of domestic workers begin to organize and formalize themselves as a way for workers to support one another and advance new notions of domestic workers' rights. As domestic workers started to show signs of organization, possibilities for the unionization of domestic work began to emerge.

In 1986, the first domestic workers' union was formed and named the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU). SADWU was created as a means to improve the lives and working conditions of domestic workers and to promote domestic

work as a career rather than a form of slavery (International Domestic Workers Federation, 2014). SADWU demonstrated both a political and social sophistication that debunked the country's notions that domestic workers were uneducated and weak (Ally, 2011). This union lasted for more than ten years and worked to unionize domestic workers as well as organize against apartheid, but it ultimately disbanded as a result of organizational and financial challenges for several years. In 2000, however, the South African Domestic Service and Allied Workers Union (SADSAWU) was formed to again work for the legal rights of domestic workers within South Africa.

Unlike the relative strength of SADWU in the 1980s, SADSAWU lacked dynamism and numbers. For example, in 2004, it was reported that the union had only 9,000 members (Ally, 2011). Continued low membership might have, in part, been due to the perceived risks associated with public unionization, and as Flint (1988) maintained, many women who began to join the union were victimized by employers for joining and had no legal protection. Though Flint wrote this almost thirty years ago, similar feelings remain strongly held in contemporary times. For example, one of my participants, Zama, stated, "I won't take part in the unions. They help you until you're in hot water and then they drop you." Thandeka, another of my participants, agrees. As she firmly proclaims, "You know what? The union for domestic workers is okay but if you go to union eh, the boss will say 'I don't love you anymore here in my house.' You are alone and you can't make the strike alone." Even more, Ally (2011) found in her research that while the older SADWU was based on militant unionism, the new union has reduced its function solely to the education of rights for domestic workers, a reduction that she asserts has "paradoxically depoliticized them" (p. 160).

Despite the presence of SADWU, it was not until the end of apartheid and the beginning of the new South African democracy that legislative interventions sought to formalize, modernize, and professionalize domestic work. In 1996, as the democratic constitution was put into place, labor laws re-emphasized domestic work as a form of employment in which women were employees or "workers" rather than "servants." In 2001, domestic workers were included in receiving Unemployment Insurance for the first time in South Africa's history. Moreover, by 2006, SADSAWU participated with domestic worker unions worldwide at an international conference in Amsterdam to promote the protection of domestic workers' labor rights (International Domestic Workers Federation, 2014). It was at this conference that the slogan "Domestic Work is Decent Work," was developed, a phrase that is still used frequently in support of domestic workers' rights in South Africa. Even more recently, in 2011, the General Conference of the International Labour Organization adopted the Domestic Workers Convention and the Domestic Workers Recommendation, and South Africa was one of the first parties to sign. Ratified in June 2013, these policies have provided rules for the basic employment conditions and rights of domestic workers throughout South Africa (le Roux, 2013). Despite this trajectory of organization, formalization, and legal protection that would seemingly support the empowerment of South African domestic workers, very little has changed in the lives of these women on a day-to-day basis (Ally, 2011).

When Cock (1980) conducted her well-known ethnographic study of South African domestic workers in the late 1970s, she affirmed, "Domestic workers are in a legal vacuum. There are no laws stipulating the minimum wages, hours of work or other conditions of service" (p. 62). Cock assumed that with further laws supporting domestic

workers, their lives would change for the better. While Ally (2011) noted that post-apartheid laws did supposedly produce more equitable employment rights for domestic workers, she found that deeply entrenched race and class inequalities created an institution that remains resistant to change. This is supported by le Roux's (2013) work in which she attested that there is an obvious gap between the law in the books regarding South African domestic work and the law in action. Ally (2011) also found that domestic workers feel not only that nothing has changed, but that they are experiencing worse conditions than before. This contention is supported on a global level by Parvulescu (2014) who, when discussing international domestic work, found that, "instead of coming to be valued as creative and enjoyable work, housework has been returned to its historical degradation, even as its tasks have multiplied" (p. 58).

While domestic work may no longer be considered slavery, as workers are usually making some form of a salary, the aspects of work that people hope for, including basic freedoms and enjoyment, remain stymied. Furthermore, although the legal framework of domestic work has changed since 1994, social attitudes towards domestic workers have experienced far less change (du Toit, 2013). Similar to what Emmanuel stated in our interview about domestic workers,[13] Ally (2011) asserted that in South Africa, domestic workers are the "workers that freedom forgot" (p. 80). And yet, if domestic workers continue feeling as though they are relatively unimportant in South African laws and social status, why do they remain in these positions? The answer seemingly surrounds their lack of educational opportunities.

[13] Statement found on Page One of this chapter.

Domestic Workers and Adult Education

Numerous authors (Ally, 2011; Cock, 1980; du Toit, 2013; le Roux, 2013; Wessels, 2006) have pointed to a lack of formal education as a primary reason why women in South Africa remain in domestic jobs, despite the history of discriminatory and inequitable practices evident in this work. In Cock's (1980) research on domestic workers in the 1970s, she found that out of the fifty domestic workers in one of her samples, only eleven had ever attended any form of school. For those who did go to school, previous apartheid laws such as the Bantu Education Act produced inferior educational opportunities that often led to inadequate support for future education and employment as well as illiteracy. Vanqa-Mgijima, Wiid, and duToit (2013) furthered this contention by noting that, not only did black women in particular receive inequitable education under apartheid, but "domestic workers are among those who have had the least access to education" (p. 267). In my own research, only five of my 28 participants received their matriculation certification, and at least half dropped out of school before the age of 15. Some did not attend more than a few years of formal schooling, and some never attended school at all.

As a result of these low levels of formal education, it is difficult for domestic workers to apply to better jobs (Wessels, 2006). Ally's (2011) research further supports this contention as she found that continued poor levels of education led to laborers who are "just as likely to be relegated to live-in domestic service as their older apartheid-era veterans once were" (p. 63), thereby recognizing the continued oppression that South African domestic workers face without means to educational access. This contention is highlighted in my own research. While not all the women I interviewed came from

families in which domestic work had been the norm, many of my participants had grandmothers, mothers, sisters, cousins, and daughters who were domestic workers.

These women's career choices/options and the career choices/options of their children parallel the (in)opportunities of the "older apartheid-era veterans" who Ally (2011) referenced.

The acknowledgment of inadequate educational opportunities for young learners in South Africa has led to a multitude of adult basic education and training programs, as was previously discussed. However, there is an absence of research on the past and present educational experiences and educational journeys of domestic workers, who numbered an estimated 924,000 in 2013 (Marais & van Wyk, 2015). Even more, almost no research has been conducted on the English language learning of South African domestic workers or on the ways in which conceptions of English in post-apartheid South Africa are connected to how these women construct their present identities or their aspirations for future identities. This dissertation seeks to ameliorate this dearth of research.

Concluding Chapter One

As I have sought to reveal in this chapter, the multiple histories of colonization, language, education, and domestic work situated in a South African context ultimately impact the individual narratives and HERstories of South African domestic workers taking English language and literacy courses. These histories foreseeably interconnect to construct the present identities of the participants in this study and shape their current motivations to learn English. However, the nuances of these individual narratives and the intersections of macro histories with micro HERstories need further exploration as these

various histories do not explicitly explain the educational and linguistic choices of my participants.

In Chapter Two, I explore several theoretical frameworks surrounding adult education and language learning, and I analyze the multiple components of these frameworks that connect and diverge from my participants' lives and educational motivations. I then situate my research in poststructural notions of identity, language, and power in connection with theories of identity and agency produced by colonialism as a way to further understandings of the multifaceted aspects of language education for domestic workers in South Africa. Chapter Three outlines my theoretical framework to explicate the methodological choices I have made when conducting my research. Namely, I draw from Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) (Souto-Manning, 2014) to showcase the narratives of my participants while noting that these narratives, while individualized, remain situated in larger historical structures creating the individual, social, and linguistic choices of my participants. I expand upon CNA, however, by drawing from ethnographic methods with which I obtained these narratives, thus terming my main methodology *Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis* (CENA). Additionally, I utilize Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) of language policies (Fairclough, 1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) to understand educational policies supporting and/or undermining my participants' educational choices and personal narratives.

In Chapter Four, I analyze terminology surrounding education, language and literacy in South Africa. Drawing from the term *metonymy,* in which a word or term is understood to reference a meaning other than its stated definition, I find that "literacy" and "education" become metonyms for "English language education" and "English

literacy." This becomes problematic as by my participants identifying themselves as "illiterate" and "uneducated", they often ignore their abilities to speak, read, and write in their native languages. In addition, I find that the term "domestic worker" has become a metonym for black, poor, African women, and moreover, that this term is often intertwined with the metonyms of (English) education and (English) literacy.

Chapter Five draws from my participants' narratives and HERstories, and I specifically analyze the multiple forms of violence that run throughout these narratives. By connecting these moments of violence to Bourdieu's (1991) conceptions of symbolic power/violence as well as Butler's (1997) notion of linguistic vulnerability, I find that these women are living in a three-fold state of domination. They incur symbolic violence from the neo-colonial importance placed on English, thus leading to their linguistic vulnerability; they experience verbal violence from employers, often because of the linguistic vulnerability they live in; and they sustain physical and sexual violence from both employers and relationships that further exacerbate the symbolic linguistic power that English incites. Additionally, I embed this multiplicity of violence within a postcolonial African linguascape as a means to describe the metaphoric and literal violence found in the "patriarchal linguistic hierarchy" (Parvalescu, 2014) historically inflicted on domestic workers with regard to language and labor.

In Chapter Six, I diverge from the previous two chapters and assert that despite the metonymic discourses purporting the essential nature of English in post-apartheid South Africa, and notwithstanding the numerous forms of violence enacted upon these women in their past and present lives, South African domestic workers do not solely live within identities surrounding linguistic violence, physical abuse, and victimization.

Instead, I find that it is within and amongst practices of English language learning, and the ways in which languages and identities are intertwined, that these women seek to (re)construct their identities as agentic beings while being confined within these same practices. Consequently, these women live within interstitial spaces in which they are showcasing aspects of agency and autonomy in their work, home, and educational spaces while concurrently remaining within the boundaries of metonymic discourse and multiple forms of violence that bound them to these spaces.

In Chapter Seven, I bring this dissertation to a close by connecting the theoretically and discursively produced findings to both practical implications and future research spaces. Explicitly, I examine how my research findings relate to theoretical implications, specifically within the frameworks of postcolonialism and poststruturalism, and examine how these findings potentially influence educational and linguistic policies and practices in South Africa and internationally. Additionally, I describe the limitations of my research and the ways in which these limitations both hinder aspects of my findings while concurrently creating room for future research surrounding domestic work, language learning, adult education, and the roles of English in South Africa.

This dissertation draws from individual accounts framed by wider narratives of language, ABE, and domestic work within South Africa to both highlight participants' lives and explore the educational and linguistic choices they make. These seven chapters, in a way, act as their own narratives that are both separately and concurrently intertwined with one another. Thus, while each chapter highlights differing voices, theories, and stories, these chapters work in combination with one another to provide a multidimensional narrative on the English language learning of South African domestic

workers--a narrative that will perhaps incite further research about these women's lives and their educational and linguistic HERstories.

Chapter 2: Theoretical Frameworks for Adult English Language Learning

"The meaning of the existing structure of social institutions, as much as the structures themselves and the subject positions which they offer their subjects, is a site of political struggle waged mainly, though not exclusively, in language" (Weedon, 1997, p. 37).

Anna: Okay, so this is what I don't understand Muhle. Maybe you can help me. In this country there's 11 official languages. English is only one.
Muhle: Yes.
A: Xhosa is spoken by so many people. You know Xhosa, you know Zulu, you know Ndebele, you know all of these languages which is amazing. So if you know all of these languages, why English? Why is English so important if you know all these other languages?
M: English is important because all the people they talk English. The English protects us as blacks to, to - with the white people. Because most of the white people they don't know any of our black languages.
A: But doesn't that make you angry?
M: No it doesn't.
A: Why not?
M: It doesn't make me angry.
A: So why should you have to learn a language for them, and they learn a language -
M: I don't know why but you have to- you have to learn English. You have to have English in your mouth. You have to.

Chapter One provided an overview of the history of South African domestic workers, the history of the English language in South Africa, and the history of South African adult English language education. This chapter explores three theoretical frameworks for describing varying aims of adult English language education as a means of further understanding the desires and motivations that lead women such as Muhle to learn English. These frameworks are: adult English language education as human capital, as a form of liberation and empowerment, and as a means for identity (re)construction. As I contended in my article on differing theories of adult education and language learning (Kaiper, 2017), exploration into multiple frameworks for adult English language

learning are essential. Without an examination of theories that are driving policy and practice, the reasons for the outcomes of these policies and practices, and the ways in

which they affect learners' motivations, remain nebulous. Thus, the theoretical frameworks explored in this chapter are useful in aiding in the comprehensive understanding of the role that English language acquisition plays in the personal and social intentions of adult learners, specifically, in the personal motivations of this group of domestic workers. These multiple frameworks provide explanations for and possible outcomes of adult language learning and adult language programs, including education as a vehicle for job attainment and the increase of human capital, education as a means for empowerment and emancipation, and education as a mode for the construction and reconstruction of identities.

Within this chapter, I analyze the aforementioned frameworks as a means to further understand why South African domestic workers are learning English. Additionally, I discuss both the strengths and weaknesses of each framework in relation to my research. I then explicate why I situate my work within a poststructuralist framework with its emphasis on identities, languages, and power; and look specifically at ways in which agency is conceptualized in a poststructural frame. So as to fuse components of poststructuralism and postcolonial theory, I examine the ways in which current notions of the English language have undeniably been affected by past colonial forces. Concurrently, I investigate the influences of postcolonial views of language on the construction and reconstruction of these women's identities--(re)constructions that have led to language education being connected to feelings of survival, power, and agency, or of a lessening of one's social and individual legitimacy.

Adult English Language Education as Human Capital

As Baptiste (2001) stated, "The term *human capital* refers to knowledge, attitudes and skills that are developed and valued primarily for their economically productive potential" (p. 185). Theories involving education as a means to increase one's capital are frequently found in both policy and theoretical discourses surrounding the purposes for adult education (Baptiste, 2001). In South Africa, similar connections between education and capital are evident with the immense importance that has been attached to education as a contributing factor to economic success (Baatjes & Mathe, 2004). Examining and critiquing conceptions of human capital theory, this section will focus on notions of adult education, and specifically, adult English language learning, as a means for increasing learners' economic opportunities. Literature drawing from this theoretical framework will then be critically assessed so as to exhibit the ways in which this framework might help in understanding the motivations of adult English language learners, while also noting areas in which this literature does not provide an accurate portrayal of the needs and motivations of my participants.

The notion of humans as capital dates back to the 18th century when economist Adam Smith introduced this concept in *Wealth of Nations*. Human capital as a theory, however, is most often linked to economist Theodore Schultz (1961) who asserted that the knowledge and skills people acquire are a product of deliberate investment that increases national output. Schultz contended that much of what is called "consumption" in economics is an investment in human capital. This is exhibited by people's continual investment in themselves through direct expenditures on health care and services, increased job training and knowledge, and better job opportunities.

When specifically focusing on education, Schultz (1961) found that investment in education accounted for large earning increases. By comparing industrial workers' and farm workers' wages and educational backgrounds, he established that an increase in income was positively correlated with an increase in education. He found that farm workers who took nonfarm jobs earn substantially less than industrial workers of the same race, age, and sex because farmworkers had fewer educational opportunities than industrial workers. Similarly, he noted that nonwhite urban males earned markedly less than white males, even after variables such unemployment, age, and religion were accounted for; he problematically assumed that nonwhite urban males had less education than white males. While Schultz mentioned that differences in income can be linked to discriminatory practices, as the economic returns to education were and remain lower for nonwhite urban males, rural males, and females in the labor force, he continued to stress the importance of human capital in supporting opportunities for individual income increases while also strengthening larger economic systems.

Also closely connected to human capital theory is the work of economist Gary Becker (1993) who linked heightened educational attainment with increased human capital. In his book entitled *Human Capital: A Theoretical and Empirical Analysis with Special Reference to Education*, Becker asserted that both education and training are the most important investments in increasing human capital. For example, when comparing the rates of return of white male college graduates to white male high school graduates, he found that the private rate of return to a "typical white male college graduate" (p. 180) was more than ten percent higher than the rate of return to an American high school graduate. While Becker's research centered primarily on the positive correlation of white

male college graduates and income within the United States, he noted less dramatic, though still visible, positive correlations between the education of women and nonwhite students and greater job opportunities and financial gain. For example, Becker found that income differentials for nonwhite college graduates were substantially less than for white college graduates because they attended, what Becker stated are, “lower-quality colleges” (1993, p. 186). Similarly, Becker noted that income differentials were smaller for female than male college graduates, because, as he assumed, many women marry after college and drop out of the labor force.

In the newer edition of his book (the original edition was published in 1975), Becker stated that enormous increases in married women, and specifically, college-educated women in the labor force, have greatly increased the earnings of women. He further contended that, “Improvements in the economic position of black women have been especially rapid, and now they earn just about as much as white women” (1993, p. 19), emphasizing ways in which economic opportunities have, in his view, become less discriminatory. However, as continues to be found in present research, Becker’s assertions are untrue as women continue to be paid 80 cents to every dollar paid to men. Moreover, black women are paid 63 cents for every dollar paid to white men, whereas white women earn 79 cents for every dollar earned by white men (National Partnership for Women and Families, 2018). Hence, though human capital theory is important in understanding the possible links between education and economic advancement, research by Schultz (1961) and Becker (1993) centered on broader connections between education and human capital without drawing from notions of criticality to understand the ways in which identities play a significant role in student “success.”

Work by Rivera-Batiz (1993) and Bleakley and Chin (2008) began to address what Schultz and Becker did not by concentrating on the ways in which both the educational levels and English language proficiency of immigrants are tied to job earnings and educational achievement. In his study on the English language proficiency levels of immigrants in the United States, Rivera-Batiz (1993) used survey data from the 1985 National Assessment of Educational Progress to examine how English reading proficiency scores of immigrants ages 21 to 25 years old affect this same population's hourly wages. He then compared these results to the language proficiency scores and hourly wages of American-born adults of similar ages. Rivera-Batiz found that immigrants from non-English speaking countries usually received lower wages than American-born workers, and suggested that an improvement in English reading proficiency would substantially raise wages of all immigrants. Further, he noted that English language "deficiency" among immigrants "is a barrier that can be surpassed" (1993, p. 174), exhibiting the opinion of bilingualism/multilingualism as a deficiency rather than the view of more current research promoting multilingualism as an advantage (Creese & Blackledge, 2010; García, 2011). Hence, he encouraged policies supporting the acquisition of English as a second language for immigrants as a means for economic development.

In their study of children of immigrants to the United States, Bleakley and Chin (2008) used 2000 U.S. Census of Population and Housing data to analyze the effects of parental English-language skills on the language and educational outcomes proficiency of the children of immigrants. Analyzing large data sets, they found that children of non-English speakers have lower English language skills than their peers, which, in their

view, leads to "detrimental effects" (p. 295). These "detriments" included lower level classroom learning than English speaking peers, less rigorous instruction, and less

exposure to classroom content. Consequently, they, like Rivera-Batiz (1993) contended that English language proficiency increases both children's educational achievement and raised earnings. Conversely, however, they found that adult English language classes do not promote a substantially higher level of earnings, though they suggested that "nevertheless, they provide significant social returns" (p. 295), putting into question the positive correlations found between human capital and adult English language learning.

While the aforementioned research takes place in the United States, similar research supporting English education as a means to increase human capital has been conducted in the South African context. In their work on the links between English language proficiency and higher economic returns, Casale and Posel (2011) emphasized the complexity of language in South Africa and noted that despite policy attempts to support mother-tongue literacy, English has become the dominant language of business, "even though it is the home language of only about 10 percent of all South Africans" (2011, p. 450).[14] The authors observed that mother-tongue instruction is tainted by the past Bantu Education Act, and further, that parents view English as a way for children to get out of poverty. Though they suggested that home language proficiency is important, they found that English language ability leads to higher earnings. For example, they reported that adults who were proficient in English earned three times as much as those who were not. When accounting for variables of gender and race, they discovered that

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[14] This percentage is more currently estimated at 12% (Posel & Zeller, 2016).

English proficiency was often differentiated by race, with black South Africans often reporting the lowest self-assessed language ability. Interestingly, they found that gender has no effect on English language proficiency. The authors concluded by noting that economic incentives play a large role in promoting English language proficiency and learning.

Research on the link between adult basic education, English language acquisition, and increased capital emphasizes the correlation between the heightened availability of job opportunities and increases in earnings with education and English language proficiency (Rivera-Batiz, 1993; Chiswick & Miller, 2002). The research within this theoretical framework, however, does not account for the complexities of adult learners and their desires for increased education and language acquisition. For example, Bartlett (2007) found human capital approaches in education to be flawed and to support an autonomous model of literacy that treats literacy as independent of social context. As she discovered in her research in Brazil, economic mobility is not experienced through the mechanism of human capital, but instead, is found through differing social networks cultivated by students. Moreover, to human capital theorists, educational investment is directly linked to socioeconomic mobility; and yet, as Baptiste (2001) asserted, human capital theorists treat people as "radically isolated, pleasure seeking materialists who are born free of social restraints or responsibilities…and who are driven, ultimately, by the desire for material happiness and bodily security" (p. 195). Even more, Baptiste argued that human capital theorists assume that educational meritocracy is not only existent, but is the structural norm, assumptions he finds problematic.

Meritocracy, or a social system in which distinctive talents and efforts determine

an individual's social class (Alon & Tienda, 2007), is a concept supported by many human capital theorists. Though the aforementioned scholars drawing from human

capital theory note variables affecting individual economic growth, such as race, gender, and language ability, they conclude with the promotion of both greater education levels and English language learning as synonymous with increased human capital. For example, while Becker (1993) mentioned that black women have historically been unfairly economically positioned, he claimed that they now make "just about as much as white women" (p. 19) without addressing how this statement continues to infer inequality, or examining why this continued inequality might exist. Further, Rivera-Batiz (1992) and Bleakley and Chin (2008) viewed bilingualism/multilingualism as a deficiency revealing a lack of knowledge of the ways in which multiple languages can aid in, rather than hinder, both learners' abilities to succeed in school settings and their capabilities to find a job.

In addition to critiques of the problematic notions of meritocracy often embedded into human capital research is criticism surrounding the acknowledgement of gender in this framework. While variables of race, ethnicity, and age are, at times, drawn from research on education as a form of human capital, the role that gender plays in this research is often absent. For example, as Norton and Pavlenko (2007) found in their work on immigrant women in Canada, these women did not necessarily consider English to be the only key to social mobility as "in particular workplaces, a greater mastery of English may lead to a decrease in productivity and lack of support from colleagues" (p. 597). Moreover, they discovered that cultural constraints can "require them (the women) to prioritize their roles as housekeepers, mothers, wives, and caretakers" (p. 598), leading to

their choices not to attend English language classes. Within the social and economic linguascape of South Africa, McKay (2007) found that South African women often bear the biggest burden of poverty as they manage their households and feed their children. If women do find employment, they have a harder time coping with their jobs because they must also carry out traditional functions at home.

For female domestic workers in a South African context, notions of education and English language proficiency as a form of human capital are similarly complex. As discussed in Chapter One, in their work with South African domestic workers, both Cock (1980) and Ally (2011) asserted that many domestic workers take on domestic work because of a lack of formal education. And yet, while several adult learning programs exist in South Africa promoting both numeracy and literacy in one's home language (McKay, 2007), the domestic workers in my study are solely taking part in English language classes. Unlike research that focuses on immigrant populations who are learning English in an Anglophone country, these women are working in multilingual spaces in which a combination of English, Afrikaans, Bantu languages, and even Greek and Hebrew are heard in their spaces of employment and their broader communities.

Further complicating the picture, populations of participants in previously noted research are often young men who are beginning new careers, but many South African domestic workers are much older, with 55% percent between the ages of 30 and 49 and 26% being 50 and older (Tijdens & van Klaveren, 2011). This lessens the possibility that English proficiency would directly lead to better job prospects within and outside of domestic work. Therefore, though the aforementioned research displays a direct connection between adult education, English language proficiency, and increased

economic opportunities, the same connection does not necessarily fit with the population of women in this study. In the next section, I analyze theories of education for

empowerment and liberation in order to address these omissions. By emphasizing the anti-oppressive ideals that education can promote for adult language learners, the next body of literature reveals the oversights made within human capital theory and the ways in which this framework often ignores nuances in personal and historical factors that shape the identities and motivations of adult learners.

Adult English Language Education as Liberation and Empowerment

As mentioned in Chapter One and as Baatjes and Mathe (2004) affirmed, the role of adult education to promote social change has been notably present in post-apartheid South Africa as "illiteracy amongst adults is viewed by this tradition as not only a deeply-rooted social problem, but… a consequence of the apartheid capitalist organization of production" (p. 393). Proponents of adult education as a means for liberation and empowerment seek to challenge the assumptions of human capital theorists surrounding economic meritocracy and the sole desire of adults to attain greater wages by emphasizing the need for education as a tool for transformation and emancipation from previous and ongoing forms of oppression. Using literature on education as a form of empowerment, in this section I explore the ways in which theories of education for empowerment aims to address the presence of social inequalities and oppressive systems for learners. Concurrently, I examine how theories of empowerment neither sufficiently acknowledge the role of the English language in the continuation of historical oppression in South Africa, nor adequately address the complex and ever-evolving identities of adult language learners.

Many scholars (Auerbach, 1992; Frye, 1999; Hopfer, 1997; Moore, 1999; Spener, 1993; Wessels, 2006) used the framework of education as a vehicle for achieving empowerment and liberation to explain both the motivations and desires of adult learners. These scholars drew from this framework to promote adult education as a social need in abating unequal and oppressive social systems. Perhaps the best-known scholar of education for empowerment, however, is educator and philosopher, Paulo Freire. In both *The Politics of Education* (1985) as well as *Cultural Action for Freedom* (2000), Freire described the ways in which adult literacy education can lead to transformation and *conscientization*. As Freire (1985) defined it, conscientization is specifically a human process by which learners, as they become literate, are "able to achieve the complex operation of simultaneously transforming the world by their action and grasping and expressing the world's reality in their creative language" (p. 68). This involves constant clarification about what remains hidden in the world, and is a continual process leading to learners' transformed realities and liberation.

With this concept as a basis for his work with adult learners in Brazil and Chile, Freire emphasized that often in education, illiterate men are both marginalized and viewed as empty vessels in which education must be "deposited" (1985, p. 45). For Freire, however, illiteracy itself is not the original obstacle, but a result of earlier inequities that result in future obstacles. He argued that learning to read and write will not automatically increase social and job equities, as is often presumed by human capital theorists. As he stated, "merely teaching men to read and write does not work miracles; if there are not enough jobs for men able to work, teaching more men to read and write will not create them" (2000, p. 17). Instead, Freire found the solution to the problem

comes when men recognize their oppression and work to free themselves from the structures oppressing them. This freedom comes from the use of authentic dialogue and reflecting critically on the process of reading and writing, leading to the ultimate recognition that these students have the right to have a voice.

Drawing from Freire's theories of adult literacy as a model for his own research, Spener (1993) focused on the ways in which Freirean approaches to adult literacy can be used in an English as a Second Language (ESL) context. He found that educators worldwide are drawn to the Freirean approach in strengthening the possibility that "as economically marginalized adults become more literate and aware of social forces at work in society, they will organize themselves to transform the social structures that keep them marginalized" (p. 94). In his research on ESL classes for Central American refugees, Spener integrated Freire's emphasis of dialogue and problem posing into his daily curriculum, as is exhibited by his practice of daily "inquietudes" (p. 91), in which students could bring in questions about English vocabulary that they heard outside of class. Spener discovered that there were difficulties with adapting the Freirean approach to ESL literacy; for example, the approach assumes learners are highly knowledgeable about the culture in which they live and supposes that they are expert speakers of the language they are learning to read and write. However, by citing several research studies including his own research that have used the Freirean approach to literacy, Spener affirmed that the approach can be adapted to an ESL context to strengthen both the language learning and social consciousness of ESL students.

Also deriving from Freire's focus on both individual and social transformation of the adult learner was Auerbach's (1992) concept of participatory education in ESL

learning. While Auerbach explicitly stated that the work of Freire was "the most important inspiration for a participatory approach to ESL" (p. 15), she asserted that

because Freire's approach grew out of very specific cultural and language conditions, it is important to adapt his ideas for ESL education. Auerbach's adaptation of Freire's concepts, which she named the *participatory approach* to education, is an approach in which teachers and students work together to decide the class trajectory, rather than solely having educators and educational experts create the curriculum. In her book, Auerbach structured each chapter as a way to model the curriculum development process and included lesson plans by teachers as well as work by students to exemplify practical ways in which the participatory approach can be used in adult ESL classrooms. She concluded with implications for adult ESL teaching, including the need for curricula to be related to students' lives as well as the necessity for students to be involved in the creation of the curriculum content and in class decision-making processes as a means to empower individual learners.

Using both Freire's and Auerbach's approaches to empowerment and participatory education as a guide, Frye (1999) focused on participatory education for immigrant women in ESL classes. She argued that women are often placed at a disadvantage in literacy programs as these programs not only fail to consider needs such as child-care and transportation, but do not account for gender differences in cognitive development, learning styles, and acculturation. Further, she found that violence from learners' families can occur as a form of resistance to women's involvement in education. Moreover, she surmised that the struggle for literacy in combination with growing personal awareness might bring learners' emotional issues to the fore of classroom

interaction. With these noted difficulties, Frye affirmed that, "Because of the marginalization immigrant women experience as a function of the gender hierarchy present…they especially need a safe nonthreatening environment in which to carry out critical literacy work" (p. 503).

Throughout her article, Frye (1999) grappled with definitions of empowerment as she found that a blanket definition limits the success of participatory education. Instead, she combined her own views of empowerment with her students' views to define this concept as "the means by which or the extent to which one is in control of one's own existence, or one's ability to make decisions and carry out actions independent of the coercion of others" (p. 510). While Frye found successes within her class, including the development of solidarity among students, and an increased sense of learner identity, she noted that empowerment did not frequently occur from simply discussing it. Instead, a sense of empowerment arose from stories and dialogues in which the students expressed their personal experiences of discrimination and oppression while also strengthening their concept of self and community.

Education as a means to empowerment is examined in a South African context in Hopfer's (1997) work on empowerment education for adult female learners in Namibia and South Africa both during and after apartheid. After briefly describing the oppressive effects of apartheid, and especially the Bantu Education Act, on South African and Namibian learners, Hopfer discussed ways in which people in both countries organized alternative forms of education for empowerment; these included alternative teacher training, labor education, and adult literacy classes. While Hopfer did not explicitly describe the curriculum used in the two programs that her research centered on, she noted

that women involved in both programs went through phases of realizing their previous attitudes of self-inferiority, of taking initiative and being creative, and of realizing their control over the situations they were living in, all as a means to initiate self-empowerment. Further, she found that women gained more confidence in their personal abilities to act and to influence their life situations. Hopfer (1997) concluded by noting that "a democratic society can only work if adults have confidence in their own abilities and potential" (p. 57). Thus, she contended that taking part in adult education programs can be an essential factor in initiating learner empowerment and ultimately transforming both private and civic life.

Wessels (2006) centered her dissertation explicitly on South African domestic workers who were taking part in the Domestic Workers Skills Development Project (DWSDP), a community project that helps domestic workers "achieve freedom by empowerment through skills development" (p. 63). Wessels situated her work in people-centered community development in which empowerment was taught so as to increase both personal and community development. While she noted several critiques of Freire, including his gender insensitivity as well as his failure to cite teachers' positions of power within the classroom that may affect students' abilities to become empowered. Wessels also found that Freire's solidarity with those who have been historically oppressed speaks to the racial, class, and gender exploitation of South African domestic workers.

Utilizing focus groups and observations, Wessels focused her research on the impacts of the DWSDP on domestic workers' sense of empowerment. She specifically examined the ways in which the program created, what she termed, a "gender sensitive environment" (p. 189). She found that women were well represented in decision-making

structures of the program and that men in the program displayed gender sensitivity, a practice that she found to support Freire's idea that men must also fight for the rights of

women. Wessels concluded by asserting that this program was able to change the lives and experiences of South African domestic workers by improving relationships between domestic workers and their families, and even strengthening the relationships of workers and their employers. For example, she found that through critical thinking and action by both domestic workers and their employers, a partnership was created that "was proof of social change enhanced by emancipatory or transformatory learning" (p. 193). She additionally contended that the program improved workers' communication and literacy skills, thus freeing workers "from the shackles of lack of education" (p. 173).

As is exhibited by the preceding research, education as a vehicle for individual liberation and social empowerment aims to address the oppressive constraints often found in non-literate learners while also addressing ways in which education for empowerment can positively affect learners globally. Moreover, it often draws from similar methodologies that I utilize in my research, such as narratives and individual stories that expand on the experiences of learners. However, while the methodological framework for my own research stems from an ontological belief that identities are forever changing and (re)forming in differing times and spaces, theories of empowerment often assume linearity in individual and social transformation.

As Spener (1993) noted, theorists have begun to question Freire's (1985; 2000) emphasis on the importance of literacy to the liberation of oppressed people. Street (1990), for example, found Freire's separation between literate and illiterate people to be problematic. As he asserted, when viewing literate people as vastly different from

illiterate people, assumptions about the cognitive abilities, ways of thinking, and higher order mental operations are all implied for the achievement of literacy, while illiterate

people are presumed to lack these qualities. This problematization is especially interesting in the context of conceptions of literacy for South African domestic workers. As I further explore in Chapter Four, notions of (il)literacy are often embedded in an "English only" framework leading to metonymical associations between literacy and the English language. While many of my participants are literate in their native languages, they consider themselves illiterate because they are not literate in English. Thus, Freire's separation of literate and illiterate paralleling the separation of oppressed and empowered becomes problematic in this context.

Additionally, McKinney and Norton (2008) contended that many scholars are problematizing the assumption that when social inequalities are revealed, they bring about change. They found that this assumption ignores the multiple investments that the learner brings, and overlooks how learners are positioned both inside and outside of the classroom. Furthermore, while Freire (1985) assumed that illiteracy is equated with oppression and insisted that only when learners recognize their own oppression can empowerment take place, Ally (2009) found in her work with South African domestic workers that they do not always think of themselves as oppressed. As is quoted in Ally's research by a South African domestic worker, "Let me just tell you, we are not vulnerable. We don't need anyone else with power to come and protect us. I mean, we domestic workers. We are strong. We have been protecting ourselves all these years" (p. 93). As I further explore in Chapter Six, I heard similar statements by my participants vacillating between testaments of oppression and assertions of strength and agency.

Additional critiques of theories of empowerment, and particularly, critiques of work by Freire, note the androcentric nature of his writing. Though hooks (1994)

promoted the necessity of Freire's work in creating learner transformation, in which one begins to think critically about the self in relation to the world, she also recognized his lack of emphasis on female learners. As she stated, she is continually aware when reading his work not only of the sexism of his language, but of the "phallocentric paradigm of liberation- wherein freedom and the experience of patriarchal manhood are always linked as though they are one and the same" (p. 49). This critique is especially important when focusing on the motivations and desires of black female South African domestic workers, because, as Walters (1996) asserted, adult education seeking to empower women must challenge ideological patriarchy and practice in order to contribute to meaningful change.

Walters (1996) found that more and more South African women were realizing that only when they attained power as part of economic and political decision-making processes could change regarding the position of women in society occur. Yet, for domestic workers who lack very little education and societal power, attaining this power through the English language alone is difficult to imagine as "paid domestic work is almost always reserved for poor women, women of color, and immigrant women" (Ally, 2009, p. 5). Ally further argued that domestic work not only reflects structures of inequality, but constitutes and reproduces them, making the notion of education for empowerment, and more specifically, for feminist empowerment, even more difficult to attain. As I explore in Chapter Six, the women in my study are both hindered by structural and historical forms of oppression and still find aspects of agency and

empowerment within these limitations. However, I find Ally's contention to be essential in exploring the ways in which "empowerment" is significantly more connected to and contingent upon historical, linguistic, racial, and classed frameworks than many of the aforementioned scholars maintain.

For Bartlett (2010), feminist poststructuralist theories challenge the uncomplicated linearity of theories of empowerment, and specifically Freirean pedagogy, as they question the possibility of achieving conscientization "unfiltered by reigning discursive structures and regimes of truth" (p. 174). Using poststructuralist notions of language, identity, and power as a framework for analysis, and looking particularly at ways in which "agency" is conceptualized in a poststructural frame, the following section explores aspects of adult learning and English language education that are overlooked both in theories of education as human capital as well as theories of education for liberation and empowerment.

Adult English Language Education as a Means for Identity (Re)Construction

Theories surrounding education as a means for human capital and economic advancement, as well as theories of education for liberation and empowerment, are two frameworks used to understand the desires and motivations of adult learners with regard to increased education and specifically, increased knowledge of the English language. However, as authors such as McKinney and Norton (2008) have noted, both theoretical frameworks disregard the complexities of learners' identities in relation to language and power. While human capital theory assumes binaries of rich/poor, immigrant/non-immigrant, employed/unemployed, and empowerment theories take on binaries of oppressor/oppressed, masculine/feminine, advantaged/disadvantaged, identities are not

static and differ according to subject and context. Moreover, as McKinney and Norton (2008) contended, "While critical theory maintains the focus on teaching for social

justice and foregrounds issues of power and inequality, poststructuralism signals multiplicity and complexity, a move away from a dogmatic approach to the deconstruction of binary oppositions" (p. 196). Furthermore, although both human capital and empowerment frameworks focus on literacy as a form of economic and personal empowerment, they fail to address the dual roles of language, and specifically, the current role of "English as an international language" (Pennycook, 2013), as both supporting and opposing empowerment. Poststructuralist notions of identity construction and reconstruction, tied to concepts of language, power, and agency, seek to rectify these often-overlooked complexities of human identities. Instead, they center on the ways in which linguistic and symbolic power shape identities.

While the term 'poststructuralist' does not have one fixed meaning and is applied to a range of theoretical ideas and positions, a common factor in poststructuralist analyses of social systems, individual consciousness, and power, is the concept of language. As Weedon (1997) argued, language is both the place where forms of social organization and social consequences are defined and contested, but also the place where people's sense of self, or subjectivity, is constructed. Language is not an expression of individuality, but instead, constructs an individual's subjectivity in socially specific ways that make it a constant site for power struggle. In this section, I explore poststructuralist conceptions of the ways in which language and power form constructions of identity. Additionally, I investigate differing conceptions of agency and analyze how notions of an "agentic being" both diverge and intersect with poststructuralist thought. I then tie these concepts

to research on the identities of adult English language learners in Anglophone countries as well as in a South African context. Lastly, I relate this theoretical framework to the

English language learning and identity construction of black female domestic workers in South Africa while further broadening this framework by connecting it to postcolonial thought in the proceeding section.

Though not consistently claimed as a poststructuralist scholar, Bourdieu (1991) and his theory of language and symbolic power directly challenged the Saussurean concept of the pre-given fixed structure of language or 'semiotics.' Bourdieu found that Saussure ignored the socio-historical conditions of how texts are produced and received and asserted, "linguistic exchanges- are also relations of symbolic power in which the power relations between speakers or their respective groups are actualized" (p. 37). For Bourdieu, symbolic power is not the power that is often recognizable, such as the power of apartheid policies advocating strict linguistic segregation and inequality. Instead, it is a transformed and unrecognizable power that is often legitimated by and carried into other forms of power. One way in which this power becomes recognized is through the legitimation of dominant languages in education. As Bourdieu (1991) contended, the sociology of language is inseparable from the sociology of education, and "the educational market is strictly dominated by the linguistic products of the dominant class" (p. 62). This linguistic dominance led to Bourdieu's notion of linguistic capital as constituted by a linguistic market, which creates the conditions through which legitimized competence can function. Linguistic capital produces, what Bourdieu termed, a *profit of distinction.* This results from the scarcity of the product, which, in this case, is the legitimate language, and is realized with social and verbal exchange. Furthermore,

Bourdieu asserted that those least able to accept and adopt the language of school and society are those who have already faced, and will continue to face, social and educational disparities. In a South African context, while the country recognizes 11 official languages, and promotes policies supporting students' language of choice, English continues to rule South African education and politics, thus acting as the language of legitimation that Bourdieu described. Hence, English becomes a source of symbolic power leading to multiple representations of identity.

As Bourdieu (1991) noted, all linguistic practices are measured against the practices of those who are socially dominant, thereby leading to an imposition of identity formation resulting from perceptions and recognitions of those with social and political power. According to Bourdieu (1991), identity is the "being-perceived which exists fundamentally through recognition by other people" (p. 224). It is through relations of symbolic power that the classification and evaluation of people take place and lead to the formation of self-representation. Bourdieu noted that the role of the legitimate language in the creation of identity is especially apparent in women as he found that women are more disposed to adopt the legitimate language, "since they are inclined towards docility with regard to the dominant usages both by sexual division of labor…and by the logic of marriage" (p. 50). While as previously mentioned, domestic workers do not all view themselves as docile or oppressed, Bourdieu stated that factors supporting the symbolic violence of a legitimate language are not explicitly professed or apparent, but are, instead, inscribed in apparently insignificant aspects of day-to-day life. In relation to the English language in South Africa, although domestic workers might not be explicitly forced to learn English, the symbolic power of English as the main language of distinction

conceivably promotes their desire to learn it.

Weedon (1997) used similar conceptions of language and power as linked to the construction of identity when discussing feminist poststructuralism. However, while Bourdieu (1991) concentrated primarily on economic class as the site of a language-induced power struggle, and only briefly and problematically mentioned gender, Weedon focused on the ways in which poststructuralism can further understandings of how gender is used to construct identities and subjectivities in patriarchal contexts. Unlike humanism, which she found implies a conscious, unified, and rational subject, poststructuralism theorizes that subjectivity is a constant site of disunity, conflict, and change. Yet, as Weedon asserted, while poststructuralism emphasizes language as a site for social and political power, as well as the continual reconstitution of subjectivity, feminist poststructuralism specifically takes into account the ways in which discourses surrounding social and political power reproduce patriarchal norms.

Weedon (1997) argued that historical forms of power that are constantly at work in society govern individual subjectivity. One way in which this is most notable is the discursive struggle between notions of femininity and masculinity that are often constituted by images and rules of how one should act. She also highlighted the ways in which academic, medical, and legal discourses surrounding gender often get naturalized. However, as Weedon (1997) also contended, “The individual is never in a state of innocence when faced by a choice of conflicting subject positions” (p. 94). While individuals are the objects of language and a discursive struggle for identity, they are also the site of this same struggle as it takes place within the consciousness and self-making practices of each individual. Therefore, as Weedon argued, for a feminist

poststructuralist, it is the language of conflicting discourses that constitutes individuals as conscious-thinking beings who give meaning to the world while continuously

transforming it.

Using both Bourdieu and Weedon as a guide, Norton (1997; 2013) centered her research on immigrant female domestic workers taking English language classes in both Canada and the United States. Using poststructuralist frameworks of identity, language, and power, Norton (1997) specified her own definition of identity "to refer to how people understand their relationship to the world, how that relationship is constructed across time and space, and how people understand their possibilities for the future" (p. 410). Norton also deployed the term *investment*, which she differentiates from the term *motivation* that is often linked to psychological theories of learning. While she finds that motivation presupposes a fixed, ahistoric language learner who desires material gain from learning the dominant language, investment views the language learner as having a complex social history with multiple desires. Moreover, as Norton (2013) noted, "Investment in the target language is also an investment in a learner's own identity…which is constantly changing across time and space" (pp. 50-51).

Applying notions of both identity and investment to her research, Norton (1997; 2010; 2013) focused on adult female English language learners in Canada whom she both taught and observed. Utilizing questionnaires, interviews, diary entries, and observations over a two-year span, Norton found that female learners' investments in English language learning were complex and must be understood with reference to the construction of identity. For example, when describing one learner who came from an upper-class background in Peru, Norton (2013) found that when the learner's identity as a wealthy

educated Peruvian woman was validated, she felt comfortable speaking English in class. Conversely, when she was positioned as an immigrant, she was silenced. Moreover,

drawing on Bourdieu's (1991) notion of legitimate language and symbolic power, Norton contended that these women's language learning experiences outside of class were often alienating, as her participants had difficulty commanding attention of English-speaking listeners and were often regarded as not worthy to speak. Norton concluded her research by asserting that English language learning must be understood in the context of learners' changing identities across time and space and argued that, "only by acknowledging the complexity of identity [can we] gain greater insight into the myriad challenges and possibilities of language learning and language teaching in the new millennium" (2010, p. 191).

Employing similar concepts of language and power with a feminist poststructuralist framework, North (2013) focused her research on two female migrant domestic workers, both of whom had immigrated to England for work and were taking English literacy classes. Using empirical research in which North met weekly with these women for literacy support group sessions, she found complex relationships between literacy, language, and status in the learners' lives. For example, while emerging English literacy skills enhanced the learners' positioning amongst their family abroad, North found that these skills did not have a significant impact on learners' statuses as domestic workers, nor did they expand their opportunities to leave domestic work. Further, she found literacy practices to be gendered, exhibited by the ways in which the learners' gender relations at home constrained their abilities to further develop their literacy skills. North's research suggests that while literacy learning has the potential for increased

economic capital as well as learner empowerment, structural inequalities beyond literacy affect learners' agency. Therefore, as her research argues, language education must

> address the ways in which social and individual power vary across different social fields while also addressing the ways in which social and cultural capital affect learners' access to literacy.

Theoretical Conceptions of Agency Within Poststructural Thought

While poststructuralist theories of language, identity, and power focus on conceptions of language in relation to the (re)constructions of identity and power, what is often unclear are the ways in which notions of agency are discussed within poststructural thought. As DeJaeghere, Josic, and McCleary (2016) contended in their book on education and agency, and as I similarly assert, "agency is both a useful and problematic concept" (pp. 11-12). Hence, in this section, I explore the ways in which notions of agency in connection to language education are necessary to investigate as a means to further understandings of domestic workers' motivations to learn English. I also argue, however, that these conceptions often overlook colonial and postcolonial stances that seek to expand upon conceptions of agency in relation to broader structural and historical forces derived from the (post)colonial project.

As Ahearn (2001) explored in her article entitled "Language and Agency," there are numerous ways in which agency is conceived in relation to language. While Ahern defined agency as "the socioculturally mediated capacity to act" (p. 112), she described several main theoretical conceptions of agency. One, she noted, includes agency as free will, which she found many postcolonial theorists move away from due to the ways in which "agency is constituted by the norms, practices, institutions, and discourses" (Lalu,

2000, as is cited in Ahern, 2001, p. 115). Ahearn also described theories involving agency as a synonym for resistance. This, however, Ahearn found problematic, as she

noted that human motivations are complex and contradictory. Moreover, when discussing women's agency in particular, she quoted work by MacLeod (1992) who stated that "even as subordinate players, (women) always play an active part that goes beyond the dichotomy that flattens out a complex and ambiguous agency in which women accept, accommodate, ignore, resist, or protest-sometimes all at the same time" (p. 534).

Ahearn also explored Foucault's (1978) notions of agency in which she found that even though Foucault linked power to resistance, and left room for agency within language, he focused more on macro discourses and less on individual actions that humans choose and make. Additionally, Ahearn analyzed Bourdieu's (1997) conceptions of free will as nonexistent and found that he left little room for people's resistance to power or enactment of social change. Thus, Ahearn contended that agency can be exercised linguistically in many ways, and it is vital to look closely at linguistic and sociohistorical contexts when understanding social dynamics and change. Furthermore, she asserted that, "Locating language, culture, and agency in the interstices between people, rather than individuals themselves, requires a different way of thinking about and studying linguistic and cultural interactions" (Ahearn, 2001, p. 129).

Butler (1997) similarly analyzed differing ideas of agency and directly drew from poststructuralist theories of language, power, and identity when explicating her theory of linguistic performativity and its' relation to avenues of agency. In *Excitable Speech*, Butler (1997) centered her analysis on the roles of language in the creation of reality and

the ways in which language can be used not only to incite hatred and injure subjects, but concurrently can be used to create agency. Butler began her book by referencing J. L.

Austin's (1975) notion of illocutionary versus perlocutionary speech in which perlocutionary speech produces real life effects as a consequence of being spoken, while illocutionary speech enacts what it says in that exact moment of utterance. This conception of illocutionary and perlocutionary speech is important to draw from in my own research, for as I explore in Chapter 5, not only does language produce the symbolic violence that Bourdieu (1991) described, but also results in verbal and physical violence portrayed in the narratives of my participants.

Additionally, Butler touches upon Lakoff and Johnson's (1980) notion of *metonymy*. This term, which I further explore in Chapter Four, refers to certain words that are encapsulated within a historical framework in which the name or image itself means very little, but what the name or object references means a great deal. In a South African context, this can be exemplified with the word *apartheid*. While apartheid means "separateness" in Afrikaans, the word itself does not produce a reality of separation. What the word references, however, is hate, oppression, and deeply engrained inequity.

Drawing from conceptions of the importance of language and words, Butler (1997) centered the core of her book on examples of how hate speech is used within discourse. For instance, she focused on the role of the court in the reproduction of hate speech and analyzed the ways in which notions of agency are interpreted and reinterpreted within the legal state, specifically, within the first amendment. Moreover, she discussed use of the term "homosexual" within the military, and the ways in which homosexuality acts as a metonym for "contagion," in which the act of saying "I am

homosexual" not only leads to the act of creating homosexuality, but can also lead to the spread of homosexuality (thus being a metonym for something contagious).

In her fourth chapter entitled "Implicit Censorship," Butler discussed the outcomes of censorship and the possibilities of the performative as an agentic act. She critiqued Austin's (1975) use of illocutionary and perlocutionary speech by bringing in Bourdieu's (1991) concept of symbolic power and habitus and found that, while Austin assumed that speech conventions are stable, he ignored the power of social institutions which Bourdieu found create or perform these conventions. Butler also criticized Bourdieu's assumptions that contexts of power remain solid, noting that Bourdieu foreclosed the possibility of agency that emerges from the margins of power. Instead, Butler preferred Derrida's (1993) formulation of the performative that offer a way to think of performativity as a form of transformation and agency of subjects. While within this dissertation, I do not draw from Derrida's work, what Butler's critiques introduce are the ways in which agency is both contingent upon forms of social and linguistic power while concurrently pushing against these boundaries of power.

Showden (2011) employed Butler's theory of performativity as well as Butler's ideas of agency as always being a political prerogative, but additionally applied existential phenomenology to her work as a way to, in her words, offer "a critical expansion of Butler's theory" (p. 34). Specifically, Showden analyzed differing conceptions of agency and asserted that agency is both a product of autonomy, which she defined as the individual capacity to act, and freedom, which she stated are the conditions that facilitate the action. This clarification is important, because Showden focused on the ways in which subjects are socially embedded in the world and are not only individual

choice makers, but part of politically produced group identities. In my own research, I move away from the methodology of existential phenomenology, as I find

phenomenology's conception of the self-contained being to be problematic and inaccurately assuming of a singular identity instead of a multiplicity of identities constituted, in part, by language. However, I draw from Showden's work to highlight the space in between that of total agency and complete oppression—a space that South African domestic workers often live within.

In the case of domestic workers, the politically produced group identities that Showden discussed are similar to the identities described by Parvulescu (2014). In her chapter on international housework, Parvulescu asserted that domestic workers are trapped in a patriarchal system in which both their enforced role as menial laborers and the linguistic hierarchies in which they are working within produce a cycle of enforced oppression. Showden (2011) would likely recognize the impacts of this system on the freedom of workers while still insisting that the agency of these workers is possible. In other words, according to Showden, agency only exists within the structural conditions of one's life, as it is these conditions that produce the subject who acts. Consequently, Showden sought to "illustrate ways in which agency actually develops, in all its messy, complicated, and compromised inglorious drudgery" (p. xv).

In order to explicate the complicated messiness of agency, Showden (2011) centered her work on three major social and public policy issues. These issues surrounded women who continued to stay in environments of domestic violence, those who took part in technologies supporting assisted reproduction, and women who were involved in sex work including pornography and prostitution. These cases were utilized by Showden to

explore the ways in which the potential for women's and/or feminist agency is possible, yet also complicated and constrained. As Showden noted, one can simultaneously live a

life in which she is moving towards her goals, even if those goals are not always achieved in the optimally desired way. Showden (2011) brought attention to these issues to exhibit the ways in which "women are more than simply dupes of power, though they are shaped by the material reality of their situations" (p. 9). Thus, female subjects are trying to contest hegemonic and social power in their own agentic ways, while still existing within discursive constructions of women and sexuality.

Poststructuralist conceptions of language, identity, and power, including theories focused on theorizing agency within poststructural thought, provide the most viable framework for understanding possible reasons why South African domestic workers are taking English classes. However, scholars such as Bourdieu (1991), Butler (1997), Norton (1997; 2013), and Weedon (1997) situate their work in Western environments that do not sufficiently take into account the intersectionalities of race, gender, socioeconomic status, and age that undeniably play a role in the motivations for domestic workers to learn English. Furthermore, poststructuralist research examining language learning is often centered on immigrant learners who have moved to an English-speaking country rather than on learners who are taking English classes in their home countries. Hence, researchers often fail to account for colonial and postcolonial histories that are integrated into the power of English as a tool, not only for education, but also for identity reconstruction and symbolic power.

As Alexander (2005) strongly asserted, the language of power in post-apartheid South Africa is English because of the colonial history of Southern Africa. Accordingly,

it is vital that the history of Dutch/Afrikaans and British colonialism, as well as the effects of apartheid, be integrated into the poststructuralist theories that I utilize. As such,

the following section seeks to combine poststructuralist conceptions of identity, language, and power with the history of colonialism and notions of postcolonial theory. This accounts for ways in which colonial histories in South Africa, and, in particular, the use of English in education through British rule and the enforcement of Afrikaans during apartheid, undeniably influenced, and continue to influence, the (re)construction of the identities of South African domestic workers.

The Effects of Colonialism in South Africa on Adult English Language Education and Identity (Re)Construction

As Pennycook (2017) maintained, English language teaching and learning is at the heart of colonialism and deeply interwoven into colonial discourse. Within South Africa, the effects of colonialism are extreme as "three hundred and fifty years of colonial, postcolonial and finally apartheid rule were replaced in 1994 by the first democratically elected government of national unity" (Heugh, 2007, p. 187). Moreover, Shin and Kubota (2008) contend that the continued hegemony of the colonial language has elevated the perceived importance of English specifically in countries such as South Africa where "the language of the empire has continued to carry cultural, economic, and symbolic capital even after decolonization" (p. 213). In recognition of this complex colonial past, this section utilizes the history of colonialism in relation to language learning to better understand my participants' choices to learn English. Further, it draws on aspects of postcolonial theory to historically situate the use of poststructural theory within this research. By tying broader conceptions of the ways in which colonialism has

affected discourses of identity with specific cases of language learning within South Africa, this section aims at solidifying the use of poststructural concepts of language and power in combination with postcolonial conceptions of identity as the necessary theoretical framework for further understanding the complexities driving South African domestic workers to take English literacy classes.

Similar to poststructuralism, postcolonial concepts and postcolonial theory are widely contested concepts (Shin & Kubota, 2008); and as Dirlik (2018) contends, the postcolonial itself emerges from within poststructuralist discourse as it is considered to be a condition and a process, always in flux. While in this section I cite authors' differing notions of the postcolonial, I most readily identify with Childs and Williams (2014) conception of postcolonialism as dealing with "the painful experience of confronting the desire to recover 'lost' pre-colonial identities, the impossibility of actually doing so, and the task of constructing some new identity on the basis of the impossibility" (p. 14). Utilizing this explanation along with postcolonial authors' individual notions of the connections between postcolonialism and identity construction, I situate my work in an intertheoretical framework of sorts in which postcolonial and poststructural understandings of language, power, and identity are not separate, but instead, irrevocably working in union with one another.

In his work on English, colonization, and internationalization, Pennycook (2017) asserted that "the global spread of English is a bigger problem now than it ever was and we need to ways to address this" (p. viii). The "problem" that Pennycook centered his most recent research on is the colonial exploitation of current inequalities that are incited by neoliberal ideologies of language learning and the hegemony of English, which

threatens the legitimation of other languages. He analyzed two principal themes of English language teaching and learning: the discourse of English as an International

Language, and the worldliness of English; and used these themes to understand how past and current discourses surrounding English impact English language learners and speakers. Additionally, Pennycook calls attention to his own epistemological beliefs and clarifies that while he does not claim his stance poststructuralist, he draws on Foucault's (1972) concept of discourse and Weedon's (1907) notions of language as the place where identities and subjectivities are constructed. Thus, Pennycook analyzes the ways in which colonial histories of English ultimately impact the choices that language learners and language teachers make. While Pennycook used his work to make a case for understanding the global spread of English and its connection to notions of power embedded in colonial rule, he asserted that it is vital to explore "what English is and what it means in all these contexts, and we need to do so not with prior assumptions about globalization and its effects but with critical studies of the local embeddedness of English" (2017, p. xi). Accordingly, Pennycook situated much of his work in more localized contexts as a means to explore how countries' histories impact differing conceptions of English that, in turn, impact social and individual identities of language speakers and learners.

Utilizing his argument for more localized research as well as his views on the interconnected nature of identity construction and language, Pennycook drew on the history of English language in South Africa. He quoted Ndebele's (1987) suggestion that in South Africa, "the problems of society will also be the problems of the predominant language of that society…The guilt of English must then be recognized and appreciated

before its continued use can be advocated" (p. 11). Moreover, he cited Pierce (1990) who remarked on the ways in which "People's English" in South Africa was used not simply

as a variety of English, but as a political act meant to challenge the status of English in South Africa. Highlighted throughout this dissertation, this "political act" is both embedded in colonial histories and reconstituted in neocolonial notions of the essential nature of English. What these examples make apparent are the deeply interwoven notions of colonial history and social and political identities that undeniably impact the ways in which language is thought about and utilized.

In his book entitled *English and the Discourses of Colonialism*, Pennycook (1998) linked colonial histories with identity construction as he found that English is assembled into multiple acts of desire and identity. When drawing from, what he termed, the "Self and Other" (p. 8), he analyzed the ways in which English language learners were constructed in particular ways, and how these constructions were often formed from comparisons of one's existence to another's. While Pennycook did not directly tie his notion of "Self and Other" to poststructural conceptions of identity in relation to language and power, he remarked on the problematic dichotomies that colonial power cultivates in the production of identities, both of the colonizers and the colonized. These dichotomies include modern versus primitive, masculine versus feminine, and the adult versus the child, all of which "have existed well beyond the formal end of colonial rule in most parts of the world" (Pennycook, 1998, p. 47).

One such way in which produced divisions are especially noticeable is with the construction of languages within South Africa. While currently, South Africa claims eleven official languages, Makalela (2005) strongly asserted that multilingualism, as it

applies to languages in the South African constitution, is an artificial construct enforced by missionaries to separate black South Africans. Missionaries who arrived from

European countries encoded closely related dialects based on differences they perceived and thus “balkanized indigenous African languages varieties with artificial boundaries” (p. 152). Praah (2009) supports this point when he noted that, “Indeed, almost all African languages are trans-border languages, and the majority of them cross more than one state border” (p. 12). While this dissertation does not center on the (mis)conceptions of African languages, I raise Makalela and Praah’s points to exhibit the colonial enforcement of language boundaries that undeniably affects notions of the self that Pennycook (1998) discussed. Moreover, I use this example to again demonstrate the need for a poststructuralist framework in researching the English language learning of domestic workers, as this framework aids in the recognition of aspects of power emphasized by postcolonial language borders while simultaneously seeking to call into question these false borders.

Utilizing notions of poststructural thought in connection to postcolonialism, several South African researchers find similar ties to the ways in which identities are constructed in relation to both language use and accents within South African classrooms. Soudien and Botsis (2011) used a poststructuralist framework in combination with aspects of postcolonial thought to research the language and identity of young female South African university students. Specifically, their research centered on the ways in which young South African women (ages 16-24) conceptualized accent as a form of romantic desire. The authors contended that in post-apartheid South Africa, new constructions of race are tied to both educational opportunities and language abilities as

"White English in South Africa represents a certain type of established social capital…and has come to represent a new form of power" (Soudien & Botsis, 2011, p. 91). Using analyses from interviews conducted with twenty-six young women of different races in Johannesburg and Capetown, Soudien and Botsis found that not only is English associated with being upwardly mobile, but that accents and varieties of English are used to make judgments about an individual's class and racial identities. Even more, they argued that educational institutions support class and race-based expressions of desire while simultaneously producing ambivalence with black participants' notions of English accents, thereby producing learners' conceptions of language that are in a continual state of flux.

Similarly, McKinney (2013) drew from Bourdieu's attention to discourse as a site of normativity and social reproduction when she centered her research on the ways in which South African girls position themselves and their race in relation to English. Employing historical racial labeling connected to English in South Africa (such as "White" South African English and "Black" South African English) that resulted from British colonization and was further solidified during apartheid, McKinney found that young people's linguistic ideologies and language practices "show a simultaneous sedimenting and destabilising of race categories" (p. 23). Furthermore, McKinney noted that different accents and varieties of English in South Africa speak to the ways in which language is connected to both race and social class. Therefore, she contended, linguistic ideologies and language practices provide complexities into the language/race relationships in post-apartheid South Africa.

These complexities are further expanded upon in work by Prah (2009b) who

explored the effects of colonialism on concepts of elitism and social mobility. As he stated, "The use of English was a requirement for social mobility in the colonial hierarchy for the native populations" (p. 4), noting the ways in which language historically impacted processes of social control. However, as Prah argued, while this control was implemented by colonial rule, notions of the essential nature of English are further propagated by African elites. While Prah noted that this support of English often stems from discourses that Pennycook (2017; 1998) also explored, such as the ways in which English has become an international language and seemingly necessary for social unification, Prah (2009b) contended that it is not the internationalization of English that African elites are promoting; instead:

> The real and unspoken reason (to promote English) is the desire to consolidate their (African elites') own social advantages through the social elevation of the English language, because they already have an adequate facility in the use of the language. (p. 6)

While this argument problematically assumes the complete autonomy of "African elites" in their perpetuation of English rather than their promotion African languages and detracts from global discourses that sustain these linguistic hierarchies, what Prah's contention again brings to the fore are the ways in which linguistic colonialism is irrevocably connected to notions of the self and to social identities that shape these notions.

Poststructuralist studies are not concerned with a single, definitive message, but instead, promote the recognition of multiple messages in diverse contexts. For example, Baxter (2010) found that it is a framework "where no voice is suppressed, displaced by,

or privileged over another, but rather, each voice complements, enhances, and at the same time undercuts the others" (p. 17). Additionally, she suggested that it equips researchers

> to reflect on the ambiguities and confusions of discursive contexts that locate women as simultaneously powerful and powerless. Consequently, the history of language in relation to colonialism in South Africa, combined with larger poststructuralist conceptions of language, identity, and power, are essential frameworks in furthering the understandings of South African English language learning. This intertheoretical framework provides insights into the long history of subordination of black female South African domestic workers in combination with the convoluted history of adult education in South Africa. These insights provide a necessary and under-researched context in which to advance understandings of both the motivations and desires of South African domestic workers taking English language classes and the motivations of adult English language learners globally.

Concluding Chapter Two

In this chapter, I have employed several theoretical frameworks to aid in understanding the possible motivations for South African domestic workers to take English language and literacy classes. I have explained the ways in which human capital theory provides the plausible perspective of English language learning as a means for learners to obtain better jobs and more financial capital, while revealing the problematic nature of this framework with regard to the diversity of identities that are forgotten within this theory. Similarly, I have discussed how theories of empowerment view adult learners as freedom seeking individuals who find education as a form of liberation, while noting the ways in which this framework misses key components of the histories of English in

South African adult education as well as the histories of South African domestic workers. Moreover, while I situate my research in poststructural conceptions of language, agency, and power in relation to identity construction, I historicize these conceptions within the conditions of colonialism and postcolonialism that remain present in South Africa.

Consequently, I have elected to combine poststructural notions of identity, language, agency and power with postcolonial conceptions of English language learning as a framework for understanding the personal, social, and historical factors motivating this group of women to learn English. This aggregate framework allows for a nuanced and historicized exploration of this topic thereby furthering research on the English language learning of adult learners globally. Drawing from this combination of frameworks, in the next chapter I describe my methodological choices and research design. More specifically, I situate my research in a mixture of ethnographic methods, Critical Narrative Analysis (Souto-Manning, 2014), and Critical Discourses Analysis (Fairclough, 1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015), as a way to methodologically adhere to the poststructural and postcolonial theories around which I frame my work.

Chapter 3: Maids, Madams, and Methodologies

"My view is that there is not an external relationship 'between' language and society, but an internal and dialectical relationship. Language is a part of society; linguistic phenomena are social phenomena of a special sort, and social phenomena are (in part) linguistic phenomena" (Fairclough, 2015, p. 56).

Amahle: I want to write a book. I have lots of stories.
Anna: About what?
Amahle: About my life, and other lives, and work life, and everything that is good. I want to make a book but I don't know how to write.
Anna: But you know how to write in your language.
Amahle: I can write but I want to write in English.
Anna: But why do you want to write it in English?
Amahle: I want everyone to read my book. I want to share my story with other people, you know? If I write, I want to continue to go to school and then I will write.

As Amahle has told me many times throughout the course of our friendship, her ultimate goal is to write a book about her life. She wants to share this story with "everyone," and to do so, she wants the book to be in English. Not all my participants shared this same request with me. Many had no verbalized wish to write and publish their own life narratives, and some had never considered the possibility of their narratives being written down. But all the 28 women who I interviewed agreed to our interviews because they expressed the want for their stories to be heard—heard by me, heard by each other, heard by "someone."

In this chapter, I discuss the individual participants and sites of my research as well as the ways in which my research attempts to highlight my participants' desires for their stories to be expressed. I also explain my methodological choices and elaborate on how each methodological choice was individually utilized, as well as how the methodologies were informed by my theoretical framework.

Methodological Design

I draw from an ethnographic research design in combination with Critical Narrative Analysis (Souto-Manning, 2014) to form, what I am calling, Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis (CENA). Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) further informs this approach to analyze an adult education and language learning policy that continues to impact South African ABE and language learning as well as a current movement surrounding language use in South African universities. This combined methodology is employed as a means of understanding why South African domestic workers are learning English in a multilingual post-apartheid South Africa linguascape.[15] Further, these methodologies are utilized to examine how the lived and perceived realities of my participants connect to the narratives being told, the participants' own beliefs about their identities in relation to a South African and global society, and the ways in which the historical rhetoric surrounding language and education are inherently embedded into these beliefs and narratives.

Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis (CENA)

Although I began my preliminary research without a solidified decision of what methodologies I would use to obtain my data, I found short conversations with participants often morphed into longer stories of their lives. Thuli, one afternoon, began to reminisce about her son, which then became an hour-long detailed account of the day

[15] The notion of "-scapes" originally references Appadurai's (1990) concept of multiple spaces that "are deeply perspectival constructs, inflected by the historical, linguistic, and political situatedness of different sorts of actors" (p. 589). These spaces create, what he calls, "imagined worlds," or the differing worlds historically situated by people and understood globally. Throughout this dissertation, I am referring to a "linguascape" as a term to connote the historical, political, and social situatedness of language in South Africa. In describing this situatedness, the term also refers and how it influences the spaces in which these women live and work, and the ways in which they (re)construct their own identities.

her son passed away from AIDS. Rose initially made a comment about frustrations with her employers, and this led to an in-depth description of her long history living and working for this family. Quick questions and responses would transform into beautifully detailed narratives of my participants' memories and feelings. During these conversations, I was aware of the ways in which their stories were embedded in larger conceptions of historical and social power. Margaret's stories inevitably led to her assertiveness on how her life would be better with English. Patricia noted how lucky she was to speak English more fluently than other domestic workers she knew. Personal stories, linguistic declarations, and socio-political opinions were all intertwined into the narratives of my participants' lives. Moreover, the narratives that were told to me were often connected to experiences of our time together. Often, these narratives referenced stories that I had been told before, and included family members and friends who I had previously met. Thus, as a way to draw from my participants' life narratives and how these narratives were connected to my own experiences observing and interacting with my participants, while also recognizing the ways in which discourses of colonialism, prestige, and power were embedded into these narratives, I chose Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis as essential for obtaining and analyzing my research.

Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis (CENA) derives from the methodology of Critical Narrative Analysis (CNA) (Souto-Manning, 2014) in which Narrative Inquiry and Critical Discourses Analysis (CDA) are combined to support the notion of the essential nature of exploring individual narratives while also drawing from the critical perspectives of power found in CDA. Narrative Inquiry refers to qualitative research designs that utilize stories to describe human action and validate the ways in which

stories create purposeful engagement with the world (Polkinghorne, 1995). Moreover, Narrative Inquiry views both participants and researchers as essential in the creation of

the story(ies). Clandinin (2006) contended that narrative inquiry "involves the reconstruction of a person's experience in relationship both to the other and to a social milieu" (p. 5). In other words, drawing from the narratives of humans' lived experiences and emotions exposes the ways in which these stories are undeniably shaped by social actors. Because stories are multilayered and formed by numerous actors, "the constructed nature of truth and the subjectivity of the researcher are particularly evident in this work" (Bell, 2002, p. 210).

Although Narrative Inquiry focuses on the narratives of individual participants as a means to uncover individual and collective stories life stories, it lacks a critical perspective that looks at the underlying social, historical, and political powers that unquestionably impact these narratives. As a means to address this critical framing, Souto-Manning's (2014) conception of CNA also draws from CDA to incorporate critical perspectives into narrative analyses. As Gee (2014) noted, discourse analysts are interested in the relationship between language, context, and identity. By employing discourse analysis, the researcher analyzes the flow of interaction across time and space, and the ways in which people co-construct identities and meaning. CDA takes the relationship of language, context, and identity further by taking into account aspects of power within this multi-dimensional relationship. For example, Gee (2011) asserted that critical practices "go further and treat social practices, not just in terms of social relationships, but also in terms of their implications for things like status, solidarity, the distribution of goods, and power" (p. 28). Similarly, Rogers (2011) contended that a

critical analysis of discourse examines not only what is said, or present in the text, but what is left out or absent.

CDA takes these forms of power into account, but often centers analyses on macro discourses such as educational policies and institutional discourses rather than on daily human narratives. Narrative Inquiry recognizes the necessity of exploring individual narratives but often forgets how larger historical and social narratives impact individual narratives. CNA unifies these two methodologies by allowing us to explore how people "create their selves in constant social interactions at both personal and institutional levels, and how institutional discourses influence and are influenced by personal everyday narratives" (Souto-Manning, 2014, pp. 162-163). CNA provides the capacity to critically analyze individual narratives and textual documents while concurrently "considering the ways in which language and the social world are intertwined" (Souto-Manning, 2014, p. 163). Per Souto-Manning, this allows for critical meta-awareness in which the institutional discourses found in individual narratives permit both the narrator and the researcher to understand the ways in which individual realities are constructed by social discourses.

Souto-Manning is, by no means, the only author who has explored the multiple levels that are at play in the production of narratives. Authors such as Bamberg, De Fina, and Georgakopoulou have analyzed the ways in which individual stories work in combination with larger macro discourses to produces the narratives people construct. For example, Bamberg's (1997) conception of level 3 positioning explored the multiple levels of positioning that take place within narratives. Level 1 positioning is tied to how narrators are positioned in relation to one another within their story; level 2 connects how

narrators position themselves with interlocutors; and level 3 analyzes how narrators position their identities with dominant macro discourses. De Fina (2013) drew from

Bamberg's level 3 positioning to find a "middle-ground" (p. 40) between narrative approaches centering on individual narratives at a local level and those created by macro discourses to examine the creation of identities within these narratives.

Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008) and De Fina and Georgakopoulou (2012) also drew from Bamberg's original concept of positioning to create, what they call, "small stories." According to Bamberg and Georgakopoulou (2008), the term "small stories" is "an umbrella-term that captures a gamut of under-represented narrative activities, such as tellings of ongoing events, future or hypothetical events, shared (known) events, but also allusions to (previous) tellings, deferrals of tellings, and refusals to tell" (p. 381). Recognition of these "small" events is essential as when micro or local narratives are combined with macro or global narratives, a more in-depth and nuanced analysis of narratives can occur. While I do not explicitly utilize these authors' methodologies, as Souto-Manning centers her early research on narratives of domestic work, which connects to my own research, I bring Bamberg, Georgakopoulou, and De Fina's research to the fore as a way of highlighting more recent notions of Narrative Inquiry and CDA that infuse multiple levels of discourse into analysis. These conceptions ultimately impact the methodology of CNA created by Souto-Manning and thus, impact my own conceptions of CENA.

Souto-Manning utilized CNA in her own work with domestic workers in Brazil. In her dissertation research, Souto-Manning (2010) explored the schooling narratives of Brazilian female domestic workers who were pushed out of school as youth and used

these narratives to understand how the women in her study comprehended agency. She centered individual narrative analyses in larger national discourses surrounding language and literacy and found that "language can provide a place in the social world for girls who had dropped out of school to recraft their own selves" (Souto-Manning, 2014, p. 171). While CNA can be used with research that does not explore language, literacy, and domestic work, I find it particularly fitting that Souto-Manning's work, in many ways, mirrors my own research. Besides both centering our work on domestic workers, both of our research participants employ their narratives to discuss their individual life stories, while also utilizing these stories as a way to provide commentary on social power and national/international linguistic ideologies. Additionally, Souto-Manning, like me, uses the ethnographic data collection techniques of observations, field notes, and life histories to understand the narratives of her participants. However, while these ethnographic methods are employed, they play a secondary role in Souto-Manning's description of CNA. As a means of bringing the ethnographic components of this methodology to the fore, I employ Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis as the primary methodology for my research.

Due to the absence of focus placed on the ways in which ethnographic methodologies play a key role in narratives being produced and critical analyses taking place, I propose use of, what I am dubbing, Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis (CENA). CENA is an offshoot of CNA as it draws from both Narrative Inquiry and CDA to critically analyze what is being said in narratives while also using structural and historical aspects of power to explore the ways in which individual narratives are inevitably linked to broader histories of political and social power. CENA furthers CNA

by asserting that ethnographic methods are an essential part of the ways in which narratives are created and analyses are produced.

As Johnson (2011) noted when discussing the use of ethnography in the critical discourse analysis of language policy:

> Because ethnography focuses on the perspectives, beliefs, and practices of participants, it has the power to reveal how language policy agents make sense of their policy environment, how their interpretation of macro-level policies impacts appropriation, how they engage in their own language policy development, and how local language policy development interacts with macro-level policy text and discourse. (p. 269)

I make a similar claim regarding the use of ethnography in the critical discourse analysis of individual narratives. By drawing from ethnographic methods when critically and discursively analyzing my participants' narratives, I am not only able to explore my participants' personal relationships to their individual narratives, but better understand how these narratives are situated within larger raced, gendered, and linguistic histories. In addition, I am able to insert my own identities and my relationships with my participants into this analysis to provide more extensive, and simultaneously, more nuanced analyses of the stories and narratives being produced.

Ethical Implications of "Ethnographic" Methods

Ethnography has traditionally, and in my view, archaically, been described as a theory of cultural behavior in a particular society that uses thick description, dialogue with participants, and observations taking place over a considerable time period as a means for furthering understandings of a group of people in a specific time and place

(Wolcott, 2008). I draw from more contemporary critical and feminist ethnographic methods for my use of CENA. Instead of utilizing my research project as a means to

understand the "cultural behavior of a particular society" (Wolcott, 2008, p. 33), my research questions aim at understanding multiple motivations for language learning and how these motivations connect to individual and social factors of individual lives, the history of a country, and global notions of the importance of one language. Thus, I draw on ethnographic methods situated in critical, feminist, and poststructural epistemologies as a means to connect my own understandings of and experiences with my participants to their narratives and larger discourses.

As Thomas (1993) described when comparing ethnography and critical ethnography, conventional ethnography refers to descriptions and analyses drawing from interpretive meaning, while critical ethnography is used to make meaning of and concurrently challenge current research, policies, and forms of human activity. For example, Canagarajah (1993) utilized critical ethnography when studying an ESL classroom in Sri Lanka and found that ethnography provided a means to "study the students' own point of view of English language teaching in its natural context" (p. 605). Canagarajah also argued for the necessity of critical ethnography as a means to "penetrate the noncommittal objectivity and scientism encouraged by the positivistic empirical attitude behind descriptive ethnography" (p. 605). And yet, while critical ethnographies analyze the existence of power in social and cultural contexts, several feminist scholars have stressed that ethnography is a methodology invented by men and thus, feminist ethnographies are essential as they are conducted "on, by, and for women" (Stanley & Wise, 1983, p. 17). Hence, for Gobo (2008), several key principles must guide feminist

ethnographies. These include both listening to participants and understanding the subjective, emotional, and complicated aspects of their lives, paying attention to the

reflexivity of the researcher and participants, putting the observed and the observer on the same footing, and paying "closer attention to the narratives of the ethnographic text, to the politics of representations, and to how ethnographic texts construct reality" (p. 58).

In my use of CENA, I simultaneously adhere to several of these concepts while also noting problems within them. By utilizing critical and feminist ethnographic approaches in combination with Critical Narrative Analysis (Souto-Manning, 2014), my hope is to reveal the necessity of the experiences of the researched and the researcher in the analysis of narratives and other discursive texts. However, what I also find essential to question are the suppositions of many critical and narrative researchers who assume that by drawing from these methodologies, they are increasing emancipatory possibilities and "giving voice" to participants. As Tuhiwai Smith (2013) strongly contended, "The ethnographic 'gaze' of anthropology has collected, classified, and represented other cultures to the extent that anthropologists are often the academics popularly perceived by the indigenous world as the epitome of all that is bad with academics" (p. 70). In my own view, one reason for this perception involves an assumption that as researchers, we are able to "emancipate" and "give voice." While by centering my research on the narratives of my participants, I am highlighting their stories, I also draw from the poststructural contention that stories, voices, and identities are in constant flux based on time, space, and who is analyzing these stories, voices, and identities. Thus, by focusing on HERstories, which I describe below, as the main source of my data, I account for the

intersectionalities of variables such as gender, race, and age, and combine these with the individual life narratives of my participants and macro historical discourses often framing

their narratives. I do this so as to make sense of the ways in which differing aspects of power are infused into their narratives while also noting how this power changes and transforms with each participant and with each HERstory.

HERstories

Throughout this dissertation, I employ the terms *HERstory/HERstories* when discussing my participants' narratives. While obviously a play on the gendered term "history" (or HIS Story), by using the term, HERstory, I intend to reveal how multiple aspects of my participants' identities, including their roles as women, and specifically, female domestic workers, are primary factors in the stories that they tell and the identities that they embody. While I use the term "history" when discussing the multiple histories of English language learning, Adult Basic Education, and domestic work in South Africa, "HERstory" connotes the individual and collective stories of my participants and the ways in which their stories both parallel and diverge from other histories evident within South African education. Moreover, by employing the term HERstory when discussing the narratives and life stories of my participants, I aim to connect these HERstories to the feminist poststructural thought that I described in the previous chapter.

The term "herstory/herstories" is not new. It has been used in several works by scholars and educators (Alston & McClellan, 2011; Patterson, 2003; Serisier, 2007) to pushback against the gendered nature of words and the ways in which the embeddedness of gender can impact how we conceive of the world. As I noted in Chapter Two when discussing feminist poststructuralism, Weedon (1997) contended that poststructural

feminist thought is essential in generating awareness of how political and social discourses ultimately impact and often reproduce patriarchal norms. While the term

history is so embedded into daily speech that its reference to aspects of gender is deemphasized, this same use of His Story as a reflection of all of our stories reveals the patriarchal norms that Weedon so astutely addressed. As a means to both resist and reconstruct this male-dominated speech, I again employ the term *HERstories* to reflect the ways in which language is not only a site for conceptions of reality and of individual and collective identities, but also a site for resistance and change. Thus, in following sections of this chapter, I detail the sites of my study and a brief background of the individual participants whose HERstories have been examined. These details are elaborated upon as to begin "getting to know" each individual participant while also understanding their lives in the broader context of school, domestic work, and the linguascape of Johannesburg.

Creating the HERstories. I neither began my research intending to utilize HERstories as my main form of data nor did I seek to use narratives. I began my pre-dissertation research in 2014 and 2015 asking questions to the women in the Gauteng English Literacy Program about their educational histories and their views of language in South Africa. It was from these initial conversations that my research questions surrounding their motivations for learning English surfaced. As we spent more and more time together, however, these women began to share with me more details about their lives. They would mention stories of their children, anecdotes about their husbands or past lovers, feelings regarding their employers. The focus on language, education, and literacy began to expand into the multiple stories that helped create their lives. When I

returned to South Africa in 2016, I drew from these previous experiences and elected to use participant observations, observations and field notes, and unstructured interviews that often led to narratives, as my main approaches for further understanding aspects of my participants lives and beginning to answer my research questions.

Data Collection

Participant Observation

I employed participant observation research methods throughout my time "collecting" my data. While participant observation is often thought of as a method in which the researcher takes part in the daily activities, interactions, and rituals of the people being studied, Dewalt and Dewalt (2010) found that there is no single agreed-upon definition of what constitutes participant observation. For example, Atkinson and Hammersley (1994) argued that all social research is a form of participant observation as it impossible to study the world and not be, in some way, a part of it. Furthermore, Delamont (2007) contended that participant observation covers a mixture of observations and interviewing and "does not usually mean real participation" (p. 206) from the researcher(s).

Despite disputed definitions, in my research, use the term "participant observation" a bit more literally. In my definition of this method, participant observation included my involvement in the daily activities of my participants over an extended period which enabled me to observe them in their daily lives and to facilitate a better understanding of their behaviors and attitudes. While I did not live with the participants of my study, I am claiming participatory research methods for two primary reasons. First, not only was I an observer of English language classes in Gauteng, but I would often

tutor and teach many of the learners while also supporting the primary instructors in the teaching of English language literacy. Second, over the three-year period that I spent in

Johannesburg, I developed close relationships with many of my participants in which our interactions moved beyond that of a researcher/participant, or a teacher/student, and entered into territories of what I would term as deep friendships. For example, when my partner, Ian, visited me in Johannesburg for several weeks in 2014 through 2016, many of my participants got to know him well, and we would discuss my relationship with as well as their own relationships with husbands/boyfriends/lovers. Other women would explain to me their concerns for their children or worries for their own health, and one woman admitted to me a secret that, according to her, she had not told anyone else: she had been dealing with AIDS for over ten years and had been infected by her former boyfriend. While I do not think that the relationships that developed with many of my participants can be evaluated according to the depth of our closeness, as this in itself is impossible to gauge, I can state that our time together was not only spent within the confines of the classrooms in which many of my participants learned, but was also spent in their homes, their churches, and the neighborhoods where they lived. Consequently, as I expand upon my data collection drawing from the critical and feminist ethnographic methods I employ, the relationships that I have built with my participants are inevitably integrated into the choices I used to collect and analyze my data.

Observations/Field Notes

My observations and field notes were based off of my time spent in South Africa during the summers of 2014 and 2015, as well as from my five-month stay in

Johannesburg during 2016. These observations and field notes were primarily gathered at the weekly Gauteng English Literacy Program classes as well as at the weekly

Johannesburg English classes. In order for my observations to be systematic, I followed Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw's (2011) suggestions for writing ethnographic field notes in which I took notes of my initial impressions, focused on my sense of what was significant or unexpected in the classes, concentrated on what my participants reacted to as significant or important, focused on routine actions in the classes, and observed any events or interactions that changed over time. Following these practices, I not only wrote down my observations during and after every class that I attended, but I also wrote down my observations during my time with the women outside of class as well as directly after I conducted interviews with my participants. Moreover, I listened to and observed what was being said and additionally observed the ways in which participants described language use in terms of its implications for status, solidarity, and power.

As Gee (2011) asserted, "language in use always performs actions in the world" (p. 29). Accordingly, within my observations and field notes, I looked at how my participants both talked about language and used language in their daily lives. Additionally, while the participants' explicit discussions regarding language-use were essential to my project, what was also revealed by my participants were the ways in which their educational experiences and histories, their past and current roles as domestic workers, and their hopes for their futures within or beyond domestic work connected to their motivations and choices regarding language and literacy practices. Therefore, while conducting my observations, I took into account the multifaceted nature of these participants' motivations and the intersectionalities of these various histories.

Interviews

Informal interviews, in which I asked questions about the learners' interests and backgrounds, began in my pre-dissertation research. The primary emphasis of my research, however, was a five-month long process involving multiple semi-structured interviews with the learners to understand the history of their own education, the role of language in their lives, and their reasons for studying English. This was done as a way to understand the social worlds of my participants and immerse myself in their worlds (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011).

Individual interviews. Within my semi-structured interview process, I created a basic framework for asking questions.[16] I usually began with the beginnings of my participants' lives including where they were born and where their family was from. I always asked where their parents worked, if they or their family went to school, and when they began domestic work. I also frequently asked them what their "dream job" or "dream career" was. However, each interview often took on a life of its own, leading to many of the narratives that my participants produced. For example, some women focused significantly on their roles as domestic workers, some centered their narratives on language, and some relayed stories of multiple abuses they had encountered.

Due to the open structure of my interviews, I did not place a time limit on the interviews I conducted, however, all of the interviews with my 28 participants lasted between one hour to two and a half hours. While most of the recorded interviews were only conducted one time with each participant, many non-recorded conversations took place over the course of my stay. After these informal, unrecorded conversations, I would

[16] See Appendix B for examples of interview questions.

take extensive memos on what was said and would make note of any points that seemed to be connected to larger themes within other interviews and narratives. As I further

elaborate on when describing the sites of my study, some of the interviews took place in small groups of women, because many of the women who agreed to be in my study would bring along a friend or co-worker who also worked as a domestic worker. This was unexpected and led to unique opportunities for my participants to expand upon their life narratives. For example, there were often moments in which one woman would start the interview and tell me that her job was "fine." However, when the other interviewee would begin expressing more negative opinions about her own workplace, the first participant would begin to elaborate more on the injustices of, or nuances within, this "fine" workplace. Moreover, there were several times in which one woman would begin to cry about something that happened in her life, and this would often cause the other woman to cry as well, or would provoke her own sad memories about a life occurrence.

Group interviews. There were times in which the interview would expand beyond the two interviewees and include Molly (a participant who helped recruit these additional participants), my Zulu teacher Langa, or his wife Eva.[17] While there was never an interview in which the number of people taking part extended beyond four participants, there were several times in which Langa or Eva would provide translations if one of my participants was unable to express an idea or story—particularly if the main language(s) of that participant was not isiZulu. As Frey and Fontana (1991) noted in their work on group interviews in qualitative research, group dynamics can often impact the

[17] These "group" interviews took place only after the women had both verbally agreed and agreed by signing the consent forms to have their questions listened to or translated by one of these additional people.

interactions and response patterns of the group thus leading to questioning regarding the validity of data retrieved from group interviews. And yet, as Lambert and Loiselle (2008)

argued, a mixture of individual and group interviews leads to a broader understanding of individual and contextual circumstances that increases the soundness of data. While it is highly conceivable that the group dynamics and multiple voices involved in some of my interviews impacted what was said and the stories that were told, this does not mean that what was said was any less reliable or valid. Additionally, it is important to note that what was verbalized by my participants in individual interviews and what was expressed in group interviews displayed numerous similarities in key themes and ideas. The group interviews that took place did not bring about themes that were in any way contradictory to those produced in individually stated narratives/one-on-one interviews. Therefore, the "soundness" of my data was not recognizably compromised with these differing interview processes. Furthermore, as a means of drawing from Narrative Inquiry, which recognizes the vital roles of both the participant and the researcher in embracing the relationship of these two parties and the ways in which both shape the narratives being produced (Clandinin, 2006), I made several choices regarding my own presence in the narratives being produced.

Within this dissertation, the recognition of my own presence as a researcher is demonstrated by my choice to let my voice be evident within my participants' narratives. As Clandinin and Connelly (2000) noted, a demonstration of the researcher within the narrative can make her vulnerable, and yet, vulnerability is necessary in Narrative Inquiry as the researcher's stories come to light as much as the stories of participants. Although the focus of my research is not on my personal narratives, by making visible my own

voiced questions (marked by "A" or "Anna") within my interviews, I seek to demonstrate the ways in which my conversations with my participants are being shaped by my

presence as the interviewer. In support of this, it is important to bring in Talmy's (2010) conception of the interview as two differing perspectives: the interview as a research instrument and the interview as social practice. While my participants' narratives were seemingly affected by social, historical, and personal aspects of their past and present lives, they were also affected by my role regarding the questions that I asked. Moreover, they were shaped by my responses to my participants' answers, and formed my own identities as a white American English-speaking researcher. Therefore, while the interviews with my participants were used to encourage narratives that form my research, they were also conversations between my participants and myself that were being shaped by all of us, and were, therefore, social practices in themselves.

Language in interviewing. It is vital to note that while there was a great deal of translanguaging[18] throughout the interviews, English was the primary language that most interviews took place in. I am keenly aware of both the irony of this as well as the challenging nature of this linguistic interview practice. My research is centered on the problematic histories of the English language and the choices for specifically learning English rather than increasing native language literacy skills. And yet, I am further giving power to the necessity of English by interviewing my participants primarily in English. As Marschan-Piekkari and Reis (2004) asserted, the researcher and interviewee's language skills affect the dynamics of research in a multitude of ways including

[18] Translanguaging refers to "the act performed by bilinguals of accessing different linguistic features or various modes of what are described as autonomous languages, in order to maximize communicative potential" (Garcia, 2009, p. 140).

misunderstandings between researchers and participants, researchers' neglect of power dynamics, and researchers missing key linguistic nuances.

Ideally, I would have conducted all interviews in the language that my participants felt most comfortable in, or at least in isiZulu, the predominant language in the Gauteng province. Unfortunately, my isiZulu was not sufficient enough to conduct the entirety of each interview in this language. Additionally, while many of the women speak isiZulu, not all women felt comfortable narrating their life stories in this language. As a way to mitigate these linguistic concerns, my isiZulu teacher, Langa, or his wife Eva, who also speaks xiTsonga, would at times sit in on an interview (again, only with the interviewee's consent[19]), and would translate what was being said by my participants as the interview was taking place. As I began transcribing the interviews, I would ask Langa and Eva to translate certain words or phrases that were being said by my participants that I had missed.

I detail this use of language within the interviews for while core aspects of my research center on hegemonic notions of English worldwide, it is problematic to primarily utilize English when conducting these interviews. Moreover, as Marschan-Piekkari and Reis (2004) found, differences in language skills may increase notions of superiority and inferiority amongst the researcher and the participant causing additional nuances of power to be incited. And yet, because I had developed relationships with many of my participants, I felt that what was said to me might be very different than what was said to a stranger who was brought in solely for translation. Additionally, I often knew who and what my participants were referencing when discussing a person or

[19] A copy of the consent form can be found in Appendix A.

memory in ways that a translator or research assistant might not know. Therefore, I found it essential that I remain the primary researcher conducting the interviews rather than

relying on the use of translators or research assistants to conduct the primary interviews that took place. Consequently, as the following chapters unfold, it is critical to at once be aware of the ways in which language both hindered and enabled the stories being told and the statements being made. Like all conceptions of post-structuralism, this means that there are multiple truths occurring concurrently, with language playing a large role in what is being said and how.

Policy Analysis: Critical Discourse Analysis

CENA is the primary methodology I employ, as the narratives and HERstories of my participants are a primary focus of my research. However, as a means to further investigate the macro discourses that CDA often centers on, I analyzed a predominant South African ABE policy, the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training,* as well as documents from the "Open Stellenbosch" movement. In order to perform this analysis, I elected to use Fairclough's (1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) three-dimensional conception of CDA as my primary analytic framework. Fairclough described discourse as a mode of political and ideological practice that "constitutes, naturalizes, sustains and changes significations of the world from diverse positions in power relations" (1992b, p. 67). He emphasized that while discursive practices are a site of power struggles, discursive practices also aid in naturalizing power relations and ideologies and become a stake in power struggles. And yet, while Fairclough viewed discourse as a social practice, he also asserted that discourse as a social practice is manifested in linguistic form and is further mediated by discursive practices. These three

dimensions of discourse create Fairclough's three-dimensional framework for analyzing discourse.

The first component, or dimension, that Fairclough analyzed is "description" or "text," as it centers on the formal properties of the text. To analyze the text produced, he focused on three primary components of text: vocabulary, grammar, and textual structures, in which he looks at the way in which the words themselves are used. I draw from this dimension particularly in exploring *metonymy* in Chapter Four, in which I analyze the ways in which certain words used by my participants and evident in policy documents take on meanings very different than their stated definitions. I additionally utilize this concept in Chapter Five when exploring the ways in which the "Open Stellenbosch" movement conceives of a multilingual curricula and what language/s this encompasses.

The second dimension of discourse that Fairclough considered is discourse as a practice or an interpretation. This dimension is concerned with the relationship between text and interaction and analyzes both the process of the production of text as well as the process of interpretation of text. As Janks (1997) noted when referring to Fairclough's second discursive dimension, both situational contexts and intertextual contexts are central to this dimension. Therefore, she found it important for the analyst to reflexively think about the ways in which time and space affect the discourse produced. Drawing from this second dimension, I explore what contents, subjects, relations, and connections are taking place within the discourses being produced, and who the discursive subjects and entities are that are producing this discourse. For example, when analyzing the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training,* it is vital that I not only

assessed what was being written, but when, how, and for whom it was written. By using these questions, I am able to connect Fairclough's third dimension of discourse to my analyses.

Fairclough's third dimension of discourse surrounds discourse as a social practice. Fairclough divided this third dimension into two parts—discourse in relation to ideology and discourse in relation to hegemony. Fairclough (2013) argued that ideology, and in this case, the ideology of language, is located "both in structures which constitute the outcome of past events and the conditions for current events, and events themselves as they reproduce and transform their conditioning structures" (p. 58). Thus, ideologies transcend boundaries of situations and institutions and instead, create and restructure the relationship between these entities. Fairclough also claimed that ideology "interpellates subjects" (p. 87), leading to necessary examination of how discourse affects subjects, and the ways in which institutions such as education and media, or "ideological state apparatuses" (p. 87), are sites of struggle while also stakes in struggle. Drawing from this notion of ideological state apparatuses, I look both at micro (the individual women's narratives) and macro (educational policy and practice) apparatuses framing the educational and linguistic choices of the participants.

While ideology is emphasized as one key aspect of discourse as a social practice, the second part of this dimension involves the notion of hegemony. As Fairclough (1992b) stated, "Hegemony is leadership as much as domination across the economic, political, cultural and ideological domains of a society" (p. 92). Further, he specified hegemony in discursive practices is the site for reproduction of both the existing order of discourse as well as existing social and power relations. Employing this third dimension

of discourse, I connect the first and second dimensions of discourse to larger theories of language learning and its link to social power and hegemony. I do this so as to focus on

the ways in which what is being verbalized by my participants is invariably interwoven into the broader histories, educational policies, and social structures of South African adult basic education and language learning. Hence, while Fairclough's conception of CDA is particularly useful for my analysis of written policies and texts, I draw from similar notions of CDA in my use of CENA to explore the stories of my participants and analyze the observations and experiences that take place in my three sites of study.

Sites of Study

With around 1.1 million people employed in domestic work, South Africa is the country with the largest population of domestic workers in the southern African region (Seedat-Khan, Dharmaraja, & Sidloyi, 2014). This study centers mainly on the narratives of 28 domestic workers, all of whom are women, all of whom are black Africans, all of whom are non-native English speakers, and almost all of whom live with their employers in in wealthy suburbs of Johannesburg in the Gauteng Province. By drawing from these 28 women's HERstories, I do not intend to suggest that all South African domestic workers have similar professional, educational, and linguistic experiences, nor do I aim to assert that all domestic workers share similar identities. I suspect that the experiences of domestic workers in Cape Town, for example, are quite different than those of my participants, as do I assume that the linguistic identities of Afrikaans-speaking Coloured[20] domestic workers differ from those of Bantu speakers. However, by drawing from the

[20] While a highly contested term (Adhikari, 2005), "Coloured" was a racial categorization enforced during apartheid for people who were neither considered black or white.

three sites that I describe in the following sections, I do propose that the experiences and motivations of South African domestic workers to learn English move beyond one geographical space or one literacy program.

Site #1: Gauteng English Literacy Program[21]

I originally gained access to the Gauteng English Literacy Program from a purely coincidental meeting during my trip to Johannesburg in June 2014. During my first week in Johannesburg, I decided to attend a presentation at the University of Witwatersrand (WITS) on the complexity of race in post-apartheid South Africa. While I was leaving the presentation and waiting for the elevator, I began talking to a man waiting beside me. This man, Emmanuel, had recently received his Master's Degree in Education at WITS and was an educator at a private college in Gauteng. Additionally, he was a volunteer instructor for English literacy courses specifically for domestic workers living and working in a very affluent area 30 minutes outside of Johannesburg. After meeting Emmanuel and his wife for dinner, and discussing a bit about the history of the program, he invited me to sit in on the classes.

The first day that I drove to the location of the class, I noticed how wealthy the area was surrounding the church where the classes took place. There were huge gated mansions with large stone statues and pillars. Giant Jacaranda trees lined the roads and several very expensive restaurants were full of predominantly white patrons. I also noticed that along the sidewalks of these houses walked many black people—women and men--who looked significantly less wealthy then those I assumed lived in the mansions. These men and women, I came to learn, were predominately the gardeners and domestic

[21] The three names of these sites have been changed to protect participant and programmatic privacy.

workers of the mansions I first saw, and many of the women were also students at the Gauteng English Literacy Program. Upon entering the church, I went into a room full of

children's toys and books—the children's Bible school room. It was here where eight to twelve women would sit in small chairs around small tables and learn English weekly. It was also here where my deep interest in South African domestic workers and their linguistic and educational journeys was initially sparked.

After my first visit in which I sat and watched numerous levels of English language learners begin to read and write in English, discuss their days amongst one another, and ask me questions about myself, I realized what an incredible group of women this was and a group that I wanted to know more. I became further involved with this program when Emmanuel invited me to tutor some of the learners myself, and I spent several weeks working with three learners who lacked literacy skills both in English and in their home languages. I returned to this same site in the summer of 2015 to begin preliminary research on the English language learning of domestic workers, conducting two pre-dissertation interviews and three focus groups with the learners. During my most recent stay in Johannesburg, I attended the classes on a weekly basis as a participant observer.

The Gauteng English Program, while originally started by an Afrikaans woman in 2005, is now solely run and taught by Emmanuel and his wife. The classes, held once a week for an hour and a half, are housed in a predominately Afrikaans Christian Church in a very wealthy neighborhood in East Rand, Gauteng, and are free for all learners. The learners who attend these classes are all black African women who hold jobs as domestic workers. Although in my three visits to Johannesburg, some of the students came and

went, the program has at least five women who have been attending classes for almost ten years, and many who have attended these classes for three to five years. While there are women as young as 45 and others as old as 65 in the program, the learners are predominantly between 50 and 60 years of age. Additionally, all of the learners' native languages are Bantu languages and there are multiple levels of English literacy that exist within the group. While this produces a great deal of translanguaging that exists within these classes, all of the women can speak and understand isiZulu. Moreover, while the courses have centered on law, sex education, sewing, health, math, and several other themes, many of the learners have relayed to me that learning English is the primary reason why they attend these classes.

During my time observing the program and interacting with the learners, I became increasingly close with almost all of the learners, and eight of them agreed to be interviewed individually. These interviews, conducted primarily in English with moments of translanguaging between isiZulu and English, were held in locations always chosen by the participants themselves, and I would either meet them at the interview location or pick them up and take them to the place of their choice. Thus, the interviews were predominantly held at restaurants close to where the women worked or at their places of employment where I met many of their employers and their employers' families. For example, Thuli would invite me to sleep at her home every other week and I was often invited by her employers to braais[22] and family dinners. I became so close with Thuli that I was asked by her employers to babysit their children while they were away. I was even invited to go shopping with her employer (an invitation I did not accept).

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[22] A "Braai" is an Afrikaans word for "barbecue" or "roast" and is a common social custom for South Africans.

I was also quite close to Marie, another learner in the program, and I would frequently drive her home from classes. During this time, she shared a great deal about herself, her family, and her employment. Marie introduced me to her employers, who invited me to have tea with them in their home, and I would attend Marie's church where I was asked to join the congregation (another invitation I declined). I even assisted Marie's daughter with university applications by helping to complete the NSFAS[23] paperwork needed for her to get government financial aid, and I drove her to multiple universities to tour the campuses.

While I had an established personal relationship with women like Thuli and Marie, the process of interviewing increased the strength of my relationships with other women. For example, I interviewed Zama at her place of work and she set up a picnic in the park for us while completing our interview. During this time, she gave me a tour of her place of employment and I briefly met her employer, a middle-aged Afrikaans priest. Zothile and I recorded our interview while at dinner with her son, Amahle. During our time together, I learned not only about Zothile's life, but also learned more about Amahle who I had seen grow up over a three-year span. My relationships with these women grew both in and outside of class times, and at the end of my stay in November, 2016, the women in the program threw me a surprise going away party with food, beautiful gifts, singing and dancing. I left not only with a plethora of "data," but with life-long friends. Even now, I continue to communicate with some of these women through WhatsApp and

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[23] NSFAS, or National Student Financial Aid Scheme, was established from Act 56 of 1999 that was created to provide financial access for higher education and training to poor and working class South African families (NSFAS, 2017). While these loans are accessible for most of the women who I interviewed, many were unsure of how to apply and needed assistance in navigating the multiple components of the application.

check in about their lives, their children's lives, and their employment. Thus, within this site, I was not only invested as a researcher, but invested as a teacher, friend, and daughter/sister figure.

Site #2: Johannesburg English Classes

During the summers of 2014-2015, I took intensive isiZulu classes at WITS University through a Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship at Wits Language School. However, upon returning in July 2016 with a third FLAS fellowship, I decided to begin classes at a different language institution that could further increase my isiZulu literacy. This language school, which I am calling "The Johannesburg Language School," centered on both English and isiZulu language courses, but as I soon learned, it also offered free English classes for domestic workers on Saturday mornings. Although I began my isiZulu classes at this new language school having no knowledge of these weekend courses, after explaining my research to my isiZulu teacher, Langa, he informed me of the classes and thought that they might help my research. I excitedly got in contact with the school director who said that I was free to sit in on the courses. Upon confirmation that this was okay with the course instructor, I began observing these courses every Saturday for the two-hour class.

During my first visit to the Saturday English classes, I drove to a church in another wealthy, and predominately white, area of Johannesburg. While I was unsure of where the classes took place, I was led to the back room of the church by the white Afrikaans groundkeeper who told me that tea would be available after the class. Upon entering the class, I was struck by the compact space in the classroom in which there was small chairs and tables for the learners to sit at and a small board where instructors could

place their chart paper. This room, like the Gauteng English Literacy Program, also took place in the Sunday School classroom of a predominately white English-speaking church,

and while I knew that the room had been donated by the church, it was notable that both this class, as well as the Gauteng English Literacy Program classes, were held in "children's spaces." This suggested to me that these classes were either unconsciously or subconsciously viewed as not important enough to be held in allocated "adult" spaces. Once the classes started, I was struck with how the learners were being treated by teachers who were often younger than them. The ways in which the teachers asked questions and gave out worksheets specifically designated for children exhibited a clear hierarchy of power and made me even more cognizant of the constant power dynamics at play in my participants' lives. Consequently, upon leaving my first Saturday class, I immediately wanted to return to these classes and continue my observations.

The Saturday English classes in Johannesburg were originally created for two reasons: to teach English to domestic workers, and to give further teaching experience to student-teachers receiving their teaching licenses through The Johannesburg Language School. The student-teachers, many of whom had no prior experience teaching, were specifically studying to obtain their Teaching English as a Foreign Language (TEFL) certification. Hence, they used these weekend classes as a chance to practice their newly acquired teaching skills. Because of this, the Saturday English classes were structured significantly differently than the classes at the Gauteng English Literacy Program. First, a teacher trainer was watching each teacher and taking notes on their teaching throughout the class. The teacher trainer, knowing that I had been an ELL teacher, asked me to take additional notes to support these student-teachers. Several times, she asked that I meet

with the student-teachers separately to discuss their teaching goals and provide advice on teaching English in other countries. Second, there was a specific format that the teachers needed to follow that led to little room for creativity in the lessons. For example, they needed to start each class with a mini-lesson, then provide some form of a worksheet and/or reading, and end with a "pair and share" style student evaluation. Additionally, there was a clear focus on grammar and spelling in each lesson that needed to be achieved to pass the TEFL course, and this focus was evident in the class lessons.

The third main difference between this program and the Gauteng English literacy program surrounded the experience of the teachers themselves. The student-teachers guiding weekly classes changed every three weeks and they taught language and literacy concepts with a wide variety of levels of understanding of these concepts. For example, while some student-teachers had prior experience teaching, others came from non-educational backgrounds and were still learning English themselves. Moreover, due to the nerves often experienced by new teachers, many student-teachers made mistakes in lessons such as teaching incorrect grammar and spelling rules. During these times, either the instructor or I would step in and correct what the teacher had erroneously taught. Even with these difficulties, however, many of the learners continued to come to class.

Out of ten students who I met in these classes, I became close with five of the students: Muhle, Mercy, Margaret, Katherine, and Ruby. These relationships began by me assisting the student-teachers and students in class, in which I helped explain concepts that the student-teachers were not communicating clearly and aided the learners with concepts that they did not understand. My relationship with the learners grew with me driving them to their taxis after school. In this short ten-minute drive, we discussed the

weekly classes and they shared with me aspects of their personal lives. My friendship with these women further developed when two of the women asked me to teach them

English language literacy classes an additional day each week. Because of this request, I began to meet with Ruby and Margaret every Wednesday for additional English language instruction. These classes took place in their homes, in restaurants, and in the room where I was staying, and provided me with further observations and data on these two women's HERstories, roles as domestic workers, and motivations for learning English.

In addition to meeting the learners for educational purposes, I visited the homes of Muhle, Margaret, Katherine, and Ruby, and met their family members. Moreover, I twice attended the church of Katherine and was even asked by her family if I would marry her son.[24] I even began assisting Ruby with computer literacy concepts by going to her place of work and helping her understand several computer programs. Similar to the Gauteng English Program, these women held a going away party for me where they had invited the community, set up a DJ booth and tent, cooked an elaborate meal, and gave me beautiful gifts. Also like the women from the Gauteng English Literacy Programme, I remain in contact with these women through WhatsApp and email. Although I did not have the same amount of time in this site as I did with the Gauteng English Literacy Program, I became quickly invested in the lives of several of these participants.

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[24] This was asked of me in jest, as Katherine knew that I had a partner at home. However, there were several times that Katherine suggested that if I leave my partner, her son would be a wonderful husband for me. Moreover, when she had a going-away party for me, she asked that I sit with her son at a separate table at the front of the party space so that people could give us gifts and we could take pictures together with a photographer who she hired.

Site #3: Word of Mouth in an Affluent Johannesburg Suburb

The third research site coalesced unexpectedly and was expanded upon quite organically. My isiZulu teacher, Langa, and I met the first several days at the language school to take part in our one-on-one classes. On the third day of class, however, I noticed that Langa did not drive and needed to take a taxi to get to school. I suggested that if it was easier, we could meet closer to his home, and he proposed that we continue our lessons at his house. This began my close relationship with Langa, his wife, Eva, and his three children and two grandchildren. While Langa and I would spend 3-4 hours a day learning isiZulu, the last hour of "class time" was ultimately geared toward further getting to know one another, discussing Langa's life, conversing about the history of South Africa, and debriefing my own research. Additionally, during this time, Eva, a social worker at a shelter for homeless boys, told me about her experiences as a South African social worker and her feelings regarding the need for more people to listen to and read the stories of socioeconomically marginalized South Africans. Hence, when I told her about my research, she immediately took interest. Three days after discussing my research interests with Eva, she had already scheduled an interview for me with Hlengiwe, the domestic worker working for her daughter.[25] She also introduced me to Molly, a domestic worker who Langa and Eva had known for many years.

[25] Although beyond the scope of this research, it is important to note that there are many black domestic workers working for black families, especially those who are socioeconomically privileged. While Hlengiwe was the only woman out of my 28 participants who currently worked for a black family, this provides a very different link between language, work, race, and power that is essential to examine in future research on South African domestic work.

Being introduced to Molly was essential in expanding my participant pool in this third site. Molly was remarkably sociable and knew many of the women who worked in the neighborhood where she too was employed and lived. Because of this, while Molly herself agreed to an interview, she also offered to connect me to domestic workers throughout the community. From Molly, I met 13 additional domestic workers who worked in the same neighborhood where Molly worked. While some of these women were interviewed individually, others wanted to be interviewed in pairs. Additionally, Molly, at times, attended our interviews and acted as a translator for the women, even though her English was often less strong than the women she connected me to. Further, as previously noted, Eva and Langa would also, at times, act as translators as both Langa and Eva spoke isiZulu and Eva also spoke xiTsonga. Thus, as I noted in the aforementioned section of this chapter when describing the interview process, while some of the interviews with women in this site were one-on-one, other interviews included up to four people listening and adding their thoughts.

Unlike the first two sites, only some of the women in this site had taken English language classes, and even fewer were currently taking classes. However, although my main research focus is on the current English language learning of these women, every single one of these women had a great deal to say about the roles that language played in their HERstories and current lives. Moreover, many shared in-depth narratives of their experiences with raced and gendered identities, their lives as domestic workers, their experiences with formal and informal education, and their explicit thoughts on the current role of English in South Africa. Because of this, while my observations and field notes were primarily based on my experiences with women in the first two sites, the

participants in this third were just as essential in highlighting the numerous identities produced by histories of language, power, education, and domestic work in South Africa.

Participants

From my three sites of research, I conducted interviews and observations with 28 domestic workers who work within the Gauteng Province. Within my dissertation, I at times refer to these 28 women as “my participants,” sometimes as “the women” in my study, occasionally refer to them as “the learners,” and frequently, I refer to them by name. In order to distinguish between the narratives and HERstories of each individual woman, below is a table including each participant’s name, her age, her home languages as well as other languages she speaks, her education level (based on whether or not she matriculated[26]), the number of years she has spent as a domestic worker, her family members who are also in domestic work, as well as her dream for a future career. These categories will be explored in much more depth in Chapters Four through Six, however, the table is meant to give an overview of individual characteristics of each woman’s life while also exhibiting some of the similarities between participants.

[26] To matriculate in South Africa is to pass an exam that is equivalent to graduating high school in the United States.

Table 1

Research Participant Description Table[27]

Name of Participant	Age	Site #	Home Language(s)	Other Languages Spoken	Received Matric	Years in Domestic Work	Family members in Domestic Work	Dream Job
Alile	42	#3	Chichewa[28]	isiZulu, Afrikaans, English	Unknown	7 years	Unknown	Start a small business in Malawi
Amahle	50	#3	isiZulu	seTswana, sePedi, xiTsonga, Xhosa, English, Fanagalo[29]	No	30 years	Mother	Publish a book in English about her life story
Bernice	54	#3	seTswana	Afrikaans, English, isiZulu	No	30+ years	Mother	Own a Spaza[30] shop in Rustenburg
Bongi	45	#3	seSotho	English, isiZulu, Afrikaans	No	15+ years	Unknown	Nurse
Clara	60	#3	xiTsonga	isiZulu, Afrikaans, English	No	35 years	None	Nurse
Deena	40	#3	sePedi	Afrikaans, English, isiZulu, seSotho, seTswana	Yes	20 years	Aunt	Teacher, Restaurant owner
Hlengiwe	41	#3	isiZulu	A few English words/ phrases	No	8 years	Mother	Unknown
Irene	50	#1	isiZulu	English	No	20+ years	Unknown	Unknown
Katherine	49	#2	isiZulu	English, Afrikaans	Yes	10 years	None	Start a school for deaf students

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[27] All names have been changed to respect participant privacy.
[28] Chichewa is the predominant language in Malawi.
[29] Fanagalo (also spelled Fanakalo) is considered a South Africa pidgeon language in which a mixture of Bantu and English words are used. It is a language often connected with South African mine work and was also historically connected to the South African Indian population.
[30] Spaza shops are informal convenience shops often found in township and rural areas. They are often used to supplement owners' household incomes. The term "spaza" derives from the isiZulu word for "hidden" and emerged during apartheid when business opportunities for black entrepreneurs were restricted (Charman, Petersen, & Piper, 2012).

								(her son is deaf)
Name of Participant	**Age**	**Site #**	**Home Language(s)**	**Other Languages Spoken**	**Received Matric**	**Years in Domestic Work**	**Family members in Domestic Work**	**Dream Job**
Laura	58	#3	xiTsonga	Afrikaans, English, isiZulu,	No	28 years	None	Own a Spaza shop in Limpopo
Margaret	55	#2	isiZulu	English	No	30+ years	Sister in Law	Grow plants to give food to people in rural areas
Marie	50	#1	isiNdebele	isiZulu, English, Fanagalo	No	21 years	Daughter	Own her own farm; Collect children in Mpumalanga and teach them skills
Mercy	24	#2	Chichewa	English, A few isiZulu words/ phrases	No	4 years	Sister	Unknown
Moipone	54	#3	seSotho	English, isiZulu	No	27 years	Sister, Two daughters	Doesn't want to change jobs
Molly	50	#3	sePedi	Afrikaans, English, isiZulu	No	26 years	None	Baker
Muhle	58	#2	isiXhosa	English, isiZulu	No	16 years	Grandmother, Mother, Sister	Doesn't know
Nolwazi	80	#3	isiZulu	English	Yes	40+ years	None	Nurse, Chef
Patricia	39	#3	isiNdebele	English, isiZulu	Yes	10+ years	No	Dressmaker
Pretty	35	#3	Shona[31]	English, isiZulu	No	10+ years	None	Beauty therapist
Pula	45	#3	sePedi	English, isiZulu	Took it twice but never passed	16 years	Sister	Own a crèche (nursery school)

[31] Also spoken in South Africa, Shona is one of the two main native African languages spoken in Zimbabwe.

Name of Participant	Age	Site #	Home Language(s)	Other Languages Spoken	Received Matric	Years in Domestic Work	Family members in Domestic Work	Dream Job
Rose	51	#1	seSotho	isiZulu, English, Afrikaans	No	22 years	Mother	Doesn't know
Ruby	43	#2	xiTsonga	seSotho, tshiVenda, English, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, and a little Afrikaans	Yes	13 years	None	Administrator
Seraphina	51	#1	isiZulu	English, Afrikaans	No	15 years	None	Doesn't want to change jobs
Sue	50	#3	sePedi	Afrikaans, English, isiZulu	No	30 years	Mother, Sister	To retire
Thandeka	55	#1	isiZulu	English, seSotho, Afrikaans	No	28 years	Mother, Aunt, Cousin	Nurse
Thuli	62	#1	isiZulu	English, isiNdebele	No	20 years	None	Retire out of South Africa
Zama	65	#1	seSotho	isiZulu, siSwati, isiNdebele, isiXhosa, Christian "Tongues"	No	38 years	Daughter	Teacher; Open a laundry mat in a rural area
Zothile	37	#1	isiZulu	English, Afrikaans	Yes	20 years	Mother, Sister	Nurse

Supplemental Participant Interviews

While the 28 women are the primary participants in my research, I interviewed seven additional people to support my historical understandings of adult basic education, English language literacy, and domestic work in South Africa. These participants

included the following:[32] Amara, a former ABE/ABET director and educator who I rented my room from while staying in Johannesburg in 2016; Chris, the director of the

Johannesburg English Language Classes and the creator of the Saturday English classes where Site #2 of my research was located; Dana, the owner of a private ABE program in Gauteng; Dr. John Aitchison, a leading South African scholar and researcher of ABE/ABET; Dr. Miller, the dean of a large South African public university and a prominent scholar in South African ABE/ABET; Emmanuel, the co-director and instructor of the Gauteng English Literacy Program who sparked my initial interest in the English language learning of South African domestic workers; Louis, an employee of Dana and the Associate Director of a private ABE school in Gauteng.

Interviews with these participants, although not the main focus of my dissertation, were essential in providing me with a more in-depth understanding of the current Adult Basic Education climate in South Africa while also providing me with insights into the roles of English language learning in South Africa, and explicitly, the English language learning of South African domestic workers. While only two of these supplementary interview transcripts (Emmanuel’s and Dr. John Aitchison’s) have been presented in my dissertation, they all provided me with insights into numerous variables impacting ABE and adult English language literacy within South Africa. Thus, while the following pages center on the methodologies utilized with my primary 28 participants, I drew from the same methodological choices when transcribing and analyzing the interviews of these supplemental participants.

[32] See Figure 2 for the Supplemental Participant Description Table

Table 2

Supplemental Participant Description Table

Name of Supplemental Participant[33]	Title/Position	Location of Work	Focus of Interview
Amara	Former ABE/ABET Director and Educator	Department of Education	The history of ABE in South Africa; the role of English language literacy in South African ABE
Chris	School Director/ Former ELL Instructor	Johannesburg English Classes	The Saturday classes for domestic workers in Johannesburg, how he started the program; the history of English language learning and domestic work in South Africa
Dana	Owner of Private ABE/ABET School	Private ABE School in Gauteng	The role of English language literacy in South African ABE; the role of the Black Economic Empowerment Movement in ABE and Literacy Courses
Dr. John Aitchison	ABE/ABET Scholar, Researcher, and Activist/ Led National Literacy Campaign for Department of Education	University of Kwa-Zulu Natal/ Department of Education	The History of ABE in South Africa; the role of English language literacy in South African ABE
Dr. Miller	Dean of Education/ Past Director for ABET	Public University in South Africa	The History of ABE in South Africa; the role of English language literacy in South African ABE; a brief history of domestic workers in literacy programs
Emmanuel	ELL Instructor/ Co-Director/ Professor	Gauteng English Literacy Program/ Private College in Gauteng	The women in the Gauteng English Literacy Program; how he became connected with the program; the history of ABE and domestic work in South Africa
Louis	Associate Director of Private ABE/ABET School	Private ABE School in Gauteng	The role of English language literacy in South African ABE; the role of the Black Economic Empowerment Movement in ABE and Literacy Courses

[33] All names except for Dr. John Aitchison are changed to respect participant privacy.

Transcription

I used a three pass system to transcribe interviews. With each interview and narrative, I listened to the full recorded text at least once before beginning my transcription.[34] I then began transcribing the interviews while listening to the data again. After finishing the transcription, I listened to the recorded interview a third time to ensure that what I transcribed was what was being said by my participants. To respect the significance of transcription, especially in a study focused on the importance of language, as well as a way to mitigate possible biases that I previously described, all interviews were recorded and transcribed by me.

This three pass system allowed me to engage with the production and use of transcripts not merely as a technical detail, but as a research activity in its own right (McLellan, MacQueen, & Neidig, 2003). As Mero-Jaffe (2011) asserted, the transcript is influenced by the transcriber's awareness of the subject of research, predisposed attitudes towards the subjects, and language differences between the transcriber and the participants. I found this process of transcription exceptionally important so as to have a more personalized connection to the text. Moreover, by not simply reading through transcriptions, but creating them myself, I had numerous spaces in which to analyze the discursive nature of the data while concurrently having space to reflexively analyze my own assumptions and biases of the data produced.

As Fairclough (2015) asserted, while one must produce text by transcribing speech, there are numerous ways that text can be transcribed, "and the way one *interprets* the text is bound to influence how one transcribes it" (p. 59, emphasis in original text).

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[34] See Appendix C for the Interview Transcription Table.

What a researcher sees and finds worth describing in a text ultimately impacts how she interprets the text. The notion of the reproduction and processing of text being embedded into human interpretation is essential for me to raise when discussing my transcriptions. What I hear being said might be very different from what another researcher might hear and therefore, might lead to differing interpretations of the discourse taking place. Especially because of my identity as a white American researcher, I am certain that there were words and phrases being spoken that I conceived to mean something that might have had very different implications. While I cannot fully rectify these differing interpretations during my transcription processes, what I continue to try to do is be as reflective as possible about the ways in which my own identities impact what is being said and how it is being analyzed, so as not to conceal these possible variances.

Emerging Themes

Upon transcribing my participants' narratives, I began the process of pre-coding in which I highlighted and underlined key passages that seemed significant during the interviews or in the transcripts (Saldaña, 2015).[35] Within narrative analysis, pre-coding is somewhat equivalent to exploring what phenomena are occurring, and as Clandinin and Connelly (2000) pointed out, "It is more productive to begin with explorations of the phenomena of experience rather than in comparative analysis of various theoretical methodological frames" (p. 128). However, because I draw also from critical methodologies, I found it essential during this process to take into account the ways in which linguistic, historical, and social power also were infused into these occurrences.

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[35] The "significance" of these moments came from a broad range of factors including changes in the voices of my participants while telling a story, themes that seemed to come up more than once, moments of anger or sadness, or certain terms or phrases that were used frequently.

I then re-read the interviews and narratives, paying particular attention to the passages I had previously highlighted, and I began noticing broad codes emerging in many of the narratives. These wide-ranging codes included:

- discussions on native languages/feelings regarding language use
- family histories/family members in domestic work
- educational histories
- narratives from domestic work/complaints about or enjoyment with work
- dreams for the future
- experiences with men
- confidence with skills
- feelings on apartheid and/or the current South African government
- relationships to the church and/or to God

Once these broader codes became evident, I again re-read my transcriptions and color-coded moments in which each code emerged in the individual narratives. I put these color-coded moments into an Excel spreadsheet to begin mapping out what codes were more prominent and which were less evident in the narratives. For example, three of the women focused a great deal on their experiences within their churches, while most of my participants did not include this in their narratives. Nine women went into depth about the history of apartheid, while some briefly mentioned apartheid and political histories, and others did not mention this history at all. All of the women, however, focused on connections between education and language and discussed English in relation to their lives. Thus, to solidify which codes were predominant in the narratives, I read through my field notes and observations to compare and contrast which codes were discussed only in my participants' narratives and which codes also permeated my observations and field notes.

Following my process of broad coding, I began to see fundamental themes emerging within the larger codes. For example, within the code of "discussions on native languages/ feelings regarding language use," I noted the frequent assertion of English being essential for success while noticing a delegitimization of the participants' abilities to read, speak, and write in their native languages. Within "educational histories," I began observing direct connections that were being made to education and the English language. Within "dreams for the future," I noticed my participants' repeated desires to go into nursing or in teaching. Thus, more specific themes began to emerge within each code. I again read through my field notes and observations to compare and contrast how these more specific themes played a role in my own observations, and I further solidified several key themes from my data. After comparing and contrasting these differing data sets, I discovered three larger themes: metonymy, violence, and agency and oppression. These three themes are explored individually in Chapters Four, Five, and Six.

Ethical Implications

As Emerson, Fretz, and Shaw (2011) asserted, researchers cannot digest everything that is taking place and instead, they will undoubtedly develop their own perspectives by engaging in certain activities and relationships. Therefore, "the task of the ethnographer is not to determine 'the truth' but to reveal the multiple truths apparent in others' lives" (Emerson, Fretz, & Shaw, 2011, p. 4). Using this conception of the multiplicity of truths in my own work, I find it necessary to both contest common conceptions of research validity while also drawing from methods that ensure the depth of researcher reflexivity that I find essential. As Winter (2000) noted, the nature of

validity is a highly debated topic in which there exists no one definition of the term. Within my own research, particularly with my use of dual theoretical frameworks, my mixture of methodological frameworks, and my own identities as a young American researcher, there is certainly significant room to contest the "validity" of my research. Thus, rather than asserting the validity of this study, instead, I describe below several methods that I have employed to ensure that I completed the research and the analyses thoughtfully, systematically, and reflectively.

Intensive Long-Term Involvement/Rich Data

One way in which my research exhibits ethical standards surrounds the long-term nature of my study. Long-term participant observations not only provide more in-depth data about specific situations and events than any other method, but also allow the researcher to confirm her observations and inferences. Moreover, long-term involvement allows the researcher to collect "rich" data that is detailed and varied (Maxwell, 2014). As previously discussed, my interactions with this group of domestic workers have taken place over a three-year span. While my primary data was collected within a five-month time frame, preliminary data and observations took place over two years prior to this main data collection, and this preliminary data was discussed with many of my participants, both in our daily conversations in within our interviews.

Respondent Validation

Respondent validation is a method of systematically soliciting feedback about data and conclusions from those who are producing the data (i.e. the participants) (Maxwell, 2014). It is done by continuously checking in with participants on what they are saying by using techniques such as stating, "so what I'm hearing is...," and then re-

checking in with them at a later date regarding their previous interviews. This is executed as a way of ruling out possibilities of researchers' misinterpretation of data, as well as proving an invaluable tool to the researcher in identifying her own biases and misperceptions.

For this study, I utilized methods of respondent validation by consistently checking in with my participants, both during the interviews and in moments within and outside of the classroom. I would clarify what I thought I was hearing and what I thought I saw taking place, as at times, what I "heard" was not what was being intended by my participants. For example, when I first met Marie, she relayed to me that she disliked her employers. However, as we talked more, there were times where she said that she appreciated them. When I heard this dissonance, I then asked more in-depth questions so that I could better understand why her feelings had seemingly changed (and what she described to me was that generally she did dislike them, but they were nicer to her than the employers of other women who she knew). Additionally, I asked Langa or Eva for clarifications surrounding any words or phrases that were used by my participants that I had not previously heard or did not understand. I would then check with my participants to ensure that this was what they meant or what they were describing. This two-part validation aided in my own understandings of my participants and what they were thinking and feeling. It also foreseeably strengthened the participants' trust in me as a researcher.

Triangulation

A third technique I used to ensure an ethically sound study was that of triangulation. Patton (2015) noted that there are several forms of triangulation including

data triangulation, theory triangulation, and methodological triangulation. By combining different sources, triangulation strengthened how I framed my work and how my data is

understood. For my research, I employed several forms of triangulation. First, by utilizing narratives, observations, and field notes, I was able to elicit data in different spaces, in different times, from a multitude of voices. This is essential, as according to Clandinin and Connelly (2000), “Narrative inquirers need to be sensitive to the temporal shifts that take place in all sorts of ways at any point in time” (p. 91). Second, by comparing my data with a historical analysis of both language and domestic work within South Africa, as well as comparing interviews done with the learners to a policy document and educational practices surrounding ABE and English language education, I could note any striking inconsistencies or explicit parallels in my findings. For example, in the 1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training, there was considerable hedging (via modal verbs) that took place when discussing multilingualism. The difference between the policy-based discourse of multilingualism in post-apartheid South Africa and the practical implications of the “necessity” of English seemed to impact the narratives of my participants and hence, I explored this in more depth. Third, by utilizing poststructural conceptions of language, identity, and power in combination with postcolonial theories of language and identity, I was acutely aware of the ways in which the existence of numerous forms of social and historical power that impacted participants’ (re)constructions of their own identities ultimately framed the narratives that my research centers on.

Concluding Chapter Three

This chapter has outlined the various methods that I utilized and the methodologies that I employed in this dissertation. My chosen methods and methodologies ultimately impacted both what I observed, what data was being produced, and how I analyzed the data involving my participants' stories and lives.

For this research, I centered my methodology on Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis (CENA) in which I combined Souto-Manning's (2014) conception of Critical Narrative Analysis while also highlighting key aspects of ethnographic methods that remain less prominent in this methodology. Additionally, I utilized Fairclough's (1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) three-dimensions of discourse when discursively analyzing texts from a South African ABE policy and from a more current movement surrounding language in Education. By using this chapter to explain my methodologies, elaborate on my sites of study, describe my participants, and explain the ways in which my data is analyzed, my hope is that the when reading the following three analysis chapters, one is able to concurrently focus on the differing themes prominent in my data while also being acutely aware of the methodologies that I draw from to ultimately frame these themes and findings.

Chapter 4: Metonymic Power

"In South African English,[36] *the word* domestic *serves not only as an adjective…but as a noun which means 'servant,' as in, 'she is the domestic.'…Similarly, the word* maid *not only denotes 'servant' but is also a demeaning way of saying 'black woman'"* (Baderoon, 2014, p. 175).

"But something called English is also part of complex language chains, mobilized as part of multiple acts of identity and desire" (Pennycook, 2017, p. xiv).

Bongi: I want to go back to school. I want to know how to speak English.
Anna: Why is that important?
B: If I talk to the white people, I want to talk nicely.
A: Do you think if you knew more English, would the people treat you differently?
B: I think so.
A: Why do you think that?
B: Because sometimes when I'm speaking, she (Bongi's employer) doesn't listen to me. She says to me "You must speak nicely. Go to school."

Throughout my time in South Africa, there were certain words and phrases that were frequently used by my participants. They would often tell me how they were not "educated" and would express discomfort with their lack of "literacy." They would explain how their English was not "proper" which, in their view, led to an inability to be "successful" and also made people see them as "stupid." These words would come up in the classroom, in the car, over lunch and when discussing their life stories; the words began to take on a life of their own. "Education" no longer meant the time spent in school, but the ability to speak English. "Literacy" did not connote being literate in any language, but specifically being literate in English (Kaiper, 2018). Notions of "success" didn't come from hard work, but rather from learning English. Moreover, for the women

[36] South African English (SAE) refers to the variety of English spoken in South Africa, however, as Lass (2002) noted, there are numerous varieties of SAE within the country including Black SAE, White SAE, Indian SAE, and Coloured SAE among others.

who I interviewed and befriended, English seemingly became the main way to access both South Africans and people around the world.[37]

This same linguistic transformation was exhibited with words surrounding domestic service. For example, when I would explain my research to people who I met in South Africa, there seemed to be a common understanding of the identities of my participants when I said that I was interviewing "domestic workers." Employers would often tell me stories of their own "domestics" with the assumed conception of domestics being poor, black African women. Even domestic workers themselves would make similar suppositions about the identities of people in this career with regard to race, class, and gender. The ways in which words took on meanings much more complex than their dictionary definitions led to the creation of these terms as metonyms of sorts. They no longer meant what they were originally intended to mean, but something much different.

Drawing from my experiences with the transformation of specific terms surrounding education, literacy, and domestic work, and utilizing Fairclough's (1992a; 1992b) three-dimensional concept of discourse in combination with Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis as tools for inquiry, in this chapter I explore the existence of metonymy in South Africa. I analyze the ways in which the terms "education" and "literacy" are metonyms for English language education and literacy. I consider how knowing "English" is synonymous with being successful and getting jobs. I investigate how a lack of English is often equated with being considered "stupid" or "useless." I explore how the English language becomes a means for South African domestic workers to connect with people both in South Africa and around the world; and even more

[37] As I discuss later in this chapter, "people around the world" most always referred to white people from Western countries.

specifically, how it becomes a means to connect with "Americans," which in itself, is a metonym for white English-speaking foreigners. Additionally, I use Critical Discourse

Analysis (CDA) to analyze one policy, the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training,* and exhibit the ways in which these metonymical occurrences appear in adult basic education policy specifically. Finally, I investigate the terms "domestic work" and "domestic worker" and explore how these terms are both entrenched in a postcolonial/neocolonial framework and linked to the terms of education and literacy previously explored. Within this analysis, however, what I find, and what I further examine in Chapter Six, is that while these words are ostensibly embedded into past and current South African discourse, and both derive from and further produce forms of symbolic, verbal, and physical power that is forced upon my participants, there are spaces for the re-appropriation of these terms which can lead to the restructuring of current metonyms and the reforming of metonymic power.

Metonymy

In Fairclough's (1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) first dimension of description/text as a means to analyze discourse, he looked at the ways in which words and vocabulary are used and the expressive values, relational values, and metaphors that exist within discourse. Using this textual analysis along with the second dimension of discourse as practice and third dimension of discourse as ideology and hegemony to further support my analysis, I find a central theme of my research to surround the use of metonymy. As Nerlich and Clarke (2001) noted, "Metonymy has been studied for at least two thousand years by rhetoricians, for two hundred years by historical semanticists, and for about ten years by cognitive linguists" (p. 245). The term "metonymy" is often described as a

figure of speech in a word or concept that is used to mean something else, often closely related to the definition of the actual word. For example, in the phrase "the pen is

mightier than the sword," the "pen" is a metonym for "the written word" while the "sword" is a metonym for "military force" (Literary Devices, 2017). To provide a more current and relevant example to metonymy in education, in my experience receiving a Master's Degree in the field of "Urban Education," I quickly realized that the term "urban" in "urban education" has come to note something very different than simply education in a city. Instead, urban education has become metonymical for students of color who are often of lower socioeconomic statuses (Watson, 2011). This example illustrates how words and phrases, while meaning one thing in definition, take on something very different than that of their definition. They come to refer to images and concepts much more complex and much more politically and historically situated.

In their seminal work entitled *Metaphors We Live By*, authors Lakoff and Johnson (1980) focused on the concepts of metaphors and metonyms and found that differing types of metaphors make up a large majority of not only the way we as humans speak, but the ways in which we conceptualize the world. As they noted, "the way we think, what we experience, and what we do every day is very much a matter of metaphor" (1980, p. 3). What they also found is that while metaphors are intricately entwined into numerous linguistic and conceptual thoughts and actions, very rarely are humans cognizant of how metaphors influence our conceptualizations of reality. Going beyond metaphors, Lakoff and Johnson (1980) argued that while metaphors are a way of conceiving one thing in terms of another, metonymy uses one thing to *stand for* (their emphasis) another and "serves the function of providing understanding" (p. 36). The

common existence of metonyms in daily discourse led to Panther and Radden's (1999) assertion that "it has become increasingly apparent that metonymy is a cognitive

phenomenon that may be even more fundamental than a metaphor" (p. 1).

As Lakoff and Johnson (1980) contended, metonyms are neither simply poetic and rhetorical devices nor matters of language. Instead, "metonymic concepts are part of the ordinary, everyday way we think and act as well as talk" (p. 37). This is significant because metonymies are not only produced from the ways in which people think and talk, but foreseeably help shape and create the ways that we think and talk. Thus, I assert that the metonyms being used by South African domestic workers surrounding notions of education, language, and domestic work itself not only reflect broader societal notions of these same terms, but additionally, reconstruct the ways in which these women personally think about and use these terms. This, in turn, leads to the continuous reproduction of these metonymic conceptions thereby solidifying them as "truth".

While metonymy is currently studied by cognitive linguists as a way of understanding structural cognition and conceptual links between words and objects, what Panther and Radden (2001) readily admitted is that many aspects of metonymy are still poorly understood. Almost nonexistent in discussions of metonymy are the ways in which these metonyms in themselves carry social and historical power. Lakoff and Johnson (1980) acknowledged that "symbolic metonymies are critical links between everyday experience and the coherent metaphorical systems that characterize religions and cultures" (p. 40), but they did not recognize that within these metaphorical systems are histories of power that then recreate new conceptions of and links between language and power. Drawing from Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis, post-structuralism,

and postcolonial/neocolonial thought, I argue in this chapter that the metonyms frequently used in South African discourse are situated in colonized views of education

and domestic work that recreate conceptions of social and linguistic power. In turn, these conceptions construct and reconstruct both personal and social identities and, in this case, the identities of domestic workers who are learning English.

Further exploring the ways in which metonyms impact notions of truth that lead to the reconstruction my participants' conceptions of their own identities is vital. While numerous researchers (Brock-Utne, 2015; Hibbert, 2011; Makalela, 2014; Prah, 2009a; 2009b) have continued to push for the use of African languages in education, essentialized conceptions of the English language leading to metonymic linkages of English, literacy, education, and success remain in South African discourse and in the daily discourses of my participants. Thus, the metonyms of "education" referring to English language education, "literacy" linked explicitly to English language literacy, "English" indicating intelligence and success, and "domestic workers" signifying poor black South African women are significantly more complex than simple cognitive processes that provide a conceptual framework for understanding the world. Instead, they work to solidify inherently problematic notions of who can be educated, which languages are significant, and what careers are meant for whom. Moreover, these metonymical discourses become immersed in relations of power that define and solidify existing social orders (Fairclough, 2015). I draw from the use of metonymy to begin answering my research questions. Namely, I seek to understand the following question: what social, political, and historical forces might shape my participants' motivations to learn English?

"Education" and "Literacy"

Zothile: Yeah, I'm not feeling good because as I say, I'm not educated.

Anna: You are educated!

Z: Yes. I've got a matric certificate but the problem is that I didn't go to college or university and then I ended up being a domestic worker. At least I have a chance to go to school. Even if I don't know English, proper English, but I'm happy that I get that. I know to write my name, I know to fill out the forms, I know to understand some of the words. I'm ok for now.

A: Do you consider English a sign of education? Like if someone speaks English well then they're more educated, and if someone doesn't speak English then they're not as educated?

Z: Yeah, because the people who know English very well, they think the people that don't know English very well- they think they're stupid. They think that she is a useless one because she don't know English.

Anna: So do you remember- like when you first got here and you were working for these families and they were speaking to you in English, you didn't know that much English. How did you feel when they were speaking to you but you didn't understand? How did you feel?

Thandeka: When I didn't understand I felt bad.

A: Why?

T: Cause I'm not understanding and they say, oh this one, she didn't go to school. But she was good, she was not shouting, she was telling me nicely.

A: But they assumed you didn't go to school even though you did go to school?

T: Yeah.

As Brock-Utne (2001) astutely questioned in the title of her article "Education for All- In Whose Language?"—which languages are assumed and which are considered legitimate in the process of becoming an educated being? This question stems from various social and political discourses that suggest an inherent link between education, literacy, and the English language. Similar connections are exhibited within the interviews with my participants. Although many of the women I interviewed received very little formal education,[38] and many did not matriculate, even those such as Zothile

[38] See Figure 1 in Chapter Three for a list of individual participant's educational histories.

who did attend school and completed her matriculation exam consider themselves uneducated because of their discomfort with speaking English. Moreover, while all of my participants speak numerous languages, and even though they can read and write in many of these languages, they consider themselves “illiterate” if they cannot read and write in English. In this way, being educated no longer signifies going to school or even matriculating. Instead, it implies being exclusively educated in English. Similarly, “literacy” no longer connotes being able to read and write in any language but refers to reading and writing solely in English, thus leading to the terms “education” and “literacy” as taking on a metonymical place in the discourse of these women. Returning to Brock-Utne’s (2001) article, these metonyms are not solely found in the discourse of South African domestic workers but instead, are found in myriad policies and practices throughout South Africa.

In an article written over fifteen years ago but still sound today, Brock-Utne (2001) contended that “the language question is all about power. The choice of a language of instruction in Africa is a political choice, a choice that may redistribute power in a global context as well as within an African country, between the elites and the masses” (p. 118). Since 1994, South Africa has been debating the role of language, and specifically, the role of the English language in education. As was described in Chapter One, with the introduction of eleven official languages in the 1996 Democratic Constitution, notions of multilingualism were conceptualized to provide all South Africans with linguistic and social parity as a means for post-apartheid redress. And yet, as Hibbert (2016) found:

> After (over) 20 years of ANC rule, English remains the main language in education and the official *lingua franca* of the public and business sector...English dominates, while other languages still have no real status in this (the educational) context (emphasis original). (p. 133,136)

The dominance of English is by no means situated solely in South African discourse. The presence of English is a worldwide phenomenon and its link to education is found globally. Discourses around English are tied to everything done "in the name of education, all the exacerbations of inequality that go under the label of globalization, all the linguistic calumnies that denigrate other ways of speaking, all the shamefully racist institutional interactions that occur…"(Pennycook, 2017, p. xv). English and its global presence as a lingua franca is a growing issue in policy and research around the world.

While global discourses are (re)circulating beliefs surrounding the essential nature of English, the South African constitution and multilingual policies are concurrently maintaining the necessities of multilingualism as a form of historical redress. For example, a Gauteng Province Department of Education (2013) webpage noted that as a means to embracing mother tongue learning, schools across the country will celebrate International Mother Tongue Day. Additionally, the National Development Plan of 2030 (National Planning Commission, 2013) stated that, "All South Africans should be encouraged to learn an African language and government programmes should work to make this a reality" (p. 26). In 2017, twelve pilot schools in Gauteng implemented a new language policy in which all Grade One students must take an African Language (Brenzinger, 2017). Thus, the beliefs surrounding the necessity of English and policies and practices supporting multilingualism remain at odds with one another.

The gap between language policy and practice, especially within education, is not new and is frequently written about in scholarship on language in South Africa. Because of this, I am not attempting to examine the myriad reasons behind why this gap continues to exist and why it is seemingly growing. However, what I do contend is that by understanding both the motivations of domestic workers learning English, and analyzing policies that impact their own access to language and literacy, further nuances of understanding their motivations for learning English can transpire. Accordingly, in the following section, I use Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) (Fairclough, 1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) to analyze the original *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training* (Department of Education, 1997) and connect this analysis to metonymic notions utilized in the participants' narratives. CDA allows me to investigate why the desire of adult learners to learn English instead of becoming literate in one's native language(s) remains evident and why this desire is specifically evident in South African domestic workers taking English language and literacy classes.

Critical Discourse Analysis of "Literacy" in the 1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training

"The matter of English in schooling and ABET is complex and problematic. Virtually all the evidence is that people learn to read and write best in their native language. English itself is a difficult language to become literate in (and there is good evidence that schoolchildren learning to read and write in their native language take longer to achieve proficiency than in children learning in other languages). However, virtually nothing has been done in teacher training institutions to improve literacy instruction in African languages, though there are the beginnings of efforts to do so. The other almost irresistible force, affecting both the parents of schoolchildren and adults entering ABET, is that English is the language of employment and power (and of course of the African elite as well)" (J. Aitchison, personal communication, Aug. 5, 2017).

As John Aitchison, a prominent scholar in South African ABE/ABET, relayed to me, the role of English in ABET is "complex and problematic." One such reason for this

complexity derives from a lack of policies surrounding South African ABE/ABET, and more explicitly, the dearth of implementation practices of multilingual literacy practices

in adult education. In the following section, I focus on one prominent policy, the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training* (Department of Education, 1997), surrounding Adult Basic Education and Training, and use CDA to center my analysis on the ways in which the term "literacy" is discussed. I explore presumed understandings of what literacy means, and highlight the ambiguity surrounding what languages are being referred to in discussions of literacy courses and the creation of a "literate" adult learner. I then connect this analysis to the ways in which similar terms are used by my participants in their narratives and HERstories of education and literacy.

The *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training*, which I will be referring to here as the 1997 ABET Policy, was created as a means to provide a "Regulatory Framework that would transform existing sites of delivery, better known as night schools, into effective Public Adult Learning Centres (PALCs)" (Baatjes and Mathe, 2004, p. 403). It derived from the government's intention to use ABE as a form of social change post-apartheid and stemmed from *The Interim Guidelines* created in 1995 that established the Directorate for Adult Basic Education and Training and the 1996 'Ready to Learn' Campaign (Baatjes & Mathe, 2004). Additionally, as the document itself stated, the policy was shaped by "broader education policy" including the White

Paper of 1995, the National Education Policy Act of 1996 and the South African Qualifications Act of 1996.[39]

Several programs and acts were created as a result of the 1997 ABET Policy. For example, the Adult Basic Education and Training Act of 2000 sought to regulate public and private adult learning centers and set up governing bodies for these programs (Aitchison, 2003). The South African National Literacy Initiative (SANLI) created in 2000 sought to reach "illiterate adults" (Western Cape Government, 2013). SANLI, in turn, led to the creation of the Kha Ri Gude Campaign—established in 2008 and completed in 2016—which "intended to reduce the national rate of illiteracy by 50% by 2015" (South African Government, 2017).

These acts and programs were created as a means to redress the high levels of adult illiteracy that stemmed from colonial rule and apartheid policies. However, as I noted in Chapter One, relatively little economic support and antiquated policies make adult education in South Africa "trapped between meager attention and resources and overly ambitious expectations" (Torres, 2004, p. 23). Additionally, "There has not really been any official ABET policy since 1997" (J. Aitchison, personal communication, August 15, 2017). Furthermore, similar to what I find in my interviews and observations with my participants, there seems to be a broad understanding of what "literacy" means without answering Brock-Utne's essential question: Literacy in whose languages? Using

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[39] The White Paper of 1995 was a document created by the Department of Education to address adult education and training programs in South Africa (Department of Education, 1995). The National Education Policy Act brought legislative and monitoring responsibilities of the Minister of Education into law and provided policies for Technical and Vocational Education and Training (TVET) policies for curriculum, assessment, language and quality assurance (Department of Basic Education, 2016). The South African Schools Act (SASA), aimed at providing quality education to all learners without discrimination, and made school compulsory for children ages seven to fifteen (Department of Basic Education, 2016)

this question as I guide, in the following section, I draw from Fairclough's (1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) three-dimensional framework of discourse to analyze the 1997 ABET Policy. In this analysis, I examine the vocabulary, textual structures, and grammar used to highlight the vague nature of terms such as "literacy" within this document and within many educational policies. I then link this to the historical context of the policy that leads to larger ideologies surrounding education and language use that are constructed and solidified. I utilize this analysis when returning to my participants' conceptions of education and literacy and the metonymical devices they use to refer to English language literacy specifically.

What is important to note, and perhaps essential to explore in future work, is that polices such as the 1997 ABET Policy are not fully relevant to the specific educational contexts of this dissertation. This policy and the proceeding documents are directly referencing formal ABET courses and programs and not the informal programs that my participants take part in. Because of this, the implementation of policies such as this in the educational experiences of my participants are not always directly visible in day-to-day instruction. Nonetheless, policies such as 1997 ABET Policy reflect broader educational discourses surrounding ABE, education, and literacy. Therefore, this policy is not being discursively analyzed to make direct links to the ways in which it impacts the practices of these programs which shape the learners' views of literacy. Instead, the 1997 ABET Policy is utilized as an example of the elusive nature of the term "literacy" with regard to South African education and multilingual approaches to adult literacy in particular—a vagueness that inevitably impacts the ways in which my participants think about literacy and consequently, think about themselves.

The 1997 ABET Policy is a 49-page policy document that discusses the conception and implementation of ABET practices and programs in South Africa. It is written in a twelve-chapter format with the chapters being broken up into the following:

Chapter 1: Introduction
Chapter 2: Foundations for an ABET Policy
Chapter 3: Institutionalizing ABET
Chapter 4: Integrating ABET into Lifelong Learning
Chapter 5: A Curriculum Framework, Assessment, and Materials for ABET
Chapter 6: Instructional Delivery
Chapter 7: Training and Orientation
Chapter 8: Professional and Technical Support
Chapter 9: Social Mobilization
Chapter 10: Monitoring, Evaluation, and Information Systems
Chapter 11: Implementation of the Policy
Chapter 12: Financial Implications

Within the 49 pages of this document, the terms “literacy” or “illiteracy” are used 31 times including in the definition of ABET: “The term ‘adult basic education and training' or ABET ‘subsumes both literacy and post-literacy as it seeks to connect literacy with basic (general) adult education on the one hand and with training for income generation on the other hand’” (p. 5). Hence, ABET is being directly linked to notions of becoming literate. This connection was noted by Aitchison (2003) in his article on the history of adult education in South Africa when he stated that in South Africa, adult education, ABE, and literacy are often considered synonymous. However, while his focus was more on the synonymous nature of “adult basic education” and overarching notions of “adult education,” I center my analysis on the ways in which within the policy, there is an assumed understanding of what literacy means with ambiguity surrounding the role of language itself in literacy practices.

In Chapter One Section 1.3, entitled *The ABET Learning and Teaching Context*, the policy states that "South African governments of the past put in place policies designed to limit access to education for blacks and paid very little attention to literacy," which has resulted in "poor quality education in black schools and the condemnation of millions of adults to illiteracy, effectively limiting the intellectual and cultural development of the country as a whole." As I described in Chapter One, this statement is referring to both the inhibited access of English for black South Africans implemented in the Bantu Education Act and the deregulation of night schools and adult education centers during apartheid. These policies and practices meant to oppress black South Africans (as well as Indian and Coloured populations) led to, as the policy states, "illiteracy," which thus, led to the intellectual and cultural underdevelopment of the country. In this chapter of the 1997 ABET Policy, there is direct causality being made between literacy and development in which seemingly, if more adults were literate, the intellectual and cultural development of the country would be significantly greater.

It is crucial to question is what "intellectual and cultural development" means and whether or not these two forms of development are in fact, at odds with one another. When analyzing the phrase "intellectual development," there is a vagueness that arises as this phrase can refer to several differing outcomes. It can indicate the increased ability for individuals to "intellectualize" the history of their current social and political identities. It can refer to the means to access higher education which will then provide a form of intellectualization. Or, perhaps, it can suggest the ability to get out of poverty, as the policy makes a direct connection to illiteracy and racialized poverty. Similarly, "cultural development" can refer to the strengthening of tribal cultures within the multilingual and

multicultural milieu of South Africa, it can suggest the strengthening of a larger black South African culture, or it can signify the formation of a new South African culture that

will apparently create a more economically developed and globalized South Africa. However, these two listed primary forms of development both derive from the conception of "literacy." Thus, it becomes necessary to deconstruct what "literacy" is referencing within this document.

If throughout this policy, the act of being "literate" indicates the ability to read and write in any language including one's native languages, then notions of intellectualization and cultural development would seemingly produce one set of results. Adults' abilities to read and write in their native tongues would inform both their knowledge of the world, and the importance place on their own cultures and languages, thus leading to conceptions of emancipatory education produced by Freire (2000) and his conceptions of conscientization. The use of learners' linguistic backgrounds as a means to strengthen their literacy could support adult learners cultural and intellectual progress (Wrigley & Guth, 1992). Under this system, new forms of cultural capital stemming from the linguistic capital of native South African languages would be produced (Alexander, 2005). For example, Alexander strongly contended that "The self-esteem, self-confidence, potential creativity and spontaneity that come with being able to use the language(s) that have shaped one from early childhood (one's mother tongue) is the foundation of all democratic polities and institutions" (p. 3). Consequently, he found that use of native languages is essential in strengthening both post-apartheid democracy and increasing the intellectual capital of the majority of South Africans.

Conversely, if the act of being "literate" suggests the ability to read and write specifically in English, then a different set of outcomes would foreseeably occur. The "intellectual development" noted would be directly linked to furthering access to universities, as the lingua franca of many institutions of higher education in South Africa is English (Scott, 2015). The "cultural development" that would arise would be synonymous to the global presence of South African culture deriving from the status of English as the "international language" (Silva, 1997). Moreover, the term "development" would suggest economic development from a human capital framework that links English to economic success (Casale & Posel, 2011). By simply inserting "English" or "Native Language" before the term "literacy," the supposed outcomes of the "intellectual and cultural development" differ significantly. This same vagueness regarding definitions of "literacy" and its reference (or lack thereof) to specific languages is evident in the subsequent chapters of the 1997 ABET policy.

In Chapter Two, Section 2.1.1, the policy begins to define "literacy" by stating that the term falls:

> Into one of two categories: either literacy is defined as enabling individuals and groups to become generally functional in their own societies, or literacy is defined as part of economic functionality to promote higher productivity and to contribute to development.

By separating these two categories, the assumption follows that either one can be literate in their own society (hence, their own languages) or that they can be literate to contribute to the development of a country. In other words, only one category of literacy contributes to overarching notions of development. Due to the prominent link between English and

economic and international development, the assumption then becomes that it is not the category of literacy within one's own communities that is essential for developmental

change in South Africa. Rather, it is the category of English literacy that is vital for redevelopment. The push for development is furthered in Section 2.4.1, entitled *A Vision for ABET*, which states that the Department of Education visions ABET to produce "A literate South Africa within which all its citizens have acquired basic education and training that enables effective participation in socio-economic and political processes to contribute to reconstruction, development and social transformation." This sentence emphasizes that in the case of South African ABET, "literacy" is meant to produce reconstruction and development, again suggesting that "literacy" is referencing the second definition meant to promote higher productivity and development linked to English language literacy through a human capital framework.

A focus on languages and multilingualism is by no means absent from the policy. In Chapter Two, Section 2.2.1 entitled *The Policy Context*, the document references the National Education Policy of 1996 and states that in developing this ABET policy, the Minister of Education is responsible for advancing and protecting fundamental human rights including "the right of every student to be instructed in the language of his or her choice where this is reasonable and practicable." Moreover, in Section 2.5, *Aims and Objectives for Implementation*, it is stated that the development of a curriculum framework that develops "literacy, language and communication skills in one or more languages" is needed to "equip learners with the knowledge, attitudes, skills and critical capacity to participate fully in all aspects of society." The reference to language use is again referred to in Chapter Five Section 5.10.2, *Departmental Support for Materials*

Development, which states that "curriculum and materials development training programmes for educators will be encouraged in order to build materials writing capacity in all the official languages of South Africa."

In Chapter Six on Instructional Delivery, Section 6.1.1 mentions learner-centered pedagogy by suggesting that "affirming adult learners' worth and demonstrating respect for their various language, cultures and personal circumstances will be a pre-requisite for all learning and development." Section 6.1.4 entitled *Nation-building and non-discrimination*, "encourage(s) the development of… multi-lingualism and informed choices regarding the language/s of learning cooperation, civic responsibility, and the ability to participate in all aspects of society an understanding of national, provincial and local development needs." Finally, in Appendix One of the policy document, it states that learners have "the right to assessment in the language of their choice, whenever possible," so that "language shall not be a barrier in demonstrating one's competence."

The promotion of multilingualism and language use is present within the document, and yet, as Aitchison commented in a phone conversation (August 15, 2017), "In a way, the language issue in ABET has never risen to prominence." This is revealed in the policy's nebulous definition of literacy and language use. Moreover, the previous categorical separation of "literacy" as a means to function in one's own linguistic society versus to contribute to economic development again blurs the purpose of adult literacy in the South African context. The passive ways in which certain phrases are utilized in many statements that reference language use showcases the further vagueness of multilingual practices implemented into ABET practice.

As Heugh (2000) noted, "International research and experience shows conclusively that no language policy will ever succeed unless an accompanying plan is implemented; neither will it succeed if there is an accompanying plan which is at variance with the goals" (p. 5). In the case of the 1997 ABET policy, it is neither a language policy itself or at variance with the goals of the 1997 Language in Education Policy[40] and the 2002 Language Policy of Higher Education. Like these national language policies, the 1997 ABET Policy makes connections to the multilingual histories of South Africa and seemingly supports multilingual literacy. However, while the 1997 ABET Policy references multilingual literacies, it concurrently uses phrases that insinuate the inevitable impossibility of using multilingualism in literacy in ABET settings, thereby revealing the linguistic device of hedging throughout the document.

Hedging is a linguistic avoidance device that is used as a strategic device for approximators (roughly, more or less), modalities (may, might), or exploiting projecting verbs (believe, suppose) (Bloor & Bloor, 2013). One reason that hedging in language occurs is when the speaker or author of the text is indicating a degree of vagueness or lack of commitment (Hasselgreen, 2004). Markman (2012) found that hedging can be a sign of unreliability in what is being stated. Examples of hedging are found throughout the policy when discussing the use of multilingualism and are exhibited in phrases such as "will be encouraged," "where this is reasonable and practicable," and "whenever possible." For example, learners will have "the right to assessment in the language of

[40] The Language in Education Policy of 1997 stems from the National Education Policy Act and emphasizes the right for learners to choose their language of instruction. While the policy is meant to provide redress for historically disadvantaged languages, it centers on the education of grades one through twelve and does not discuss the use of language education for adult learners. The Language Policy for Higher Education of 2002 addresses adult learners, but only those in colleges and universities, not in ABET.

their choice" (Appendix 1) but only "whenever possible" insinuating that the possibilities of this right are scarce. Students will be able to access education in the language of their choice, but only "where this is reasonable and practical" (Section 2.2.1) again denoting the strong possibility that there will be multiple times in which the desire for a learner to learn in her native language is neither reasonable nor practical.

What is notable about this document surrounds not only the use of modalities when hedging, but also when strong modal verbs such as "should" and "must" are utilized instead. Fairclough (2013) describes modal verbs as a characteristic of language that describes how committed speakers are to what they say and write as well as the perceived status of the speaker/writer. While hedging is consistently used throughout this policy document when describing the use of multilingualism in adult education, the modal verbs of "should" and "must" are utilized much more frequently. Throughout the document, "should" is used 63 times and "must" is used 38 times when describing what educators, policy makers, and the policy itself must and should do. For example, in Section 2.4.7, the document states that practitioners "must also provide learners with the tools required to access lifelong learning and, in so doing, contribute towards community, provincial and national development." In Section 3.1. d, the document notes that "institutions and organisations serving the needs of ABET must develop into Adult Education, Training and Development." In Section 2.2.2, the document notes that the "principles of good education practice should inform all initiative in adult education and training;" and in Section 5.4.6, it describes what the ABET Practitioner "should" promote, including contextually relevant teaching, reflective strategies, and exploratory learning.

While the use of modal verbs such as "should" and "must" foreseeably are used to highlight the essential nature of changing ABET within South Africa, and are even used when noting how language "must" be a component of adult education, they are only utilized when describing the necessity of language when in combination with the use of hedging. In other words, the modal verbs of "must" and "should" in combination with the simultaneous use of hedging in these same declarations provides a contradiction of sorts. While the document is stating what practitioners, policy makers, and policies "must" and "should" do to increase "literacy," the use of hedging both negates the necessity of multilingualism within the document and reveals direct opposition to the declarative statements being used.

With regard to the realities of implementation of multilingual literacy, the use of hedging as a means to suggest the difficulty teaching in multiple languages is, in some ways, understandable. Numerous authors note the many difficulties of implementing multilingualism into literacy and learning in a South African context. For example, Heugh (2006) stated that many younger learners fall into the gap between learning in native languages or learning in English with many teachers lacking the knowledge to close this gap. Manyike and Lemmer (2014) noted the ways in which university language departments are closing or producing fewer people qualified to teach African languages. Banda (2000) remarked on the ways in which South African leaders, including Nelson Mandela, often gave speeches in English rather than modelling native African languages leading to a lessening desire to learn these languages. In other words, the struggles to promote multilingual literacy are very real, and policies including the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training* are using discursive tools to suggest

these difficulties while simultaneously advocating for multilingual literacy. Thus, the nebulous answer to Brock-Utne's question remains. Drawing from abstruse conceptions of education and literacy and the ways in which even a policy seemingly endorsing multilingual literacy continues to emphasize English language literacy, I return to my participants' use of these words and the further metonyms that these terms produce.

"They will call you stupid, and that word stupid, it hurts a lot."

The metonyms of "education" and "literacy" connoting "English education" and "English literacy" are vital to deconstruct, as it is essential to understand how terms are used as conceptual frameworks for further understanding learners' motivations and desires. Just as crucial to explore are the ways in which these terms influence personal and social conceptions of identity, as it is these notions of identity that often incite further educational desires. Moreover, the entangled nature of educational desires linked to a dearth of formal education and an absence of English literacy are also necessary to analyze. This entanglement was revealed through participants' notions of intelligence and of stupidity and the direct links they made between knowing English and being considered a "smart" human being. In interviews and conversations, my participants made constant links between a lack of English language literacy and notions of "stupidity" that appeared:

Anna: Do people treat you differently if you don't know English?
Pula: Yeah because English, we don't speak perfect in English because it's not our language. Sometimes when you speak to people, they look at you like- maybe you speak to them they don't understand you. They look at you like you are stupid. You feel that thing because you can't speak properly because it's not your language. We don't feel comfortable to speak English, but as I said, it's the language that we are using in Joburg. We have to accept that. You can't do anything.

Anna: And do you think that she (Margaret's employer) would respect you more if you- like do you think that the more you learn English, do you think that she would treat you better?

Margaret: When I can speak English better than this, maybe she will- yes, she will respect me. She will give me respect. I think because maybe I'm thinking this- maybe she's not giving me respect just because she think-she thinks maybe I don't know anything. If I don't know English, she thinks maybe I don't know anything because sometimes I can't tell her things that I don't like. If she's doing things that I don't like I- sometimes I can't tell her "you see this and this and this I don't like."

Throughout my conversations with Pula, Margaret, and many other women I interviewed and observed, there was a direct association made between knowing English and being considered smart, or more overtly, not knowing English and being considered stupid. Many women had experienced moments in which the people they met and those they worked for associated their lack of verbal and written English language abilities as a direct metonym for stupidity. It did not matter to their employers that my participants could speak numerous other languages. It was insignificant within the social spaces in which they lived and worked that they knew a great deal about politics and world issues.[41] It was not important to their social status that they had utilized multiple forms of intelligence to survive in their personal lives and in their careers. Instead, what mattered within their social spaces in the creation of an intelligent person was their knowledge of English. This link derived from differing spaces and was established in numerous ways. For Margaret, it was an association she felt her employers made when she couldn't understand something they said or couldn't articulate to them what she wanted. For Pula, it was a connection she found amongst many South Africans who would make her feel

[41] During the United States Presidential election of 2016, a group of women at the English Literacy Programme had an hour-long conversation on Donald Trump and Hillary Clinton. I was impressed with their knowledge of American politics and the ways in which they were able to connect American politics to current South African politics. Moreover, the political knowledge that they possessed, which incited this rich discussion, was greater than many "educated" Americans I know.

misunderstood and "look at her like (she) is stupid." For other women, a lack of understanding English even led to worries of possible disabilities. For example, Ruby

told me that she went to the doctor to get her hearing checked because even though she could hear everything clearly in Xitsonga and in isiZulu, her difficulty discerning English words made her think something was physically or mentally wrong with her. Regardless of how the link was felt and expressed, it shaped many of the participants' notions of self-identity and their feelings of being "smart" or being "stupid."

Associations between adult illiteracy and feelings of "being stupid" have previously been explored in adult literacy and language research. For example, in Auerbach et. al.'s (2013) book on adult ESL and literacy, she found that in a case study with adult Haitian students, many of the students felt that illiteracy was connected to feelings of stupidity and social disrespect. One female learner stated that when she couldn't read and write, people looked down on her, but "becoming literate meant a change both in how others viewed her and how she viewed herself" (Auerbach et al., 2013, p. 184). In Payne's (2006) article on "functional illiteracy," he found that notions of illiteracy often connote ignorance, lack of education, and stupidity for those who are literate and even for those who are not—a connotation he finds inherently problematic and entirely untrue. These examples, however, all assume that the term "literacy" is English language literacy, again supporting the metonymic significance of this implicit connection. Moreover, what these examples do not touch upon is the presence of these feelings in a country in which English is not the sole official language.

As Pennycook (2017) argued, "English remains a massively dominant language of global relations that continues to threaten other languages, cultures and forms of

knowledge, to disrupt the educational aspirations of many and to contribute to the reproduction of many global inequalities" (p. viii). In the case of South Africa, while the

democratic constitution in conjunction with the aforementioned 1997 ABET policy appear to supporting notions of multilingual literacies, the participants in my study continue to feel stupid despite their ability to speak multiple languages, notwithstanding their literacy skills in their native tongues, and despite their daily use of translanguaging (Makalela, 2016). This feeling of being considered stupid without English language literacy undeniably affects their feelings surrounding the capability to achieve "success" and to gain accessibility to jobs and social practices steeped in English language literacy.

Success and Accessibility

Ruby: I'm a failure
Anna: You're a failure?
R: Yes, because I can't speak proper English. But I can come to you and say I need job. My sisters they can't do that because they don't know even one word of English.
A: So if you can read and write in Tsonga[42], why do you still feel like a failure? Because if you already know Tsonga and you can read and write and Tsonga, then why is that not enough?
R: Because when I come to you and ask for a job you can't hear me. When I say something in Tsonga you can't hear me. So that's why I'm saying English is the best.
A: So out of all of the languages, which do you think is the most important?
R: The most important is English.
A: Really?
R: Yes. To me it's English. They thought they would make our lives easier, they teach us in Afrikaans, English and Tsonga. So that killed us because now I'm not speaking proper English.
A: What to you is proper English? What does that mean?
R: I'm mixing some words, sometimes I hear myself but the things aren't right when I'm talking.
A: So you think it would have been better for the teachers to teach only in English?
R: In English, yes.

[42] While we are using the term "Tsonga" to refer to Ruby's language, previously I use the term Xitsonga as "xi" is a common prefix used in combination with Tsonga.

A: But what if you didn't understand? Like for example, in math, science, history, if you were being taught in English but you didn't understand what was being taught, wouldn't it be better to learn in Tsonga?

R: When people are trained for jobs, they teach them in English, not in Tsonga.

When you go to university, they teach you in English, not in another language. Not in Tsonga, Venda, Sotho.

Zothile: People who stay in the rural areas, even now, they're still struggling because they try to teach the children English at school but when they go home, they're back to our languages. Zulu or Sotho or Sepedi or whatever.

Anna: And you think that's a problem?

Z: Yeah. That's a problem because when you grow up, when you come from the rural areas and say I've finished my matric and I'm looking for a job. Maybe your parents don't have enough money to pay your studies to go to university or go to the colleges or maybe to go to school to learn for the job. So what are you going to do?

Anna: So why did you start to take classes?

Thandeka: Because I want to learn more about English

A: But why?

T: You know sometimes when the kids speak, I don't know what they say. I want to know better.

A: Even if, like at the hospital, don't they speak Zulu?

T: Sometimes they say "you must fill out the forms. You must fill out the forms." How can I fill them out if you don't know what they say?

A: So the forms are always in English?

T: Yeah.

Thuli: But I can't do anything with my Zulu. If- let's say if your company now says that they want people, I can't submit my CV in Zulu.

As Ruby, Zothile, Thandeka, and Thuli's quotes suggest, English in South Africa has become essential for notions of success and necessary for accessibility to jobs, to forms, and to schooling. While the metonyms of "education" and "literacy" are leading to feelings of "stupidity" and "failure" discussed by my participants, these feelings are not merely embedded in the social capital of English. They are also embedded in certain day-to-day practices that these women cannot access and possibilities for educational and financial gain that they are unable to reach. My participants are living in a multilingual

country in which eleven official languages are being supported by the constitution, and additionally encouraged by policies supposedly endorsing multilingualism in practice.

And yet, English has become a necessity for these women to both survive and to succeed.

Since the creation of the 1996 Constitution, numerous authors have written about the role of English in South Africa and about the ways in which policy and practice do not align. For example, Orman (2008) found that ANC documents and policy documents supporting multilingual and cultural diversity are only available in English. This is evident in *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training,* which can only be accessed in English, as well as in the 1997 Language in Education Policy which is also, and even more ironically, only accessible in English. Similarly, Tshotsho (2013) contended that "one of the major constraints on the implementation of the Language Policy is the unavailability of resources including human resources, funding, facilities, materials and books" (p. 43) paralleling my participants' assertions that their lack of English language literacy leads to their inability to access certain resources.

During my time in South Africa, I found very similar chasms between theories of multilingualism being a strength versus practices invested in English-only principles. For example, because of my close friendship with Marie, I inevitably met her family and became close to her youngest daughter, Bongani. Bongani had gone to a high school in Mpumalanga and had matriculated in 2014. She wanted to attend university, and I wanted to support her, so together we went to the University of Johannesburg so that I could help her apply. Once there, we were told that although her isiNdebele exam score was high enough to qualify her for a space at the institution, her English score was not high enough

to attend the university.[43] Therefore, she needed to take a year of English language literacy classes that were not funded by the government, retake the matriculation exam in

English, and hope for a better score. Only then would she be able to apply for university and apply for the National Student Financial Aid Scheme (NFSAS) that would financially support her university attendance. Luckily, I was able to make several phone calls and find a lower nationally ranked university that would possibly admit her, however, it was only because of her mother's tie to a man from the church she attended, who also worked for this university, that she was finally accepted into the program.

Similar to Bongani's experience surrounding the necessity of English to get into South African university was my experience with Amhale's son, Thabo. After finishing a weekend interview with Amahle, I offered to drive her home. When not working, she lives with her twenty-year-old son in a one-room home made out of corrugated tin and cardboard with no electricity or running water that they built together. I drove her over an hour to this home in an informal township where she lived with Thabo, who was waiting for our arrival. When I met Thabo, I immediately noted the strength of his English language skills and was also impressed with his love of engineering. I asked about his educational background and he told me that, like Bongani, he had applied to universities but was unable to attend because of his extremely low English matriculation score. I offered to help him apply for English language centers that have been created specifically to support students who must improve their English language matriculation score to enter university, and he excitedly agreed. After creating a "GoFund Me" in which I asked

[43] Bongani's experience with English acting as a university gatekeeper of sorts is described by Doiz, Lasagabaster, and Sierra (2012) as the "Englishization of universities" (p. xv), in which universities throughout the globe are enforcing English as essential for university, often at the expense of the learners' native languages.

friends to help with his schooling, I was able to raise enough money to support his attendance in a year-long program focused on English. Currently, he is re-taking his matriculation exam in hopes of getting into university in South Africa.

The examples of Bongani and Thabo directly illustrate the extensive rifts between multilingual policy and implementation that continue to exist in South African higher education and daily practice. However, while these examples are showcased with the children of my participants, they are also evident in the experiences of domestic workers themselves. For example, Thuli told me how frustrated she feels when having to rely on English literate people to read forms for her. As she stated:

Thuli: Lots of things, when you go to places, it's English. Like for example, I've got this letter. I'm somebody who's always had that passion of doing things. This I was doing before my son became terminally ill. Because of his illness I couldn't continue to pay this policy.
Anna: What is it? A life policy?
T: It's a momentum policy you pay for yourself. Then yesterday, my late sister's son, he came to give me medicine and he said, "I got your letter from momentum." I'm trying to read it but I can't finish it. You see? I have to wait for children, my late sister's children, to come and read it nicely for me so I can know what to do. I want to be able- if I get a letter like this, I must be able to read it and reply to it. That's my biggest focus.

Conversely, both Pretty and Patricia, two domestic workers originally from Zimbabwe, relayed to me how much easier it is for them to get jobs in domestic work because of the English language literacy they obtained in Zimbabwe.[44] When I asked why Pretty felt that South African employers rather hire Zimbabwean domestic workers than

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[44] Zimbabwe, established as Southern Rhodesia by British colonial rule, enforced English as the sole medium of instruction in 1908. While this incited Afrikaner resistance, Afrikaans was never enforced as the language of schooling, unlike the linguistic and educational experiences of South Africans. In 1981, the Ministry of Education issued a revision of educational policies, leading to the Education Act of 1987 that made three languages, Shona, Ndebele, and English, all taught in schools. As Hungwe (2007) notes, however, "English has retained its place as the single most important subject area in the curriculum. It is the only subject that is required for the school-leaving certificate and for entry into further education and training" (p. 144).

South African domestic workers, Pretty stated, “Zimbabweans speak better English.” In responding to my follow up question in which I asked her why she thinks this is, she responded:

Pretty: Because it is compulsory. Every Zimbabwean if you go to school you have to do English from primary to secondary school. We do English.
Anna: And you feel as though the employers who hire domestic workers prefer that?
P: Yes, yes. It is very hard sometimes to- you are just explaining to someone to do things that are the opposite of what you explain. If you are the owner of the house, sometimes you get angry, you get irritated to explain and explain always.

According to women like Thuli, Pretty, and Patricia, English is not only suggested, but necessary for accessibility to forms, jobs, and upward mobility. Notions of accessibility linked to the English language become (re)produced are further situated in the internationalization of English and the ways in which English has been conceptualized as a global language.

“English is Everywhere”

Anna: Why did you want to learn English?
Marie: I like English- to talk English because English is a language you can communicate with the whole world can speak English. Afrikaans is not much. Yeah, not much people you can talk with in Afrikaans. But with English you can go anywhere- to America. You can talk with people in English. Everywhere English- English is everywhere. I think our language, it’s very important, but English is best because you can communicate with a lot of people.

Anna: So ma, what are the main reasons that you attend classes?
Zama: The only thing that makes me go to that school is to learn English- how to write English and read English. Yes. Then I can understand the word of god. Then I can say someday, you know what? I'm going to America (laughs). They can hear and say “my goodness. This is a South African!” But they can hear me, you know? They can understand me isn’t it?

Anna: When you were in school, what was the feeling towards English? Did people think you had to learn English? Were you forced to learn English in Zimbabwe? Was the focus more on Shona or was it more on English?

Pretty: In Zim, when you are O level[45] it's compulsory whether you like it or not.

English, you can't drop English, you can drop Bible study or commerce, not English. You have to do it. From primary until secondary O level, you have to do it, it's compulsory in all schools.

A: And what are your feelings regarding that? Do you think that's good or do you think that's bad?

P: I think it's good to learn English. Like it helps me like if you go to another foreign country. I think English is the main language you can speak, not Shona. I think it really helps for our country because if you go to America you speak English, not Shona, not our own language.

For women such as Marie, Zama, and Pretty, English does not only broaden access to opportunities in South Africa; it increases opportunities worldwide. With English, Zama can not only "read the word of god,"[46] but she can go to America and surprise people with her language skills. Marie can communicate with people around the world because "English is everywhere." Pretty can more easily access travel to places like America, because "English is the main language you can speak." Conceptions of accessibility travel outside the boundaries of South Africa. They expand across global, and in the view of my participants, particularly American borders. The notion of global access linked to the English language is foreseeably a result of the cosmopolitan space in which these women live and the populations who they work for. While almost all of them come from rural areas in which English is not nearly as accessible or as utilized, these women all work in Gauteng, a province known for its racial, ethnic and linguistic diversity. Moreover, the greatest number of native English speakers (32.8 % of all South

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[45] "O Level" refers to the General Certificate of Education students receive from grades 10-11.

[46] It is important to note that while Zama stated that English will help her "read the word of God" referring to the Bible, there are many bibles translated in native South African languages that are used in churches throughout the country.

Africans) are found in the Gauteng Province (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Additionally, the families of these workers come from around the globe including employers from

Germany, Greece, Switzerland, and the United States. Therefore, the women's assertions that English is necessary to communicate with many types of people is neither inaccurate nor based in erroneous notions of the linguistic globalization of English. Instead, in the spaces in which these women live and work, English can be quite practical. But even with this pragmatism of English being more essential in the cosmopolitan spaces in which my participants live and work, I was struck by certain anomalies that existed within their contentions regarding the global accessibility that English would provide.

One such anomaly surrounded my participants' notions of travelling abroad. Many of the women referenced wanting English when they visited "America," however, due to talking to me as well as discussing plane ticket prices with other travelers, they are quite aware of the costs of a ticket to the United States. Further, from my interviews, all of my participants are conscious of their inability to access the financial means to travel outside of South Africa, as they noted quite frequently their inability to pay for travel. Even more, many of them have never been outside of northern South Africa, let alone travelling internationally. Thus, the assertion that learning English would bring them to America is seemingly unrealistic for my participants.

A further inconsistency with their conceptions of the global nature of English involves language use in South Africa. Even in the Gauteng province, the most diverse and cosmopolitan province in the country, isiZulu remains the most widely spoken language with 19.8% of people being native isiZulu language speakers and 13.3% of

people being native English language speakers (Statistics South Africa, 2011). Thus, English remains less vital to speak in this space than languages such as isiZulu.

Interestingly, the women would often note how important it is to be able to speak to people who were foreigners or who spoke English, however, not a single woman assumed that non-black South Africans should try to learn any native South African languages. This manifested in great surprise when I could say even a basic phrase in isiZulu, as their general assumption was that white people did not, nor did not need to learn African languages.

As Hibbert (2016) noted in her book on discourses within South Africa:

> Globalization results in exposure and access to the latest trends and technologies, which are most accessible in English due to the dollar domination of the Western world. This makes English more and more desirable, sometimes at the cost of a speaker or a community's first language. (p. 141)

The participants in my study illustrated this same desire. Even though they were aware of their low socioeconomic statuses resulting in their financial inabilities to travel outside of South Africa, and although almost all of them used African languages as their primary languages of communication outside their places of work, many women were insistent that they could go anywhere with English. In other words, English provides a means for mobility (perhaps both literally and metaphorically) and affords my participants with a sense of hopefulness that perhaps they do not otherwise feel in their lives as domestic workers. And yet, as Pennycook (2017) argued, "If English operates as a major means by which social, political and economic inequalities are maintained within may countries, it also plays a significant role as a gatekeeper for movement between countries" (p. 18).

Accordingly, English becomes the symbolic yin and yang of sorts: It is simultaneously a means of hope for financial, social, and international mobility and the main force in

cementing the unrealistic nature of these hopes. Moreover, the ways in which the socio-historical conceptions of South African domestic work are formulated and maintained, and the ways in which these conceptions are embedded in notions of education, literacy, and the English language, further lead to the inaccessibility of numerous forms of geographical, social, and metaphorical mobility.

"Domestic Work/er"

Anna: Why domestic work? Why that versus something else?
Marie: There's no other job except domestic work. But if I can find another job I can go for it.
A: What do you feel as a domestic worker? Because to me, domestic work is amazing. You work all the time, you're so strong, you have to do everything. But do you feel strong being a domestic workers or do you feel like its-
M: Now I feel so tired because it's a hard job. You are working very hard. You're standing for a whole day. At the end you must cook for the family. Do the ironing, washing, everything in the house. It's a hard job. Now I feel so tired.
A: Do you feel respected?
M: Not respected, not really. Maybe some people they respect domestic workers but where I'm working I feel I'm like a slave because everything they want you to do, they just tell you. Even when you see that they can do it themselves but they will leave it for you because you- you are the one who is responsible to do anything. You must do anything so that they just- even when they want to put the clothes on the table they just put the clothes on the table, they leave them there and you must come to pick up. Even if they left the glasses and dishes on the table, you must just come clean up.

Pula: Actually I don't like being a domestic worker because it's condemning us the way we work. But we don't have choice because you can't go to look for another job when you don't have qualifications. Where can you work? No you can't. But as it is, we are just accepting that is life.
Anna: Tell me more about how it is condemning you.
P: Why I said its condemning us- to be a domestic worker every day you work so hard. We are working so hard in these houses because they don't have patience, they just want you to work. They can say to you just climb up the roof if they have the double story and

just do that window. Can you? As a woman can you climb there and do the windows? No. It's a hard job to us but we don't have choice. We have to work.

In Baderoon's (2014) article on domestic workers and race in South Africa, she stated that, "The Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles reveals that in South African English the word maid denotes both 'black woman' and 'servant'" (p. 173), a conflation that she asserted "has generated fraught relations between domesticity, race, and subjectivity in South Africa" (p. 173). Baderoon's connection to the ways in which the term "domestic work/er" has become inherently linked to black women and notions of servitude introduce metonymy at work. In numerous books and articles about South African domestic workers, there is an assumption that domestic workers are poor, uneducated, black African women. For example, Cock (1980) found that domestic service is one of the largest sources of employment for black South African women and argued that domestic workers "are situated at the convergence of three lines along which social inequality is generated- class, race, and sex" (p. 5). Gaitskell, Kimble, Maconachie, and Unterhalter (1983) contended that, "South African women are oppressed in three ways: oppressed as blacks, oppressed as women, and oppressed as workers" (p. 86). More recently, Fish (2006) asserted that the triple oppression of sorts expressed in Cock's study is still at play in South African domestic work; and Ally (2011) found that domestic work "is almost always reserved for poor women, women, of color, and immigrant women" and "splintered by race/ethnicity and class" (p. 5). The link between race, gender, class, and domestic work is unfailingly at work.

This relationship between domestic work and racialized, gendered, and classed identities is certainly not inaccurate. According to the Quarterly Labour Force Survey

(Statistics South Africa, 2016), the highest number of domestic workers are black African women with 42.2% of black African women being in low-skilled/unskilled[47] positions,

primarily involving domestic work (compared with 31.3% of Coloured women, 3.2% of Indian/Asian women, and 1.4% of White women). Moreover, as the demographics of the participants in this study highlight, the majority of domestic workers in South Africa, and in the Gauteng province specifically, are black women of lower socioeconomic status[48] who are both economically and socially oppressed. As Marie told me, to be a domestic worker is not a job of choice, but a job that results from there being "no other job except domestic work." This, as she explained, leads to her feelings of enslavement. Pula's statement adheres to these same feelings: "We don't have choice because you can't go to look for another job when you don't have qualifications. Where can you work? No you can't." Moreover, many women relayed to me that due to their histories of poverty, school was not an option for them, thus leading to domestic work as the only means for survival.

Within every woman's HERstory was a background of immense poverty, which almost invariably led to a lack of educational opportunities. For example, Bongi described to me how she lived in a home with five sisters and her parents, both of whom didn't work and couldn't afford to pay for school fees. She moved to Johannesburg to look for a job "because I was suffering. I don't have clothes, my family was poor, we had

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[47] Fish (2006) found that domestic work is considered "unskilled labor" for three primary reasons. First, it is "an extension of what is innately considered 'women's work'" (p. 16). Second, it is labor primarily taking place in private households that are traditionally associated with unpaid labor. Third, due to the sector being almost completely women in marginalized race and class positions, predominant structures of inequality further purport this categorization.

[48] The upper poverty line in South Africa is considered R992 per person (Merten, 2017). While many of my participants are making more than this monthly, they are also supporting numerous children and grandchildren thus making them in a socioeconomic bracket far below the upper poverty line.

nothing." Thandeka went to school on the Afrikaans-owned farm where her parents worked, but left at 14 years of age because her parents couldn't afford to pay school fees

for her and her six siblings. Zama went to school until standard six and then had to drop out so that her parents could afford to pay the school fees for her younger siblings. As she told me, "They (her parents) couldn't take us further because now it-we are a lot of children. The young ones must get- must learn more, you see? The bigger ones, we couldn't continue. We finished in Standard 6." The stories of either never attending school, or being forced to drop out due to parents' inabilities to pay school fees, were told by many of the women I interviewed. Moreover, my participants' multiple identities as, not only people who are poor, but black women who are poor, further led to their educational isolation.

While not all participants suggested that their identities as women played a role in their (in)ability to attend school, several told me that their gender affected their educational access. For example, Laura noted that while her mother had four girls and two boys, three of the girls never went to school while both boys did. As she stated:

Laura: The first born and second born, they never go to school because my father don't like the girls to go to school. Learning too much, you know? You go to school to write your name and then the boys must learn but not the girls.

When Ruby told me about her parents' education, she described to me her mother's lack of opportunities to attend school because of her gender:

Ruby: They used to say women are not allowed to work, they supposed to stay at home, do cleaning, cooking, you see? And take care of the family. Even our sisters, they wanted to go to school but they didn't allow it. They say a man or a boy is the one who's supposed to go to school. But sometimes they don't allow them to go to school also because they say they're supposed to go and fetch cattle instead of going to school or go and plow.

Because of the socio-economically oppressed state of black identities during apartheid, these women grew up poor and did not have access to schooling. Likewise, because of

their gendered identities, many had additional inaccessibility to getting any form of an education or finishing school. Even for those who were able to attend school, their identities as girls/women made it more difficult to be successful in school as is showcased in Deena's narrative:

Deena: I did enjoy the school, but it was difficult for me because I was the only girl who was actually in charge in the house. I couldn't have enough time to study when I get home because I was taking care of rest of children. I think that's why I didn't make it well when I got to matric. It was difficult for me when I came to school because I had to rush. When I come home, I have to do everything in the house because my mom was just like a child in the house because she was old at that time. I was responsible to do all the work at the house. We were struggling. When we needed water, we had to take the wheelbarrow and fetch the water. My mother couldn't fetch the water, I had to go every time. Actually the work in the house was difficult for me. I was coming home from school tired most of the time.

As Laura, Ruby, and Deena's HERstories reveal, the roles that they played as black, poor, females in a political system that inevitably oppressed these same roles immensely impacted their educational accessibility. Thus, the intersections of race, gender, and class led to domestic work as their main, and often sole option.

This intersectional cycle often continues with the children, and especially daughters, of domestic workers. For example, as Cock (1980) stated, "A cycle of poverty and educational deprivation is perpetuated, and many black women are trapped in domestic service" (p. 275). Additionally, poor levels of education have enforced the continuation of live-in domestic work (Ally, 2011). These contentions are similarly exhibited in my own research. For example, 17 of my 28 participants came from families

in which one or more family members was a domestic worker[49] and several had daughters who were also domestic workers. Thus, the cycle of domestic work due to

financial and educational accessibility continues to be maintained. However, while research on South African domestic workers links domestic work to racialized, classed, and gendered identities, what it also assumes, but at times fails to make explicit, are the ways in which these identities are connected with a lack of education and illiteracy. Even more, what previously research often misses are the ways in which the metonym of "domestic work/er" is often linked to the absence of English language literacy.

As was previously discussed in this chapter, throughout my time with my participants, there were metonymic links made between notions of literacy, education, and success with the ability to speak, read, and write in English. Moreover, there remain links between race, gender, and class with conceptions of domestic work and the domestic worker. However, although it is assumed that domestic workers often choose domestic work because of a lack of accessibility to education, what becomes more complex is both what constitutes poor levels of education and what education itself is synonymized with. Although none of my participants had received a college degree, and many of them had either never attended formal schooling, or dropped out of school before graduating, five out of the 28 domestic workers I interviewed had received their matric certificate and one took the matriculation test twice, but after failing (in the English language section) both times, decided not to retake it. While this means that less than 20% of my participants graduated from high school, it also means that almost 20% of them should be considered "educated." In addition, while several of my participants

[49] See Figure One in Chapter Three for a list of individual participant's family members who were/are domestic workers.

had no access to any formal schooling, most were able to attend school up until secondary school, again suggesting that they were, to some degree, "educated." Thus, the question of language and its link to notions of "literacy" and "education" remains.

Concluding Chapter Four

As I have sought to reveal within this chapter, South African domestic workers are living in a discursive framework that ultimately shapes how they are viewed in social and work environments and also impacts how they view themselves. While all of my participants demonstrate multiple forms of linguistic knowledge, and many of them have at least some history of education, they remain trapped within metonyms that overlook these HERstories. Moreover, they are shaped by nebulous policies and practices that state the necessity of multilingualism while concurrently noting the impracticalities of these literacy practices.

Analyzing the use of metonymy in global literacy practices is vital to explore, and particularly necessary within the South African linguascape. While the South African democratic constitution supports multilingualism, and although the importance of multilingual literacy is reinforced through numerous educational policies, learners throughout South Africa, including the participants in this study, continue to make links between being literate, being educated, and knowing English. Hence, the desire to learn English continues. Furthermore, South African domestic workers often enter into domestic work because of their "lack of education." However, if it is less that their education that is deficient and more that their knowledge of English literacy is lacking, than their choices (or lack thereof) to become domestic workers become intricately tied to

the English language. This produces a multi-layered metonymic state in which lack of education equates lack of English equates the domestic worker.

The link between education, domestic work, and language produce forms of symbolic violence. This power, however, is not solely symbolic, but exacerbates the practices of violence that these women endure on a daily basis. In the following chapter, I explore in-depth these forms of violence and find that the symbolic power of the English language is reinforced by the verbal violence found within my participants’ spaces of employment. In addition, the symbolic power of English is further revealed in domestic workers’ histories of physical and sexual violence. These multiple formations of violence produce a three-fold state of domination that impacts their educational and linguistic choices and ultimately, impacts the ways in which they construct their social and individual identities.

Chapter 5: Violence as a Three-Fold State of Domination

"Maybe some people respect domestic workers but where I'm working, I feel like a slave because everything they want you to do, they just tell you, even though you see they can do this themselves" (Marie, interview, July 27, 2015).

"Oppressive language does more than represent violence, it is violence" (Morrison, 2009).

Zothile: I didn't go to a township school. I went to the rural areas and I'm so proud of that. At least I've got something. What about those people that didn't go to school at all? At least I had a chance to go to school. Even I don't know English- proper English- but I'm happy that I got that education. I know to write my name, I know to fill out the forms, I know how to understand some of the words.
Anna: Zothile, what do you think is proper English, though? I mean, to you what is proper English?
Z: To me proper English is to speak English 100%.
A: Yeah but you know, people who are English speakers make mistakes too.
Z: Yeah, I know that there's no master of English but at least- because even if the phone rings when we are in the taxi, and you say, oh it's my boss, maybe I will answer and people will laugh in the taxi and then you can't answer the phone.
A: Because you're embarrassed of your English?
Z: Yeah and then you say, oh the phone rang. When I get out of the taxi then I will pick it up.
A: Even the taxis where everyone speaks Zulu? You're embarrassed?
Z: Yeah, one day I remember, I came from work and then one woman, her madam phoned her and they speak English, neh? And then that woman was speaking broken English and the people, they laughed at her. I didn't laugh at her and then I just saw it and I felt so angry. And then I was so cross, I started crying. I said, why did people laugh at her? Because she didn't go to school, she didn't go to school, so she has to answer to her madam.
A: These were all black people and they were laughing at her?
Z: Yes, yes, yes. Black people, they laugh at you when you speak English and if you don't know proper English they will laugh at you, I am telling the truth. They don't care, they just laugh at you.
A: Why do you think that is?
Z: I don't know. I don't know but the white people-even if you speak broken English- they understand good. Some other people, they didn't go to the school where they taught in English, they know that they come from rural areas, they just understand you, not laugh at you. But the blacks, oh forget it! Forget it, they will laugh at you.

A: Amandla[50], do you notice that? Do you know people who laugh at other people? Do you have friends who laugh at other people who don't speak English- like if they can't speak English well?

Amandla: Yes.

A: Really?

Amandla: Yeah, they laugh at us. Like someone in my group doesn't speak English properly and they'll laugh at him.

A: But why?

Amandla: I don't know.

A: But this is the thing for me that's so crazy. I speak English, I speak a little Spanish, and I'm trying to learn Zulu, right? You speak fluently three languages and you can understand Ndebele and you can understand Xhosa. To me, that's amazing for someone to be able to speak 4,5,6 languages- that's amazing. So why do you think then that it's just English? Why do you think people are so mean to other people that don't speak English?

Z: I don't know, I don't know. Really I don't know. I don't know.

A: Even if they went to matric, even if they know other languages?

Z: I don't think they ask that question. I don't think they ask because they know that lots of people speak English here in Joburg- especially here in Joburg, the people they speak English. So they don't even ask where do you come from. Do you speak English? or which language do you prefer to speak? No. If you speak broken English they laugh at you, so that's why we're shy. So I said OK, let me go to school to try to speak English proper. At least if I can put tenses together then I know that everything will be fine.

A: But the families, the families that you've lived with have never laughed at you?

Z: No, not at all.

A: That's so interesting, so it's just other people?

Z: Yeah, the blacks- especially the blacks. Not the whites, not the whites. The white people they don't laugh at you. Some others like the Boers, they will call you stupid and that word for stupid, it hurts a lot. I don't want people to call me stupid cause I'm not stupid, I'm a human being like everybody. They have to understand that English is not my mother's tongue but I grew up in a rural area and I'm willing to learn English, but they don't understand. They just say, she's stupid. No, I'm not stupid. It's just I don't understand English proper, do you see?

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[50] Amandla is Zothile's son and was with us during the interview. Amandla needed to be with Zothile during the interview as he is Zothile's only child and lives alone with his mother. After I gave them several choices of where we could hold the interview, Zothile decided to be interviewed at a fast-food restaurant close to where she works and lives. Amandla spent most of the interview doing his homework, however, there were differing times within the interview where he would comment on questions or respond to something that his mother was saying.

Zothile's narrative of English language learning is one that is undeniably working within the boundaries of linguistic oppression while concurrently trying to push against aspects of this oppression. As she asserts in the final line of the above excerpt, "No, I'm not stupid. It's just I don't understand English proper, you see?" However, as was explored in Chapter Four, and as Zothile's narrative supports, English has become a metonym for an educated person and conversely, a lack of English results in a "stupid person." While the notion of the knowledge of the English language constructing the "educated" person ultimately derives from colonial rule and a history of missionary education, due to the dual colonization of the British and Dutch in South Africa and the linguistic oppression of apartheid policies, symbolic and linguistic violence become supported by the very people who colonization has oppressed.

In the following chapter, I draw from Zothile's narrative as well as from the narratives of several other participants who have experienced multifaceted inflictions of violence. I connect their narratives to Bourdieu's (1991) conceptions of symbolic power/violence as well as Butler's (1997) notions of linguistic vulnerability. Additionally, I embed these frameworks in a postcolonial/neo-colonial South African linguascape as a means to describe the symbolic and literal violence found in the "patriarchal linguistic hierarchy" (Parvalescu, 2014) inflicted on domestic workers with regard to language and labor. I then link symbolic violence to the verbal violence experienced by domestic workers from their employers and find that this violence is a form of hate speech that enacts a sort of literal violence inflicted on these women. Finally, I connect this symbolic and verbal violence to the physical and sexual violence endured by my participants. These three forms of violence (symbolic, verbal, and

physical) are explored as a means of revealing the multi-dimensional violence(s) that these women experience on a daily basis, while also setting the stage for Chapter Six

which explores the agency that can ensue despite, or perhaps because of these multiple forms of violence that my participants endure.

Symbolic Power/Violence

As Bourdieu (1991) asserted, “integration into a single ‘linguistic community’, which is a product of the political domination that is endlessly reproduced by institutions…is the condition for the establishment of relations of linguistic domination” (p. 46). Situated in the taxi with other isiZulu-speaking black Africans, Zothile told a memory of a woman being laughed at for not speaking English “properly.” Similarly, Zothile’s son, Amandla, mentioned the ways in which his friends make fun of those who cannot “speak English properly.” As Zothile and Amandla’s stories reference, symbolic English language domination is alive and well in South Africa. The long history of British colonial rule has created a neo-colonial society in which black Africans are burdened with English. However, the addition of the anti-English laws administered during apartheid as a way to keep black South Africans segregated from both each other and from the rest of the world have produced a concurrently anti-colonial/colonized framework of linguistic thought. As Prah (2009b) contended when writing on the “Burden of English” in a neo-colonial state:

> African elites today encourage the use of English, as language of instruction, with the excuse that preference for English is a means of overcoming so-called problems arising from societal consequences of linguistic pluralism. In fact, the real and unspoken reason is the desire to consolidate their own social advantages

> through the social elevation of the English language, because they already have an adequate facility in the use of the language. (p. 6)

This encouragement of English by elites is evident, for example, in the "Open Stellenbosch" movement that began in 2015. Within this movement, a black student collective came together to protest the use of the Afrikaans language at the historically white Afrikaans university, University of Stellenbosch. When describing the collective in a 2015 Op-Ed, the group stated that they are "a collective of students and staff working to purge the oppressive remnants of apartheid in pursuit of a truly African university" (Open Stellenbosch Collective, c.a. 2015). However, while "a truly African university" is somewhat nebulous, students called for three primary requests:

1. No student should be forced to learn or communicate in Afrikaans and all classes must be available in English.
2. The institutional culture at Stellenbosch University needs to change radically and rapidly to reflect diverse cultures and not only White Afrikaans culture.
3. The University publicly needs to acknowledge and actively remember the central role that Stellenbosch and its faculty played in the conceptualisation, implementation and maintenance of Apartheid. (Open Stellenbosch Collective, April 2015)

In numerous ways, these requests reflect the symbolic power of language. While Open Stellenbosch was calling for a change from Afrikaans to English for the practical reasons of non-Afrikaans speaking students needing linguistic accessibility to the course content, the movement also recognized that the use of Afrikaans symbolizes the continued history of apartheid and the ways in which linguistic oppression was used to segregate and

subjugate black Africans. Within the above requests, request number two calls for the diversifying of the university and request number three calls for the recognition of

apartheid and the ways in which apartheid was and is still reflected in the fabric of the university. And yet, request number one emphasizes the need for the university to make all classes available in English. In short, the diversification and decolonization of English as a primary tenant of colonial rule is embedded into the implementation of English as the primary means of decolonizing.

This movement eventually led to a new language policy at the University of Stellenbosch created in June 2016. In this policy, implemented in January 2017, both Afrikaans and English serve as the primary languages of teaching and learning so as to support the "advancement of multilingualism" (Vice Rector: Learning and Teaching, 2017, p. 2) throughout the university. Additionally, when the student's language preference is unknown, "the default is English" (p. 7). While within the document, isiXhosa is recognized as "one of the largest language communities in South Africa (p. 3) and a predominant language spoken within the region, isiXhosa will be used at the university "in some cases" (p. 6) and "where reasonably practicable" (p. 8), exhibiting similar hedging techniques to the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training* discussed in Chapter Four. In other words, colonial languages—Afrikaans and English—are once again being emphasized as a means to address notions of multilingualism often embedded in decolonizing frameworks.

The (re)colonization of English by those assumedly seeking to decolonize South Africa mirrors Prah's (2009a; 2009b) contention that it is primarily those who have adequate understanding of English who find it essential in overcoming societal issues

associated with linguistic pluralism. It also parallels Bourdieu's (1991) emphasis on the educational system in the construction of symbolic power. As he asserted, "The position which the educational system gives to different languages is such an important issue only because this institution has the monopoly in the large-scale production of producers/consumers" (p. 57). Additionally, Shin and Kubota (2008) found that the continued hegemony of the colonial language has elevated the perceived importance of English specifically in countries such as South Africa where "the language of the empire has continued to carry cultural, economic, and symbolic capital even after decolonization" (p. 213). However, what Bourdieu also argued is that it is not solely the macro practices of state linguistic policies that shape linguistic consciousness and practice. Instead, it is the seemingly mundane and insignificant practices of day-to-day life which are most influential in the creation of this symbolic power. The significance of these everyday practices is exhibited in Zothile's narrative.

In Zothile's story of her taxi ride, the already socially and economically oppressed domestic worker who Zothile references must pick up the phone "because she didn't go to school… so she has to answer to her madam." While she answers the phone in "broken English," she is theoretically in a space in which her lack of "proper" English shouldn't matter, as the primary riders of South African taxis are black Africans who are not socioeconomically advantaged enough to drive their own cars (In On Africa IOA, 2013, May 6). And yet, it is these same people who laugh at her and make Zothile cry. In this space amongst primarily black African people, English remains the legitimate language of social discourse while any other language is seen as broken and improper. This is similarly exhibited in Pula's narrative when she discussed the importance of English and

isiZulu in Johannesburg:

Pula: Sometimes when you speak with the blacks-the black people like me on the street-you speak to them in your language and they just say "we don't understand you." We don't know English because it's not our language but you are trying to push yourself to speak those languages. It doesn't make us happy to leave our languages but because we are here. We have to force ourselves to speak English and speak Zulu.

As Zothile and Pula's narratives reveal, English becomes the language with the highest symbolic capital leading to its immense symbolic power. In his introduction to *Language and Symbolic Power* (Bourdieu, 1991), Thompson stated that as a condition of the success of symbolic power, "those subjected to it believed in the legitimacy of power and the legitimacy of those who wield it" (p. 23). The taxi riders who Zothile references have seemingly misrecognized the symbolic power of English as legitimate power thereby promoting it with their taunts. However, it is more than simply linguistic power, both symbolic and manifested in a "real life" experience, that is being evidenced. This power inevitably leads to both symbolic and linguistically uttered violence.

While Bourdieu (1991) wrote of the ways in which linguistic practices are manifested in and promoted through symbolic power, this power is not benign but instead, is a form of violence. For Bourdieu, symbolic violence is a class-based violence that enables those who are both invariably bound within and simultaneously benefit from the system of oppression in which they live to enact the same notions of subordination onto those who are deprived from this system. In essence, symbolic violence "represents the way in which people play a role in reproducing their own subordination through the gradual internalization and acceptance of those ideas and structures that tend to subordinate them" (Connolly and Healy, 2004, p. 15). The violence being produced is symbolic because it is not overt or explicit in its action, but it is violent because it leads to

the constraint of individuals.

Butler (1997) similarly looked at how language and violence are enacted collectively by centering her analysis on the roles of language in the creation of reality, the ways in which language can be used to incite hatred, and how language can enact violence. In discussing Scarry's book entitled *The Body in Pain*, Butler questioned, "What if violence has within it its own possibilities for violence and for world-shattering?" (p. 6). Additionally, Butler cited Toni Morrison's 1993 Nobel Lecture in Literature when she asserted, "Oppressive language does more than represent violence; it is violence" (Morrison, 2009). In other words, both Bourdieu and Butler have theorized that language is not merely a set of spoken words; instead, language holds symbolic power that enacts the change of thoughts and the reformulation of identities in singular individuals and larger social institutions. This change, in itself, performs violence, as it is used to create distinction (Bourdieu, 1997) amongst social groups as well as censor speakers (Butler, 1997). Both the creation of distinction and the use of censorship is displayed with Zothile's story of a woman being laughed at by other non-native English speakers for attempting to speak English. Moreover, the action of censorship is also revealed with Zothile feeling "shy" around certain people when speaking English and being made to feel stupid by "blacks- especially the blacks" and by "the Boers," but not by "the Whites".

Censorship as Symbolic and Linguistic Violence

In the previous excerpt from Zothile's longer HERstory, Zothile differentiated between black people, Boers, and white people. While I did not ask Zothile to clarify these categories, they in themselves are interesting as Zothile distinctly differentiates

Boers and white people. To Zothile, Boers "will call you stupid and that word for stupid, it hurts a lot," but "not the whites, not the whites. The white people they don't laugh at

you." While in South Africa, there were many times in which I heard this distinction being made. "Boers" historically referred to Afrikaans speaking people, as the word is both the Dutch and Afrikaans word for "farmer." Conversely, "whites" referred to descendants of Britain who were English speaking. However, "Boer" has also become a derogatory term for Afrikaans people and tied to "historical Afrikaner nationalism, such as history, language, overt racism, and boer culture" (Verwey & Quayle, 2012, p. 562). Moreover, as Finchilescu and Tredoux (2010) found in their analysis of attitude studies in South Africa from the 1930s to the 1980s, Black, Coloured, and Indian populations felt most negative towards Afrikaners "while being surprisingly positive toward English-speaking Whites in most instances" (p. 227). Thus, Zothile's delineation of "Boer" and "white person" in many ways parallels the differentiation between the use of Afrikaans in South Africa and the use of English.

To many South Africans, and to almost all of the women I interviewed, Afrikaans is the language of the oppressor while English is the language of the post-colonial "truly African" society (Open Stellenbosch Collective, c.a. 2015). However, as Prah (2009b) argued, what is "undeniable is that history teaches us that wherever colonial or imperial overlordship is established, the culture and language of the conqueror is invariably imposed in the conquered" (p. 1). While Zothile does not feel censored when speaking English to "whites," there are two main aspects of this statement that must be deconstructed. Firstly, by Zothile being made to feel stupid for not speaking English, her multilingual abilities in numerous other languages (including ironically, Afrikaans) are

being stymied and thus, censored. Secondly, although Zothile states that she does not feel uncomfortable speaking around "whites," this sentiment is not shared by many of the other women I interviewed. For example, in the following HERstory Thuli discussed the "secret" she keeps from her white employers:

Anna: And do you think Ma, that once you learn English- I mean, I understand of course the realistic benefits, but what do you think would be the emotional benefits of that? If you were able to read and write in English, do you think that you would feel differently? With yourself?
Thuli: Yes, yes. I would feel differently because I can knock on the door, I'll be able to open it. You know, when you've got education, it's like a master key, you've got a master key which opens each and every door. If you don't have education you're just as good as a dead person. Do you get my point?
---------------------------*(5 minutes later in HERstory)*---------------------
T: If I was educated Anna, I could have had a better job. But actually, I'm not a person who wants to rely on going to work every morning, I'm someone who my passion is to look over other people, those who cannot manage to have a piece of bread. I'm still blessed, I have a slice of bread with butter and jam. There's somebody who can't even have a half a slice without butter. If you just give it to him, he'll appreciate that. That's my passion. If I can just have my little education, I know I can do more things on my own. I can be able to go for baking classes. In my place I can be able to teach somebody how to make bread and scones and salad. You can have 5 rand, you can buy your mealy meal and eat with your children.
A: But you can't do that without an English language education?
T: I can't do it because most of the courses you want to do, they want English. Like now, two years back she (Thuli's current employer) wanted to register me with the husband of a master chef. But I'm keeping on saying "no I can't because I can't eat the seafood," and I don't want to tell them I'm not educated, you understand?
A: They don't know?
T: No they don't know. She thinks I'm educated.
A: You never told any of the families?
T: No.
A: So did anyone ever give you something and said oh here, you should read this?
T: No. It has never come across. You know, God sometimes works in miracles. It has never come to that challenge. Even in the time she (Thuli's current employer) was working, she would never leave a note and say "today we are feeling like roast lamb with what what." Whatever I cook to them, it's food.
A: So do you feel Ma like- do you almost feel that you have some kind of secret? Is that hard?

T: I think God is keeping my secret somewhere because even there's nothing which they- even the time when she was registering me- no. She's never said read this like I read to you, nuh uh. She just said, "take these things and go home and speak over it. If you feel comfortable just sign for me. Bring it back so I can put you on our system."

While Zothile feels censored by the laughter amongst black Africans and Boers when she speaks "broken English," Thuli feels as though her lack of English literacy is the ultimate censorship: a metaphoric death (Kaiper, 2018). For Thuli, without the English language, she is "just as good as a dead person" making her hide her identity as a non-literate, and in Thuli's words, "not educated" person. As Butler (1997) noted, censorship is both explicit and implicit. Explicit forms of censorship are evidenced in linguistic policies and regulation whereas implicit censorship takes place in unspoken ways and "may be, in fact, more efficacious than explicit forms in enforcing limit on speakability" (p. 130). Unlike many of the women I interviewed, Thuli feels very comfortable speaking in English, so much so that her employers assume that she is literate in English. But for Thuli, it is not her linguistic abilities in English that she feels overpowered by. Instead, it is her inability to read and write in English that leads her to this immense secret she keeps.

Throughout my time knowing Thuli and observing how she performed as a student in her English language classes and how she performed as a domestic worker in her place of employment, she has learned to enact the identity of an English literate person. In class, she often pretended that she could not see the words due to her "poor eyesight" when she was unable to read the words. In her room at her place of employment, Thuli has an entire bookshelf filled with English books that she tells people she is reading. Even when Thuli asked me to help her find an additional English tutor to support her with her reading, she asked me not to tell them that she illiterate in English.

Thuli has spent years constructing the identity of an English literate person while censoring the truth of her inabilities to read and write in the English language.

Thuli's secret has produced conflicting results. In many ways, it has led to her ability to enact an English literate person who is capable of helping her employer in her business ventures. And yet, simultaneously, this secret is "killing" her. No one is explicitly telling Thuli that she cannot read in English, and no one is telling Thuli that she is uneducated. But like Zothile, and like many of the narratives displayed in Chapter Four, Thuli is drawing from the metonyms of "education" equaling "English language education", and "English language education" equating "success" because for Thuli, "if you don't have education you're just as good as a dead person." Drawing from Bourdieu's (2001) notion of symbolic violence which was further explored by Butler (1997), Thuli has been taught that lack of English literacy is a cause for shame and thus, she has learned to censor herself by enacting the practices of an English literate person whilst secretly feeling as though she is metaphorically dying. Thuli is being inflicted with linguistic violence while concurrently inflicting violence on herself by believing in the legitimacy of English literacy. But, it is not only Thuli that feels this about herself.

Thuli's friend and fellow student of the Gauteng Literacy Program, Zama, brought up Thuli during her own interview with me. As Zama told me in our interview:

> Thuli says 'oh my English, I know English better then-' but Thuli doesn't know how to write English, how to read English- you can never be proud of something like that you see? You don't know English. If you don't know how to read it, how to write it, you don't know English. You don't know English. You just sound like a tin, an empty tin inside you see?

Although Zama didn't speak of the metaphoric death that Thuli refers to when referencing Thuli's lack of English literacy, she mentioned Thuli as an "empty tin inside" describing, to some degree, the internal death that Thuli formerly feels. Without English literacy, no matter how well she can speak the language, Thuli is vacant. As Butler (1997) stated:

> Acting one's place in language continues the subject's viability, where viability is held in place by a threat of a certain dissolution of the subject. If the subject speaks impossibly, speaks in ways that cannot be regarded as speech or as the speech of a subject, then that speech is discounted and the viability of the subject called into question. (p. 136)

For Zama, Thuli's lack of English literacy called into question Thuli's viability as a student and English speaker. This becomes a form of censorship in itself, for by feeling that Thuli is empty without the knowledge of reading and writing English, Zama is essentially saying that Thuli does not have the right to say that she knows English and even more, that she does not have the right to speak.

As Prah (2009b) noted, "The use of English was a requirement for social mobility in the colonial hierarchy for the native populations" (p. 4). While Zama herself is learning the English language, she is creating a hierarchy of English language learning by distinguishing those who are literate in English with those who are not. This, again, is an example of implicit censorship, as Zama, at least to my knowledge, has never told Thuli not to speak. What Zama is doing, however, is regulating what is acceptable with regard to how Thuli views her own knowledge and how Thuli views her identity as an English speaker. Further, by drawing from a hierarchy of literacy with literate English language

learners being less "empty" than those who are not literate, Zama is enacting the same conceptions of linguistic violence that have been imposed on her, while simultaneously re-imposing this violence onto Thuli. In addition to the symbolic linguistic violence in Zothile and Thuli's narratives, as well as Zama's reaction to Thuli's English illiteracy, many women I interviewed also experienced daily verbal violence within their places of employment. Thus, in the following sections, I explore the more literal forms of verbal and physical violence that many domestic workers have endured while concomitantly embodying the symbolic violence that this section discusses.

Experiences of Verbal Violence and/or "Hate Speech" Incited by Employers

Anna: Pula, how do your employers treat you? Do they treat you okay?
Pula: Yeah actually the woman is very- umm, sometimes she's mad, I don't know. Sometimes she is so aggressive. I remember one day they were renovating. And when they were renovating she put her handbag on the table and she left the phone there. Her phone was ringing. She was outside with the builders. I went into her handbag and took the cell phone and gave it to her. The next day she said to me, "you know what, I was having my- I was having 800 rand in my handbag and those 800 rand are gone. Because you were there and took the phone out of my handbag, you have it and I want it." I was crying, crying. I said "I haven't took no money." She was so cross, cross, cross, and said to me "you are lying. You lied to me and I'm sick and tired of the thief in my house." And I said "I didn't take it" and I was crying. She said "why are you crying if you didn't take it? Why are you crying?" The following day, she came to me and apologized and said "you know what, that money my son found in my cabinet."

Anna: Is it difficult to talk to me because I'm white?
Bernice: You can talk to me nice but you're not nice. Nobody trusts the white people. She can talk to you very nice, but if you go to her house, she's not nice anymore. You know people, the black people who are working in the kitchens are dying because you iron too much, you work too much. At night you go to the room, you're tired, your feet are tired and swollen. If you go take a bath the next day to relieve your pain, she says "don't take a bath because it is too expensive to heat up the water."

As Butler (1997) and Bourdieu (1991) both theorized, symbolic violence can often lead to more literal acts of violence, but the ways in which these "real" acts of violence occur are not always blatant. For example, for many of my participants there seemed to be times throughout their employment that they were yelled at or insulted by their employers. Additionally, some women insinuated forms of physical abuse that would occur in their places of employment. While it is important to note that not all of my participants felt as though their employers were verbally or physically violent towards them, and some even said that they "loved" their employers, almost all of the women shared with me at least one prior or current experience with an employer in which they felt disrespected, made to feel ashamed, or forced into a place of fear.

These forms of violence are not exclusive to South Africa. In a 2012 study of 3,000 domestic workers in Hong Kong, 58% reported verbal abuse from their employers (Levine, 2013). Similarly, Human Rights Watch (2014) reported a large percentage of domestic workers in United Arab Emirates reported being verbally abused by their employers. Unfortunately, according to these and other reports, many workers do not report this abuse because they are from other countries and rely on domestic work for visas. The demographics of my study, however, are somewhat different. Other than two women from Malawi and two from Zimbabwe, all of my participants were South African citizens and not in need of visas to live and work in South Africa. And yet, the notion of domestic workers enduring forms of violence and verbal abuse is so engrained into the history of South African domestic work that these exploitations continue to occur.

As Burnett (as cited in Cock, 1980) wrote, "The fundamental reason for the low social status of domestic workers must…have been the degrading, and sometimes

inhuman conditions under which many of them worked" (p. 72). Burnett wrote this when discussing domestic work of the late 1800s and early 1900s. Cock used this quote to

reveal the deprivation of rights domestic workers have in South Africa in the 1970s and 1980s. I am writing this dissertation over thirty years after Cock's work was first published and over a hundred years after the time period Burnett explored; and yet, the degradation and inhumanity imposed on South African domestic workers continues to be reproduced. While this is explored in the previous section when focusing on the use of the English language as a means to symbolically enact violence on these women, it is also used in the utterances of employers that shame workers and act as a form of "hate speech."

Hate speech, according to Butler (1997), is primarily produced by the state, meaning that the state produces what is considered publicly acceptable speech and what is considered (un)speakable. In the case of domestic workers, this takes on an interesting layer as, according to Cock (1984), domestic workers live in a "legal vacuum" in which there are no laws stipulating how much they should be paid, how many hours they should work, or what physical and verbal treatment is acceptable. Ally (2009) further noted that the exploitation of domestic workers derives not only from the failure of state regulation, but also from "the resultant power of employers to unilaterally dictate conditions for their 'servants'" (p. 23). In current South African labor law, policies regarding domestic workers' wages and minimum wage have seemingly begun to improve. In December 2016, the minimum wage for South African domestic workers increased around R 200 a month. In Johannesburg, for example, the monthly salary for workers increased from R 2230.70 to R 2422.54 (South African Department of Labour, 2016) which converts to a

salary of around $180.00 a month for domestic workers. This number, when mathematically broken down, is based on an eight-hour work day, six-day work week,

but similarly to what Cock found in her 1980s study, almost all of the women whom I interviewed work between a nine to twelve-hour day. Moreover, all of them are at the mercy of their employers regarding how much time they can get off, and how often they need to work, with many working every day.

Although Ally (2009) noted that a shift to live-out domestic work has occurred as a means to regulate work time and free/family time, and found that older, more experienced domestic workers are able to better negotiate live-out and part-time work arrangements, this was not the case for the participants in my research—only four did not live on their employers' property. This meant that not only do they rely on their employers for a monthly salary, but they rely on them for housing as well. Exacerbating this situation, I heard numerous stories of employers deducting a large percentage of salaries for women missing a day of work as is described in Ruby's narrative below:

Ruby: She was paying me 400 rand a month in 2004, so in 2005 I ask her- because my son was graduating in November- so I ask her to allow me to go home to prepare my son's graduation. So she allowed me and told me that I'm supposed to look for someone who can come and do my job.
Anna: While you were away?
R: Yes. So I went home.
A: Did you find someone?
R: No she found someone. So the time I was at home my husband took my son to another village, put him on a bicycle, but he put his leg in the wheel and he got injured.
A: Your son? The one that lives with you now?
R: Yes. So I tried to call her (Ruby's employer) and explain and she said "OK it's fine." When I came back she said she's supposed to deduct money because I didn't come back in time even though I had called her and explained that I couldn't come back because of 1,2,3 and she had said "no problem." But at that time she said she wants to deduct 100 rand for one day.

A: Even though she was paying you 500 rand for the whole month, she deducted 100 rand for one day?
R: Yes, because I was at home and I didn't come back in time.

As a means to combat this form of obvious exploitation that Ruby discusses, the creation of the South African Domestic Workers Union (SADWU), which later became SADSAWU (discussed in Chapter One), was formed. However, as my interviews illustrate and Ally (2009) similarly affirmed, "workers remained skeptical of the capacity of unions as an agent of representation" (p. 161). For example, when asking Zama "What do you think about the union for domestic workers?" She replied:

Zama: You know what? The union for domestic workers is okay but if you go to the union- the union for domestic workers, the boss, he says "I don't love you anymore here in my house." You must go tell your union alone. You can't make a strike alone. In the factory there are many people. If you want to make a strike, its together.
Anna: But you are only one person with one boss.
Zama: You see?

In my conversation with Rose, I asked her if she was ever tempted to join the union for domestic workers. As she responded:

Rose: A long time ago I did try to join the union. And then when I go, slowly, slowly, I found out there is some corruption in the unions. Lots and lots of corruption. If I go to the union, they (her employers) will call (the union) and say "Can I give you so and so money?" And then they (the union) cancels the case. They (the employers) give the union what you can't give. Maybe 10,000 or 5,000 rand and then they cancel. When I get there, the case is gone, it's finished.
Anna: Did that happen to you?
Rose: I left before it happened. I just found out that it happened to other people. I said "you know what? Let me just leave it." I'm paying (the union fees) but when the time comes, goodness, it's not gonna help me. Let me leave it. I think there's a lot of corruption there. Lots and lots of corruption. Lots.

Not one domestic worker who I interviewed and interacted with was part of a union. Some did not know they were in existence; some knew and simply didn't care; and

others, like Zama and Rose, explicitly chose not to be involved with them. None of these women, however, were aware of being protected by anyone other than themselves in their place of employment. duToit (2013) asserted that, "The isolation of a worker in the employer's home leaves very little scope for the intervention of union representatives to intercede" (p. 347), highlighting the difficulty of accessing union support even with knowledge of unions. When I asked the women about the recent wage increase, many had not heard of this increase. For those who did, it was almost a moot point as many had consistently asked for wage increases from their employers and been denied. Although around half of my participants earned a salary that was considered the "legal" amount, and some earned more, with the largest monthly salary being Ruby's salary of R 6,000. The other half earned significantly less than this "legal" wage, even after working for their employers for ten to twenty years.

The purpose of sharing these vignettes and statistics is neither to assert that the union for South African domestic workers is not useful nor that it is corrupt, as deconstructing the effectiveness of the union is not within the scope of this dissertation. Additionally, by sharing these statistics on minimum wage and state power, I am not centering this section on the analysis of specific state policies impacting domestic workers' wages, work hours, and legal rights. Instead, by bringing to the fore the multiple components of labor laws and union practices that currently are in place, I aim to reveal how these laws and practices, or more pointedly, the ways in which the absence of domestic workers' awareness of these laws and practices, adversely impact these women's abilities to respond to the verbal abuse that is discussed below.

Marie: I used to work in Springs for a white woman.
Anna: How long were you working with that woman?
M: No I didn't work so long. Because that lady she was so cheeky.
A: What would she say?
M: Oh she was shouting every day.

Zama: He was horrible, very horrible, but I think she (Zama's female employer) was more horrible than the husband. She was more horrible or the husband was horrible because of her.
Anna: But how was he horrible? Was he abusive or something?
Z: He started to be horrible when I went to the labor law about the wages. It's when he started to be horrible and to get upset and yell at me.

Zothile: But to get that money, I have to work so hard. Sometimes you work and then you're crying because maybe your boss or her children they will not treat you nicely, they shout at you, they call you stupid or idiot. All of those words and you have to cry.

The short clips from the three women above are snapshots of what I heard time and time again when talking to my participants. Forms of verbal abuse seemed to be quite common in the day-to-day experiences of my participants. Returning to notions of hate speech, Butler (1997) argued that the content of speech is understood "only in terms of *the action that the speech performs"* (emphasis original) (p. 72.) Drawing from Austin's (1975) concept of illocutionary versus perlocutionary speech in which perlocutionary speech produces real life effects as a consequence of being spoken, while illocutionary speech enacts what it says in that exact moment of utterance, Butler found that speech is not merely speech, but instead, it results in the performing of an action or identity. Moreover, according to Butler, words "become the site for the power to injure" (p. 100).

Connecting these contentions to the lives of my participants, they are living within a linguistic hierarchy in which the symbolic violence that English inflicts in the creation of an "uneducated" and "empty" person is felt both in the work settings and in the social settings in which they take part. But by drawing from Butler's notions of hate speech, as well as from concepts of perlocutionary and illocutionary speech, what becomes clear is that this violence is not merely symbolic. Instead, the symbolic violence of English as a lingua franca supports a larger systemic structure inciting the hate speech that these women endure frequently. This produces a multilayered system of violence in which the normalizing of English as a form of symbolic power and prestige leads to the symbolic degradation of these women. This degradation is further incited with insufficient labor laws that normalize linguistic harm from employer to employee. And yet, adding to this complexity of linguistic and symbolic violence is the physical violence many of these women have endured by both their families, partners, and employers. As I explore in the following section, the symbolic and verbal violence endured by many of my participants is both framed by the sexual and physical violence that many have endured and can incite additional physical violence to occur.

Experiences of Physical and Sexual Violence Amongst Domestic Workers

Margaret: It was November when my mom passed away. I remember we were writing exams for December, for the end of the year. And then we found out that my mom passed away and I was so shocked. But I continued to write my exams in grade six and I passed in grade seven. Then in grade seven, it started not going very well because my sister- I was in grade seven- my sister had a boyfriend. Her boyfriend decided to take her as his wife. She left me behind and then I decided to- I was, I think I was 15 now, I was 15 years old. I decided to ask a neighbor for their girl to come and stay with me. But only at night, not in the day because in the day I wasn't scared to stay alone. I was scared at night to sleep alone.
Anna: What were you scared of?
M: I was scared of the thief or the guy. The neighbor guy. Maybe he was gonna come

attack me you see? So I remember that girl always came to stay with me at night. To sleep with me at night.

A: How old was she?

M: She was younger than me.

A: Okay.

M: She was- I was 15 years, she was 13 years I think. She was 13 years. And then we slept together there every night with her and in the morning she woke up early. She went to her home because it was nearby my home to bathe and go to school, and then me, I bathe and go to school. In the afternoon, I came and I cooked my supper, and then I waited. After that I took my book and sat looking at my book and studying my book waiting for her to come and stay with me to sleep with me. Always. Then one day, she didn't come to sleep with me and a guy came, I remember it was the next door guy. He came and knock knock knock. He said "open open open." No, I didn't want to open the door. You know what? At home before there was not a good lock. We were using the knives. Do you know the knives?

A: Mmhmm

M: We were putting the knives- like turning them and then turning them back up in the frame.

And then we just pushed the door. We locked (the door) like that. And then that guy knock knock knock knock. I said "no, I can't open the door for you, why are you here?" He said "no, open the door! Open the door!" I said "no, I'm not gonna open the door for you." And then he kicked the door. If someone kicks the door if you locked it with a knife, it opens easy. And then he got inside. When he got inside, he was just holding me, just holding me, just- I'm just trying to fight. I couldn't because the guy has got- I was so, so- I wasn't big enough at that time. And then he just raped, raped me. He was just pulling me, fighting with me and kicking me. He grabbed me with his hand, and then took me in his home because he was scared to do something bad in here because he was scared maybe this other girl will come today. But that girl didn't come. And then he grabbed my hand and then pulling me pulling me until he is in his home because it wasn't far from my home. It was night, it was at night. And then, he said to me -I remember- he said to me-when we got in his house-he said to me, "shhh (whispers) don't talk. Don't scream." When I'm trying to scream, he just made me, he just made me. And then he, he opened his room outside and he pushed me to get inside there. And then he said to me, and he was making me, he was making me. He said to me, get- "sit on the bed there." And I said "no I'm not sitting." (Yells) "Yo, sit on the bed there just shut your mouth!" And I just sat on the bed. He take- he take- he started to take his clothes off, and then he just, he just said to me "take your clothes off." I said "no I don't like to take my-" he said "yeah, I said take your clothes off." And then he took my clothes off. He took my clothes off and then he raped me. After that, it wasn't easy to say because I didn't know who I'm going to tell cause I'm alone. But that situation was very very bad for me. And I shut my

mouth off. I didn't tell anybody cause it wasn't easy. And after the time went on, when end of the month came, I couldn't see my period. The following month, I couldn't see my period again. I didn't know what was going on, I was so young. I was feeling very happy you see? I forgot about what he did to me. I forgot about it. I continued going to school every morning, every morning. I'm feeling happy, I'm feeling happy. Even when I saw that my period was not coming at the end of every month, I didn't know about pregnancy. I didn't know about the pregnancy because they there was nobody telling me about it. When you're a teenager, stay away from boys. If you're sleeping with a guy, you're gonna get pregnant- nobody was teaching me that. And I was feeling happy, you see? (Laughs). Taking my book, going to school, every day. Then, for three months I'm not seeing my period. What's going on? When I was sitting, I was- when I put my hands here (on her stomach) I feel my tummy is not too soft you see, like usual. I feel my tummy, it's hard now. The side is hard, this thing is-like when I touched it, it's moving. I said, "what's going on?" But I didn't think I was pregnant. I was waking up early in the morning going to school. When I came from school, the next-door sister, the big sister from next-door, she called me from the gate. She said "come here, just come here, Margaret, come here." I said "okay." "How are you?" she asked. I said "I'm fine." "Okay you're fine?" I said "yes, I'm fine." She said to me, "can I ask something?" I said "yes." "You not pregnant?" I said "what?" "You not pregnant?" I said "no. Why are you asking me a question like that?" She said "no I'm just asking. I thought maybe you pregnant." I said to her, "don't even say that to me, don't even talk like that to me. I'm not pregnant." I just shouted at her. She said "okay okay okay, go home." When I got home, my mind- I was just thinking about what she said to me. I said "yo! I'm pregnant maybe. Yo!" I started to get frightened. I said "yo! I'm pregnant. I'm really pregnant. Hah! It's that guy! Yooo! How I'm going to tell him because"-

A: Oh, so you would see him.

M: Huh?

A: Would you see him around?

M: I would always see him because he lives next door. I've got a bad situation now. And, um, one day I called him and I said "I want to speak with you." He said "speak to me about what?" I said "about something." He said "no, I don't want to speak with you." I said "why?" He said "no! What do you want me to speak with me about?" I said "I want to speak about something." He said "no!" He was cheeky guy. He said "no I don't want to speak with you." I said "okay." And then my sister found out that I'm pregnant. She asked me when I came home. She said "are you pregnant?" I said "maybe," I said "maybe. I don't know, maybe." Oh man. And then I'm getting mad when I'm thinking about this. She said "oh I can see you're pregnant." I said "ohhh, the people can see me that I'm pregnant? Oh my - yo!" Okay. My sister decided to organize the day with my family telling them that I'm pregnant. They were supposed to take me to this guy's home. All my family came. She took me into that guy's home to tell his family that this guy

made damage to me now. And then, that guy said "no, I didn't do this thing to her." His mom asked him, "who did this thing to her if you said you didn't do it?" He said, "I don't know." His mom said "do you know someone who came in her house who did this thing to her?" He said "no, I don't know anybody." She said "so why did she say you did this thing to her?" He didn't give a reply. And then his parents said "okay when she has the baby, we will see if this baby looks like my son or not." When I delivered this, we called my sister and his mother. He was a boy. And she said "oh, hahahaha! This boy, this little boy is the same like my big son, like my eldest son."
A: The one who raped you?
M: No
A: A different one?
M: He's same like his brother. "Oh! This boy is same like the same like his brother! Oh! This is my boy! This is my boy!" His mother was so happy to see this little son. And then she said "okay, I'm going to report at home this is really my son doing this damage to her." Okay, um, the following year, I didn't go back to school. I jumped one year. I started the following year, I started to go back to school in, in grade eight, standard six.
A: And wait, you were just living by yourself with this child?
M: My sister came home. She came home to stay with me again. She decided to come back to stay with me. I left this child with his granny because the granny was next door and I went back to school in grade eight. When I continue with grade 8, the beginning of grade 8, this guy came to me and-
A: The same guy?
M: The same guy. And he did the same- did the same thing like he did before.
A: He raped you again?
M: Yes.
A: In your house or in his house?
M: No, that time he did it in my house because my sister was kept coming and going.
A: And where was the child?
M: The child was with me because always when I came back to school in the afternoon, I went to his house to get my child, and then when I went to school in the morning, I took this child to his home.
A: Oh, and his mother was taking care of the child?
M: Yes exactly. Oh! But after a year in grade 8, I didn't pass. I failed. And I was pregnant again. Second child. And then, I go back, I go back to telling him what he did again. He was fighting with me. He said "no its not me." You see? Yo! I started to be stressed. And then I gave up. He said "no, it's not me." He ran away, until now.

Margaret's account was painful for her to tell, painful for me to listen to, and painful to read. This account did not arise with my explicit questioning about her

experiences with men. Instead, it derived from my inquiries surrounding her educational background and her linguistic choices. Margaret began our interview telling me that she

loved English. She would watch her mom, also a domestic worker, speaking English in Johannesburg, and she too wanted to learn this language. In Standard Five, however, Margaret stopped going to school. When I asked why she stopped her schooling, Margaret replied “Yo, eish, it’s a bad thing that I don’t like to speak about.” To this I responded, “Do you not want me to ask you about it?” and Margaret initially said “no.” When I replied that this was okay and we could move on, Margaret interrupted me and said, “Okay, I will tell you. I will tell you,” thus commencing her memories of being raped.

As I listened to Margaret’s narrative, what began to become clear were the numerous components of Margaret’s HERstory that were driving her to learn English. Although the symbolic power of English that she felt day-to-day, and the verbal acts of violence such as her employers yelling at her, motivated Margaret to increase her English literacy, so too did her experience with being raped. Margaret was ashamed of her rape, but not for the act itself, as her perpetrator’s act incited anger in Margaret; and not for children it produced, as Margaret expressed her love for her children to me often. Instead, Margaret appeared most ashamed of how these rapes led to her dropping out of school which, as I explored in Chapter Four, was metonymically connected to her lack of English literacy. While in Chapter Six, I further explore how these acts of violence lead not solely to oppression, but also incite agency, within this section, I focus on the ways in which stories such as Margaret’s are neither rare nor are disconnected to the process of learning English. The numerous forms of power incited by English language literacy, or a

lack thereof, led participants' employers, and at times, their lovers, partners, and husbands, to assume that violence is acceptable, and even normal, for these women endure. For my participants, however, these forms of violence are anything but tolerable.

While Margaret's narrative is shocking, as she was raped by the same man two different times, which led to her first two pregnancies, her story is not exceptional. In many of the interviews as well as in informal conversations, I heard numerous stories of sexual and physical violence that were endured by my participants:

Amahle told me the story of her husband, the only man who she has ever slept with, who physically abused her for years. When she finally had decided to leave him and kicked him out of her house, he began to look frail and thin. One day, when they had met to talk, Amahle noticed him taking a bottle of pills, of which he said was for the flu. These pills did not help, however, and as his health seemed to wane, Amahle felt bad for him. She decided to take him back and give him another chance. Once he moved back in with her, he began frequently trying to force her to have sex with him without a condom. She was cautious of this and continued to say no. This made her husband angry. “Why don't you trust me?” he would ask her. One day, while working at the homeless shelter that she helped to clean, she saw a similar bottle of pills being taken by a young man living in the shelter. She asked what the pills were for and was told that they were for the HIV virus. It was then that Amahle realized that her husband was trying to pass the HIV virus to Amahle so that she would never leave him again. She was angry and hurt, but she stayed with him and continues to live with him and their son today.

Amahle also described to me a family who she worked for that would make her wash the floors with bleach. She noticed that the bleach began to burn her hands. When she asked them for gloves to protect her skin from the bleach, however, they would refuse. Amahle's skin on her hands started to peel away as the bleach was literally burning her skin off. This made her husband (the man I discussed above) angry, and he went to Amahle's employers to complain, but they ignored him and told him that Amahle should simply "deal with it" as it "wasn't that bad."

Rose told me the story of the first time she lost her virginity—she was 15 years old and was living with her brother and her brother's girlfriend. While home alone one day, a man thirty-years her senior kidnapped her and took her to his home where he repeatedly raped her. The same man then brought her back to her brother's home and tried to force her brother to let him marry Rose by offering extra money for lobola.[51] Rose refused, as did her brother, and she was able to escape, however, this was how she first learned about sex.

Muhle told me the story of her employer, Thomas. Thomas is a 50-year-old white man from Switzerland who married a 25-year-old black South African man named Edward. Muhle noticed that once Thomas had established his relationship with Edward, Edward became increasingly physically violent towards Thomas, especially when they would take cocaine (which Muhle would often have to clean up). One day, Thomas decided to get back at Edward by pouring castor oil all over the stairs of his house and hoping that when Edward woke up, he would slip and fall down the stairs. It was Muhle,

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[51] *Lobola* "refers to the provision of gifts to the parents of a bride, usually in the form of cash or livestock, (and) is an entrenched part of marriage in parts of Southern Africa" (Ansell, 2001, p. 697).

however, who woke up first, and when she walked down the stairs, she slipped on the oil and broke her hip. This "slip" has led to continued hip problems that make it painful to work.

These are just several snapshots of the many stories I have heard throughout my time working with and interviewing these women. While it is important to again mention that not all my participants expressed forms of physical violence that were inflicted upon them, and several women conveyed very positive feelings towards past or present employers as well as positive experiences with relationships, the majority of my participants described to me the pain that men had caused them, and many expressed explicit forms of physical violence inflicted on them by their employers. As Ally (2009) contended, "The pervasive sexual exploitation and assaults of domestic workers remained one of the most brutal manifestations of (this) denial of personhood, in which workers were converted into mere objects, their physical bodies" (p. 178). For women like Margaret, Amahle, Rose, and Muhle, the symbolic and verbal violence enforced upon them in their places of employment are only a continuation of the objectification and abuse of their bodies that they have already endured. Moreover, this violence intersects with the classed and raced identities that these women embody.

In Showden's (2011) book on women and agency, she noted that women are not all equally impacted by sexual and domestic violence because undeniably, race and class matter. More explicitly, she stated that:

> Battering as a problem of unequal power and (men's exercise of) control is understood as existing within and arising from a framework of gender

> subordination, which includes gender role socialization and social and economic discrimination in education, the workplace, and home. (p. 44)

For South African domestic workers, the social status that they are situated in as poor, black, uneducated, non-English speaking women showcases the depth of subordination that they are forced to endure. Their identities as women in a patriarchal society in which the current president himself has been accused of rape and politically survived the trial (Robins, 2008), their roles as black bodies in a country that has literally and metaphorically raped and abused these bodies (Armstrong, 1994), their positions as "uneducated" beings in a post-apartheid state in which education remains exceptionally inequitable (Fisk & Ladd, 2004), and their lack of English literacy in a space in which the economic and symbolic power prescribed to English is increasingly strong, makes their identities intersect into a space seemingly filled with complete domination. For Margaret, Amahle, and Rose, the abuse they endured was never contested. No legal action was taken, no systematic complaints were made, and they have been left with the aftermath of this violence as a mere story amongst many other stories they tell. Moreover, even for those who did not tell me stories of sexual abuse, the stories of physical pain that women endured from their places of employment were frequent.

Although Amahle's story of being burned by bleach, and Muhle's story of falling down stairs due to her employer's rage with his physically abusive husband, showcase the outright physical abuse that many of these women have suffered, notions of daily physical pain caused by their jobs was a frequent theme in my participants' narratives. When I asked each woman whether or not she enjoyed her job, a frequent response was,

"It's hard work," or "I'm tired," or "I'm in pain." For example, Pretty, one of my youngest participants, stated:

Pretty: I'm having a problem with my feet standing. I have to take a bath with salt every night, I have to dip my feet in there. Even my hands are very very sore. Especially my feet, they are hot at night like as if there is a lit fire underneath. They are very hot because I'm working in a double story house.
Anna: Have you gone to the doctor?
P: No.
A: Why?
P: There is not a chance. Sometimes I work from Monday to Saturday. I don't have a chance to go.
A: You work Saturday too?
P: Yes, so I don't have chance to go to the doctor.
A: And what time do you start?
P: I start at seven and end at seven standing up.

Pula and Bernice shared similar stories of the physical pain they endure in their workplaces. When I asked them what they felt about their jobs and employers, they told me the following:

Pula: In my point of view, they (her employers) just accept us because we work for them. The work that we are doing-they want us to work for them but they don't-they don't care about our-
Anna: Well-being?
P: They don't care about our lives. Even if you are not feeling okay in your body, you say "eish I got a headache", she can just go and give you the headache tablet wanting you to just keep working. But if it's her, if she said to you, "you know Pula, today I'm not feeling okay, I'm sick," she's going to sleep.
Bernice: She's going to bed but you must work. Because you are black.
P: Even if you tell her you are nor feeling okay. What does it mean? It means you are nothing because you are there to work. Even if you are not okay, you have to work. Because if they really cared about you, and you are telling them you are not feeling okay, they should tell you "go see the doctor or go and relax." If they give you the medication, they should say go lie down as they do when they are not feeling okay. But they cannot do that. They want you to swallow that tablet. After five minutes, they come and ask you "how are you feeling?" How are you supposed to say "I'm feeling better" when you're not feeling better? No. But because you are there to work, you just pretending, maybe I'm

feeling okay even though you are not. You have to work. She cannot say to you go and sleep.

Both Pretty's experience with the fire "lit underneath" her feet, and Pula's story of being forced to work even when she is feeling sick or in pain, reveal the physical violence that these women often endure as domestic workers. Moreover, as Bernice added, it is not just the physical violence they experience, but again, it is a symbolic violence they endure which, for Bernice, is based on her race. When discussing domestic work worldwide, Parvulescu (2014) noted that there was/is a recognized hierarchy among both employers and workers, with black Africans at the bottom, and the role that race plays in the further creation of social and racial hierarchies is exhibited throughout my interviews with my participants. Moipone, for example, told me the story of working for an Indian family and the conditions that she faced there:

Moipone: You see, the Indian women was a little poor, we were sleeping under the table.
Anna: You and another woman?
M: Yes, we were sleeping together. They haven't got a room, it's their flat. If you want to sleep there, you sleep under the table.

Similarly, Amahle told me the story of her Indian employers and how the younger Indian woman "loved her," but the older Indian woman "had too much apartheid":

Anna: And the woman, the young Indian woman could speak Fanagalo?[52]
Amahle: Yeah, she spoke Fanagalo. She's the young one- a young woman. She was the first daughter. She like me very much but the person who didn't like me was the mother.
Anna: Why?
Amahle: She got too much apartheid. The Indian got apartheid terrible. Now they

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[52] As previously noted in Chapter Three, Fanagalo (also spelled Fanakalo) is considered a South African pigeon language in which a mixture of Bantu and English words are used. It is a language often connected with South African mine work and was also historically connected to the South African Indian population. As Mesthrie (1995) stated, if Indians were not the creators of this language, they nonetheless found it a vital means of communication in South African linguistic history.

change. They say they're black and whatever when want to be in business,[53] but even those people would treat us terrible.

While many of my participants are currently employed by white employers, several women shared stories of working for Indian families. For Moipone and Amahle, these experiences were not so positive. Amahle's perception of the older Indian employer "having too much apartheid" refers to the history of race relations during apartheid in which people were grouped in four racial class: White, Coloured, Indian, and Black. While every racial group was considered inferior to the white race in apartheid South Africa, the apartheid regime used a hierarchy of race to promote difference amongst groups, thus promoting hatred between groups. For example, as Thompson (2001) noted, white schools were considered superior to Coloured and Indian schools, which were in turn considered superior to black schools. Moreover, the apartheid government accentuated differences among races, favoring Coloured and Indian populations over black Africans, and they used language as a primary way to enforce this segregation amongst racial groups.

As I described in Chapter One when discussing the history of the English language in South African education, language was a primary means used by the apartheid regime to separate South Africans. While black Africans were forced to learn Afrikaans as the main language of education while also being taught in their "mother-tongues" as a means to create linguistic separatism (Taylor, 2002), Coloured and Indian populations had somewhat differing educational and linguistic experiences. Similar to the

[53] Amahle is referring to Black Economic Empowerment (BEE), a policy developed post-apartheid to increase Black ownership of business and corporations. Within the BEE, "black" can be defined as any historically disadvantaged South Africans including Coloured and Indian people (Ponte, Roberts, and van Sittert, 2007).

black African population, Coloured students were required to learn in Afrikaans, however, unlike black South Africans, Afrikaans became the lingua franca[54] of the

various ethnic groups considered part of the Coloured population under apartheid (Fiske & Ladd, 2004). Conversely, Afrikaans, while also compulsory in Indian schools, played less of a role in Indian language communities. The focus in education began to shift from learning Indian languages to learning English only, and Indian communities discouraged children from learning Indian languages. There were two reasons for this: "First because the social identity associated with English was more desirable than that associated with Indian languages and second because the government's language policies did not assign the Indian languages any role in South African society" (Kamwangamalu, 2007, p. 269-270). Consequently, Indian populations are now mostly monolingual in English.

When connecting this racial and linguistic history to the history of violence for domestic workers, notions of both symbolic, verbal, and physical violence again arise. As the government-enforced racial hierarchies existent during apartheid led to linguistic differences among each racial group, hierarchies of symbolic power were also produced. While Indian populations had little societal and political power compared to white Afrikaans and English-speaking people, what they did have was the higher status of English. Consequently, these power hierarchies resulted in forms of violence experienced by my participants, not only from White families but from Indian families as well.

I bring these racial and linguistic differences to the fore for several reasons. I do

[54] This lingua franca has morphed into varieties of Afrikaans; for example, in a recent Hip-Hop Opera called "Afrikaaps," a group of Coloured performers contested the notion of Afrikaans belonging solely to white Afrikaaners (Stroud, 2017).

not contend that all Indian families are violent against the domestic workers they employ, as most of my participants had only worked for white families and thus, very few had

stories of their Indian employers. Neither am I centering my work on the linguistic experiences of Coloured and Indian populations in South Africa, because these experiences demand their own in-depth research. What I am proposing, however, is that hierarchies of race, class, and gender that are infused with hierarchies of language ultimately provide what Butler (1997) proposed: they provide spaces in which to injure. For women like Margaret, who was raped twice by the same man, violence has been a predominant part of HERstory. It resulted in her dropping out of school, it has produced further poverty, and it has led to her need to turn to domestic work for an income. It has also prompted her desire to learn English, for what she endured by this man makes her angry:

Margaret: And now I'm crying Anna. I'm crying about what I was lost before. What I lost before. I lost my education, I lost my education, I lost everything. I was thought I'm going to be- you see? I was angry, I was very very angry with that guy who did to me. Make, make, made me to leave school. And even now when I'm thinking about him, I'm very very angry and I - I'm so cross about that and I even don't want to think about it because it feel me not- its making me feel not good when I'm thinking about that guy I feel bad and I feel angry about that guy who make me not get education. You see? That's it.

For Margaret and for many of my participants, the act of becoming educated is linked to the act of learning English. The power of English and its association to education and literacy has increased the violence that many participants endure, and simultaneously, learning English has become a way to fight back against these forms of violence. In other words, English is at once violent and protective. Thus, learning English becomes more than a space for symbolic empowerment and more than a chance for professional and financial gain. Instead, it is an action and educational choice that is

reinforcing histories of colonization and separateness while also providing the means to protect oneself against these harmful histories. As I explore in the following chapter, this

interstitial space of violence and protection, paralleling similar crevices of linguistic domination and autonomous choice, are continuously evident in my participants' lives and HERstories.

Concluding Chapter Five: The Fissures of Domination and Agency

As this chapter has illustrated, the violence enforced on domestic workers is three-fold. The physical and sexual violence that domestic workers have endured in their private spaces and places of employment emphasize the literal embodiment of violence that they must endure. The verbal violence perpetuated by their employers has led to a form of hate speech that becomes "the site for the power to injure" (Butler, 1997, p. 100). The symbolic violence employed with the rise of English as the language of prestige, education, and success acts as an ideological violence that can lead to feeling empty, or even lead to the experience of a metaphorical death. These women are living in spaces in which practices of violence are being enacted and re-enacted on them physically, linguistically, and symbolically, causing multi-tiered violence to be intricately woven into their social, historical, and personal identities as South African domestic workers. And yet, while the metonymic discourses of English as essential for intelligence, success, and prestige, and the multi-tiered violence experienced by participants would seemingly lead to subjectivities overwhelmed with social and individual oppression, there remain spaces in which individual agency is still existent.

While Weedon (1997) asserted that historical forms of power in society govern individual subjectivity, she also noted that these places of power and of struggle are often

the sites for the self-making practices of each individual. Moreover, as Showden (2011) contended, within structures of subjectification aspects of agency can occur, as "agency is

manifest in the mediation between structural domination and self-determining autonomy" (p. x). In the following chapter, I argue that despite symbolic, verbal, and physical forms of domination in play, and notwithstanding the presence of the metonyms of education, English, and domestic work that subjugate the identities of domestic workers, there remain possibilities for autonomy and agency within and amongst these oppressive spaces.

Chapter 6: Interstitial Glimpses

"In the interstices of language lie powerful secrets of the culture" (Rich, 1995).

Anna: So do you feel happy that you chose to be a domestic worker?
Nolwazi: It is all right. It is all right because you mustn't wish yourself into the highs or look at other people's lives. Take yourself as you are, what you've got. It's from God that this happened to you. Even if maybe you were hurt by people sometimes, it's not that people were hurting you because they dislike you, it was time, all things come as time. Monday, Tuesday, Wednesday and life is like that too. All things that are going to happen to me, they're all in his hands so accept it as it is.
A: So you never feel angry or sad?
N: Me? Never ever. No time for that, there's no time for me with that.

Pretty: The house is a double story. I have to clean each room. Every day I start from 7 to 7.
Anna: You have to clean each room every day?
P: Every day. She doesn't go to work so I have to.
A: She doesn't go to work?
P: She doesn't go to work
A: So why doesn't she clean?
P: Huh! No no. She always complains to clean. She just says "do this, you didn't do this." So you end up now like "with this woman, I'm gonna go crazy." The way she wants me to do things- I only have two hands, I don't have five hands where I can say I finished this. So I'm realizing this hard life that has been going on- you know what? I have to educate myself so that I can be a better person in my life. I have to improve my life on my own. No one else is going to come and say (Pretty knocks on the table) "do something." Because sometimes the harder you got, you have more energy. I say maybe there's a reason why I'm there. It pushes me to do something.

As Ally (2009) affirmed in her book on the legal rights of South African domestic workers, "While these are a group of workers whose life stories are indeed trails of tears, to subsume them within a victimization narrative is to deny their creativity" (p. 192). In this chapter, I make a similar contention. Despite the metonymic discourse purporting the essential nature of English in post-apartheid South Africa, and notwithstanding the numerous forms of violence enacted upon these women in their past and present lives,

South African domestic workers do not solely live within identities surrounding linguistic violence, physical abuse, and victimization. Instead, they also exhibit acceptance of, and even gratefulness for their lives, which Nolwazi's assertion showcases, and the determination to improve their lives that Pretty's narrative reveals. However, while Ally centered her work on the ways in which domestic workers take an active role in questioning and reconstructing state and political powers that "both emancipate and subjectivate," (p. 191), I argue that it not just within their work that domestic workers in South Africa embody forms of agency. It is also within and among practices of English language learning, and the ways in which language and identity are intertwined, that these women seek to (re)construct their identities as workers, as black African women, as educated and literate, and as agentic beings both situated within and outside of these other roles. And yet, it is also within English language learning and the role of English, both within South Africa and worldwide, that these women remain embedded in the historically oppressive frameworks of which they seek to escape.

In the next sections, I focus neither solely on positions surrounding agency and agentic practices of domestic workers nor reflections of past and current oppressive linguistic and social histories that domestic workers both endure and embody. Instead, I center on the in-between spaces, or the interstices, of these two concepts. Drawing from notions of (in)agentic practices and identities in relation to gender and domestic work (Showden, 2011), as well as from the ways in which agency is incited and hindered because of language (Butler, 1997; Norton, 2013; Weedon, 1997), I use the subsequent HERstories to exhibit how domestic workers are at once oppressed and autonomous beings who are working against the identities they have been relegated to by working

within these same social and linguistic boundaries. Hence, these women live within an interstices of sorts, in which they are demonstrating aspects of agency and autonomy in

their work, home, and educational spaces while concurrently remaining within the boundaries of metonymic discourse and multiple forms of violence that bound them to these spaces.

Interstitial Glimpses of Domestic Work

"Yeah, me I'm not dumb, I'm very clever."

Laura: Me I was clever.
Anna: Really?
L: Yes. I was clever at school. Even that runner, Caster Semenya, I was doing that at school- running, I got seven...at school
A: Seven medals?
L: Medals.
A: For running?
L: For running.
A: What other subjects did you like to do? What other subjects were you good at?
L: I liked history, geography and maths. Maths-even when I'm sick, if I'm not going to school I would go to my friend and say, "You must give me your book and then I can see what maths you wrote." And then I took it and I would go to show the teachers and then I passed. Maths I was very clever.

Anna: Do you feel like your extremely smart? Because when I hear you and see you, I think of someone extremely intelligent.
Zama: You see, um- its like what I've learned in my church. It has taught me lots of things. Like you're asking me how do you feel? They taught me that you must always say "I'm beautiful." They taught me that you must never put yourself down. Always I'll teach you something. Did you ever notice the mirrors? Go in your bedroom mirror. Look at yourself. Take the small one like this and look at yourself. Did you notice that you're not the same in the mirror? That mirror in the bedroom can make you look a little bleh, and this one? "Woo!" And that one? "Huh." You know? What you must tell yourself is that I'm beautiful every day. I'm beautiful. Even if you crying, you're beautiful. Yes. You are beautiful. You've got everything. When you read the bible, God says "I gave you everything. You've got the power, you've got everything that you must know and must learn." Okay? The mirrors are lying, don't even look at them. Tell yourself "I'm beautiful" okay?

Margaret: I was so good (at school). I was so smart. I was so good at maths. I said to my daughter Nofoto, "Nofoto yo! You're not gonna be good at maths like me!" Yeah, me I'm not dumb, I'm very clever.

Drawing from the complex HERstories of my participants within the previous chapters, what becomes clear are the many ways in which South African domestic workers are historically, racially, economically, and linguistically oppressed. Moreover, what I argue in Chapter Four is that within the history of South African domestic work, the terms "domestic work" and "domestic worker" have become metonyms for poor, black, African, uneducated, non-English-literate females. And yet, while numerous HERstories illustrate this metonymical connection, and while many women told me stories of their multitude of experiences being victimized, stymied, and oppressed within the spaces in which they live and work, there remain continuous instances of strength and autonomy woven into these stories, as the narratives of Laura, Zama, and Margaret reveal.

One way in which this self-assurance is particularly noticeable is in my participants' stories of their childhood. For example, as Laura described, she was not only a strong runner as a child (in which she compares herself to the famous South African Olympian, Caster Semenya), but she was also good at math—so much so that she would show the teachers her work and pass every assignment. Similarly, throughout Margaret's narrative, as well as throughout my time tutoring Margaret, she frequently affirmed her mathematical strength. For example, while at one point on a car ride together as I was I driving her home from an English class, she stated that although she was not strong in English, she was sure I would be impressed by her math skills. In her view, her abilities in maths were better than all of her peers. She felt so confident in her mathematical

proficiency that when her daughter, Nofoto, began school, Margaret assured her that there was no way that Nofoto would be as good at math as Margaret was. Interestingly, at

least five of the women I interviewed asserted their strength in math as a subject, and with this assertion would often come the vocalization of their "cleverness." For many of them, although they struggled in English, they remained able to assert their aptitude in other educational subjects.

It was not simply my participants' assertion of their intelligence that was noteworthy, however. I also observed this intelligence on a daily basis. For example, when I first met Patricia, she described to me how much she loved chess. Every night, on her old flip phone, she would play chess for hours. While I consider myself a fairly strong chess player, and was on the chess team in school, Patricia beat me several times in our games playing one another. Patricia's ability to conceptualize each move was beyond many of my "educated" peers. Likewise, Ruby asked me to support her computer skills, and I was given permission by her employer to come to her place of work once a week to aid her in becoming computer literate.[55] While I brought in fundamental exercises regarding using the mouse, gaining typing skills, and navigating Microsoft Word documents, Ruby told me that she had already taught herself these skills. Instead, she wanted to learn more complex programs such as Microsoft Excel and PowerPoint. Thus, my participants' confidence in their skills and the assertion of their strengths was not

[55] Ruby was one of only three participants in my study who did not live with her employers. Instead, she worked as an office cleaner for an international company supporting small businesses. Ruby's boss told me in confidence that she allowed me to come in to aid Ruby with computer literacy because the company was going through a down-sizing and they might need to "let her go." She also asked that I not tell Ruby this, as she was still unsure of what the outcome of the company shifts would be. While this provided me with a strong moral dilemma, Ruby was luckily able to keep her job and is still working there.

merely a way to appear “clever”; I regularly observed these multiple forms of intelligence throughout my time with these women.

“The Best Cook Around”

In addition to conceptions of intelligence and “cleverness” that my participants asserted, there were several other skills that revealed both the aptitude and the self-assurance of my participants. For example, several women conveyed to me their skills in cooking, baking, and sewing that, in their view, set them apart from their peers:

Nolwazi: I was a real cook. The boys that were called chefs were nothing in my life. I wouldn’t look at them and say “I’m scared”. No. A boy with the (chef) hat- no no, not at all. I’m telling you because when I sit down now, my plate is here and I’ll decorate it. By the time it’s going to you outside, if it’s meat, it’s on fire.
Anna: So wait, if you would make me anything, what would be your favorite dish to make?
N: Anything, any any anything in cooking!

Zothile: I learned how to sew from my mom. You know the thing like this but to put on the table?
Anna: Oh the tablecloth?
Z: Yeah I know to sew like that. And knitting.
A: With the big needles or the small needles?
Z: With the big needles when you’re doing a jersey or scarf, but when you’re doing the small ones to put on the table, you do the small needles. I know how to sew many things, even with the sewing machine.

The self-confidence participants revealed regarding certain skills that they had was shared frequently and with a great deal of enthusiasm. While the women I interviewed were quick to tell me what they lacked skills in, and this deficiency often surrounded perceptions of English, literacy, and “education,” they were also more than willing to exemplify their strengths. For example, many times throughout my time in Johannesburg, Thuli would cook for me and teach me how to bake chicken and cook pap, as she would assure me that she was “the best cook around.” The young Afrikaans boy who she looked

after would second this assertion, telling me frequently how Thuli's cooking was significantly better than his mother's. Molly, who spent a great deal of our interview

discussing her love of baking, sent me home with two bags of baked scones so that I could see what an excellent baker she was. She asserted that her scones would be fresher than any others I would eat (and to be fair, they were incredible). Margaret brought me a bowl of chicken feet with her "special gravy" so that I could taste the uniqueness of her gravy spices. She watched me eat the entire bowl just so that she could see my reaction to the tastiness of her food, and when I told her just how delicious her recipe was, she replied, "I know!" There was very rarely a woman in my research who was shy about what she felt that she excelled in, and instead, many were eager to share their strengths with me.

In addition to the skills my participants embodied, there was also a confidence in aspects of appearance, self-respect, and even sexuality that was woven into the narratives. For example, as Zama told me in our interview, it is important to tell yourself your beautiful every day, "even when you're crying." Ironically, this statement came only 20 minutes after Zama has described to me, in tears, the death of her sister and the ways in which her former husband left her to be with another woman. But for Zama, because of what she feels is God's assertion that she has power, and because she tells herself that she is beautiful every day, she remains strong in her views of her selfhood. In fact, Zama felt so self-assured that she told me that she never had many friends, as she prefers to be by herself: "I've learned to be by myself. And strong. And be that cheeky person that says no. No, I don't do this. I'm not doing it. No. I'm doing it. Nuhuh. Not doing it." Moreover, in my interview with Seraphina, she told me about the numerous men she has

dated and how if she tires of a man, she will simply move on to the next prospect. As she emphasized to me, she is not willing to wait around for one man's love if she can find

love from someone else. Thus, she avowed that she will never get married, as she doesn't "need to deal with that."

These examples, while perhaps mundane, highlight the multiple complexities of domestic workers' identities and the ways in which their identities change across time, space, and social contexts. While authors like Cock (1980) situated South African domestic workers in a state of continual oppression, deprivation, and exploitation, and while the previous chapters of this dissertation showcase how metonymical, symbolic, linguistic, and physical violence support conceptions of domestic workers stuck within an incessant oppressive state of being, moments revealing confidence, self-support, and emotional and physical strength of each participant give rise to the nuances of "pure" exploitation. Historically, these women are caught in a neo-colonial space in which previous conceptions of black African women's roles and modern notions of the necessity of English are forcing them into socially constructed identities of the quintessentially deprived domestic worker. But simultaneous to these histories are demonstrations of intelligence, skill, and strength resulting in the creation of identities living within the margins of oppression and freedom. These interstitial spaces are further revealed with the ways in which my participants act agentically in the seemingly fully oppressive spaces in which they live and work.

"So I Quit"

Ruby: Yes. So I quit.
Anna: And did you ever ask for more money?
R: She gave me 400 rand. She said she can't give me 500 because I was at home and I didn't come back in time.

A: How long did you work for her?
R: Not so long, it was one year, one year and a half
A: And so that entire time she paid you 500 rand a month except for when you came back one day late?
R: Yes.
A: So you quit. And were you scared to quit?
R: I was angry because she didn't give me—in a day, it was not even 50 rand a day the money she paid me.

The above extract of Ruby's narrative is a continuation from her description in Chapter Five of her boss deducting R100 for missing one day of work even though her monthly salary was R500. Although Ruby could have decided to continue working for her employer, especially because at the time, she had no other option for work, she was angry with her employer for her unfair treatment, and subsequently, Ruby quit. When describing the creation of the *embodied subject,* Showden (2011) theorized that "the processes of becoming particular types of embodied subjects mean that women's agency has been diminished to various degrees and takes on different forms in different situations" (p. 3). However, as she strongly argued, these processes do not make agency impossible. For my participants, the act of becoming domestic workers within South Africa has led to metonymical associations of domestic work that have undeniably impacted the ways in which they are viewed and the ways in which they view themselves. Moreover, within the spaces of employment that my participants are bound to, there remain the intersections of historical, racial, gendered, and classed oppressions that create stymied conceptions of freedom for these women. And yet, as Ginsburg (2011) noted in her book on the small and often impoverished spaces that South African domestic workers live in while situated in the often large and wealthy estates of their employers, it is essential to look "beyond the layers of environments that flatter and

seduce us and peer(ing) and squint(ing) until new, possibly uncomfortable ways of viewing the composition and order of surrounding emerge" (p. 25).

Although Ginsburg's quote is meant to encourage readers to look past the wealthy spaces in which domestic workers live and look into the back rooms that help create their lives as live-in workers, I use this statement in a rather contrasting way. I assert that it is necessary to look beyond simplistic deductions of assuming that these women are solely in-agentic and exploited beings and instead, further explore how these spaces of employment situated in larger South African social and linguascapes at once create and destroy moments of free-will and choice often linked to agency. These moments, or as I am calling them, "interstitial glimpses," happen frequently within my participants' stories of my participants, particularly when describing moments within their places of employment. For example, Ruby's employer decided to deduct one fifth of Ruby's monthly wages for this one-day absence. Because Ruby did not matriculate, and because she feels embarrassed of her inability to speak English "properly," Ruby could have endured this exploitative action from her employer and remained silent. Instead, she became angry and she quit her job. Ruby refused to deal with this abuse despite assuming the many roles of a socially and historical victimized being.

Similarly, Amahle told me the story of her former employer, Chandra, a young Indian woman who "loved me (Amahle) so much." But Chandra's mother, a woman who "had too much apartheid," did not treat Amahle kindly. As a result, Amahle decided to silently protest the mother's abuse with her actions when ironing clothes. Amahle ironed the tops of all of the mother's clothes and folded them so that Chandra would think that she did a good job ironing. However, unbeknownst to Chandra, Amahle left the bottoms

of the clothing wrinkled. When Chandra's mother complained, Chandra thought her mother was being ridiculous, as she had seen how nicely ironed the folded clothes were.

Only Amahle knew that by refusing to iron the bottoms of the clothing, she was objecting to the mother's harsh behavior. While unlike Ruby, Amahle did not quit her job, she found ways within her daily employment practices to assert her boundaries and agentically resist the unfair treatment forced upon her by her employer's mother.

As Showden (2011) contended, "the way that someone combines her resignation with her resistance is critical to her identity and her sense of agency, as well as how she can make sense of her agency" (p. xii). For many of the women I interviewed, their careers as domestic workers are both a substantial part of their formation of identities as well as a place for a combination of resentment and resistance to be incited. Within the daily (and often oppressive) practices of work that are placed upon them, my participants have created both covert and overt spaces for defiance and rebelliousness. By being bound to domestic spaces, my participants have learned to comply to the rules of the home and to the larger social and historical rules that have (re)structured their life choices; concurrently, they have learned to find and create moments in which they defy these same rules. These moments of resistance, however, do not solely occur with the actions that they take in their places of employment. Some forms of resistance simply occur with the act of my participants' vocalizing their dislike of the ways in which they are treated at work.

Myths of "Benevolence"

Throughout my time in South Africa, I was able to meet several of my participants' employers. Often, they would warmly invite me into their home and tell me

how thankful they were for their "domestic." "She's one of the family," they would say. "We don't know what we would do without her," they would assure me. Even families

who had been involved in "the struggle"[56] would admit that while they employed a domestic worker in their home, they made sure to treat them fairly. Simultaneous to this discourse was my participants' perceptions of their relationships with their employers, often of which were very different than what their employers described. For example, while Kari, Thuli's employer, would discuss how much she loved having Thuli as "part of the family," Thuli would continuously complain to me about being under-paid and overworked. Patricia's employers showed me photo albums of their involvement with Nelson Mandela and anti-apartheid campaigns, and described to me the horrors of apartheid, while Patricia lived with her husband in a small run-down backroom of her employers' property and received a smaller salary than most of my participants. As Cock (1980) found in her revised research of domestic workers in the 1970s and 1980s, while "it is widely believed by whites…that domestic workers are treated as 'one of the family'" (p. 68), not one domestic workers in her sample considered herself to be part of the family.

The same results that Cock revealed are found in my own research. While not all my participants disliked their employers, there was a clear line between work and family, and most employers did not cross this line. The verbalized proclamation of gratitude that employers have for their domestic workers, and the concurrent assertion by my participants that they are not, nor will ever be "part of the family," is yet another example of the interstitial spaces in which my participants live. All at once, they are being told

[56] Referencing the anti-apartheid struggle.

that they are appreciated and being actively devalued, thus leading to a false benevolence of employers, who, by stating their appreciation for their domestic workers never have to

act on it. And yet, while these women can choose to simply accept this deceit, or even more, to become further oppressed by it, instead, many participants actively voiced their frustrations to both me and their employers:

Zama: Uh- Good News Bible. I used to have that Good News Bible. She (Zama's employer) gave me that bible and she says "you now what? I don't like this bible. Take this bible and go and give it to your child." I said, "why should I take the bible that you don't like and give it to my child? I'm not giving it to my child, I'm gonna keep it." That bible taught me- helped me. I was smoking, you know that?
Anna: Really?
Z: Yes, 2004 I stopped smoking. That bible helped me.

Rose: After Germiston, he (Rose's employer) went to another place. He got a big big big house. Where did he find the money to buy that house? But he said to me he got no money. Now I'm crying because I have no bed. He said "okay Rose, take the two beds there in the spare room." I said "no, I don't like it."
Anna: Oh the bunk bed right?
R: Yeah. I said "no." He said "why?" I said "no I can't." He said "why?" I said "I want a normal bed. I want a big bed. Not a small bed." Because that bed- you see, Charlie, my grandchild, you see we black people- we sleep with the child until the child says "I don't want to sleep with you anymore." Now, the small bed- I cannot sleep with that child there. He gives me that bed. It was not new the bed. You see, if you sleep there on the bed, the springs make it so sore to sleep.
A: You can feel the springs?
R: You have to fold the blanket to cushion it. It's not new-the bed. I'm so cross.

Margaret: Oh yes, I remember I was, I'm sure I was forty-six. Yeah. I was forty-six when I started getting angry or annoyed with my boss. Especially my boss when she was telling me things. Maybe she was shouting or telling me to do so much work, so I started getting angry (starts laughing). When I was forty-six I started to be angry when people told me do this and this and this. And especially people who shout at me. Yo! I was getting angry because I said, how! This lady keeps on shouting at me. Why? Because I'm doing a good job, I've done a good job. There were no mistakes- there was no mistake I did. Why did she keep on shouting at me? I said no, this is annoying me now, you see? It started when I started getting old. Forty-six years old.

For Margaret, Zama, and Rose, as well as for many of my participants, the interstitial glimpses that are evident throughout their narratives highlight the ways in which their lives are rife with identity-based contradictions: the woman in need who refuses to be needy, the woman with little material wealth who expects a certain material quality, the woman taught to appease who becomes more and more angry with her passivity. The numerous dimensions of my participants' identities create and are created by the various discourses by which their identities are constructed. As Showden (2011) noted, "People have agency through the ambiguity of situations, but it is an agency constrained by the collective meanings generated within existing relations" (p. 12). In other words, notions of agency, or the freedom to choose and act, are at once supported by situational aspects of the spaces in which people live, and concurrently inhibited by the discourses surrounding agency that these spaces produce. For my participants, the domestic spaces they live and work in regulate how to act, when to speak, and what to say, while all at once, these regulations form agentic thoughts and actions that might not have been produced without these same restrictions. Moreover, by their employers actively stating their feelings of compassion for domestic workers while simultaneously employing actions within the home that are not reminiscent of this "benevolence," space is made for my participants to feel anger. This anger, in turn, leads to numerous moments of opposition, both in participants' words and in their actions. The ways in which these women's identities as agentic beings and oppressed domestics ebb and flow is further exhibited when they discuss their dreams for the future.

If you weren't a domestic worker…

While a fusion of resentment and resistance is revealed with how participants act within their careers and react to their employers, similar interstitial glimpses are showcased in my participants' dreams and plans for their future. Many of the women I interviewed have, or have previously had, dreams of becoming something other than domestic workers. Some want to own their own business, some want to be teachers, several want to be nurses.[57] While these careers noticeably differ from the duties of domestic work, some aspects of these careers share various similarities. For example, six of the women in my study described to me nursing as their ideal career. While this is often globally understood to be a "respectable" career, Horowitz (2007) described in her article on South African nurses that nursing in South Africa is often linked to the identities of black women. As she noted, during apartheid, a career in nursing was "one of the most important avenues for African women to attain paid employment and an independent career" (p. 131). It not only provided a means of financial stability, but also provided women with a sense of social prestige as is exemplified in Horowitz's (2007) contention that nurses were "proud of their education and the increased status that further education brought them" (p. 136).

As many feminist theorists contend, however, certain professions in which "care" is essential are often connected to women's assumed professional roles. For example, as Fisher (1990) explored in her chapter in which she analyzed professions from a feminist perspective, professions such as nursing are often considered "caring" professions and thus, are often deemed exclusively for women. Because of this, while women might be

[57] See Chapter Three, Table 1, for a list of each participant's "dream career/job."

leaving the domesticity of the household, they remain trapped within professions dubbed acceptable for women. Therefore, although nursing is an opportunity for career and social advancement, it remains embedded into socially constructed career choices deemed acceptable for black South African women.

Similarly situated in the intersections of race, gender, and class in South Africa is a career in teaching. As Jacklin (2001) stated, “By far the majority of all teachers in South African schools are women – the proportion is even higher in primary schools” (p. 17). Moreover, because of the Bantu Education Act, teachers were segregated by race, leading to black African women being the primary teachers of black students. While black women teachers in particular played a pivotal role in shaping their communities both during and after apartheid, and although teaching provided many women with an opportunity to change their socioeconomic status Nekhweva (1999), the history of black female teachers remains fixed in a framework of gendered and raced career options that the women in my study are also entrenched in. Hence, I again contend that the dreams and career goals of my participants are interstitially embedded in agentically produced desires for life changes that are concurrently regulated by larger social and historical constructions of who these women are and who/what they can be.

By drawing from both the social and historical identities of these professions in a South African context, it is understandable as to why the predominant choices for my participants when thinking of their “dream jobs” are either nurses or teachers. For many of these women, and especially for those growing up during apartheid, these careers were the main choices for black women in South Africa wanting to increase their socioeconomic status. Moreover, these careers were, and still remain, choices that

connote an "educated being"—a connotation which carries with it a prestige that was withheld from many domestic workers due to the policies and laws of apartheid meant to suppress educational opportunities for black South Africans. Thus, for many of my participants, their dreams for the future are implanted in socio-historically constructed conceptions of where black women can work and what careers they can hold. And yet, while some participants maintained these career goals, and others had dreams of owning their own businesses, being chefs, and publishing books about their life stories, several women could not imagine another job besides being a domestic worker.

In every single one of my interviews, I asked questions regarding my participants' past and current career goals. Out of the 28 women whom I interviewed, four of the women had never thought about what they might want to do as an ideal career and two women stated that due to their lack of educational, financial, and linguistic opportunities, they could not envision a life outside of domestic work. Several of these replies are demonstrated in the following responses to my question, "If you could do anything else besides domestic work, what would you want to do?":

Muhle: I want something different but I don't know where can I go. What can make me better than a domestic worker? Yes, I enjoy it by now. I enjoy it because I don't have any skills in my hands you see? That's why I'm saying yes, I enjoy it.

Rose: You know I don't know, really I don't know. Because now, here as a domestic, still I see now I'm a little bit strong at work. I'm still here! Now, there at ironing, I'm number one.
Anna: Really?
R: Oh number one, yes.

Moipone: I don't want to change jobs because I don't have an education. But if I could change jobs, maybe I would be a nurse.
A: A nurse. Why?
M: Because maybe nurses don't work hard like me. I am working hard. Everything is you. You must do everything in the house.

For Muhle, Rose, and Moipone, the notion of having a “dream job” or planning for a different career is unrealistic. Even for Moipone, who initially claimed that she could not have a different job because she doesn't “have an education,” but later said that if she could do anything, she would be a nurse, she does not choose nursing because it is her passion. Instead, she envisioned being a nurse because “maybe nurses don’t work hard like (her).” While many of the women I interviewed dream of moving away from domestic work, for some women, this is simply a dream that will never manifest into anything more. The difficulties my participants expressed with reimagining a life outside of domestic work are similar to Fish’s (2006) findings. When interviewing domestic workers in Cape Town, she found that most of the domestic workers could not identify “alternative visions for themselves” (p. 85) or showed clear discomfort when answering questions regarding their career goals. However, while in Fish’s research, only two of the twenty domestic workers dreamed of different career opportunities, in my own research, the majority of the participants described their desires for a future outside of domestic work. Moreover, unlike Fish’s findings, in my study, participants were eager to talk about their dreams for the future, or for women like Muhle and Rose, eager to describe why careers outside of domestic work were not, in their views, realistic for them.

As Weedon (1997) contended when analyzing the choices women make and the subjectivities they adhere to, “this involves not a devaluing of women’s experience but an understanding of its constitution and its strategic position within the broader field of patriarchal power relations” (p. 71). When analyzing the ideal careers, or the lack thereof, of the women I interviewed, my aim is neither to inundate my analysis with judgments of what empowering versus disempowering careers are, nor is it to suggest that historically

gendered jobs are in any way lesser than those that are not historically gendered. Instead, my objective is to again showcase the interstitial spaces in which these women are situated. Some women dream of different careers while their dreams remain within, what Weedon dubs, a patriarchal system of power. Others feel incapable of doing anything other than domestic work, and yet they are able to recognize both the physical and emotional strength it takes to remain in domestic work. The concurrent moments of oppression and agency are continuously at work.

Because of these coexisting moments, and due to many of these women's career desires remaining in a dream-like state rather than in anything that they view as realistically changing in the future, the question of "why English?" rearises. If these women's goals are not necessarily to move beyond a career in domestic work, then why is the time spent learning English and increasing English literacy skills continuing? If English is not directly linked to empowerment, and these women are at once empowered and disempowered in their current roles, then what role does English play? In the next section, I analyze these questions further by again drawing from the interstitial glimpses that take place in my participants' lives. While these glimpses are revealed within feelings of self-worth, career choices, and dreams for the future that these women express, they are also bound within their views of English. As I describe in the following section, the act of learning English provides both a means to impede and a space to empower my participants' identities as women, as black Africans, as domestic workers, and as members of post-apartheid South Africa.

Language as an Act of Reframing Agency

Anna: So how did you hear about them- why did you decide to start taking the classes?

Rose: You know why I went there to the school is because sometimes I saw if the people are there at the party and he (Rose's employer) is making the party, they're talking English and they're looking at me. Now I see that one is talking and looking at me but I'm not understanding what they are saying. They know I don't know the English they're talking. If you know Sotho but not English, someone is talking here but you don't know what he's talking about. You see everyone is talking but you don't know what they're saying. That is why I go there at the school. I want to be able to talk to other people.

A: Yeah. That makes sense.

R: That is why I say to you I love the English. Because I hear now what you are saying. One day it was May. Now again he (Rose's employer) shouted at me again. I got so cross cross cross cross. My madam said "hey Rose hey." I said "hello." She said "what's wrong?" I said "I'm so cross and double cross and double cross. He shouted at me in front of people. No. If I'm wrong, you must take me to the side. You must talk with me." Now the people know if they see me, they see I'm not stupid.

As I detailed in Chapter Two as well as in my article on differing perspectives of adult education and language learning (Kaiper, 2017), common conceptions surrounding the motivations for adults to take literacy classes, and particularly, English language literacy classes, involve the notion of English leading to better jobs and career opportunities. While at times, my participants themselves adhered to similar frameworks, as many noted that without English, they could not apply to certain jobs, create their CVs, and interview for positions, these career-centered motivations for learning English are significantly less prominent in the narratives of my participants than other motivating factors they voice. Instead, within these women's narratives, English appears to provide a new means for them to enact the agency that they actively exhibit but cannot always linguistically access.

Norton (2013) found that "through human agency, language learners who struggle to speak from one identity position may be able to reframe their relationship with

others and claim alternative, more powerful identities from which to speak, read, or write, thereby enhancing language acquisition" (p. 3). Drawing from narratives such as Rose's,

I make a similar assertion. By further learning the language of those who employ them as well as the language of "African elites" (Prah, 2009b, p. 6), my participants are able to verbally assert themselves in ways that they previously presented with their actions and thoughts, but could not enact verbally. For example, Rose felt as though her increased knowledge of English has improved her ability to know when her employers are both talking at and about her. Additionally, it has led to her willingness to tell her employers when she is "cross." Comparably, Amahle told me how important English is to her because when her employers are having meetings or talking with one another, she can now understand what they are saying and she is no longer afraid to speak:

Amahle: When I speak English now I'm not scared. Before I was scared even to say hello. I would think I'm wrong. Even when I was speaking, I was scared. Maybe I'm not saying words nicely. Because at the meeting the people when they were laughing, I wasn't laughing because I didn't understand.

English becomes an entry point into a world of people who South African domestic workers were previously forbidden to access. It becomes a means by which to express the anger that has been felt, a way to break through fears of employers and what they are saying, a way to understand the joke that everyone is laughing about that was previously not understood. However, while many of the women in my research utilize English as an avenue to feel empowered in spaces that can disempower, and although their identities as bearers of the English language become "more powerful" in the social and linguistic landscape of South Africa, what I concurrently contend is that these women are also immersed into hegemonic conceptions of the power of English that all at once take away many aspects of agency while simultaneously building and re-forming others.

By furthering their knowledge of English, South African domestic workers are drawing from a language that at once has inflicted harm upon them and brought them linguistic

freedom. While Bourdieu (1991) might argue that this is not freedom at all, as every linguistic practice is compared to the legitimacy of those who are dominant in the language, Butler (1997) would likely contend that this in-between space of drawing from a language that has symbolically harmed as a way to transform that same harm is an example of performative power.

When describing how language not only shapes the speaker, but is shaped by the speaker, Butler contended that while people speak a language that is never fully their own, "that language only persists through repeated occasions of that invocation. That language gains its temporal life only in and through the utterances that re-invoke and restructure the conditions of its own possibility" (p. 140). For Butler, this is an essential nature of performative power. It is not who the "real" speaker of a language is, or who the language "truly" belongs to, that matters. Instead, power derives from the ways in which a speaker actively uses and recreates a language that changes the conditions of the identities associated with that language. Within South Africa, the implementation of the English language is a result of colonial power and dominance that has historically provided a means by which to fight against this same colonial power. It has been used to take away identities of the "educated" being while providing further opportunities for education. It has incited symbolic violence while providing means by which to obstruct these same violent acts. English, itself, lives in a continual interstitial space.

As Weedon (1997) explored in her chapter on discourse, power, and resistance within poststructural feminism, discourses do not exist in "bipolar" extremes of power

and powerlessness but instead, discourse "transmits and produces power; it reinforces it but it also undermines and exposes it, renders it fragile and makes it possible to thwart it"

(p. 107). Drawing from the ways in which the English language neither belongs to nor is fully inaccessible to South African domestic workers, and the means by which the past and current histories of this language both produce and thwart power, my participants are utilizing these crevices to reconstruct power relations in the places in which this power has often been stolen from them. But, they are not simply doing this by becoming more literate in English. Instead, they are reconstructing aspects of power within the classes and curricula that are concurrently supporting and inhibiting their reconstructions of self.

Pushback in the English Language Classroom

Anna: How long have you been taking English literacy classes?
Thuli: This is the third year.
A: Do you feel like it's been helpful?
T: Yes. Really I can say the teachers, they've helped me. OK, the time I started, I started with Tanya, I think she was trying to allocate me. I was with her but the following day she gave me to the other teachers that are no longer coming there.
A: Oh, Linda and her mother?
T: Yes, I was with the mother, the mother of Linda (Tanya). OK she was very good with me. Then suddenly they shifted me to Linda. When I was with Linda, I was going back into the shell. Then I approached Emmanuel (her teacher) and I said "Emmanuel, you gave me Linda. Linda and the way she's teaching me- I don't know how to read and write like Marie and everybody. I told you and your wife that I want to read and write. Now Linda's acting like I'm somebody that knows how to read and I don't think I'll continue to come. I'd rather stay at home than to come here to nothing. It's either you take me in your class or I stay at home, the choice is yours." Emmanuel says "I've got no problem, you can come back. I'll find a way to talk to Linda nicely so she won't feel offended." She (Linda) would dictate to people what they must write and would say "this is your homework" while she was busy playing on her phone.
A: Really!
T: Yes, she's busy texting and all the things. So a person like me, I'll sit like this and say, "I don't know how to write nothing you're telling me." Do you see? I was finding myself

being left out. So Emmanuel said "come back." And Rose (another domestic worker) said "I'm happy cause you're not somebody who just stays quiet. You say what your problem is." Then I went back and there I am now, I know a little bit. Some other words I can see, some other words are still hard for me.

Thuli is not a "native" English speaker and cannot read and write in English. And yet, despite her lack of English literacy and despite English not being Thuli's first language, she remains sure of what she wants to be taught and how she wants to be treated in classes—so much so that she is willing to leave the classes completely if she does not get instructed in ways that she feels are beneficial for her own learning. In her work with adult English language learners, Norton (2013) contended that all social interactions that take place within a formal language classroom "must be understood with reference to relations of power between interlocutors as well as the ongoing production of a language learner's identity" (p. 177). This Norton found essential, as both the lived experiences and the multiple identities of language learners impact the language learning and language teaching that results. However, while Norton called for teachers to better integrate adult language learners' identities into their classes, many of the women who I interviewed very freely vocalized their concerns and their desires into the language classroom as a way to acknowledge their own identities in the spaces in which they are learning.

Both in the Gauteng English Literacy Program and the Johannesburg English Classes, as well as in my own experiences tutoring some of the learners, there were moments in which the learners expressed their desires to shift and change the curriculum that they were learning. Additionally, there were numerous times that I saw or heard pushback regarding aspects of their learning. For example, Marie told me how she wanted to practice more mathematical concepts and learn more about finance, so she

requested that the Gauteng English Literacy Program add math and financial literacy classes to the curriculum. Marie described with pride that this request was met primarily because of her ability to assert her needs to her teachers. Similarly, Rose told me how she disliked the ways in which the program was introducing sewing into the curriculum and told Emmanuel if sewing classes persisted, she would not attend:

Rose: That is why I told Emmanuel, I said if we are sewing, my eyes here are so sore. Now I can’t. If now we are sewing, me I will stay at home. I can't go to school. Because if you teach sewing, you are not going to talk- to teach me how to talk English.

During my time observing this program, there was a month in which the women in the Gauteng English Literacy Program did practice their sewing skills, and Rose maintained her distaste of sewing by not coming to class nearly as frequently as she did when the focus of the curriculum was on English.

For several learners at the Johannesburg English Classes, the ways in which teachers taught and the levels of teaching that took place were often cause for teasing. For example, every Saturday after class, I would drive several of the women to the taxi rank and to their places of employment. During this time in the car, they would often debrief on what happened during class and how effective (or often in their view, how ineffective) the teachers were. Because many of the instructors in this program were first-time teachers, and because many were there to get their TESOL certification and simply practice teaching with these learners, there were numerous weeks in which the teachers would teach incorrect material and grammar, reproduce the same lessons more than once, or become very nervous with their teaching, often leading to mistakes in their lessons. Although during class, the learners were gracious towards their teachers and would thank them for their time, these experiences led to many jokes about the rules, the lessons, and

the teachers themselves. Additionally, what took place during class time often impacted what happened in my tutoring sessions with some of the learners, as they would ask me to elaborate on or re-explain what they had learned in class.

The mixture of humor and assertiveness that these classes sparked for the learners yet again exhibits the agency that my participants possessed, even when learning a language that they did not call their own. Moreover, it demonstrates a continuous array of interstitial glimpses. Within educational frameworks that often create a separation of teacher and learner, a distinction amongst native and non-native English speaker, and a division between educated and uneducated person, there remain spaces to pushback against these bipolarities. These spaces play a primary role both in the lives of domestic workers and within this dissertation, as they provide answers to the question of "Why English?" that flows through the pages of this dissertation. The life of English, like the lives of the women, is immersed in a continuous in-betweenness. It has provided all of the structural components that maintain the educational, social, and socio-economic oppression of these women in their spaces of employment and in the social milieu of South Africa; and yet, it also provides room for dreams of the future, spaces for pushback, and the reconstruction of identities that maintain domestic workers' agency. Metaphorically, as I explore in the next section, English plays the role of both "the Maid" and "the Madam" in these women's lives, while also providing space to question these historically embedded categories.

Maids, Madams, and "Legitimate" Discourse

Thuli: When Nelson Mandela came into office, I knew that English would be really important in this country. Maybe people will say I'm being brainwashed, but English is the only language that you can communicate with other Africans and with White people. And it's the language that I talk to Karrie (Thuli's employer) in.

Anna: Thuli, I've been meaning to ask you a question. Do you always call Karrie "Karrie" or did she ever ask you to call her "Madam"?
T: You know what Anna? Every woman is a madam. I am a madam just like Karrie is. Karrie's friend- her friend Leti- told Karrie that I was treated more like a madam in the house than like a maid. I said "you know what? We are like flowers. We are each different colors and I happen to be black. But when we cut ourselves, we all bleed the same color." I deserve to be treated like a madam just like everyone else.

According to the *Dictionary of South African English on Historical Principles* (Silva, 1996), the term "madam" refers to "The (usu. white) mistress of a household; a white woman employer or superior at work; a white woman." Historically within the white South African household, there is the (male) boss, the (female) madam, and the maid. While the "boss" is traditionally the wage earner, the madam is the overseer of the household and how it is run. Ironically, however, as many of the women in my study describe, it is not the white women in the home that manage the household, but it is the domestic workers who look after the children, make sure the house is clean, cook the meals, and attend to any visitors who come to the home. While employers are on vacation, it is often domestic workers who stay to look after the home and ensure its continued management. In Cock's (1980) formative book, the terminology of "madam" and "maid" linguistically connoted the differences that are experienced daily by domestic workers. Domestic workers are merely the help. They are the support system for the true people in charge of the home—the madams. And yet, within my own research, the binaries of maid and madam and the use of these terms began to be repurposed.

While some of my participants still refer to their employers as "boss" and "madam," especially when describing stories of previous employers during apartheid, many either call their current employers by their names or consciously refuse to call their female employers "madam." The choices surrounding the use of this term reveal, yet

again, the interstitial glimpses evident in domestic workers' lives and, moreover, exhibit the ways in which language plays a major role in producing these moments of agency.

Below, I demonstrate moments in which my participants discuss the use of the term "madam." I also reveal how their thoughts on this term promote new discourses surrounding who is in charge and what terms within the home are deemed "legitimate." Furthermore, what becomes apparent is how, by both changing and reframing English terminology, notions of agency are produced.

Anna: Why do some people say madam?
Marie: This word it was used it during the apartheid. You can't call your madam her name.
A: And do you have to call the man - what do you call the man?
M: There? I call him and the lady- I call them their names.
A: But the other family that you worked for did they make you call them madam?
M: Yeah.
A: Did you feel strange about that?
M: Yeah it is strange. Even a small child, they can call you your name but you must call them madam or-
A: The child?
M: Yes.
A: No! You would call her madam?
M: Yes. But not anymore. I'm not calling anyone madam. I'm calling them their name.

Pula: I don't know Afrikaans and I hate Afrikaans. You know? The way in history Afrikaans people were treating our parents and our forefathers is still in my mind.
Bernice: Yeah, I used to not be able to sit with the Afrikaans people who I worked for. They would say "Don't come inside kaffir."[58] You know what kaffir is? A baboon. You are eating with a single plate outside. If you are finished eating, you go to the tap to wash it- you can't wash it in the sink. You can't eat with their spoons because you are a kaffir and they are the madam.

For women like Marie, Pula, and Bernice, the term "madam" acts as a metonym in itself. It does not solely connote a "white women in charge of the household" as the

[58] "Kaffir" is an extremely offensive racial slur used frequently during the time of apartheid to refer to a black person.

dictionary definitions states. Instead, it indicates a word filled with oppression, inequity, and in Bernice's case, a form of violence. While multiple women who I interviewed use

the term "madam" with no apparent negativity and employ the word to connote their current female employers, those such as Thuli, Marie, Pula and Bernice actively protest this term. Marie decided to use her employers' names: "I'm not calling anyone madam." For Pula, she directly connects the term "madam" to the Afrikaans language and her distaste of the language due to the extensive mistreatment of her "parents and (her) forefathers" by Afrikaners. Thuli not only protested the historical connections often made between a madam and a white woman, but also began to reclaim the word for herself.

As Thuli told me one day, "People will say I'm being brainwashed, but English is the only language that you can communicate with other Africans with White people," connoting the many discussions by scholars and researchers surrounding the use of English. Thuli is not simply a duped character in the story of English hegemony in South Africa. She is aware of discourses surrounding English language learning, and yet, notwithstanding this awareness, she chooses to learn English anyway. Correspondingly, Thuli presumably knows the historical negativity often associated with the term "madam," but instead of denouncing this term, she asserts that every woman is "a madam" in their own right. Despite being different races (or different colors of flowers), Karrie and Thuli bleed the same color and therefore, deserve the same treatment. Additionally, both Karrie and Thuli use English to communicate, and by utilizing the same language of communication, Thuli "deserves to be treated like a madam just like everyone else." Thuli's narrative reveals the complexity of domestic workers' identities in post-apartheid South Africa. Thuli is a native isiZulu speaker and is aware of the

discourses maintaining the hegemony of English but still wants English to communicate with other Africans and with White people. Similarly, Thuli is aware of the historical bipolarities of the "maid" and the "madam" but continues to be a maid while confirming that she too is a madam.

The use and the pushback against the use of the term "madam" exhibits significantly more than the resistance of a particular word. Instead, it displays the overarching theme of this dissertation: language is more than words that create phrases that create discourse. Language, rather, acts as a means to construct, to stymie, and to (re)construct conceptions of one's identities, of one's power, and of moments of agency and oppression. Moreover, the use, or lack thereof, of the term "madam" provides interstitial glimpses of the ways in which discourse simultaneously legitimates and delegitimizes both the speech and the speaker. These women are neither solely subjugated nor completely liberated; instead, they live in an interstitial space in which they are at once oppressed and refusing this same oppression.

Concluding and Continuing the Interstices

As this chapter has argued, the role of English language learning within the confines of historical colonialism, the roles of domestic work and domestic workers' mistreatment, and the bipolarities of the madam and the maid, all lead to the production of multiplicities of violence that are enacted upon domestic workers. By being attached to the identities of non-native English speaker, uneducated, non-literate, poor, black, older domestic workers, there remain very few political and social structures protecting the agency and free-will of these women. And yet, regardless of the overarching hegemonic presence of the English language and notwithstanding the histories of multiple coercive

and violent acts inflicted on South African domestic workers, continuous glimpses of both agency and oppression remain present in their educational choices, their actions

within their work, and the ways in which they identify themselves. These women live in an unceasing interstitial space. In the following and final chapter, I bring together the metonymic discourses, states of domination, and moments of agency that all frame my participants' lives. With this, I (re)assert that these frameworks, all leading to the choice to learn English, both construct and (re)construct domestic workers' multiplicity of identities in the current South African social and linguascape.

Chapter 7: Concluding the Dissertation/Continuing the HERstories

"…an understanding of language learning processes focused on identity would be greatly enriched by research conducted in postcolonial sites where multilingualism is the norm and language acquisition processes can be quite different from immigrant language learning experiences in the Western countries of study abroad context" (Norton, 2013, pp. 22-23).

Pula: The thing that I can say- we are happy about the work because we don't have other work. But I am still planning in my mind what I can do in the future, because this work we are doing is going to kill us if we don't get out of it. It is going to kill us because we are working so very hard, so we need to have plans for our future. If we plan, we can end this earlier and do whatever we like in future. We mustn't allow our children not to be educated because they will end up where we are now. This life is tough for us. It's very tough, and our kids- we need our kids to at least be having a better life.

This dissertation is neither solely about the history of English in South Africa nor about the history of South African domestic work. It does not exclusively analyze histories of language in postcolonial contexts nor draw entirely from poststructural theories of language, identity and power. It does not situate domestic workers in a continual state of oppression, nor contend that there is complete room for agency and conscientization within the process of learning English. Instead, within this dissertation, I have sought to reveal that similar to the variety of spaces and the multiplicity of identities that my participants live among and within, it is also the combination of histories and HERstories, the merging of methodologies, and the blend of theoretical frameworks that are vital for exploring the lives, the narratives, and my participants' educational and linguistic choices. Like Pula's narrative, domestic workers are living in a continual space of interstitial feeling and thought: happiness, but often because of inopportunity; hope, but predominantly from fear of metaphorical death; education, but only within certain linguistic boundaries. However, as Norton (2013) asserted, research needs to further explore these crevices, for while language research, and specifically research on English

language learning, often centers on Anglophone contexts, multilingual spaces and multi-colonial contexts provide very different research questions and diverse analyses.

In this chapter, I summarize my dissertation research and review the main themes and findings that I have explored in previous chapters. These include notions of metonymy investigated in Chapter Four, symbolic violence(s) analyzed in Chapter Five, and interstitial spaces of oppression and agency explored in Chapter Six. I discuss how these findings relate to theoretical implications, specifically within the frameworks of postcolonialism and poststruturalism, and I examine how my findings might impact educational and linguistic policies in South Africa and internationally. Furthermore, I discuss the limitations of my research and the ways in which these limitations both hinder aspects of my findings while concurrently creating room for future research surrounding domestic work, language learning, adult education, and the roles of English in South Africa. Perhaps most importantly, I use this chapter to simultaneously end my dissertation and begin further exploration of my participants' narratives, for while the pages of this dissertation come to a close, the HERstories of my participants continue to be created.

Re-exploring the Puzzle

This dissertation began with a puzzle of sorts. Black female domestic workers, many of whom are nearing or are of retirement age,[59] and most of whom have worked in domestic work for several decades, are taking English language classes to increase their English language literacy. This choice to increase their English literacy, while taking place during a time of the continued internationalization of English (Pennycook, 2013), is

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[59] "Normal" retirement age is 60 in South Africa (Labour Court of South Africa, 2014).

situated in a South African linguascape in which isiZulu is the most commonly spoken language (Heugh, 2007) and particularly within the Gauteng Province where these

women reside. Moreover, their choices are positioned within a post-apartheid democratic constitution implementing eleven languages as the country's "official" languages and are found within a policy landscape in which educational policies support the right for learners to be educated in a language of their choice (Department of Education, 2012). Thus, my research questions, re-stated below, were formed:

1. What personal, social, and historical forces shape South African domestic workers' desires to learn English?
2. What role does language education play in the lives of these participants?
3. Why might these participants focus on learning English specifically rather than increasing literacy skills in other languages such as their native languages?

As a means to begin to answer these questions, I explored the histories of English in South African education, the role of language in South African ABE/ABET, and the history of South African domestic work. I also drew from a combination of poststructural theories of identity, language, and power, and postcolonial conceptions of English language learning, identity (re)construction, and linguistic power to further investigate how these histories were irrevocably situated in and dependent upon this combination of theoretical frameworks. Employing these histories and combined theoretical frameworks, I chose to focus on the narratives and HERstories of my 28 participants so as to further investigate the nuances of individual participant's lives and connect these HERstories to the past histories and current practices surrounding English language learning, adult

education, and domestic work in South Africa. Further, I utilized Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis (CENA), which combines Critical Narrative Analysis (Souto-

Manning, 2014) and ethnographic methods, and specifically drew from Fairclough's (1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) three-dimensional conception of discourse when analyzing the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training*. I employed this combined methodology to explore the possible macro (policy/historical) answers to my research questions and the micro (individual narratives/HERstories) of my participants.

Summarizing HERstories

As Amahle stated in Chapter Three:

> I want to write a book. I have lots of stories… I want everyone to read my book. I want to share my story with other people, you know? If I write, I want to continue to go to school and then I will write.

Amahle's assertion that she has stories that she wants to share and write down led to my choice to use narratives as my primary data. However, it was not simply any stories and narratives that I was interested in—I was interested explicitly in the stories of my 28 female participants. Accordingly, rather than calling their stories "life histories," I elected to use the term HERstories.

I employed "HERstories" as a main focus of my data and analysis so as to combine the multiple histories of domestic workers, language education, and adult education while also pushing back against the masculine dominating language that a term like "history" incites. As Weedon (1997) asserted, language is place where forms of social organization and social consequences are defined and contested and also where people's sense of self is constructed. Moreover, as Butler (1997) argued, language is not

merely a set of spoken words, but instead holds symbolic power that changes thoughts and reformulates singular identities and identities in larger social institutions. Hence,

employing the HERstories of South African domestic workers was not merely meant to contest masculine-dominated language use, but instead, was used to concurrently demonstrate the ways in which language creates power and violence and to try to prevent these multiple forms of violence from being reproduced.

Summary of Findings

Drawing primarily from the narratives and HERstories of participants while also critically discursively analyzing policies such as the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training,* I found three larger themes to permeate my data. These three themes, explored in Chapters Four, Five, and Six of this dissertation, centered on the following: metonymy and metonymic power; multiple forms of violence including symbolic, verbal, and physical violences; and interstitial glimpses within the confines of agency and oppression. In this section, I summarize each of these thematic chapters while tying them to the broader framework of language, identity, and power in which my research is situated. I then link these themes and broader framework to further theoretical implications and policy implications in the proceeding sections. Finally, I detail how the limitations of my research hindered some findings while also leading to spaces for future research.

Summary of Chapter Four: Metonymy/Metonymic Power

In Chapter Four, I explored the concept of metonymy, a term or figure of speech that means one thing by definition but has come to be socially understood to mean something else. For my participants, concepts of “education” and “literacy” no longer

connote any form of education or literacy in any language but instead, have come to mean "English education" and "English language literacy." For example, as Zothile

vehemently insisted, "Yeah, I'm not feeling good because as I say, I'm not educated." When I insisted that she is, in fact, educated as she is one of the few women who finished her secondary schooling and passed her matriculation exam, she quickly clarified that she doesn't know "proper English." For Zothile, this is a problem because "the people who know English very well, they think the people that don't know English very well- they think they're stupid. They think that she is a useless one because she don't know English." Zothile's assertion that people view a lack of English literacy as synonymous with being "stupid" echoed many of my participants' conceptions of who is defined (and not defined) as a literate and educated person. This sentiment was echoed in policy documents that discussed literacy practices while remaining vague as to what languages are considered legitimate for a "literate" person.

Accordingly, throughout Chapter Four, I returned to Brock-Utne's (2001) question of "Education for all- in whose language?" As a means to explore this question, I drew from Fairclough's (1992a; 1992b; 2013; 2015) three-dimensional framework of discourse to analyze the *1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training*, a formative policy in the conception and implementation of ABE/ABET programs in South Africa. By analyzing the text used in the document and situating this textual analysis in the broader historical and linguistic frameworks of post-apartheid South Africa, I found that use of the term "literate" remained embedded in assumptions of literacy equating English language literacy. Thus, my participants' metonymizing of literacy and education to equate English language literacy and English education reflected broader policies and

practices that also connect literacy and education to the English language. I also examined the use of the term "domestic work/er" and found that this term is often a

metonym for a poor, black, "uneducated," and non-English literate woman. Hence, these women are being shaped not only by macro histories of language, race, class, and gender, but are being further shaped by metonymical devices that are embedded in these histories while simultaneously promoting them. These findings are essential as the means by which these terms are utilized undeniably shapes how my participants personally think about and use these terms, which also leads to their own (re)constructions of how they view themselves.

Summary of Chapter Five: Violence as a Three-Fold State of Domination

While in Chapter Four, I analyzed the ways in which my participants tied terms and phrases to specific language use (namely, English language use), I also asserted that these terms and phrases did more than simply allude to a definition different from their own; instead, they changed the ways in which my participants thought about their own identities. Conceptions of language having deep implications for my participants was further explored in Chapter Five when I analyzed multiple forms of violence in my participants' lives. Drawing from Bourdieu's (1991) notions of symbolic violence and Butler's (1997) concept of linguistic vulnerability and language as violence, I examined three states of violence that my participants endured: symbolic violence, verbal violence, and physical violence.

When discussing notions of symbolic violence that are evident in my participants' lives, I first analyzed a recent South African movement, "Open Stellenbosch," that was created to protest the use of the Afrikaans language at University of Stellenbosch, a

historically white Afrikaans university. While Open Stellenbosch called for a "truly African University" (Open Stellenbosch Collective, c.a. 2015), one way in which they wanted this addressed is for all university classes to be available in English. From my analysis of this request, I found that colonial languages, and English in particular, were being highlighted as a means to address notions of multilingualism embedded in decolonizing frameworks. Thus, English gains symbolic power in which "the language of the empire has continued to carry cultural, economic, and symbolic capital even after decolonization" (Shin & Kubota, 2008, p. 213).

For the domestic workers in my study, similar notions of the power of English remained evident in their narratives as many of my participants told stories of other black Africans laughing at those who do not speak English. Moreover, for those who did not speak English, there was evidence of censorship that was enforced. For example, when discussing Thuli's lack of English literacy, Zama contended that Thuli doesn't know how to read and write in English, and therefore, she is nothing more than "a tin, an empty tin inside, you see?" By drawing from linguistic hierarchies in which English is equated with symbolic power while a lack of English is similar to being "empty," Zama was reinforcing the notions of linguistic violence that have been imposed on her while re-imposing similar violence onto Thuli.

In addition to the symbolic violence enforced through conceptions of the essential nature of English, my participants also expressed narratives of both verbal and physical violence in their HERstories. For example, Marie told the story of her past employer who would yell at her every day while Zothile noted times that her employers shouted at her and called her stupid. As Zothile explained, "All of those words and you have to cry." P

My participants' experiences with verbal violence often forced onto them by their employers revealed the ways in which symbolic violence of English reinforces the hate speech that these women endure frequently. Moreover, as I discussed in the final section of Chapter Five, the symbolic and verbal violences that was described by my participants were also linked to physical forms of violence that my participants' experienced. For example, several of my participants shared stories of rape and sexual abuse, some shared stories of being physically injured by their employers, and others described many moments in which they were forced to work even when their bodies were too tired to do so. Several women even shared stories of physical abuse by employers of different races or those who "had too much apartheid," highlighting the ways in which intersections of race, class, and linguistic history all impacted these forms of violence.

As I maintained at the conclusion of Chapter Five, exploring racial and linguistic histories are essential in analyzing the history of symbolic, verbal, and physical violence for domestic workers, as the government-enforced racial hierarchies existent during apartheid led to linguistic differences among each racial group, and inevitably produced hierarchies of symbolic power. Moreover, this power provided, what Butler (1997) called spaces by which to injure. While English incites these forms of injury, it also acts as a means to combat this violence leading to the interstitial spaces between agency and oppression that I discussed in Chapter Six.

Summary of Chapter Six: Interstitial Glimpses

Chapter Four and Chapter Five investigated the historical power of the English language and the ways in which this power has led both to symbolic forms of violence and violence that has manifested into verbal and physical harm. My participants,

however, while recognizing forms of oppression in their lives, did not solely consider themselves oppressed beings. Instead, they found numerous ways to assert agency with the choices they make, the languages they speak, and the pushback they exhibit within their places of work and within the spaces in which they learn English. Consequently, in Chapter Six, entitled "Interstitial Glimpses," I investigated the spaces in between power and agency, or the fissures within oppression and freedom, and found my participants to live in a constant interstitial space.

As I explored in this chapter, there were numerous instances in which my participants asserted their feelings of strength. Nolwazi, for example, explained what an excellent cook she is, something she is very proud of and returned to throughout her narrative. Ruby asserted her agency by deciding to quit a job when the employer was unfair to her, even when she did not have another job to go to. Rose decided not to accept the "gift" of used twin beds that her employer offered her and instead, stated that she "wants a big bed." Moreover, moments of agency occurred both with participants' dreams for leaving domestic work and also with the ways in which they viewed the strength they must possess to be domestic workers. For example, Muhle told me that she wanted to leave domestic work, but because of her lack of options, she has chosen to enjoy her work. In other words, she is at once discontented and satisfied with her role as a domestic worker.

I further explored notions of interstitial spaces when analyzing the role of language, and particularly, the English language, in my participants' lives. As Amahle described to me, "When I speak English now I'm not scared." For Amahle, and for many of my participants, English has provided means to subjugate and has also offered a sense

of linguistic and social freedom. Like the history of the English language in South Africa, English has at once colonized and harmed while also provided a means for freedom from

harm (which historically, alludes to freedom from the Afrikaans language and apartheid). Moreover, for many of my participants, the English language classroom has led to spaces for pushback—pushback against what they want to learn, pushback from whom they want to learn it, and even pushback against notions of the term "madam." Thus, the intersections of participants' race, gender, socioeconomic status, career and educational choices have at once stymied and expanded their senses of self and their own feelings of power. Additionally, by learning English, these women are seeking to (re)construct their identities as solely "oppressed domestic workers" while concurrently remaining embedded in the historically oppressive linguistic and social frameworks of which they seek to escape. Drawing from these findings, in the next section, I explore how this research can broaden theoretical implications surrounding notions of adult language learners and their motivations for learning. I additionally examine the implications of my research on policies surrounding ABE, language learning, and domestic work.

Theoretical Implications

As I explored in Chapter Two, there are several prevalent theoretical frameworks used to investigate adult education and English language learning. The most predominant of these frameworks surrounds adult English language literacy and education as a form of human capital, in which by strengthening one's literacy in English, the creation of employment opportunities and financial gain can also be increased. This framework is by no means inaccurate or unjustified. As many studies highlight and many adult learners

contend, increased education levels and improved English literacy capabilities, in Anglophone countries in particular, can often lead to increased career and economic

opportunities. And yet, while the majority of this research surrounds immigrants to English-speaking countries and often focuses on early to middle aged learners, most of my participants did not fit into these identity variables. Instead, many of my participants are of retirement age, some have no stated desire to realistically leave domestic work, and moreover, many are not utilizing English to increase their wages. Thus, this framework for understanding the motivations of learners did not quite fit. So as to further explore the intrinsic, rather than the purely extrinsic, motivations of adult English language learning, numerous scholars turn to theories of liberation and empowerment.

The notion of adult English language learning as a means to empower learners is a particularly prevalent framework used by researchers when investigating the lives of participants such as those in my study. For learners such as the participants in my study, who have been socially, economically, racially, and linguistically oppressed, scholars often turn to literacy as a tool for conscientization (Freire, 1985; 2000) in which by becoming literate, learners acquire further insight into the world while also gaining the ability to change previous structures that have led to their oppression. While this framework is beneficial in understanding the ways in which literacy can be used as a tool for change, what it ignores is the hegemonic notions of "literacy" often being synonymous for English language literacy that are prevalent throughout my participants' narratives and dominant in policies surrounding ABE and literacy. Moreover, empowerment frameworks often ignore the complexity of identities that change depending on space, time, and language. While my participants were undoubtedly

historically oppressed under apartheid, and remain socioeconomically disadvantaged, they also change the ways in which they discuss their identities and the means by which

they showcase their agency in different settings with different people. Taking the multiplicity of my participants' identities into account, I elected to utilize a combination of poststructural theories of identity, language, and power, and postcolonial theories of English language learning as the primary means by which to analyze my data and answer my research questions.

By employing a combination of poststructural and postcolonial thought and bringing in conversation regarding language and agency, I found that South African domestic workers are not learning English simply to get better jobs or increase their sense of empowerment, but instead, are situated in continuous interstitial spaces. Their lives are framed by previous histories that have impacted their present options and current choices. In this way, notions of symbolic power (Bourdieu, 1991), and in particular, the symbolic power of English, impact my participants' views of the necessity of English. But unlike scholars such as Bourdieu, who contended that agency is often impossible in hegemonic structures, my findings parallel contentions made by scholars such as Butler (1997) and Showden (2011) who found that within systems of patriarchal, racial, socioeconomic and linguistic oppression, there are spaces for agency and counter-hegemony. Moreover, as I assert, there is room for re-appropriation of the term "domestic work" from a role for the uneducated, poor, female, black South African, to a role for those who embody ever-changing strength, agency, and complexity.

Drawing from my research findings and my combined theoretical framework, I contend that current and popular frameworks often used to understand adult language

learners and particularly, English language learners, often forget the individual nuances of learners that are embedded in larger historical nuances of language and its impact on

literacy, education, and identity. Consequently, I argue that more research needs to be done promote these distinctions by drawing from similarly combined frameworks. It is not enough to assume the adult language learner is a one-dimensional being, nor is it enough to assume that their motivations for education, literacy, and language learning remain constant. Instead, it is essential that like the learners themselves, theories remain ever changing so as to account for learners' multiplicity of identities while also remaining aware of the ways in which history impacts these multiplicities. By electing to combine theoretical frameworks and thus, create new ways of thinking about adult basic education, literacy, and language learning, new policies and practices can also foreseeably begin to emerge.

Policy Implications

"Adult education world-wide depends in the first place on political will and vision at all levels to make it work. The political will in South Africa and in Gauteng have not gone sufficiently beyond good intentions, rhetoric and policy to serve a deeper vision of adult education 'beyond the formal frame'" (French & Dale-Jones, 2015, p. 238)

As French and Dale-Jones (2015) argued in their chapter on the history of Adult Basic Education in Gauteng, ABE in South Africa and world-wide must combine political will, vision, and numerous levels of implementation to create change. According to French and Dale-Jones, and further supported by Aitchison (personal communication, Aug. 5, 2017), very few official ABET policies have been implemented since the 1997 Policy document on Adult Basic Education and Training. Moreover, when explicitly discussing the link to ABE/ABET and English language literacy, Aitchison relayed to me that:

> The matter of English in schooling and ABET is complex and problematic…virtually nothing has been done in teacher training institutions to improve literacy instruction in African languages, though there are the beginnings of efforts to do so. The other almost irresistible force, affecting both the parents of schoolchildren and adults entering ABET, is that English is the language of employment and power (and of course of the African elite as well). (personal communication, Aug. 5, 2017)

These scholars' insistence on the lack of policies implemented in South African ABE, and the absence of policies regarding English language literacy in particular, reveal gaps in policy, practice, and ideologies of adult language learners, gaps that are similarly apparent in the larger South African democratic constitution.

In South Africa's Bill of Rights, it states that everyone has the right to adult basic education and that "Everyone has the right to receive education in the official language or languages of their choice in public educational institutions where that education is reasonably practicable" (Constitution of the Republic of South Africa, § 29). As I have explored throughout the chapters of this dissertation, these rights are neither consistently implemented nor completely clear. For example, in Chapter Four when discursively analyzing the 1997 Policy document on Adult Basic Education and Training, I noted that often when discussing language use within the policy, hedges were used. The Bill of Rights uses similar hedging when stating that language education will be a right "where that education is reasonably practicable." The lack of clarity surrounding policies promoting Adult Education and literacy lead to metonyms connected with these terms that my participants draw from daily. By providing clarity regarding the metonyms of

"education" and "literacy," more coherent policies leading to unambiguous curricula and learner outcomes can likely be produced. Consequently, the ways in which my

participants view themselves as "educated" and "literate" versus "stupid" or "illiterate" can also foreseeably be reconstructed for, as the previous pages explore, these women are neither "stupid" nor are they "illiterate."

In addition to the clarity of terminology needed in future ABE and literacy practices in South Africa, there remains space to more explicitly connect the experiences of adult learning and English language learning with domestic workers worldwide. As I noted in my article highlighting the use of narrative analysis when centering on Thuli's narratives (Kaiper, 2018), the United Nations' post-2015 development agenda entitled *The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development* became officially adopted in 2016 (United Nations, 2016). Within this document are two goals that indisputably intersect including Goal #4 emphasizing the promotion of lifelong learning opportunities for all and Goal #5 calling forth gender equality and empowerment, including the recognition and value of domestic work. As I stated in Kaiper (2018), although these intersections might not initially be apparent, an estimated 774 million adults, of whom two thirds are women, remain unable to read and write (UNESCO, 2014). There are an estimated 53 million domestic workers around the world (International Labour Office, 2013), most of whom are women. Hence, a greater number of policies linking domestic work and educational opportunity, as well as the role of language and literacy within domestic work, must be created to more explicitly connect goals such as those noted in *The 2030 Agenda for Sustainable Development.*

Implications for Practice

While the theoretical and policy implications of this dissertation are essential to explore, what is perhaps just as crucial are the ways in which these implications link to practice. As Bryant and Usher (2014) contend in their book on adult education as theory, research, and practice, "Our underlying assumptions are that there is a unity between theory, practice, and research, and the need to constantly improve practice is best fulfilled by recognizing that unity and being aware of its consequences" (p. 1). As a former ELL and ABE teacher, I support these authors' argument, as I am very aware of the ways in which both theory and policy impact instructors' teaching practices and students' motivations to learn. In my own previous classrooms, with having not yet explored differing theoretical frameworks of ABE and English language learning, I often adhered to specific assumptions of adult English language learners and certain processes of language learning. I assumed, for example, that English was essential to my learners getting "better" jobs and critical to their feelings of integration into English-speaking societies. Moreover, I adhered to the links made between literacy, education, and the English language, thus promoting "English-only" in my classroom. In other words, I unconsciously diminished my students' own linguistic capabilities while also reducing the complexities of their motivations to learn.

I am by no means assuming that all ABE and English language educators teach with the same assumptions as those I previously expressed. I am also not supposing that all adult language learners have the same motivations as those of the participants in this study. What I am arguing, however, is that like Bryant and Usher (2014) state, there are interconnections between theory, policy, and practice, and by challenging specific

theoretical frameworks and analyzing educational policies, one is also considering the re-creation of educational practices. In the case of my specific participants, these practices surround the assumption of the necessity of English that is either subconsciously supported by or directly stated by educators. There was not one moment during my time observing the three research sites that the instructors verbally questioned why the learners should learn English. Instead, there seemed to be a presumed state of English's necessity- a presumption that mirrors the theoretical frameworks and policies surrounding adult literacy and English language learning. Consequently, these same assumptions regarding the necessity of English were embodied in many of my participants' notions of English and were revealed throughout their narratives and HERstories. Therefore, while I do not contend to have created new innovative curricula pushing back against this assumption, what I hope that this dissertation can incite are discussions that further address my question of "Why English?" and Birgit Brock-Utne's (2001) question of "Education for All- In Whose Language?"

By further examining these questions, I foresee a re-imagining of practices so deeply steeped in English-only movements that undeniably spill over into practices within ABE teaching and learning. For example, as I highlighted in Chapter 4, policies in South Africa surrounding ABE and literacy are rife with metonymical associations between literacy and English language literacy. Even in a post-apartheid multilingual society where the importance of multilingualism was referred to throughout the 1997 Policy Document on Adult Basic Education and Training, the consistent use of hedging when referring to multilingualism produced an assumption that literacy for adults was most "normally" and "realistically" connected to English; this connection visibly

impacted the language and literacy teaching practices that I observed. In a United States context, this same link between literacy and English is very clearly found as in the U.S.

Department of Education website, when describing Adult Education and Literacy, it is noted that, "The division of Adult Education and Literacy (DAEL) administers programs that help adults get the basic skills they need including reading, writing, math, English language proficiency, and problem-solving…" (2018, para. 1). Thus, in both a South African context, and a larger global context, theories and policies connecting English to adult basic education and literacy undeniably impact the curricula being taught and the messages being produced within the ABE classroom. In my view, only when questions surrounding these problematic linkages are more closely examined by policy makers, educators, and the learners themselves, can more in-depth and nuanced understandings of the purposes of and motivations for adult learners learning English in multiple contexts be produced.

Limitations: Both Hindering and Supporting Future Research

My research methodologies, like my findings, are rife with fractures and interstitial moments of consistency and incongruity. While I have spent over a three-year span trying to further my understanding of South African domestic work and broadening my understanding of language within the historical and social constructs of Johannesburg, I remain geographically disconnected from my participants and their linguistic and educational motivations. For example, as I am writing these very pages, I am sitting in a Minneapolis coffee shop surrounded by English language speakers and far removed from the South African social and linguistic spaces of which my research is situated. Moreover, my positionality as a non-South African, English-speaking, young

white American researcher continues to flow through the pages of my data collection, my interviews with my participants, and my analyses. These research crevices have

consequently supported several of my research findings while also providing continued gaps in my research, thus making space for future research to ensue. In this section, I discuss what gaps my research has sought to fill while also describing the ways in which there remains continued and increased research gaps that must still be filled with future research.

Warriner (2007) stated that "scholars have called for more ethnographies of literacy that not only describe cultural forms and situated literacy practices but also illuminate how these situated local practices are connected to larger sociohistorical influences, political processes, ideological questions, and power dimensions" (p. 201). In my use of Critical Ethnographic Narrative Analysis (CENA), I draw from ethnographic methods to understand the English language learning of my participants as I find Warriner's push to situate literacy practices in both local impacts and larger macro influences essential in further understanding the nuances of adult literacy and language learning. As my own work has sought to explicate, the HERstories of these women are neither separate entities disconnected from one another nor solely mirroring macro ideologies of language, history, and power. It is because of and in spite of these macro influences that these women's stories have been formed and their motivations to learn English are incited. However, within my use of CENA, a key component of this methodology is drawing from an understanding of the ways in which power, personal experience, and stories ultimately impact what is researched, how it is researched, who is researched, and the researcher herself.

For this research, my identities ultimately impacted my research findings. My primary use of English undeniably influenced how language was used and talked about.

My role as a white American foreseeably affected what my participants chose to tell me and what they chose to withhold. My identity as a woman seemingly impacted the connections my participants and I made. My age surely played a role in highlighting further differences between me and my participants. Because of these multiple components of my identity and how they intersected and diverged with those of my participants, there are irrefutably components of my research that can be considered limited, and perhaps even problematic. A difference in time and space and language and race and gender, and the ways in which these variables intersect, would perhaps lead to differing research findings. However, the ways in which these components might change the research itself only further supports my overarching finding of this dissertation: language, history, and power matter in changing the narratives of adult learners and the motivations for adults to learn. Thus, if this research is broadened and further expanded upon, then I suspect that nuanced, and perhaps, even contradictory findings might be established. As aforementioned, this is essential for instructors, policy makers, and students themselves to understand. While current theories of adult education and language learning often ignore both the intricacies of adult learners' narratives and disregard how researchers impact the narratives being produced and the analyses being made, this neglect produces stagnant theories, policies, and practices that ignore the changing nature of identities, of histories, and of language itself.

Concluding the Dissertation/ Continuing the HERstories

The original purpose of this dissertation was to answer the primary question that flows throughout the pages of my research: why, in a multilingual society that seemingly promotes multilingualism in policy and practice, where the daily language of communication is often not English, in which English is not always needed for new careers and jobs, and where there is country-wide knowledge of the ways in which colonialism has ultimately negatively impacted my participants access to education, jobs, and financial stability, do these women continue to want to learn English? This broad question was responded to by my three analysis chapters analyzing my participants' narratives and HERstories as well as policies and educational movements involving ABE and language learning.

Within these chapters, I found that "education" and "literacy" have become metonyms for "English language education" and "English literacy" that affect these women's motivations for explicitly learning. I additionally found that these women are living in a three-fold state of domination in which they incur symbolic violence (Bourdieu, 1997) from the neo-colonial importance placed on English leading to their linguistic vulnerability (Butler, 1997). Moreover, they experience verbal violence from employers, and physical violence from both employers and romantic/sexual relationships that further exacerbate the symbolic linguistic power that English incites. Finally, I found that despite metonymic discourse purporting the essential nature of English in post-apartheid South Africa, and notwithstanding the numerous forms of violence enacted upon these women in their past and present lives, South African domestic workers live within an interstices of sorts, in which they are showcasing aspects of agency and

autonomy in their work, home, and educational spaces while concurrently remaining within the boundaries of metonymic discourse that binds them to these spaces.

While these findings are essential to continue to explore, I hope that my research enhances not only an understanding of the multifaceted intersections of domestic work and adult education in South Africa, but also the ways in which the experiences of these women might further increase insight into the educational experiences and motivations of adult learners globally. Research exploring these narratives and connecting them to language, power, and social histories must continue to be conducted, as it is critical that research center on the educational experiences and motivations of learners whose stories remain underrepresented and unheard. Thus, while the pages of my dissertation are concluding, the histories and HERstories of my participants and adult learners around the world endure, and with this endurance comes the (re)construction of new stories and new identities continually being formed.

Epilogue

It has now been a year and a half since I was last in Johannesburg. While my communication with myparticipants has waned due to time, space, and access, I remain in contact with some of the women whose stories you read throughout this dissertation. For example, while Marie was excited for her daughter, Bongani, to finally gain entry into a university, she recently wrote to me noting that "Bongani didn't do well and she has been told that she must find another university so that she can apply for NSFAS. Application are closed at the university. I guess she will apply by end of the year. For now, she applied for a bunch of jobs." Bongani's dream of becoming a lawyer is currently on hold, and perhaps will remain on hold, without further support in navigating the higher education system and its focus on English.

In contrast, Amahle's son, Thabo, recently sent me an email stating that he has passed his English equivalency exam and will be looking into applying for university. He expressed his interest in applying for schools "in America," and asked me if I could "send (him) an application for American universities." It was difficult for me to express to him the differences of higher education systems in the United States when compared to those in South Africa, and while I tried, he remains intent on attending school in the United States. For the time being, however, he is looking into universities in Johannesburg, and I am trying to help him with his application to NSFAS so that he may receive financial aid to attend school.

Ruby and I most frequently use Whatsapp to communicate. Since the time that I have left, Ruby's mother passed away, Ruby was "let go" from her job, she got hit by a car and had to have many months of physical therapy, she was re-hired by her same job,

and her child graduated from preschool. Thus, it has been a year of many highs and many lows for Ruby. She remains in English language classes, though she stopped attending

class while recovering from her accident and is dedicated to finding a way to learn more about computers so that she can someday become, what she terms, “an administrator.”

Thuli and I recently talked on the phone and while she continues to take English language classes, she feels as though her reading and writing are improving only slightly. Thuli also admitted to me that she feels that I had “abandoned” her, as we seem not to be able to connect as frequently as I would like. Similarly, the young South African English tutor who I connected Thuli with has also “stopped calling and left the planet.” While I tried to explain to Thuli that I had called her often, she was clearly hurt with our lack of communication. I suspect that this pain derives from many of Thuli’s family members passing away. As she revealed during our conversation, yet another one of her nephews was recently murdered in a rural area several hours from Johannesburg. I mention Thuli’s response because while this dissertation utilizes ethnographic research methods, it also notes the difficulties with these same methods. In my own experiences, the notion of entering these women’s lives and then leaving abruptly can lead to emotional harm, such as it seems to have done with Thuli. Thus, while ethnographic methods are undoubtedly important in creating in-depth understandings of the people and spaces being researched, they are also rife with difficulties that should not be ignored by those utilizing these methods.

While I continue to contact my participants and look forward to hearing from them, there are some who I may never talk to again. My hope, however, it that though

their narratives, identities, and motivations will continue to change and be (re)constructed, policies and practices surrounding domestic work, adult education, and

English language learning will also continue to expand. The HERstories of my participants might not yet be reflected in these policies and practices, but they undeniably play a role in shaping the outcomes of them.

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Appendix A

Consent Form

Adult English Language Learning and Literacy in South Africa

You are invited to be in a research study about the English language learning and literacy of adults in South Africa. I ask that you read this form and ask any questions you may have before agreeing to be in the study.

This study is being conducted by: Anna Kaiper, Organizational Leadership and Policy Development, University of Minnesota

Background Information
The purpose of this study is to learn more about the motivations of adult English language and literacy learners, and in particular, adult learners in South Africa.

Procedures:

If you agree to be in this study, the following things will take place:

- I will attend weekly classes within the months of July to November that include observations regarding what you have said in class regarding language and literacy as well your as life experiences, opinions, etc.

- I will ask you to have one to three interviews with me that will be recorded and heard only by me

Risks and Benefits of being in the Study

Because, I will be interviewing you about your life and educational experiences yu might feel uncomfortable with some questions. If at any point you feel discomfort with a question, please let me know and we can move on to the next question. Further, all interviews will be kept on my personal computer and no one but myself will be able to access them.

There are no direct benefits to participation in this study.

Confidentiality:

The records of this study will be kept private so that no one will have access to interviews except myself.

Voluntary Nature of the Study:

Your participation is voluntary. Your decision whether or not to participate will not affect your current or future relations with me personally or with your classes. If you decide to participate, you are free to not answer any question or withdraw at any time without affecting these relationships.

Contacts and Questions:

The researcher conducting this study is: Anna Kaiper. You may ask any questions you have now or at any time throughout my observations and interviews. If you have questions later, **you are encouraged** to contact me at ________ or email me at annakaiper@gmail.com or kaipe001@umn.edu . You may also contact my academic advisor, Joan DeJaeghere through email at _________ or the University of Minnesota IRB office at irb@umn.edu. Or, if you feel more comfortable, you may contact _______ at _______.

If you have any questions or concerns regarding this study and would like to talk to someone other than the researcher(s), **you are encouraged** to contact the Research Subjects' Advocate Line, D528 Mayo, 420 Delaware St. Southeast, Minneapolis, Minnesota 55455; 1-(612) 625-1650.

You will be given a copy of this information to keep for your records.

Statement of Consent:

I have read the above information or had it read to me. I have asked questions regarding the study and have received answers to my questions. I consent to participate in the study.

Signature:____
Date: _________________

Signature of Investigator:________________________________

Date: ___________________

Appendix B

Semi-Structured Interview Questions for English Language Learners

1. What is your name and where are you from?
2. Tell me about your family's educational experiences.
3. How long have you lived in Johannesburg?
4. What is your current job and how long have you been working at your job?
5. Tell me about the languages you speak and use in different settings.
6. Tell me about your educational experiences.
7. Why did you decide to take this class in English?
8. When do you primarily use English?
9. What are your thoughts on the class?
10. Has learning English impacted your life outside of class? How so?
11. How do you think learning English will affect your life and/or your future?

Appendix C

Interview Transcription Table

Symbol	Description
-	A truncated word or adjustment within an intonation unit, e.g., repeated word, false start.
.	A falling, final intonation.
,	A continuing intonation.
?	A rising intonation.
( )	Idea or concept suggested and/or stated from a previous point in the narrative.
“ ”	A word or phrase that expresses when a person is saying her own words, or those of another, within the narrative.